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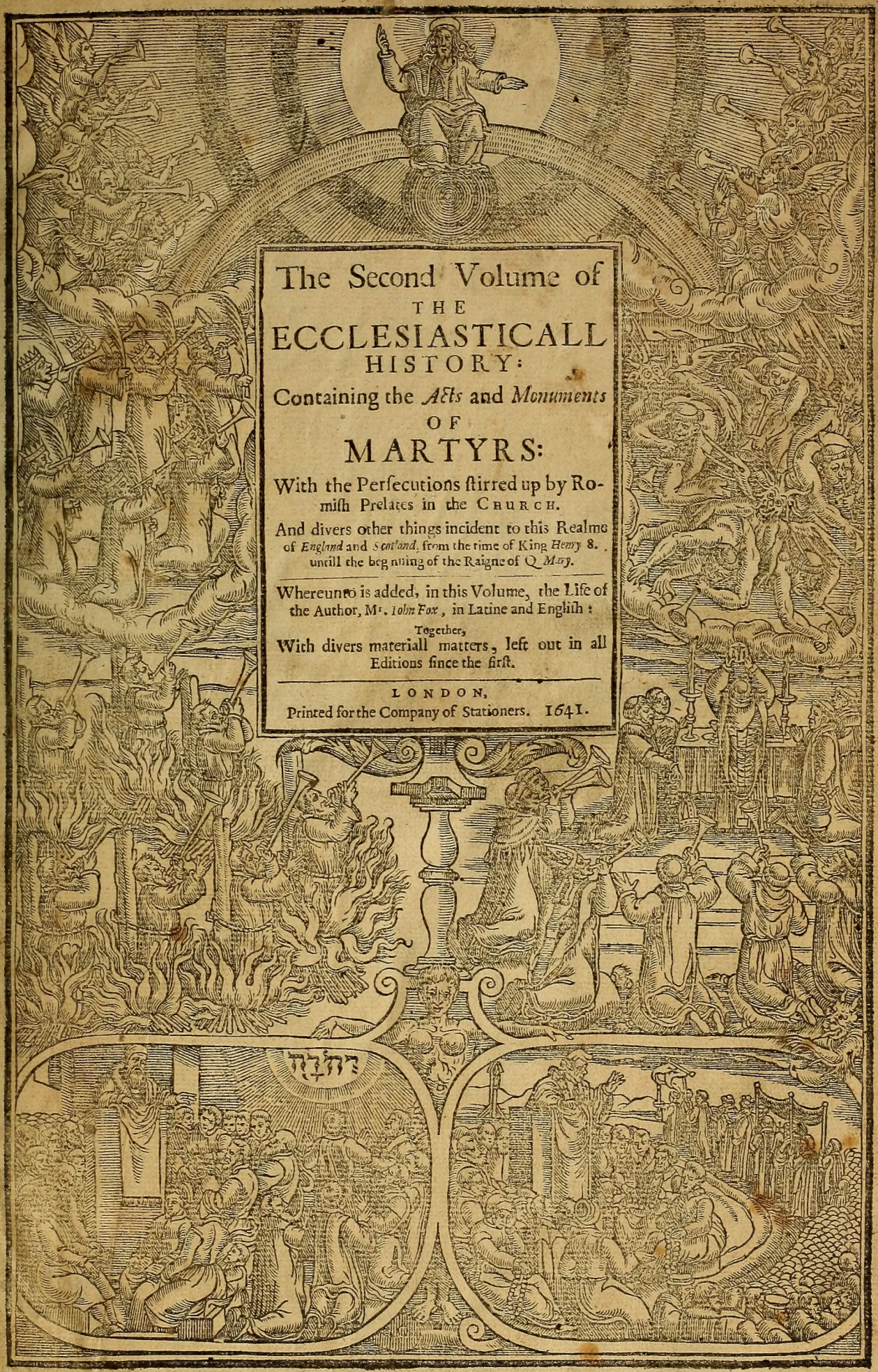

The Second Volume of THE ECCLESIASTICALL HISTORY:

Containing the *Acts* and *Monuments* OF

MARTYRS:

With the Perſecutions ſtirred up by Romiſh Prelates in the CHURCH.

And divers other things incident to this Realme of *England* and *Scotland*, from the time of King *Henry* 8. untill the beginning of the Raigne of Q. *Mary*.

Whereunto is added, in this Volume, the Life of the Author, Mr. *Iohn Fox*, in Latine and Engliſh:

Together,

With divers materiall matters, left out in all Editions ſince the firſt.

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THE LIFE OF
Mr JOHN FOX,
Translated out of the *Latine*.

TO THE READER.

HAving been often, and earnestly requested by many, to gratifie posterity, with the History of my Fathers life, which I had written above thirty yeers since; and finding, that no new matter had faln out, for which (though I were silent) I should distrust the judgement of after ages, concerning a man so well known; but that many things to this purpose necessary, were now out of my power, by the death of those, upon whose testimony, the truth of each particular depended; I made no question, but both easily withall men, to finde pardon for my first refusall; and if still I should continue in the same minde, as easily to keep my self in the right I have to use my liberty herein. But when I perceived, that some who were meer strangers to him, and utterly ignorant of his conversation, had taken upon them, to write his life; of which they could learn nothing, but by hear-sayes, and flying reports; whereby it fell out, that many of his actions were amplified above the truth; many things otherwise related then performed; and much passed over, that came not to their knowledge; having my self when I was a young man, been alwayes conversant with him in his latter dayes, and when I was absent from him, had better intelligence of any remarkable passage in his life; I thought it but my duty, to preserve his memory from wrong; and if I could adde nothing to it, at least to

place it in its true, and proper light. Neither feared I, but that I ſhould be able, to juſtifie this to the Readers, that being his Son I publiſhed my Fathers life, though in reſpect of my nearneſſe to him, I may be ſuſpected. For firſt, that ſo memorable a man ſhould be unknown to poſterity, even the injury done him, by thoſe who had ill handled his Story, would not ſuffer: neither was it ſafe, that any but his own friends ſhould undertake to right him: and what reaſon is there, that his Sonnes credit ſhould be more ſuſpected, then the force of their anger, and grief, who deſire that no memory of him might at all remain. Thus long I have forborne, till being in equall danger, of the offence that may be taken, by the adverſe party, and thoſe that deſired his Story, I choſe at length to ſatisfie their mindes, who not without ſome vehemence requeſted it of me. At whoſe importunity, I have conſented to ſet forth this Book, written at firſt, to no other intent, then to preſerve by me the image of my Fathers life; and now, in ſo confirmed a fame of him, rather thought neceſſary by others, then ſo judged by my ſelf.

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THE

THE LIFE OF
Mr JOHN FOX.

JOHN FOX was borne in *Boston*, an ancient Town in the County of *Lincoln*, *An.* 1517. his Father and Mother being of the Commonalty of that Town, well reputed of, and of good ſtate. While he was very young, his Father dying, and his Mother being marryed again, he came into the Tutelage of his Father in Law, with whom he dwelt during his childhood: which he had ſcarſe paſſed over, when his friends well approving his good inclination, and towardneſſe to learning, ſent him to ſtudy at *Oxford*. The firſt nurſe of his more ſerious Studies, was *Braſen-noſe* Colledge, where he was Chamber-fellow with Doctor *Nowell* ſo famous a man in this Citie afterward, and Dean of *Pauls*: That no great marveil it was, if their manners were ſo like in the courſe of their lives, whoſe education, and nurture in Youth was the ſame. The native excellence, and ſharpneſſe of his wit, were well ſeconded by the fitneſſe of the place; where the emulation of equals was frequent; and where each Students proficiency was narrowly ſought into: neither was induſtry wanting, which as it ſeldome accompanyeth the greateſt wits, ſo where it is conjoyned is moſt availeable. By which vertues, when in a ſhort ſpace he had wonne the admiration of all, and the love of many, in reward of his learning, and good behaviour he was choſen Fellow of *Magdalen* Colledge; which being accounted a principall honour in the Univerſitie, and uſually due to the Students of that Houſe, was ſeldome, and not unleſſe in regard of ſingular deſerts, beſtowed upon any others. It ſhould ſeem he deſigned the firſt over-branchings of an early wit, to the exerciſes of Poetry, and wrote divers Latine Comedies yet to be ſeen, in a copious, and gracefull ſtyle, but ſomewhat lofty, which fault of writing, (in all things elſe ſo grave and temperate) he left not altogether in his elder yeers, though age, and experience did not a little mitigate it. But even then he began to give earneſt of what he afterward proved, for that neither thoſe firſt flouriſhes of his youth were ſpent, but in holy Hiſtories of the Bible: nor followed he that vein long. He betook himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity with ſomewhat more fervency, then circumſpection, and diſcovered himſelf in favour of the Reformation then in hand, before he was known to them that maintained the cauſe, or were of ability to protect the maintainers of it: whence grew his firſt troubles. This was the time when King *Henry* 8. uncertain what courſe to take, being at variance with the Pope, and unreſolved in himſelf, thinking the affairs of the Church (then grown to an infinite height of power and pride) neither in all reſpects tollerable, nor that it was neceſſary wholly to alter them, while he deſired to ſhew moderation in both, prevailed in neither, obſcuring an act, then which none was of more glory ſince the world began, by an unprofitable indifferency. Never before were the people in more diſtraction, or leſſe ſecurity of their lives, and eſtates, there being in the Laws ſuch contrarieties, as no man could tell what to take to with ſafty, or what to avoid. For although the Popes ſupremacy had bin renounced, yet was his doctrine ſtill retained. The firſt news of the aboliſhing the Popes ſupremacy was as proſperous as welcome to the Reformers; and divers joyned

themselves to them out of love to the truth, being further assured of the Kings intentions, by the punishment taken on some of the contrary part, and especially when the Abbies were dissolved; nor was their hope a little increased, when they perceived the Noblemen more or lesse to rise in the good opinion and favour of the King, as any of them most opposed the Popes dominion. In the mean while the Act of the six Articles was still in force, and if any were found guilty of the breach thereof, they were sure of punishment. So that as long as the King held the middle way between his own Genius, and the advice of his Counsellors, feeding them with favours, upon which they could build no assurance, and pleasing himself in his own severity, fear, and hope, equally prevailed.

But when the Protectors themselves, and Pillars of the Reformed Religion, were taken away. The Duke of *Suffolk* by untimely death, the Lord *Cromwell* by the sword, the Archbishop *Cranmer* and his friends borne down by those of the contrary side; and that neither in the Laws, nor the Protection of the Peers, there was any, the least, help remaining; then began all things to hasten back again headlong to their former abuses, and that with so much the more violence, because the conquest seemed a kinde of revenge.

In the Universities, and Schooles there was yet no open change, or innovation: I know not whether through fear, or that they would not be followers.

This was the estate of the Church affairs, when Master *Fox* began attentively to seek into the substance of the controversie, then in agitation.

He found the contention to have been of great antiquity, and no age to have been free from some debate in the Church. But those first quarrels were rather for dominion, and increase of territory. The Romanes endevouring by subtile practises, and pretext of Religion to retain under the jurisdiction of a high Priest, the ancient honour of their Citie, which by open force they could not defend.

Then no sooner could any shew himself to differ from them in point of faith, but the hastening of his punishment prevented any infection that might spread it self among others.

Thus by their cruelty, and the patience of Princes, who suffered, it the greatest part of these dissensions were appeased: neither hitherto were all tracks of the old Romane vertue quite worne out, at leastwise some resemblances of vertue remained among many things that were perverted, and by long time utterly defaced.

Afterward the Pope grown bolder by good successe, began to draw to himself all power, and authority; nor contented to have weakned the estate of the Roman Empire alone, now, longed to be fingring the Scepters of other Princes; and to compasse his designe, spared not to violate any humane, or divine right: mean while the Clergy little weighed with how great dammage to Religion, men of spotted life and conversation were sometimes chosen to the Papacy, by whose example the strictnesse of life, used by their forefathers, was drawn into scorn, and their poverty into exprobration; The industry of the Priesthood languished, and on the contrary side ambition, riot, and avarice began to raign among them. Then at length were the practises of the Churchmen brought to light, and their deluſions laid open. It was then known why the Ceremonies and Rites in the Church, had been brought to that excessive multitude, to wit, that the number of the Clergy might be increased to perform them: These of necessity were to be maintained; and to that end were such opinions broached, as seemed most likely to draw mony from all places: Of the dignity of Works; Of Purgatory; Of the power of Absolution, and the Popes Indulgences: All which being in themselves false, and soon subject to decay, were thought fit to be cemented together with that new and subtile invention of the Popes infallibility in matters of faith.

By this handsome connexure, and linking one opinion to another, the credulity of the Christians was easily insnared; all this while the new forg'd opinions yeilding plentifull increase, and great summes of money, by a hundred devises screwed out of the Clergy, and common people came, daily to the Pope, and Court of *Rome*.

I have often heard Master *Fox* affirm, that the first matter which occasioned his search into the Popish doctrine, was that he saw divers things in their own natures,

natures, moſt repugnant to one another, thruſt upon men at one time to be both believed: as that the ſame man might in matters of faith be Superiour, and yet in his life, and manners inferiour to all the world beſides. Upon this beginning his reſolution, and intended obedience to that Church, were ſomewhat ſhaken, and by little and little followed ſome diſlike to the reſt.

His firſt care was to look into both the ancient, and modern Hiſtory of the Church: to learn what beginning it had: what growth, and increaſe; by what arts it flouriſhed, and by what errours it began to decline; to conſider the cauſes of all thoſe controverſies which in the mean ſpace had ſprung up, and to weigh diligently of what moment they were, and what on either ſide was produced ſound, or infirm.

This he performed with ſuch heat of Study, and in ſo ſhort a time; that before the thirtieth yeer of his age, he had read over all that either the Greek, or Latine Fathers had left in their writings; the Schoolmen in their diſputations: the Counſels in their Acts: or the Conſiſtory in their Decrees; and acquired no mean skill in the Hebrew Language.

By report of ſome who were Fellow Students with him, he uſed over and above his dayes exerciſe, to beſtow whole nights at his Study, or not till it were very late to betake himſelf to reſt. Neer to the Colledge was a grove, wherein for the pleaſantneſſe of the place, the Students took delight to walk, and ſpend ſome idle houres for their recreation. This place, and the dead time of the night, had Maſter *Fox* choſen, with the horror of ſolitude, and darkneſſe, to confirm his minde; which as a freſhwater ſouldier trembled at the guilt of a new imagination.

How many nights he watched in theſe ſolitary walks; what combats, and wraſtlings he ſuffered within himſelf; how many heavy ſighes, and ſobbs, and tears he powred forth with his prayers to Almighty God; I had rather might be ſpared from this diſcourſe, then touched with opinion of oſtentation: But therefore of neceſſity, was it to be remembred, becauſe from hence ſprang the firſt ſuſpition of his alienated affections. For no ſooner was the fame ſpread of his nightly retirements; but that the more underſtanding ſort out of their own wiſedome; others according as they ſtood inclined towards him, were apt to interpret all to the worſt ſenſe. At length thoſe with whom he was intimate, being drawn into ſuſpition of him; there were ſome imployed, who under pretence to admoniſh him, might obſerve his walks, and pry with more curioſitie into his words, and actions; and there wanted not others who comparing his cuſtomes formerly uſed, with the preſent courſe he now took, did with more bitterneſſe aggravate the fact. Why ſhould he not come to Church, ſo often as in former times he had accuſtomed? Why ſhould he ſhun the company of his equals, and refuſe to recreat himſelf after his wonted manner, unleſſe he had felt in his minde ſome ſuddain alteration? nor if that alteration were for the better, would he conceale it.

Being thus reported of, ſurrounded with treacheries, and by every one accuſed; when the matter came to more ſevere ſcanning, and that he could neither hide his reſolution longer, nor being a man of plaindealing, thought fit to excuſe himſelf by forging a lye; by the judgement of the Colledge, he was convicted, condemned as an heretique, and removed the houſe. Nevertheleſſe his adverſaries affirmed he was favorably dealt with by that ſentence, and might have been queſtioned for his life, if they had not rather uſe clemency towards him then extremity. But this wound raged worſe then was thought it would; his friends upon the report of this accident being ſorely diſpleaſed, and eſpecially his Father in law, who was now grown altogether implacable, either through a reall hatred conceived againſt him for this cauſe, or pretending himſelf agrieved, that he might now with more juſtice, at leaſt with more ſecurity withhold from Maſter *Fox* his own Fathers eſtate. For he both knew it could not be ſafe for one publikely hated, and in danger of the law, to ſeek remedy by it; and that Maſter *Fox* was by nature ſo ignorant in requiting injuries, that he would many times with much a doe confeſſe himſelf wronged, even then, when he had in his hands ability of revenge.

When he was thus forſaken by his own friends, and left naked of all humane

aſſiſtance,

assistance, GODS providence began to shew it self, procuring him a safe refuge in the house of a worshipfull Knight of *Warwickshire*, called Sir *Thomas Lucy*, to whom he was sent for, to instruct his children: In which house he afterwards marryed a wife, and there continued till the children coming to riper yeers, had now no longer need of a Tutor. But the fear of the Popish inquisitions hastned his departure thence; which now relying on the favour of the lawes, were not contented to pursue publike offences, but began also to break into the secrets of private families.

Oft would Master *Fox* in the later times of his life, with much vehemence of minde, in discourse with his friends, detest the wretched condition of that departing; and say, that all other mischances he had pretty well indured; but in this case the misery was so much the greater; because to have borne it patiently, would have seemed unnaturall; having brought his faithfull consort, who entirely loved him, from her friends, and kinred, whose grief, and tears, were with all officious piety to be comforted. It behoved him therefore, either to finde some speedy remedy, or in assurance of his love to weep with her. For in vain should he shew an example of his constancy, where she might rather suspect her grief unregarded, then his minde unconquered with so great calamities. He consulted therefore with himself what was best to be done, and of two wayes onely left, whereby he might free himself from further inconvenience, long debated, whether he might with most safety, make choice of; either to go to his Wives Father, or his Father in-law by marriage of his Mother.

His Wives Father dwelt neareſt, being a Citizen of *Coventry*, nor yet bearing any hatred towards him, and more likely to be entreated for his Daughters sake. His Father in-law was better known to him, but more suspected. At last he resolved to go first to his Wives Father, and in the mean while by letters to try, whether his Father-in-law would receive him or not. His Father-in-laws answer was, That it seemed to him a hard condition, to take one into his house, whom he knew to be guilty, and condemned for a capitall offence: neither was he ignorant, what hazzard he should undergo in so doing: nevertheless that he would shevv himself a Kinsman, and for that cause neglect his own danger. If he would alter his minde, he might come, on condition to stay as long as himself desired: but if he could not be perswaded to that, he should content himself with the shorter tarriance, and not bring him and his Mother into hazzard of their fortunes, who were ready to do any thing for his sake.

Master *Fox* his estate was at that passe, that he thought no condition to be refused: Besides he was underhand advised by his Mother to come, and not fear his Father-in-lawes severity; For that (perchance) it vvas needfull to vvrite as he did, but vvhen occasion should be offered, he vvould make recompence for his vvords vvith his actions. The truth is, he had better entertainment vvith both of them, then he any vvay hoped for: but so his businesse required, that he should rely long upon neither; and therefore by often going to and fro, from the one, to the other, (which carryed with it some shew of businesse) he both deceived their diligence, who enquired after him, and effected, that neither grew weary of his company.

But howsoever he by this means kept himself concealed; yet certain it is, that no time of his life passed more unknown to posterity then that; whether that while he did but little, which is scarse credible: or whether it more concerned them who knew what he did, that it should be shut up in silence, then published abroad. For his own part he alwayes forbare with particular regard, to speak of that story; least where he had deserved so much, he might by extolling a small curtesie, seem rather to upbraid the slenderness of the requitall, then to shew himself thankfull by remembring it. Afterward he took his journey towards *London*; but upon what motives is uncertain; unless we may imagine the convenience of the place enticed him thither; which being full of all sorts of company, both inhabitants, and strangers from all places might assure him sufficient occasions, whether he should choose to conceal himself, or make known his abilities, and get acquaintance with those of alike inclination.

By computation of times, I should think the chief cause of his going thither to have been, that about that time Religion began at length a little to recover it

self,

ſelf, and gather ſtrength eſpecially about the City. For he came not to Town till within a few yeers before King *Henry* departed this life: Who (as I ſaid before) though the Kingdome were divided into factions, yet as long as his youth, and ſtrength remained, ſo ordered the matter, that ſometimes the power of each party being equalled, and ſometimes one or other prevailing, by his authority both were retained in their obedience: But when he grew into yeers, perceiving his health every day impaired, and that his death could not be far of, he then began to conſider with himſelf which ſide was moſt truſty, and which moſt to be doubted; and at what age he ſhould expoſe his Sonne, to the raging hatred of the Papiſts; who was yet by reaſon of his youth unfit to govern, and brought up in the diſcipline of a Religion which they oppoſed.

He therefore at laſt reſolved upon that, which in reaſon ſeemed moſt wholeſome, and in the end proved moſt fortunate; and having put the Papiſt-Officers from their authority, by his will he appointed his Sonne ſuch Tutors, whoſe love to himſelf he had alvvayes found readieſt, and by long triall of their fidelity, thought likely to continue the ſame to his ſucceſſor. This ſet religion again in ſafety: But hovvſoever the profeſſors thereof, were thereby ſecured of their lives; yet hence no publike benefit, or profit vvas afforded them: So that Mr *Fox* vvas ſtill in as much vvant as before, having already ſpent, vvhat either his friends had beſtovved on him, or his ovvn daily induſtry had acquired.

I ſhould forbear to ſpeak of a marveilous accident, and great example of Gods mercy, vvere not the matter ſo vvell knovvn abroad, that it vvould be to no purpoſe for modeſty ſake to be ſilent.

As Maſter *Fox* one day, ſate in *Pauls* Church, ſpent vvith long faſting, his countenance thinne, and eyes hollovv, after the gaſtfull manner of dying men; every one ſhunning a ſpectacle of ſo much horror, There came to him one vvhom he never remembred to have ſeen before, vvho ſitting by him, and ſaluting him vvith much familiarity, thruſt an untold ſumme of money into his hand; bidding him be of good chear; adding vvithall, that he knevv not hovv great the miſfortunes vvere vvhich oppreſſed him, but might ſuſpect it vvas no light calamity: That he ſhould therefore accept in good part that ſmall guift from his Countryman, which common curteſie had enforced him to offer; that he ſhould go, and make much of himſelf, and take all occaſions to prolong his life; in the mean time let him know, that within a few dayes, new hopes were at hand, and a more certain condition of livelyhood. Never could Maſter *Fox* learn who that man ſhould be, by whoſe ſo ſeaſonable bounty, in that extream neceſſity, he had been relieved; though he earneſtly endeavoured to finde him out. Some who looked further into the event which followed that propheſie, believed that this man came not of his own accord, but was ſent by ſome others, who by all means deſired Maſter *Foxes* ſafety; and that it might (perchance) be through the ſervants negligence, that he ſuffered the extreameſt of all miſeries, before any relief came. Certain it is that within three dayes ſpace, the iſſue ſeemed to make good the preſage, there being ſome ſent from the Dutcheſſe of *Richmond*, who upon fair terms did invite him into her ſervice. It had ſo faln out not long before, that The Duke of *Norfolk*, the famous warriour, and moſt renowned generall of his time, together with his ſonne, the Earl of *Surrey*, a man as farre as may be imagined of ſincere meaning, and ſharp underſtanding, was committed to cuſtody in the Tower of *London*; for what crimes is uncertain: While they were in priſon, the Earles children were ſent to the foreſaid Dutcheſſe their Aunt, to be brought up, and educated: *Thomas* who ſucceeded in the Dukedome, *Henry* who was after Earl of *Northampton*, and *Iane* afterwards Counteſſe of *Weſtmerland*.

To theſe young Lords was Maſter *Fox* appointed Tutor, to inſtruct them both in manners, and learning: In which charge he deceived not the expectation which the Dutcheſſe, a woman of great wiſedome, had of him.

For the two Sonnes grew to that height of proficiency in their behaviour, and Schollarſhip; that building in their riper yeers, upon this foundation, The elder *Thomas* ſeemed to deſerve more then the Kingdome could beſtow upon him; and the younger *Henry* came to that happineſſe, that he was able to meaſure his fortunes, not by the opinion of others, but by his own faciety.

The young Lady *Iane*, profited ſo wonderouſly in the Greek, and Latine tongues;

tongues; that ſhe might well ſtand in competition with the moſt learned men of that time, for the praiſe of elegancy in both kindes.

There he dwelt during thoſe golden dayes of felicity (not ſeen long time before) in the laſt yeers of King *Henries* raign, and through the five yeers raign of King *Edward* the ſixth (a young Prince incomparably hopefull, and who by perfecting the work begun by his Father, paſſed all the Acts of his predeceſſors) till the beginning of Queen *Maries* Soveraignty; who coming to the Crown, and turning the ſtream of Religion, all things again yeilded to the Papiſts authority; whence not long after, that cruell tempeſt proceeded, the noiſe whereof hath come alſo to the eares of our age; many who ſuffered in that common ſhipwrack ſwimming out to theſe peacefull times, as to ſafe Harbours of everlaſting tranquillity.

Among theſe Maſter *Fox* made one, at that time ſheltred by the protection of the Duke his Schollar; yet not without the eyes of many, who for hatred, or envy looked askevv on him, and ſecretly laid vvaite for, by Doctor *Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, vvho both ſavv ſomething in him, vvhich he greatly feared, and alſo diſdained much, that the heir of one of the chiefeſt families in the Kingdom, and neereſt joyned to himſelf in friendſhip, ſhould by his company be depraved.

Of this man becauſe he was Maſter *Foxes* greateſt enemy, it will not be from our purpoſe to ſpeak ſomething further; that both their natures may the better be known.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was a man famous in his youth (for of his birth or parentage, I have no certainty:) one that ſtood in the midway, between good, and bad; and alwayes as he grew elder, growing worſe. Induſtry, wit, and eloquence, nature had beſtowed on him: his pride, craftineſſe, and deſire of bearing ſway, he learned of the Cardinall.

Hence were his abilities fit for any imployments, which he managed with exceeding diligence, to gain new honours; and having obtained them, he then put on boldneſſe inſtead of induſtry; flattery for obedience; and inſtead of fidelity deceit, and complements, and ſuch like frivolous faſhions of the Court. He was in bearing thoſe honours which his vertue wonne to him cruell, and proud: in regaining any that he loſt, able to weary any man with ſubmiſſion, and humility. For in his fortunes alſo appeared as great diverſity, as in his conditions. Some while he was pleaſing to King *Henry*, and high in his favour; having by his pen maintained the Kings authority againſt the Pope: Afterwards, when his prevaricating therein was underſtood, he was by the King ſlighted, and that he might be the leſſe able to do hurt, ſtript out of his dignity. Under *Edward* the ſixth he was, not onely neglected, but impriſoned, and abid the reproach of a mean eſtate. At length in Queen *Maries* raign he was ſet at liberty, and being again reſtored to his former honours, he exerciſed not ſomuch command as tyranny: till even ſick with enuy, that Cardinall *Pool* in dignity, outſhined him, and with height of honours, overſhaddowed his glory, having often, but ſtill in vain tryed to cure his malady with a Cardinalſhip, anger at length exaſperating his diſeaſe, he pined away.

After this manner began, and ended that man, commended for many excellencies of minde, while he lead a private life; but in his honours unbrideled, and of no moderation: Well might one ſay, Nature had made him a worthy man, and Fortune corrupted him.

Now Maſter *Fox* although he was cheriſhed in the boſome of a moſt loving Duke; yet after he ſaw all ſorts of men troubled for their Religions ſake, ſome impriſoned, and others burnt; in brief nothing on all ſides, but flight, ſlaughter, and gibbets; and that the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was the principle incendiary of all this, who for private reſpects was already his enemy; he then began to fear what might become of him, and to think of ſome ſpeedy way for his departure thence. As ſoone as the Duke knew his intent, gently chiding his fearfulneſſe, he uſed many words to perſwade him to leave all thought of going away: affirming, it neither agreeable to honour, or modeſty, for him to ſuffer his Tutor, ſo well deſerving at his hands, at any time of his life, to be taken from him: but that it ſhould then be done, was not beſeeming for him that deſired it. Let him but

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think with himself, how great a burthen of hatred, his Schollar must needs bear, among those who were ignorant, whether he forsook him of his own accord, or were forsaken by him: yet that he intreated not to be excused from any hatred, which might light upon him, if at least he might do it with Master *Foxes* commodity: but in flying, what misery would be wanting? Banishment, Poverty, Contempt, and among those which knew him not, the reproach of a Runagate. That he acknowledged all this lesse evill then death; but that it was not yet come to such extremity; neither would he suffer it should: That he had yet wealth, and favour, and friends, and the Fortune of his house: if the mischance prevailed further, himself would partake of the danger, and make the destruction common: That he remembred, with what precepts he had fortified his younger yeers; neither had he with more attention harkened to his instructions, then he would with constancy put them in practice: onely, let him be of good courage, and so avoide the violence of his enemies, as not to be weary of his friends company: That this he spake, as hoping by his authority to prevail with him: but if that might not be obtained, he would then further him in the course he intended.

There was in the Dukes speech the more credit, because it was known to proceed from the inbred sincerity of his heart, and a most tender good will towards him: and he grew now ashamed, not so much of that he had done in asking leave, as that he had believed his request might have been granted: But his modesty excused him: his answer being, that the same care befitted not the Lord, and his servant: That it was indeed for the Dukes honour, to defend his Tutor from any injury: but his own part, to have a care, least for his safety, the Duke might incurre apparent danger, or perpetuall trouble: neither that his fear wanted all excuse. For though he well knew the Duke could not be drawn from his promise, and good intentions towards him: yet was he not ignorant, that by some wile, or other, he might be circumvented, and deceived.

For even at that time was the Bishop of *Winchester* very intimate with the Duke, relying upon the ancient observance, he had alwayes used to that family, by whose credit he had increased his dignity. Thither he often resorted, to present his service to the Duke; and at severall times desired of him, that he might see his old Tutor. At first the Duke denied his request, one while alleadging his absence, another while that he was ill at ease; still after faining severall delayes, to put him of. At length it chanced, that Master *Fox* (not knowing the Bishop was within the house) entred the roome where the Duke, and he were in discourse; and seeing the Bishop, with a shew of bashfulnesse withdrew himself. The Bishop asking who that was; the Duke answered, His Physitian, who was somewhat uncourtly, as being new come from the University. I like his countenance, and aspect very well replyed the Bishop, and when occasion shall be, will make use of him. The Duke streight understood that speech, as the Messenger of some approaching danger; and now he himself thought it high time for Master *Fox* no longer to remain within the same City, or within the same Sea, against the force of a crafty, and then open deceiver; but by all means, the Bishops being sick, must be prevented. From that time he caused all things necessary for his flight, with the least noise that might be, to be provided; sending one of his servants before, to *Ipswich* Haven, to hire a Bark, and make ready all things needfull for the voyage: and because it seemed scarse safe, for Master *Fox* to stay in any Citie, or place of resort, he chose out the house of one of his servants a Farmer, where he might with convenience expect the warning of a faire winde to put to Sea. Thither Master *Fox* went as secretly as he could, taking his Wife as companion in his travels, then great with childe, but resolved to go with him, nor yeilding to the intreaty of those, who perswaded her to the contrary; and as soon as it was told him, his company expected him, he made hast to the Port, and went aboard.

Scarse had they wayed Anchor, when suddenly a rough winde rising from the contrary shoare, troubled the Sea with so great violence of waves, that the stoutest Marriners began to tremble; Then followed a dark night, with continuall showres, and a great multitude of cloudes gathered together into a thick storm of rain, and hail, both hindred the Sea-mens work, and took away all possibility

of the hatred, fatall to the ſucceſſors of great Empires, yet of a more noble ſpirit, then to return the like upon thoſe, who were to ſucceed her. As ſoon as ſhe came to the Kingdome, her ſeverall vertues appeared at once in their brighteſt luſtre; eſteeming all vices, as well as all men beneath her. Her minde therefore deſcended not to an overnice care of her body. The principles of her new Soveraignty were, to acquaint her ſelf with the publike reaſons of ſtate; To ſeek fit men to bear part of her cares; To ſtrengthen all parts of the Kingdome, with faithfull Miniſters; To know the natures, and abilities of thoſe about her; and to ſearch into the ſtrength, counſells, and attempts of forraign Princes: But all theſe qualities, if not well tempered, might have had (perhaps) no long continuance. Such therefore was her gravity, as nothing more pleaſing: Such her ſeverity, as nothing more gentle; and ſuch her frugality, as nothing more bountifull. Onely, ſhe knew no meaſure, in thoſe excellencies, whoſe glory is founded, not in the even ballancing of differing vertues; but as it were, in the throng of illuſtrious actions. So was the nobility of her birth, heaped with deſire of glory: Her Religion (though moſt ſincere) ſeconded with zeal to a holy life; and her beauty (though of it ſelf unparallel'd) enriched by a reſolution of perpetuall chaſtity. But when all theſe vertues brake forth into actions: (Good God) what dayes of happineſſe we then enjoyed? What ever more cheerfull, more ſecure, or wealthy did *England* ſee, then that four and forty yeers of peace? For never voluntarily did ſhe provoke any with warre, and alwayes preferred the juſtice of the quarrell before the victory: To the *Iriſh*, warre, honour, and ſhame to have loſt a Province enforced her: To the *French* piety, and pity of her neighbours danger: To the *Spaniſh*, her own ſafety, and neceſſity comprehending in it ſelf the force of all other cauſes, compelled her.

In the Progreſſe of this warre we heard of, and ſaw that which (perchance) never happened in any before. For other Nations, though they fought with never ſo mortall hatred each to other, yet were their battels reſtrained to ſome certain fields, and places; but this warre was ſo ſcattered over all places, and managed with ſuch haughtineſſe of courage on both ſides, that through all Seas, and Havens from Eaſt to Weſt, the Sunne might ſtill behold the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Navies fighting for their lives, honours, or eſtates. Never till then had that Sea, which was accuſtomed to no other command but ours, frothed with ſtrokes of forraign oares. Nor would a large Volume contain the diſcourſe, if I ſhould relate the number, and ſtatelineſſe of Ships, the ſtrength of Sea, and Land forces, the multitude of munition, engines, weapons, guns, and proviſion of victualls belonging to that Navy, which *Philip* the ſecond King of *Spain*, with intention to raze out the *Engliſh* name, ſent hither in the yeer of our redemption, 1588. Let this ſuffice; That never was any preparation by Sea comparable to this Fleet, made by any the moſt powerfull Princes, or States to be ſhewed in all the Records of Antiquity: Yet that ſo huge, and threatning *Armada*, ſwelling with ſelf confidence, and a preſumed hope of victory, was by the Fortune of this invincible Princeſſe, even in a moment, utterly defeated.

The Navies met together, for number and ſtrength unequall: But the manner of the fight was to the *Spaniards* diſadvantage, becauſe the *Engliſh* Veſſels being for bulk much leſſe, and lower built afore, could with more eaſe caſt about for the winde, and immediately having diſcharged, retire to open Sea; thereby deluding the ſluggiſh, and unweildy Ships of their enemies, and by levelling at the broad ſides of the *Spaniſh* Gallions, beſtowing their ſhot, with a more certain, and ſucceſſefull aym. To this, our Captains in the skill of Sea fight, and knowledge of the Tides, farre excelled the *Spaniſh* Commanders, who now taught by the former dayes experience, that they could no way, but in a ſet fight bear the *Engliſh* encounters, caſting their Anchors neer *Callice*, there expected new forces out of *Flanders*, and by the goodneſſe of their Ordnance defended themſelves. This laid them open to the *Engliſh* for the victory. For having filled ſome Ships with Tow, Pitch, Brimſtone, and all ſorts of materialls ſuddenly combuſtible, and ſetting them on fire, with a favourable tide, they drove them directly upon the enemies; who were by this action ſo exceedingly terrified, that the whole fleet, cutting their Cables as faſt as they could, betook themſelves headlong to flight. In which flight ſome of their Ships, were burnt, ſome ſunk, ſome forced

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to run themſelves on ſhore, ſome ſpilt upon the rocks, and ſome for haſt falling foul on their fellowes, and ſo torn, and bruiſed, were taken by our ſouldiers. Thoſe that ſcaped beſt, not daring to go back the ſame way they came thither, with long travail both by Sea and Land, returned at length into *Spain*, by the coaſts of *Scotland*, and the Ilands of the Orcades, through thoſe Seas, which in no age had been ſailed on, but by ſuch as were very good at flying.

Where ſo great vertues, and victories met together in one perſon, of neceſſity Envy would be an attendant, followed by hatred, and treacheries; which could not, by this moſt innocent Queen, be ſo avoided, but that her ſafety (upon whom the ſafety of almoſt all Nations in *Europe* depended) was, through all her life daily indangered. Which maketh me the rather wonder, what rare doctrine of our Adverſaries this may be, for pieties ſake which they pretend, perſecuting even vertue it ſelf, whereas (not onely in no heathen, but in none the moſt barbarous Nation, which doth at all acknowledge any Deity) it was never thought juſt to take revenge upon vertue (which certainly cometh neereſt to the nature of God) even in their enemies: unleſſe it be ſo, that the indulgence of the Chriſtian Religion may be ſo farre extended, that although we are commanded, to forgive our enemies, either they muſt not be vertuous, or they muſt not be forgiven. But evident enough it is, that in humane affaires, the deſires of men are often employed to one end, and the Will of God to another. By him was Queen *Elizabeth* protected alwayes, from the injuries, and wicked enterpriſes of her enemies, and brought, full of yeers to that honour, as to carry with her that glory unſpotted to heaven, which ſhe wan upon earth, envy now in vain barking at her after death, whoſe cauſe all poſterity doth patronage.

Now let us return to our Story.

Maſter *Fox*, when by his friends he underſtood the happy news in *England*, that Queen *Elizabeth* raigned, and that the ſtate of Religion was ſure; and ſo like to continue, about the end of that yeer, in which this was in hand, came back to his Country: So much ſpace he had taken to bethink himſelf, leaſt (if by any inconſtancy of the people, they ſhould grow weary of their preſent eſtate) he ſhould again be forced, to ſeek his fortunes abroad: beſides (his family being then increaſed with two children) he was fain to ſtay, till money might from home be ſent him, to bear his charges in travailing. But before he could get from thence, he was informed that ſome hard ſpeeches had paſſed of him, as if through pride, he had delayed to come, thereby ſeeking a ſhorter, and more ſpeedy way to preferment, as being due to him, when he ſhould be ſent for: This he knew to be a caſt of their cunning, who themſelves with all earneſtneſſe ſtriving for honours, feared Maſter *Fox*, as a man deſerving, and like (if he would) to be preferred before them. Yet he thought it not worth his labour, to make any excuſe for ſuch a crime, as would of it ſelf come to nothing: but equally deſpiſing injuries, and neglecting his own right, hid himſelf wholly in his Study.

As in our bodies it is commonly ſeen, that thoſe men are more healthfull, which uſe moderate diet, and exerciſe, then thoſe which exceed in either: So I ſuppoſe doth the caſe ſtand with our mindes, that he, who if Fortune hath given him no rule, preſcribeth none to himſelf, can hardly perſiſt in the ſoundneſſe of his duty; whereas he, who uſeth modeſty in his Fortunes, is alwayes more freſh, and vigorous for any illuſtrious undertakings. For Maſter *Fox*, being for his abilities famous and ſupported (as I before ſhewed) with the friendſhip of great perſonages, might with eaſe have attained to whatſoever his deſires had inclined him: but affecting neither riches, nor authority, the wiſhes of happy men, (though his deſerts were equall with any) yet was he well contented, to keep the conſcience of well-doing to himſelf, and that rewards ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of others. This I neither admit, as wholly to his commendation, nor yet finde fault with, as many have done: Let us at leaſt favour good men ſo farre, as to allow vertue, to chooſe what degree of Fortune it liſteth to ſhine in; or, if we will needs reſtrain it within certain limits, let us do it

to thoſe, who are good with hope of reward, as for them who are ſo for no deſigne, if their glory overwhelm us not, we ſhall not need to fear their multitude.

I ſhall write of a life, bearing continually true, and ſolid fruits, but not ſuch, whereon the Readers ſenſes may ſurfeit; where neither the rare ſtratagems of war, or peace ſhall be related, nor any ſuch diſcourſes as Writers uſe, when they intend to captivate the eares of the hearers. I am to ſpeak of a life paſſed over without noiſe, of modeſty at home, and abroad, of continuance, charity, contempt of the world, and thirſt after heavenly things; of unwearied labours, and all actions ſo performed, as might be exemplary, or beneficiall to others.

I have ſhewed before, that Mr *Fox* firſt applyed himſelf, to write the Hiſtory of the Church, whilſt he was at *Baſil*; and that the cauſe he did not there finiſh it, was, that he might afterwards uſe the teſtimony of more witneſſes. This work, not a little, vexed the mindes of the Papiſts. For well they ſaw that, in vain, they had ſpilt ſo much bloud, and to no effect, been guilty of ſo great cruelty, if an account of theſe proceedings muſt be rendred to ſucceeding ages: and that the work it ſelf could not be taken out of mens hands, they well underſtood: there was therfore no other hope left, but by charging the Author with falſhood, and feigning ſome cavils againſt him, ſo to leſſen his credit, and authority: which whilſt Mr *Fox* endeavoured to remove, and take away from himſelf, he could not avoid it, but muſt needs paſſe much the lawfull bounds of an Hiſtory, by a new heap of matters, and teſtimonies. And let us but by this, judge of the induſtry of our Author, that he not onely gathered together ſo many ſeverall things, as the materials of his work, from all diſtances of times, or places, and through all Shires of the Kingdom, collected the Acts of both Courts, and the Records of matters judged, but alſo alone, by a moſt diſtracted kinde of diligence, ſearched out, examined, freed even from motheating, and afteward reduced into convenient order thoſe things themſelves, being partly as it were ruſty, and eaten out by antiquity, partly by hatred, or flattery of Authors corrupted, and partly hid in the rugged, and ſhort form of old writing. I finde by the Authors own notes, that in the eleventh yeer after he began to write it, the work was finiſhed; and very probable it is, that work ſhall live, which was ſo long in bringing forth: Neither, in all that time, uſed he the help of any ſervant, about his writing, or other buſineſſes: So much doth induſtry employed to one purpoſe, and gathered into it ſelf, afford more uſefull aſſiſtance, then being ſcattered, and the minde divided into many cares at once, though it hath never ſo many helping hands. I have often begun to conſider with my ſelf, of thoſe two ſorts of toylings, which men eſteem an honour to undertake, which may be the more painful or more grievous, warfare, or ſtudying. Many things ſeem to make for both ſides, but not in ſhew alike perſwaſive. For the miſeries of Warre being grievous, not onely to thoſe who endure them, but even to thoſe that but hear them reported; as they give ſcope enough to the relator, ſo they make no light impreſſion, in the judgement of the ſenſe it ſelf: whereas the labour of ſtudying is chiefly conſiderable in the ſilent teſtimony of that, whereby life is maintained, and whereof, onely the Intellect can determine. Thus is the queſtion transferred to the Minde, and the Body, that of theſe two, that may be thought to have the better cauſe, whoſe evils do in greatneſſe outweigh the others. I will neither take to my ſelf authority, to decide ſo weighty a controverſie; nor yet will I conceal what I know many wiſemen to have thought, concerning that matter; which is this: That thoſe evills which happen to the body, though they may be exceſſively raging, and diſpleaſant, yet they uſe alwayes to determine in one of theſe three, wearineſſe, pain, or death; whereof the two firſt are curable by time, and aſſwaged by remedies, and the laſt valiant men uſe alſo to diſpiſe. Now the minde when it is overſtrained, though it produceth in ſome ſort the ſame miſchiefs, yet it ſtoppeth not at wearineſſe, or pain, but rather proceedeth to the ruine of that whereon even the life of man dependeth. For that in the evils of the minde, he who is once tyred, cannot by giving over his work for a while, or abating ſome part of his diligence in labour, recover again his former ſtrength; nor overcome the diſcommodities he ſhall thereby endure, though with never ſo great abundance of other contentments. They do therefore conclude, that there is as much more miſery in this ſober, then in that glorious kinde of warfare, as there is more danger in looſing an appetite to meat, or drink, then in having the meat, or

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drink it ſelf taken away; or to lye long ſick of a lingring conſumption, then to endure the ſmarting of a wound for the preſent: in ſumme, that in war, a man looſeth more of his pleaſures, but in eagerneſſe of ſtudying, more of himſelf.

The truth of this was, by Mr *Foxes* example confirmed, who when he had, for many yeers, left no time free, from thought of his ſtudy, either not at all, or not ſeaſonably affording himſelf what Nature required, was at length brought to that paſſe, that his naturall livelineſſe, and vigour being ſpent, neither his friends, nor kindred could by ſight remember him. By this means, he firſt fell into that withered leanneſſe of body, in which many afterward ſaw him, never again returning to that pleaſing, and cheerfull countenance, which he had before, but when he would by no means be perſwaded, to leſſen his accuſtomed labours, or lay aſide his ſtudy, to recreate himſelf, the cauſe of his hurt, not being removed, the ſignes thereof did likewiſe remain.

From this time Maſter *Fox* began to be much ſpoken of, for a good Hiſtorian; the other vertues of his minde, as they were leſſe known abroad, ſo being by that which was known overſhadowed. Shortly after, he began alſo for other endowments, to wax famous, not onely as a man learned, but as one for his friendlineſſe uſefull, and no leſſe by art, then a naturall inclination made to be helpfull to others. But modeſty will not allow me, by way of *Iournall*, to rehearſe the voluntary paines he took upon him: in generall to ſay ſomething of it will not be amiſſe; and how, either by good adviſe, comfortable perſwaſions, or a charitable hand, he either relieved the wants, or ſatisfied the deſires of innumerable perſons; whereupon no mans houſe was in thoſe times thronged with more clients then his. There repaired to him, both Citizens and ſtrangers; Noblemen, and Common-people of all degrees, and almoſt all for the ſame cauſe; To ſeek ſome ſalve for a wounded conſcience. At length, ſome who were likewiſe ſick in body, would needs be carried to him; but this, to ſtop rumours, he would not ſuffer to be uſed. For becauſe they were brought thither, they were by ſome reported to be cured.

Thus ſpending the day at home in ſuch like duties, frequently preaching abroad, and going to viſit thoſe, who were not able to come themſelves to him, he both fulfilled that, which by the curteſie of his own diſpoſition was injoyned him, and neglected not the performance of that duty, vvhich the office of his Miniſtery had impoſed upon him. That little time which his friends, either called away by other occaſions, or aſhamed of being too tedious, had left free to his own diſpoſure, he beſtowed not in ſleeping, or taking his pleaſure, but in prayer, and ſtudying; in both which, he alvvaies retired himſelf into ſome private place apart, or made uſe of the nights ſilence for ſecrecy, unleſſe by chance, ſometimes the vehement groans he mingled vvith his prayers, being heard by ſome that vvere neer the place, gave notice how earneſt he was in his devotions. For at no time of the night, could any man come, to finde his labours ended; but often hath the next mornings light ſeen the laſt of his nights care diſpatched.

Now although theſe things be true, yet well I know there are many, who will find fault, that I have ſo ſlightly paſſed them over; and demand, why I produce not the matters themſelves, as witneſſes of his actions, or at leaſt wiſe ſome particular example in each kinde, that they may with more ſecurity, give credit to the reſt. But many things there are, which hinder me from ſo doing. Firſt, that common civility forbiddeth us, to publiſh abroad that, which the conſcience of another hath committed to our ſecrecy; and a very ill example ſhould he give, who ſhould not rather by all meanes conceale, then make knowne to the world, the ſecrets of private houſes, the jarrings of friends, and ſuch privy ſlips in mens lives, whereof it may either aſhame, or repent them: Next, that the matters themſelves, which uſed in the greateſt privacy that might be, to be diſpatched, could by no meanes come to our knowledge; or if by ſuſpition ſomewhat were gathered, and that I ſhould inſtance in one or two particulars; yet what great aſſurance in the reſt, could they draw from hence.

I will now bring the laſt argument, I know not whither I ſhould ſay, of his ability, or induſtry; that he, who ſo wholly had given himſelf to pleaſure his friends, that he had ſet apart no time, for his other occaſions, yet wrote ſo much, as it might well have been believed, he had done nothing elſe.

I have here for their sakes, who may desire it, set down the titles of those Books he wrote; which are these, *Comædiarum libri 2. Syllogisticon. Admonitio ad Parliamentum. De lapsis per errorem in Ecclesiam restituendis. Oliva Evangelica. De Christo gratis justificante. De Christo crucifixo. Papa confutatus. Contra Osorium de Iustitia. Meditationes supra Apocalypsim. Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum Commentarii.* The *Acts* and *Monuments* of the Church.

We are now come so farre, as to be able from hence, to give the Readers a full sight at once, of the rest of Master *Foxes* life; which ought (I suppose) in like manner to please them, as we see those that travail, when they have been long tyred, with continuall rugged wayes, and rough forrests, and come at length into the plain, and champion Countries, are with the very change of soil not a little delighted, and refreshed.

In this (as it were) draught of his conditions, we shall first observe that, which might well be thought the chiefest of his vertues, to wit, a deliberate, and resolved contempt of all things, which are in greatest esteem among men, and especially of pleasures: which minde of his, whether inbred by Nature, acquired by discipline, or infused by God, did of necessity give him great ability, to perform with commendation in whatsoever he lifted to take in hand; there being nothing which can mislead the minde into errors, which would otherwise of it self hold the right way, but what proceedeth from some pleasure, or other; lying in waite to entrap us in our journey. But so did Master *Fox* hold play with these enemies, as one, who desired not to save himself, by flying, or shelter himself in some secret place of retire; but by often skirmishing, and experience in the manner of fight, to encrease his own strength, and give to others an example of fortitude; using to say: That they did no great matter, who forsook businesse, and employments in the world, least they should suffer themselves to be allured, and deceived by them. For, that the things were in themselves innocent, and then first of all grew hurtfull, when they were overvalewed, and pursued with waritious desire; which he that can beat back when it assaileth him, and striveth to break in upon him, is deservedly called temperate; but that he, who was never in any temptation, may rather seem, to have been good through want of occasion to be otherwise, then by his own vertue.

He never therefore declined the friendship of Illustrious personages; not to gain honor to himself, that thereby he saw his commendation would be more effectual, when he should desire favour on the behalf of others. The money, which sometime rich men offered him, he accepted, returning it back to the poor. He likewise frequented the Tables of his friends, not for his pleasure sake, being of a spare diet; but both in courtesie to keep them company, and lest any should imagine, he either feared, or fled from the wrastling, and striving with voluptuous encounters, or that he thought himself, by being absent, better defended against the pleasures incident to eating, and drinking, then by the guard of his own moderation. In a word, so did M *Fox* behave himself in those things which are followed by delights, that certain it is, none of those who were alwayes in his company, can remember any speech, or action of his, which might bewray the least shew of a desire to them; and so far was he from thirsting after honour, riches, applause, or any outward good, that he would at no time suffer the care of his private estate to enter his minde, much lesse that it should by taking thought for his houshold affairs, be overcome, or drawn aside: which either security of his, or as some called it, slothfulnesse in his own fortunes, I will hereafter declare whence it proceeded. In the mean time, whilst I consider the cause wherefore he thought all other things so much contemptible, especially since that could not be imagined to arise from any obstinate disdainfulnesse, much lesse, from a sleepinesse, or sluggishnesse of minde, I assure my self, it was onely the love of God, wherewith his minde was so filled, and so much delighted, that he left no room, nor any affection free for other pleasures, of his own accord seperating himself, from the fashions of the world, of which he was not otherwise incapable; and devoting himself wholly to this care, like one who had found an invaluable treasure, he bent his eyes and his minde upon this onely, neither hoping, nor expecting any thing besides, but resolved to make this the scope of all his wishes and desires:

Whereby

Whereby (as in ſuch a caſe muſt needs happen) it ſo fell out, that they, who obſerved his minde ſo ſtedfaſtly fixed upon God, and that he both ſpoke, and did many things beyond the opinion of an ordinary good man, believed that he could not be voide of ſome divine inſpiration; and now ſome began, not as a good man to honour him, but as one ſent from heaven, even to adore him, through the folly of mankinde, madly doting upon any thing, whatſoever their own will hath ſet up to be worſhipped.

I will neither mince the truth of any ſtory, nor will I with additions flatter report. Many things did Maſter *Fox* foretell, by occaſion of comforting the afflicted, or terrifying thoſe that were ſtubborne, to which the event proved after anſwerable, and (perchance) in many things he was deceived.

It hath been already related, with what conſtancy, whilſt he remained at *Baſil* among his baniſhed Countrymen, he ſignified the times of their return. It is likewiſe well known, what anſwer he gave, concerning that noble, and vertuous woman, the Lady *Anne Hennage*, who lying ſick of a violent Feaver, when the diſeaſe had ſo farre increaſed, that the Phyſitians had pronounced it deadly, Maſter *Fox* was called to be preſent at her ending, whoſe counſell and fidelity ſhe had often made uſe of, in matters appertaining to her ſoules health. After he had performed what he came for, in reading prayers, and comforting the ſick woman, with ſuch perſwaſions as ſeemed good to him; Well have you done (ſaid he) and according to your duty, to prepare your ſelf for all events, but know this from me, that of this ſickneſſe you ſhall not dye. By chance, among thoſe who ſtood by, was Sir *Moxle Finch*, a well known, and honourable Knight, the Ladies Sonne in Law, who either moved with ſo unuſuall a ſpeech, or deſirous to get ſomewhat more out of him, as ſoon as Maſter *Fox* was a little withdrawn from the reſt of the company, began ſeemingly to chide with him; telling him that he could not but marvell, what his intent was, that contrary to the opinion of the Artiſts, he being an unskilfull man, ſhould preſume to determine the end of the diſeaſe, and by ſo doing, bring the ſick woman, by condition of her ſex wavering, yet hitherto undiſmayed, to an impatience of dying, by giving her this hope, and expectation of life: if his mother-in-law might be likely to live, that no man had more cauſe of joy then himſelf; but if her death, were indeed at hand, it befitted no man leſſe to diſſemble it, then he, who ought to provide for the good of her ſoul: that he did therefore, for the friendſhip he bare him, much fear, leaſt, by that untimely word, he had loſt a great part of the good opinion, which men had formerly of his truth, and modeſty. To this Maſter *Fox* ſmiling made anſwer, That for his part he hindred not any man to think of him, as he pleaſed; but concerning the ſick Lady, it had ſo ſeemed good unto God, that ſhe ſhould recover of that diſeaſe; and that he had ſaid no more then was commanded him. The Lady recovered: nor can I in this tell an untruth, there being many yet living, who could reprove me.

Like to this, and no leſſe true was that ſtory of Miſtris *Honiwood*, an honourable Gentlewoman, who had almoſt twenty yeers lain ſick of a conſumption through melancholy, neither did any one ſeem to have advice, or courage ſufficient againſt the force of ſo miſchievous a diſeaſe, though ſhe had already conſulted with the graveſt Divines, and the beſt Phyſitians, and with all, who either in the art of curing, or power of perſwading were accounted to excell the reſt. At length ſhe ſent alſo for Mr *Fox*. They who went along with him thither related afterward, that never had they entred into a more heavy, or afflicted houſe. There ſate by the ſick woman to attend her, her friends, kinsfolk, children, and ſervants, ſome upon ſeats, and ſome on the Chamber-floor, not weeping, or ſighing, as thoſe commonly do that lament, but having ſpent all their tears, reſolutely ſilent, neither riſing to thoſe that came in, nor anſwering thoſe who asked any queſtion, as if that alſo became their mourning; you might have gueſt them ſo many ſtatues of mourners in humane likeneſſe. The ſick woman lay upon her bed, without any hope of life, together with her frequent ſighes, faintly breathing forth ſome few words, the effect whereof was, that ſhe deſired to end her dayes. Maſter *Fox* when he had ſo many patients under his hands at once, not thinking fit, where a grief ſo violent would make ſtrong reſiſtance, to attempt any thing in vain, leaſt, in not being by reaſon overcome, they might ſeem to have had reaſon on their ſides, left all other means of conſolation, and what he thought neceſſary to cure their

afflicted mindes, he diligently mingled with his prayers; so that within a few dayes, they who were thought impossible, by mans help to be cured, did now seem, of their own accord, to begin to recover. At length, having farther endeared himself, he then told her, that she should not onely grow well of that consumption, but also live to an exceeding great age. At which words the sick Gentlewoman a little moved, and earnestly beholding Master *Fox*: As well might you have said (quoth she) that if I should throw this glasse against the wall, I might beleeve it would not break to pieces; and holding a glasse in her hand, out of which she had newly drunk, she threw it forth; neither did the glasse, first by chance lighting on a little Chest standing by the Bed side, and afterward falling upon the ground, either break, or crack, in any place about it: And the event fell out accordingly. For the Gentlewoman, being then threescore yeers of age, lived afterward for all example of felicity, seldome seen in the off-spring of any family, being able, before the 90. yeer of her age (for she lived longer) to reckon three hundred and threescore of her childrens [a] children, and grandchildren.

[a] Among which at this day, to wit, in the yeer of our Lord, 1641. in which this Book is set forth, there liveth Mrs *Grace Heanage*, the daughter of the said Mistris *Honywood*, a Gentlewoman of great worth, and the Widdow of an honourable Gentleman, Master *Michael Heanage* who affirmeth, that she was present at the same time, this was done, being a witnesse of more integrity, and more sincere, then that her testimony should without great wrong be doubted of.

I could here relate many stories of like nature, but they, for the most part, being dead, who might justifie the particulars, I will not intreat to be believed, where I cannot bring proof enough to deserve it. That which followeth is more commonly known, then that it should need to be confirmed by witnesses.

Master *Fox* went one day, in duty, as his custome was, to see the Earl of *Arundel*, Sonne to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Father to this Right honourable Earl now living. The Earl, in his curtesie, when he was going away, brought him to the water side, at the lower end of his Garden; but observing the River very rough by the suddain rising of the windes, he counsailed Master *Fox*, not to trust himself, in so boisterous a tempest, upon the waters: But he continuing in his resolution of going; So my Lord (quoth he) let these waters deal with me, as I have in truth, and sincerity delivered to you all that I have spoken: and with that entring into the Boat, before they could put of from the Bridge, the winde ceased, and the River began to run with a smother stream.

Being often asked by his familiar friends, why he had no more regard to the straightnesse of his own estate, it being the first precept of Charity to begin at home, his answer was; that God by his Covenant had the charge of his affairs, who well knew, both what was fit for him, and when to bestow it; and since he had never yet failed him, when could he begin to doubt of him, without manifest ingratitude?

These and such like things, although by all men much wondred at, yet dare I not presume to affirm, what that was in all these actions, which did principally tend to Master *Foxes* commendation: whether it be, that the minde by how much the purer, and more sublime it is, seeth so much the farther: or whether there be some hidden cause, why God may be pleased sometimes to declare his purposes, by men, not speaking out of their own knowledge, but as they are moved.

We must make hast now to other matters, in which there was nothing, that so much wan to Master *Fox* the love of people, as the pity he usually shewed to all sorts of men in distresse; and some you may finde, who affirm that Master *Fox*, not onely gave away to the poor his money, but his cloathes, and houshold stuff also, without his Wives privity; which modesty forbiddeth me to maintain for truth. For since I know well enough, that many things, concerning the rest of his behaviour, have been either feigned, or amplified by the affections of men, I ought not a little to suspect, least in this they have done the like. True it is that Master *Fox* gave largely to the poore, and therein exceeded the measure of his own substance, but that his bounty ever proceeded to the disfurnishing of his house, I neither have any Author worth the credit, who avoucheth it: nor is it likely, that he should descend to such extream courses, who by the liberality of others, that supplyed him with money to that purpose, wanted not sufficient means to shew his Charity.

All these vertues of his were fenced about, as with a Bulwark, by a singular modesty, and integrity of life; which suffered not any thing either to enter into his manners, or to break forth in his actions, but what was first with much diligence searched into, and examined, whether it might beseem him, or not; which also, having alwayes before him, if at any time (by the condition of mans frailty) ought

within

within began to be ſhaken, yet was proviſion quickly made, before the matter proceeded to any great breach in his manners, by forſaking all commerce with any kinde of vices, againſt which the ſhame to do evill, and the regard he had to his own credit, kept a continuall watch, and ward.

Yet for all this there want not ſome, who accuſe Maſter *Fox* of injuſtice, in the higheſt degree; which injury, becauſe many are intereſſed in, I ſhall further inquire into.

Maſter *Fox* in that part of his Hiſtory, wherein he deſcribeth the lamentable troubles in the five yeers raign of Queen *Mary*, hath by name mentioned, not onely the Authors of thoſe executions, but alſo many, who were but Miniſters, and Aſſiſtants, among whom were ſome perſons of great note. This, ſome of their poſterity complain to have been done unjuſtly by Maſter *Fox*, and that the fatall neceſſity of thoſe times, their modeſty in obeying, or the publike offices impoſed upon them, ought not to be a ſcandall to them, or their poſterity. Now though I might juſtly anſwer theſe men, that the ſame excuſe of neceſſity, which they alleadge for their Anceſtors, ought to ſuffice on Maſter *Foxes* behalf, ſince he could no way leave the Miniſters nameleſſe, but he ſhould leave his adverſaries occaſion of cavilling at his ſtory: yet willingly would I give them further ſatisfaction, then they can in juſtice challenge; deſiring, that what hath been done might poſſibly have been done otherwiſe, and intreating them, not to ſuppoſe that done with a thought of hurting, which was onely the Fortune of thoſe who were hurt; in the mean while (notwithſtanding) I adviſe them, that they joyn not their grief, with the anger of thoſe men, who are offended with Maſter *Fox* for a farre different cauſe, and under colour of the perſons, ſtrike at a matter of another condition, there being two ſorts of men, who in this reſpect complain they are injured, the one out of nature, the other out of faction. To the firſt, as their due, I willingly grant all benefit, that curteſie can afford them. Though they are angry, they are ſtill ſubjects, and in their obedience: neither would I make ſo light of the grief, though unjuſtly taken, by any good Subject, as not rather to looſe a part of my right, then that he ſhould relinquiſh any part of his loyalty. To the laſt, I have ſomewhat elſe to ſay, as to men, who had the Fortune to fall out firſt with their Country, and to have that, as the true, and principall cauſe of their hatred: then, to grow angry with Maſter *Fox*, whom they hate not, but for their Countries ſake. To theſe men I am ſo farre from thinking any ſatisfaction due, as that I cannot afford them the favour of reaſoning with them, which is granted even to enemies. For, the ſafety of civill entercourſe, and all hope of reconcilement they have taken away, and broken all ties of humane ſociety: And what can I hope he ſhould ever after do, either like an underſtanding man, or like a man at all, who could forſake his duty to his Country? which alone ſo draweth into it ſelf the power, and right of all duties, that according as any man ſheweth more or leſſe love towards it, ſo may the moſt infallible judgement be given, how he ſtandeth affected towards God. But if they ſay, their Country hath failed in its duty: Firſt, that will be a queſtion, whether it hath failed or not, and how farre it hath failed; but it is without all controverſie their duty, to let paſſe any diſcontent for their Countries ſake: Next, how bold a face muſt he have, who being himſelf a party to an Action, of which God onely can determine, ſhould preſume to make himſelf his own Judge, and (not content to have ſet at nought that authority, which among men is moſt weighty) neither grant to his Country ſpace of appealing, nor awaite the judgement of Almighty God, but as if he had already wonne the day, ſeize all things before hand by foul, and ſtubborne attempts, and rather gratifie an enemy with his diſloyalty, then performe his duty to his Countrey ſo well, deſerving it? So that if it ſhould happen at any time, that this famous Kingdome (which is not impoſſible in this ſtate of humane weakneſſe) ſhould erre in any part of duty towards God, yet might moſt dangerous examples of treachery be given, if when any man ſhall have a deſire to his Countries deſtruction, he may by excuſe of his Countries crime, not onely ſeem to have quitted himſelf of ſo hainous a fault, but alſo to have done what his duty required.

This I have ſpoken of the more largely, becauſe I underſtand, that many of our own

own party think fit, that ſome anſwer ſhould be made to the Papiſts, concerning the evill ſpeeches they have uſed againſt Maſter *Fox*. To ſatisfie whoſe deſire in a few words, let us firſt ſee what thoſe evill ſpeeches are: That he is a lying Author: It is therefore a lye, that Maſter *Rogers*, Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, Biſhop *Hooper*, Biſhop *Ridley*, Biſhop *Latimer*, and other moſt holy, and innocent men of the ſame train were burned for their Religion. But if this, even by their own confeſſion be true, what (I marvail) may thoſe matters be, by whoſe falſhood the reſt of the whole work hath incurred the infamous title of a lye, as they do make their followers beleeve: Somethings they alledge miſtaken in the names, or number of ſuch as ſuffer, or in the time of their ſuffering, which were either recalled in the following editions, or by the Author ſo well defended, that as long as he lived no man exclaimed any more. Somethings they likewiſe urge in the Hiſtory of former ages, contradicted by the Hiſtoriographers themſelves, which they might eaſily do, in ſo great contention of differing opinions, that whatſoever Author a man ſhould follow, he muſt ſtill fall into the ſame inconvenience. Yet all they can ſay is of ſuch a nature, as neither we much care if it were true, nor they if it be falſe. But let us (if you will) grant them ſomewhat, and be liberall of M *Fox* his right: If I ſhall take quite out of the Hiſtory, all that they have ſaid to be falſe, will they then promiſe me to ſuffer their followers, with freedome to read the reſt? They will no more yeild to this condition, then they will be contented to be quiet: What ſhall a man do to ſuch men, as are never ſatisfied, whether you grant that they pleade for, or deny it them? And how great a frowardneſſe it were, to expect from any Author, that in the whole courſe of ſo long a ſtory, whileſt one man doth with his own onely labour, handle ſo many ſeverall matters, he ſhould never ſo much as miſtake any thing; As well might they tax that moſt accompliſhed Writer *Iulius Cæſar*, with telling a lye, if where he deſcribeth our Ile of great *Britain*, he ſhould be chance in the circuit of any Iland, or paſſage from one place to another, differ by a few miles from later accompt, who (indeed) wrote the Hiſtory of his warres and expeditions, with that truth he ought to do, but in the reſt followed the common report, and believed the relations of others, not willing to be over curious in things of no great importance.

And thus much it ſeemed good to me to anſwer, rather out of the opinion of ſome of our own ſide, then that my ſelf thought it neceſſary: But if our adverſaries themſelves require a further anſwer, I will deal with them upon other terms: Let them firſt return to their obedience, make ſatisfaction to their Country, and then proſecute their private diſpleaſures, when they are clear of all publike offences: But if they will needs run on ſtill in this heat, and after they have neither any hope, nor credit left, think to frighten us with railing, I ſhall (for my part) be well content, to let them gain as much commendation for their good pleading, as they have reaped fruit in that courſe of life they have heretofore uſed; and to allow them this double glory, neither in evill doing, nor in evill-ſpeaking to have any fellowes: If this condition ſeemeth over hard, yet (at leaſt) let them equall the dignity of that Hiſtory, they ſo much carp at. Let them be Authors of equall credit. So would the fight be more honourable, if they might with as much dammage to themſelves be overcome, as they ſhould with advantage get the victory. If otherwiſe it be their deſire, to purchaſe to themſelves ſome blaſt of fame, by cavilling at this laſting work, in their pamphlets, and underhand invectives, not ſuch as the judgements of underſtanding men, but the fancies of ſome eaſier women; is there any man ſo ſenſeleſſe, as by oppoſing them, to make thoſe writings of longer continuance, which would, by being countenanced, in a ſhort time be quite forgotten?

Now further, that they may underſtand, how much their ill language hath made more for Maſter *Fox* his honour, then reproach, I will ſpeak a word or two of his moderation towards them. I could produce letters of his, wherein he perſwadeth the Lords, and others, who then held the places of chiefeſt authority, not to ſuffer *Edmund Campian*, and his fellow conſpirators to be put to death, nor to let that cuſtome continue longer in the Kingdome, that death rather then ſome other puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on the Papiſt offendors. And, leaſt he might ſeem onely out of the goodneſſe of his Nature, and not out of the judge-

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ment of his minde to have ſo ſpoken, he there endeavoureth to prove by many reaſons, how much it was to the weakning of the cauſe, rather to follow the example of their Adverſaries, in appointing puniſhments, then their own mildneſſe; and that they much rather ought to ſtrive, as well in mercy, and clemency to overcome them, as they had already in the juſtice of their cauſe got the upper hand. This he repeated often, adventuring, even till he was in danger of giving offence by his importunity, to entreat for them. Whereas on the other ſide the Lords gave him to underſtand: That this was a matter of ſtate, not of controverſie: That the Kings life, the publike liberty, and the aſſurance of the Kingdome reſted on this point, that Subjects ought by their own perill to be warned, how they grow too prodigall of their Countries bleſſings. That ſuch was the eſtate of the Kingdome, as that nothing could be more glorious, or more ſecure, if the Subjects, onely, would conſent, to keep their abilities to their Countries uſe, nor had it further failed of that felicity, then it had been hindred by the revolts, and conſpiracies of our own men. Yet for all this did Maſter *Fox* continue in his opinion; and though he could by intreaty gain nothing, yet would he with many ſighes teſtifie his ſorrow, as often as he heard, that any of them were put to death.

And thus having ſeen his moderation to the perſons, it will not be out of the way, to adde in generall what he thought of the Church of Rome, and the Biſhop thereof, as farre as may be gathered out of his ſpeeches, when being of ripe yeers, he had ſtrengthned his judgement with much experience.

The Heads of his opinions were theſe:

That among the Chriſtian Churches, the *Romane* had been in dignity alwayes chiefeſt, and of moſt Antiquity. That it retained this dignity and opinion many ages after, by little and little growing to greater authority, not by conſent of people, or by any right to that claim, but by reaſon of a certain inclination and cuſtome among men, that where any chance far to excell others, they firſt begin to be powerfull among the reſt, and at length to exerciſe command over them. That the greateſt honour and authority it had, was among theſe Weſtern Kingdoms, which, as every one moſt affected the Chriſtian Religion, ſo were they by the diligence and piety of the *Romanes* moſt aſſiſted, in which reſpect, it had not ill deſerved to be called the Mother of thoſe Churches. That the occaſion of ſo greaſ an increaſe was, that the City of *Rome* being of ſo ancient renown, and as it were by deſtiny, appointed Monarch of the World, in all ages abounding with men of great courage and vertue, being well peopled, wealthy, uſefully ſeated, and alwayes under the Emperours ſight, eaſily afforded this convenience, that at the firſt, the Chriſtians could no where meet together with leſſe trouble, more plentifully be provided for, more ſafely be concealed, or, when need was, die with more conſtancy: all which made poſterity ſo much to admire, and honour them. That the Church at firſt flouriſhed, rather in good diſcipline, and the approved holineſſe of the profeſſors, then in the aboundance of riches, there being yet no looſeneſſe, no pride or ambition found in the manners of the Clergy, and money, ſervants, Lands, Jewells, and ſuch like goods altogether unknown to them; in fine, all things ſo reſtrayned, either by modeſty in uſing what they had, or contentedneſſe in wanting what they had not, as that in *Rome* onely, ſeemed to be the ſeat of Chriſtian Religion. That all this was with moſt ſtrictneſſe obſerved, in the times neareſt to the Churches infancy; but in proceſſe of time, by little and little began to be neglected, and corrupted, after the ſame manner as rivers, whoſe ſtreams neer their head being ſmalleſt and cleareſt, the farther they proceed, run in a larger channell, but with more troubled waters; till at length, by mixture with the Sea, they grow alſo unwholſome; and though in no one place, we can perceive where they are, any jot, changed from their firſt purity; yet may we eaſily enough finde a great difference, if we compare the extremes together. For, that in the Church it ſo fell out, that having brought all Nations to the Chriſtian faith, after they once began to think it for the honour of the Empire, that the Prieſts ſhould no longer (as they had formerly accuſtomed) endure poverty, but live in a more plentifull way, to which purpoſe the Emperours granted many things to the Church-men, both as an ornament and reward to them, then alſo the Prieſts began, firſt to be taken with the

love

love of riches, then by degrees to grow wanton through aboundance, and not care how little pains they took, after (as alwayes the ſucceeding age addeth to the vices of the former) they affected power alſo, which when they had once obtained, and by the Emperors gift, received the command of the Church, they gave not over, till (having caſt down the Emperours, by whoſe bounty they had ſo prevailed) they both invaded the priviledges of the Empire, and now laid claim to both Spirituall and Temporall Government; in the mean while neglecting thoſe rules of Religion, which their predeceſſors had preſcribed them, neither themſelves much ſearching the Scriptures, nor permitting others to do it; and eſteeming the Worſhip of God to conſiſt, rather in outward devotion, and pomp of Ceremonies, than in the Obedience of Faith. That by this means it ſo came to paſſe, that the Church of *Rome* (as all other immoderate Empires) not onely fell from that high degree it once held, but alſo ſubverted in it ſelf the very ſubſtance, and ſtate of a Church: nor that this ought to ſeem ſtrange, if, as the moſt healthfull bodies fall into ſickneſſe with moſt danger, ſo it befalleth, that the prime of all Churches ſhould have no mean, but either remain in the perfection of health, or become the moſt dangerous enemy to it; and that for this cauſe the Pope now ſeemed to be Antichriſt. That notwithſtanding the caſe was ſo plain, yet neither part ought to lend too much belief to Arguments, nor be too earneſt in hindering it, if by any moderation of men the matter might be brought to ſoundneſſe and agreement. That it was not (perchance) in our power, to take from *Rome* her ancient honour, and the opinion of her religion ſo fixed already in the mindes of men. That the Church of *Rome* had fallen by her own covetouſneſſe, ambition, and prevarication; but, that never any man had gone ſo farre in ſinning, as that repentance had not pierced as farre. That therefore it were fit to allow them, as a returning to repentance, ſo ſome convenient means to move them to it, and ſufficient ſpace to repent in. That it might be the Author diſliked them, becauſe a *Germane*, or *French* man, and not an *Italian* of their own Nation had told them of their errors. That there might one day among their own men be found ſome, by whoſe authority they ſhould not be aſhamed to amend their faults, and with more willingneſſe part with their own power, to procure the peace of the whole world. That there was at leaſt this hope left, it might ſo fall out, that they had no further erred in the Articles of Faith, than that they would not ſuffer too much to be known. That the conditions of agreement would be, firſt, that the Pope ſhould forſake all thoſe tenents, by which he gained ſo great ſums of money; there being nothing, whereto the people might with more difficulty be perſwaded, than, that Chriſt, the Saviour of the world, had inſtructed his Church in the wayes of money, and ſetting Scriptures to ſale. Next that he ſhould renounce all ſecular juriſdiction, and not ſuppoſe himſelf to have title, or any thing to do with the right of Princes. That on the other ſide his oppoſers ſhould not refuſe, that ſome one man may have the principall place of counſell, and government in the Church-affairs, as being a thing, which would have many conveniences in it, when it might be done with ſecurity; neither that the *Romane* Church had once fallen, ought to make againſt it, nor that it had firſt flouriſhed, to prevail for it, herein to be preferred before any other, but that all this was to be left to the diſcretion of a Generall Councell of the Chriſtians, which might be ſo equitable, as that neither the power, or favour of any one ſhould be able, either from the place of meeting, or the difference in number of voices to promiſe it ſelf any advantage to the injury of the reſt. That in the mean while it would be of great moment to the hope, and ſpeedineſſe of ſetling all controverſies, if hereafter on both ſides they would give ſuch inſtructions, as might cauſe in each party a better hope and opinion of the other, eſpecially that they ought to leave off that ſtubborn conceit, whereby each of them, preſuming it ſelf to be the onely true Church, ſuppoſeth the other excluded. For that it were not onely wicked, but alſo highly to the diſhonour of God, to think that he had ſo given his Commandements to mankinde, as that they ſhould be turned to the deſtruction of thoſe that obey them; which muſt of neceſſity come to paſſe, if when all men will not conſent in the ſame opinion, they who underſtand moſt ſhall refuſe to admit of the reſt, Was therefore the Kingdom of Heaven reſerved onely for the more underſtanding ſort, and thoſe that know moſt? Where ſhould then the fools

of

of the world be, where ſhould little children be, whom Chriſt had ſet apart for himſelf? How much better ſhould we ſerve God, by following that which was evident, then by interpreting that which was doubtfull? How much more probable were it, that Gods mercy was ſo abundant, as when men were once agreed in point of generall obedience, there ſhould nothing elſe be laid to their charge. For, that the force of obedience was before God ſo great, as thereby onely all other inequalities might be made even; but if all were not in equall condition, that certainly with God they were beſt eſteemed, who judged with moſt modeſty of others.

From Maſter *Fox* his enemies, I will now paſſe to his friends, among which I have already ſhewed, with how great affection he was beloved by the Duke of *Norfolk*, being by his bounty maintained in his life, and after his death, by the penſion he beſtowed on him, which his ſonne, the Right Honourable Earl of *Suffolk*, to whom thoſe revenewes deſcended, out of his liberality confirmed.

His Fortunes were encreaſed by the Lord *William Cecill*, then Lord Treaſurer, a man beyond expreſſion excellent, whom it as much availed Queen *Elizabeth*, to have for her Miniſter, as it availed the Kingdom, to have *Elizabeth* for their Queen; and without doubt moſt deſerving, that in himſelf, and his poſterity, he ſhould flouriſh in that Kingdome, which he had by his wiſedome, and adviſe made moſt flouriſhing. He of the Queens gift, obtained for Mr *Fox* the Rectory of *Shipton*, upon no other inducement but his publike deſert, and when Maſter *Fox* delayed, and after his manner entreated leave to excuſe himſelf, the Lord *Cecill* politiquely overcame his baſhfulneſſe, by telling him, that he neither accepted that for an anſwer, nor had he deſerved, that the blame of Maſter *Foxes* refuſing the Queens gift, ſhould be laid upon him, as if he had been his hindrance.

To the Earls of *Bedford*, and of *Warwick*, he was very acceptable, and approved by them for the likeneſſe of his inclination.

He was very intimate with Sir *Francis Walſingham*, Secretary of State, a prudent and vigilant man, and one who deſervedly was the firſt that advanced the power of the Secretariſhip.

The two brethren, Sir *Thomas Hennage*, and Maſter *Michael Hennage*, he entirely affected, the firſt for the ſweetneſſe of his behaviour, the other for his ſolid learning, and ſingular modeſty of life, and though they were each of them in their kinde moſt accompliſhed Gentlemen, yet was he wont to ſay, that Sir *Thomas Hennage* had as much as was requiſite any way, to a compleat Courtier, but that Maſter *Michael Hennage* had both all his brother in himſelf, and that beſides of his own, which the Court had not corrupted.

To Sir *Druc Dury* he bare (likewiſe) ſingular affection, as to a man of ſincere intentions, and of great conſtancy in all Fortunes, and (perchance) the onely man in the Court, who continued his favour, without loſſe of his freedome.

Among the Prelates he principally reverenced Doctor *Grindall* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Doctor *Elmar* Biſhop of *London*, Doctor *Pilkington* Biſhop of *Durham*, and Doctor *Nowell* Dean of *Pauls*, who were his partners in baniſhment at *Baſil*.

Among the Writers of his time, he preferred before the reſt Doctor *Humphrey*, Doctor *Whitaker*, and Doctor *Fulk*, with whoſe learning he was wondrouſly delighted, and eſteemed it no ſmall benefit to be again beloved by them.

But with none had he more familiar acquaintance, then with Maſter *Iohn Crowly*, and Maſter *Baldwine Collins*, whoſe counſell he made uſe of in all his affairs, eſpecially of Maſter *Collins*, concerning whom he was wont to ſay, that he knew not, which had greateſt ſhare in him, excellence of knowledge, or modeſty of minde.

Among military men, Sir *Francis Drake* was much delighted with his familiarity; whom to commend neer the times, he lived in, were needleſſe, but to commend him to poſterity, according to his deſert, many volumes would ſcarce ſuffice.

Among the Citizens of *London*, he alwayes found great good will; eſpecially with Sir *Thomas Greſham*, Sir *Thomas Roe*, Alderman *Bacchus*, Maſter *Smith*, Maſter *Dale*, and Maſter *Sherington*, who had him in great account and eſtimation, being part of them ſuch as had borne the higheſt places of honour in the City, and part of them Merchants of great ſubſtance.

I paſſe by many, who (perchance) had as great ſhare in Mr *Fox* his friendſhip,

as

as any of theſe; nor ought it to be accounted a fault, if I either knew not, or remembred not all: But this I ought not to let ſlip, (as being the chiefeſt cauſe, why I thought fit to mention the forenamed worthy men) That theſe were they, from whom, I before ſaid, Maſter *Fox* received ſuch large ſummes of money, to devide among the poore: which although they did with ſo much privacy, as that they truſted not to meſſengers in delivering it, not regarding any outward praiſe, their well doing might procure them, knowing the conſcience thereof to be as much as they needed to deſire; Yet was it not fitting for me in Maſter *Fox* his Hiſtory to diſſemble it, or to give any man occaſion, to ſuppoſe the truth not opened by Maſter *Fox*, though they themſelves thought good to neglect the fruit of ſo great liberality, eſpecially, ſince it may aboundantly ſerve for commendation of both him, and them, that they ſhould be known by their own actions, and he by none but his own.

He uſed alwayes among his friends, a pleaſant kinde of familiarity, wherewith he ſeaſoned the gravity, and ſeverity of his other behaviour.

Being once asked at a friends Table, what diſh he deſired to be ſet up to him, to begin his meal with, he anſwered, the laſt; which word was pleaſantly taken, as if he had meant ſome choicer diſh, ſuch as uſually are brought for the ſecond courſe; whereas he rather ſignified the deſire he had to ſee dinner ended, that he might depart home.

Going abroad (by chance) he met a woman that he knew, who pulling a Book from under her arme, and ſaying, See you not that I am going to a Sermon, Mr *Fox* replyed, But if you will be ruled by me, go home rather, for to day you will do but little good at Church; and when ſhe asked, At what time therefore he would counſell her to go; Then (anſwered he) when you tell no body before hand.

It hapned at his own Table, that a Gentleman there ſpake ſomewhat too freely againſt the Earl of *Leiceſter*, which when Maſter *Fox* heard, he commanded a Bowl filled with Wine to be brought him, which being done: This Bowl (quoth he) was given me by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, ſo ſtopping the Gentleman in his intemperate ſpeeches without reprehending him.

When a young man, a little too forward, had in preſence of many, ſaid, that he could conceive no reaſon, in the reading of the old Authors, why men ſhould ſo greatly admire them. No marvail indeed, (quoth Maſter *Fox*) For if you could conceive the reaſon, you would then admire them your ſelf.

I could ſpeak of many ſtories of this kinde, but that I will not exceed my intended limits too farre.

At length having in ſuch actions, and ſuch behaviour ſpent out his age, being now full of yeers, and ſtored with friends, ere he had quite paſſed through his 70th yeer he dyed, not through any known diſeaſe, but through much age. Yet did he foreſee the time of his departure, nor would ſuffer his ſonnes (which notwithſtanding he entirely loved) to be preſent at his death, but forbad the one at any hand to be ſent for, and ſent the other on a journey three dayes before he died, then calling both of them unto him, when he well knew, though they made never ſo great haſte, they ſhould come too late; whether he thought them unable to bear ſo heavy a ſpectacle, or would not have his own minde at that time troubled with any thing that might move him to deſire life. Which to me and my brother was the moſt grievous of all chances, that thereby we could neither come to cloſe his eyes, to receive his laſt bleſſing, and exhortations, nor ſatisfie our mindes with that laſt ſight of him. Perchance we could, with more patience have endured to ſee the fainting approahces of his death drawing on, than to have loſt in him ſo good an example how to die.

Upon the report of his death the whole City lamented, honouring the ſmall Funerall which was made for him, with the concourſe of a great multitude of people, and in no other faſhion of mourning, than as if among ſo many, each man had buried his own father, or his own brother.

AD

AD LECTOREM.

COntendentibus à me multis, idque sæpenumero, ut Patris mei vitam, ante triginta annos a me conscriptam posteritati donarem; cum nulla nova res acciderit, propter quam (vel me tacente) judicio posterorum de clarissimo viro diffiderem; multa autem me nunc necessaria huic instituto deficerent, excessu eorum, in quorum testimonio fides rerum continebatur: non dubitavi quin & prioris recusationis meæ veniam apud cunctos consequi, & si in recusando perseverarem, hujus quoque libertatis jus tenere facile potuissem. Sed cum viderem homines alienos, & consuetudinis ejus prorsus ignaros, hoc suum negotium feciſſe, ut de vita ejus scriberent; de qua nihil nisi per vagas, & fortuitas auditiones doceri potuerunt; eoque fieri, ut multa de eo supra quam facta sunt, extulerint; multa secus quam facta sunt narrarint; plurima ignoratione præterierint; qui adolescens supremis ejus vitæ temporibus perpetuus interfui, & cum abessem propiores causas cognoscendi quicquid attentius gessisset semper habui; adductus sum officio, ut memoriam ejus illæsam esse vellem; & si luce eam donare non possem, at eam in vero, & suo lumine collocarem. Neque veritus sum, ut hoc factum meum legentibus probare possim, quod filius Patris mei vitam composuerim, exemplo propter propinquitatem suspecto: Nam primum celari posteros memorabilem virum, nec injuria eorum qui perperam de

eo scripserunt sinebat: defendi autem eum aliter quam ab suis, tutum non erat: neque est, cur in filio magis suspecta sit fides sua, quam in iis qui nullam de eo memoriam extare volunt vis doloris, & iracundiæ suæ. Hactenus sustinui, donec æquato periculo offensionis inter infensos, & cupidos, vicit tandem ratio parendi eis, qui hoc meum studium, etiam cum expostulatione, flagitabant; quorum importunitate consensi in opus emittendum, initio non alio destinatum, quam ut imaginem paternæ consuetudinis apud me servarem, & nunc, in tanta hominis fama, aliorum magis opinione, quam judicio meo necessarium.

Joannis

IOHANNIS FOXII VITA.

IOhannes Foxius *Boſtona antiquo oppido conventus Lincolnienſis ortus, An.* 1517. *utroque genere plebeio, ſed honeſto inter ſuos, & copioſo fuit: Patrem parvulus admodum amiſit: cujus morte poſtquam mater denupſerat, in domum vitrici conceſſit; ibique pueritiam exegit; qua vix dum egreſſus, probatuſque ſuis ob bonitatem, vigoremque indolis, Oxonium ad artes capeſſendas miſſus eſt. Prima literarum elementa in Collegio Aenei naſi hauſit, datus in contubernium Alexandro Noello, ſummo poſtea hujus civitatis viro, & Decano Paulinæ Eccleſiæ; ut non mirum ſit, quorum educatio par, idemque pueritiæ cultus fuit, inter eos ſimilitudinem quoque morum ad extremam ſenectam duraviſſe. Egregium, acremque ad ſtudia animum incendit locus, ferax æmulationum, & exactor profectus ſui in ſingulis; aderatque induſtria, quæ raro excellentibus ingeniis comes, ubi ea quoque adſumitur, tum demum efficaciſſima eſt: Ob quas dotes cum intra breve tempus admirationem ſui apud cunctos, charitatem apud plurimos peperiſſet, eruditionis, morumque nomine, delectus eſt in numerum ſodalium Magdalenenſium, qui honor inter præcipuos Academiæ habitus, & Alumnis Collegii debitus, paucis externis, nec niſi in præmium ſingularis virtutis concedi ſolet. Apparet prima exuberantis ingenii germina Poetices ſtudio ſe profudiſſe: Extant Comœdiæ ab ipſo conſcriptæ, ſtilo uberi, & ornato, ſed paulo tumentiore, quod vitium orationis, & ſi ætas, & experientia multum mitigavit, cum ipſo tamen magna ex parte conſenuit, cum in aliis rebus eſſet ſedatiſſimus: Sed & tum ſpecimen dedit, quem in virum evaſurus eſſet; cum illi ipſi luſus effervescentis adoleſcentiæ, non niſi Argumentis ſacræ Hiſtoriæ inſtruerentur: matureque coercuit. Ad Theologiæ ſtudium acrior, quam prudentior tranſivit; deſcenditque in profeſſionem Reformationis tum inceptæ; prius quam iis noſceretur, qui vel cauſam ipſam fovebant, vel fautores protegere poſſent: Id illi initium moleſtiarum fuit. Hoc fuit illud tempus quo Henricus octavus Rex, ambiguus propoſiti, ſibique & Papæ diſcors, Eccleſiæ res in immenſum potentiæ, ſuperbiæque auctas, neque tolerandas ex toto, neque mutandas ducens, cum in utroque modum cuperet, in neutro valuit; factumque poſt homines natos glorioſiſſimum, inutili temperamento fœdavit: Non alias diſtractior populus, neque magis anxius ſalutis ſuæ, fortunarumque fuit; ignoto per legum contrarietatem, quid ſequi, quid fugere tutum eſſet; abolito Papatu, & retento tamen dogmate. Initia tamen exacti Papatus ut læta, ita ſecunda magis Reformatoribus fuerunt; plurimique mortales conſenſum intulere, conſcientia recti, & illigato Regis animo per ſupplicia adverſantium, & demolitis maxime Monaſteriis: addiditque fiduciam, quod ex Proceribus ut quiſque Papali faſtigio infeſtior erat, ita magis Regis gratia, amicitiaque floruit. Interim vigebat ſtatutum ſex Articulorum, ſonteſque plectebantur. Ita ſparſus ex æquo terror, & ſpes quamdiu Rex inter ingenium ſuum, & conſilia ſuorum medius, ſeveritate illud, hos diſcordi indulgentia pavit: Mox protritis Reformantium ducibus; poſtquam Suffolcius morte, Cromwellus ferro occidiſſet, infractaque per æmulorum audaciam Cranmeri Archiepiſcopi potentia, nihil vel in legibus, vel in Proceribus præſidii ſupereſſet, cuncta in antiquas ſordes, licentiamque ruere cœperunt; tantoque impetuoſius, quod vindictæ ſpecies erat viciſſe. At in Academiis, Scholiſque nihil mutatum, innovatumque niſi occulto; dubium an metu, an ambitione, ne ſequi viderentur. In quo ſtatu rerum, Religioniſque, Foxius ad controverſiæ tum gliſcentis conditionem cognoſcendam attentius animum convertit: Vetus dimicatio erat, neque ullum ſeculum prorſus ex-*

pers dissidiorum in Ecclesia fuit: sed primæ illæ contentiones quæstionibus de Regno, & jure finium magis complicabantur; nitentibus Romanis, ut veterem urbis amplitudinem, quam armis nequibant, artibus & obtentu Religionis sub summi Pontificis jure retinerent: Tum si qui ab ipsis de fide dissenserant, eorum festinatus exitus contactum in reliquos antevertit. Ita vel crudelitate, vel principum patientia pleraque turbarum composita sunt; manentibus etiamnum Romæ vestigiis primævæ virtutis, aut saltem imitamentis virtutum inter pleraque inversa, vel vetustate obliterata. At postquam coalita ex successu audacia, securum Pontifici fuit omnium rerum jus, potestatemque ad se trahere; & concussis Imperii opibus, reliquorum Regum sceptra attrectare libido esset; ejusque causa fas omne divinum, & humanum miscere; interim Clerus ipse nihil pensi haberet quanta Religionis jactura homines interdum maculosi in Papatum sublegerentur, quorum exemplo vetus illa parentum severitas, & sanctimonia derisui, paupertas probo esse, sacerdotum industria torpere, contra furere luxus, & avaritia, & ambitio cæpit: tum demum intellectæ sunt Ecclesiasticorum artes, cognitumque ludibrium: Idcirco nimirum multiplicatos ritus numerumque cæremoniarum, quo Cleri numerus faciendis sacris augeretur: Hos ali necesse esse: Ad horum sumptum inductas opiniones cogendis pecuniis potentissimas, de dignitate operum, de Purgatorio, de potestate absolutionis, & indultorum papalium: quas omnes sua natura falsas, & fluxas esse; verum constabiliri novo illo omniumque vaferrimo cæmento: Papam in fide errare non posse. Sic decoro opinionum nexu, compageque vinctam Christianorum credulitatem: interim opinionum proventus, pecuniarumque, quæ tum ab Clero, tum ab populo extorqueretur, immensam vim ad Papam, curiamque Papalem sub infinitis nominibus, pervenire. Sæpe audivi Foxium narrantem, eam sibi primam causam fuisse inquirendi in doctrinam Pontificiorum, quod res Natura pugnantissimas simul offerri credentibus vidisset: Eundem scilicet Hominem & fidei summum, & tamen vita, moribusque ultimum mortalium esse posse. Tali autem principio cum animus, obsequiumque ejus primo nutavisset, dissensio in reliquis sensim secuta est. Prima illi diligentia fuit Ecclesiæ historiam omnem tum veterem, tum novam evolvere, cognoscere quis Ecclesiæ exortus, quæ incrementa, quibus artibus floruerit, quo errore declinaverit, expendere controversiarum quæ intervenerant causas, vim, & quid in utraque parte sanum, quid ægrum esset: quo in conatu sic exarsit studium, & celeritas ejus ut ante 30^mum Aetatis suæ annum, quicquid Patres latini, græcive in scriptis, quicquid Schola in conclusionibus, quicquid Concilia in Actis, Curia in Decretis reliquerat, id omne, modo obvium esset, legendo percurrerit; in Hebræorum quoque literis peritiam non vulgarem assecutus sit. Retulerunt æquales ipsius solitum illi fuisse, super diurnum laborem; pernoctare quoque in studiis, aut non nisi multa admodum nocte ad quietem se recipere. Lucus est extra Collegium amænitate loci, studentium otio, & ambulationibus dicatus: Eum locum, noctemque delegerat, ubi tyronem animum pavidum conscientia novæ cogitationis, adversus metum, ipso terrore solitudinis, & tenebrarum firmaret. Quas ibi vigilatas noctes, quos fluctus, æstusque animi perpessus sit; quantum singultuum, gemitus, lacrymarum precibus apud Deum interfuderit, malim silentio tramitti, quam in speciem ostentationis memorari: Sed ideo tradi oportuit, quod hinc prima indicia alienatæ voluntatis eruperunt. Quippe evulgata fama nocturnorum secessuum, cum suspicacissimus quisque suopte ingenio, cæteri ut quisque ab eo alienior, ita pronior in sinistram interpretationem penderet, tandem familiares quoque ejus trahebantur; immissique qui specie monitionis digressus ejus, sermones, actus singulos accuratius specularentur. Et erant, qui comparatione pristinæ consuetudinis facta atrocius urgerent: Cur infrequentius rem divinam faceret quam soleret? cur vitaret congressus æqualium? Cur solatia consueta dimitteret? qua mente ista faceret nisi mutata? neque occultaturum si in melius mutaretur. Igitur appetitus rumore, insidiis, insimulatione omnium, quæstione severius habita, cum ultra celare consilium suum non posset, neque in mendacio perfugium quærendum putaret, homo simplicissimi instituti, Collegiali judicio convictus, damnatusque de hæresi, motusque collegio est. Ea sententia mollissime cum eo agi dicebant adversarii, & potuisse capitis appellari nisi clementiam maluissent. Sed vulnus illud longe sævius quam pro opinione erat, offensis eo nuncio necessariorum quoque animis & præsertim vitrici, quem implacabilem sibi reddiderat seu vero odio, seu ficto, quo honestius sibi aliquid, jam saltem securius in bonis Foxii paternis detinendis posset polliceri. Nam neque lege agere hominem publice invisum, legibusque obnoxium tuto posse sciebat; & Foxius natura vindictæ adeo nescius fuit, ut se læsum aliquando, cum ulcisci posset, vix agnosceret. Desertum ab suis, nudatumque omni ope humana, divinus favor statim excepit, receptumque ostendit in domo optimi, & amplissimi viri, Tho. Lucii, equitis Warwicensis; ad quem accitus est liberorum educandorum causa: In qua domo uxorem postea duxit, ibique permansit, quoad pueris adultior jam ætas præceptoris necessitatem exuerat. Sed maturavit discessum ejus major metus inquisitionum Papalium, quæ favore jam legum subnixæ non modo publice delicta venari sed privatarum quoque

domuum secreta perrumpere cæperunt. Profectionis illius miserrimam speciem solebat Foxius supremis vitæ temporibus, multa apud amicos cum animi sermonisque vehementia detestari; cum diceret, alios quidem casus se utcunque tulisse, in hoc id insuper calamitatis accessisse, ut eo inhumanior videretur si toleravisset: Abductam domo & Penatibus conjugem fidei & amoris rarissimi, cujus luctum & lacrymas, omni pietatis officio solari opporteret: Aut mœndum igitur statim dolori, aut in fidem amoris sociandas lacrymas. Nam frustra constantiæ exemplum dari, ubi ea spretam potius ab viro mœstitiam suam, quam non victum tanto malo animum ejus interpretaretur. Consultanti secum quid facto opus esset, duæ omnino viæ expediendi incommodi ostendebantur; quarum utram eligeret diu incertus animi fuit: ad socerum ne, an ad vitricum proficisceretur. Ille loco propinquior, ut pote qui civis è proxima civitate Coventriæ erat, nondum odio sui imbutus, & filiæ charitate placabilior: Alter notior erat sed suspectior. Placuit primum adiri socerum: Interim per literas explorari vitrici animum, an reciperetur. Responsum ab vitrico est: duram conditionem sibi videri petere ut is in domum reciperetur, quem capitalis admissi compertum, damnatumque scibat: neque nescire se quanto id cum capitis sui periculo facturus sit: veruntamen se necessitudini omnia tribuere, cujus causa pericula sua se neglecturum docebat: veniret ea lege ut si mentem mutandam censeret eam quam ipse cuperet apud se manendi copiam fore intelligeret: sin id facere non posset eo breviore mora contentus esset; neq; matrem & se omnia sua causa facere paratos in discrimen fortunarum adduceret. Erant res Foxii eo loco, ut nullam conditionem beneficii rejiciendam putaret; simul mater occultis mandatis, ut veniret monuerat; neque vitrici severitatem pertimesseret: sic fortasse scripto opus fuisse, cum occasio esset dicta factis compensaturum. Benignius ab utroque tum socero, tum vitrico quam speraverat acceptus est: sed postulabat res ut neutri loco diu fideret. Crebris hinc inde commeatibus, & æquato inter utrumq; onere id consecutus est, ut tum inquirentium curam negotii specie falleret, & satietatem sui apud utrumq; minueret. Vtcunq; latuit, certum est nullum vitæ ejus tempus obscuriore in posteros fama fuisse quam illud: sive otio tramisit, quod vix credibile est: sive eorum qui cognitionem habebant magis intererat sileri illud postea quam nosci. Nam ipse semper eum sermonem, etiam cum cura vitaverat, ne in maximo merito modicum beneficium prædicando, exilitatem potius objectavisse, quam servavisse memoriam videretur. Neq; vero constat cujus rei potissimum impulsu Londinum se postea transtulit; nisi suspicari libeat illectum loci opportunitate id fecisse; utpote qui incolarum, convenarumq; omnis generis abundantissimus facultatem summam præstabat, sive occultare se mallet, sive ingenium suum proferre, & apud similes sui notescere. Supputatione temporis facta, existimaverim præcipuam ei causam adeundi urbem fuisse, quod Religionis res tum demum recreari parumper, & revalescere iterum apud urbem præsertim cæperunt. Paucis enim annis prius venit, quam Henricus Rex humanis excessit. Is, uti dictum est, quam diu vires & ætatis robur suppetebant, scissum in studia regnum ita tamen moderabatur, ut modo æquata partium potentia, modo prævalescente altera, utramq; in officio authoritate sua contineret. Sed postquam jam senior factus minui indies valetudinem, & finem imminere intellexit; reputans secum quid in partibus fidum sibi maxime, quid suspectum esset, quaque ætate filium nondum habilem Regno, & innutritum contrariis disciplinis flagrantibus Pontificiorum odiis committeret; flexit ad id consilium, quod ratio saluberrimum, exitus felicissimum comprobauit: dejectisq; de dignitate & de Administratione Pontificiis, eos filio tutores Testamento dedit, quorum voluntatem erga se semper promptissimam fuisse perspexit, eandemq; successori mansuram, multa fidelitatis experientia judicavit. Eares Religioni salutem attulit. Verum ut salus eorum qui Religionem sectabantur magis in securo constituta est; nondum tamen quicquam publici emolumenti, utilitatisue ad ipsos pervenit: unde Foxio eadem egestas quæ antea fuit; consumpto quicquid vel necessarii ipsius erogaverant, vel ipse quotidiana industria quæsiverat. Rem miram, & Divinæ miserationis documento insignem superfederem referre; nisi modestiam silentii fama rei celebris frustra faceret. Sedebat quodam die Foxius in Aede Paulina, inedia longa victus, vultuq;, & oculis in supremam morientium torvitatem excavatis. Cæteris autem vitantibus tam deformem aspectum; accessit ad eum homo quidam facie incognitus; qui postquam juxta assedisset, familiariterq; salutasset, prehensa ejus dextera incertæ pecuniæ summam illi in manum inseruit; jubens bonum animum haberet, & subjiciens: non quidem se scire quantus infortunii modus esset quo conflictaretur, verum suspicari debere haud levem esse: proinde non gravaretur id abs se populari suo munusculi accipere, quod vel communis humanitatis ratio expressera: iret, refocillaret animum & vivendi causas reciperet: interim sciret haud multorum dierum intervallo adesse spes novas, & subsidia vitæ certiora. Quis ille mortalium fuerit, cujus opportuna liberalitate ultima illa necessitas depulsa sit resciri postea nunquam potuit, quamvis multum adnitente Foxio ut detegeretur. Credidere qui vaticinii exitum altius attendebant, hunc non suo, sed aliorum studio missum, qui Foxium omnino salvum esse cupiebant: nam quod extrema prius adierit, quam subventum ipsi esset, in eo fortasse ministri negligentia

erratum. Certe eo triduo nondum exacto, præsagii fides impleri visa est; missis ad eum ab Ducissa Richmondensi qui sub honestissimis conditionibus eum in familiam suam perlicerent. Acciderat per eos dies ut Dux Norfolcius, is quem inclytum militia & imperatoriis artibus celeberrimum illa ætas vidit, unaque cum eo filius, Comes Surriæ, vir in quantum dici potest rectissimæ mentis, acerrimique ingenii, incertum quibus criminibus, in custodiam Arci Londinensi traderentur. Dum hi in vinculis erant, liberi Comitis apud amitam præfatam Ducissam educabantur, Thomas qui in Ducatu successit; Henricus postea Comes Northamptonæ, & Iana postea Comitissa Westmerlandiæ. Horum pueritiæ Foxius admotus est, ut & mores eorum regeret & literas doceret. In quo munere prudentissimæ fœminæ de se judicium minimè fefellit. Nam Thomas & Henricus eos morum, & scientiæ profectus fecerunt, quibus substructa eorum grandior ætas, illum ad id opinionis extulit, ut plus meruisse quam regnum ei conferre posset videretur: hunc ad id fælicitatis, ut constet modum fortunæ suæ eum non in hominum judicio, sed in satietate sua habuisse: & Iana græcis latinisque literis in miraculum exculta, doctissimis illius temporis viris de utraque elegantia concertavit. Interim pertransierunt tempora illa non alias visa fœlicitatis, ab supremis Henrici annis, per quinquennium Edvardi sexti, (incomparabilis spei juvenis, & perfecto patris opere omnium Regum opera prætervecti,) ad initia principatus Reginæ Mariæ: qua rerum potita, conversoque Religionis statu, cuncta rursus Pontificiorum potentiæ cesserunt: unde non multo post atrox illa tempestas inhorruit, cujus fragorem nostra etiam ætas sensit, multis eorum qui illud naufragium perpessi sunt, ad hanc pacem & in æternum duraturæ tranquillitatis stationem enatantibus: In quibus Foxius noster fuit, tum fide, & authoritate Ducis discipuli sui incolumis, sed obliquis in eum odio, atque invidia multorum oculis, & clam Gardineri Episcopi Wintonienſis insidiis petitus; utpote qui notum hominis ingenium metuebat, pariterque indignabatur, consuetudine ejus sobolem principis in Regno familiæ, sibique conjunctissimæ depravari. De quo viro, quoniam Foxio inimicissimus fuit, altius repetere non abs re fuerit, ut utriusque ingenium noscatur. Erat Wintonienſis (nam de initiis ejus nihil habeo compertum) adolescentia clarus, vir inter bonas, malasque artes medius, eo semper deterior, quo provectior. Industriam, indolem, eloquentiam, ab Natura acceperat: superbiam, vafritiem & appetitum potentiæ in domo Cardinalitia didicerat. Hinc ingenium erat negotiorum mire capax, eaque impigre pro parandis honoribus administrabat: Eos adeptus pro industria audaciam, pro obsequio adulationem, pro fide fucum, & formulas, cæteraque Aulæ inania induit. Idem in gerendis honoribus quos virtute paraverat atrox, & superbus: in recuperandis quos amiserat, usq; ad tædium, humilis, & demissus fuit. Nam ut morum ita fortunæ quoq; varietatem sensit. Aliquamdiu Regi suo Henrico gratus, & in animo ejus validus fuit: cujus nimirum authoritatem contra Papam scripto defensaverat: postea cognita prævaricatione neglectus, & quo minor nocendi facultas esset dignitate exutus est. Sub Edvardo sexto vincula etiam & extremæ sortis opprobrium pertulit. Tandem regnante Maria exolutus iterum, redditusq; dignitati non potentiam amplius, sed rabiem exercuit, donec invidia prænitentis in Polo Cardinalitii fulgoris æger, cujus fastigio obumbrari gloriam suam videbat, frustraq;, & sæpe tentato Cardinalatus remedio, iracundia asperante ægritudinem contabuit. Eumq; ad modum cæpit & finivit ille vir, dum privatum ageret ob multa bona animi laudatus, in magistratibus impotens, & immodicus, ut diceres Naturam illum egregium virum fecisse, Fortunam corrupisse. At Foxius quamquamin sinu optimi Ducis fovebatur postquam tamen omnis generis homines ob Religionem vexari animadvertit alios vinciri, cremari alios, undiq; fugam, cædes, patibula, & præcipuam ejus incendii facem Wintonienſem esse, sibi privatis de causis infensum, vehementer vereri rebus suis cæpit, & consilia fugæ agitare. Id ubi Norfolcius rescivit increpita clementer Foxii formidine, cum eo multis egit ut abeundi cogitationes deponeret: affirmans neque dignitatis, neque verecundiæ suæ esse, sinere divelli abs se ullo vitæ suæ tempore præceptorem de se optime meritum: id vero eo præsertim tempore fieri, neque ipsi qui petebat decorum fore: Reputaret secum quanta invidiæ mole oneratum alumnum suum relinqueret apud nescios utrum relinqueret, an relinqueretur. Neque tamen invidiam suam se deprecari quæ ejus saltem commodo fiat: sed in fuga quid non inesse incommodi? Exilium, egestatem, contemptum, & apud ignaros etiam perfugæ contumeliam: minus mala se ferre hæc quam mortem; verum non ad id discriminis processum esse, neque passurum se ut procedatur: superesse sibi opes, & gratiam, & amicos, & fortunam domus suæ: quod si casus ingruat, consociaturum se periculum suum, & communem ruinam fore: meminisse se quibus præceptis adolescentiam suam munierit; neque avidiore se animo monita ejus hausisse, quam constantibus factis executurum: firmaret modo animum, & inimicorum impetus sic declinaret, ut amicorum non pæniteret: atque hæc se cum eo loqui tanquam authoritate impetraturum: cæterum si id impetrare non posset, provisurum etiam in ea quæ destinavisset. Inerat orationi Ducis eo plus fidei quod ea ab innato animi ejus candore attentissimaque voluntate proficisci noscebatur, puduitque Foxium non tam facti sui, quam quod

fieri

fieri id potuisse crediderat. Sed modestia defendebatur. Non enim eadem utrumque decere, & dominum & servum: Duci quidem in gloriam conducere, præceptorem suum inviolatum ab injuria servare: suas partes esse ne incolumitas sua Duci vel perniciem, vel perpetuam sollicitudinem afferret: neque timorem suum defensione carere: scire se Ducem de fide & benevolentia deduci non posse; circumduci & decipi dolis cum posse non se ignorare. Etenim Wintoniensis etiam tum Norfolcio valde charus habebatur, veteri domus observantia nixus, cujus potentia florverat. Is officii causa ad Norfolcium ventitare crebro solebat, petereque ab eo, ut Præceptoris sui videndi copiam faceret. Id Norfolcius primo abnuere, excusare ejus absentiam, vel valetudinem, postea prolatare, & eludere. Demum accidit ut dum simul in colloquio essent, Foxius, ignarus Wintoniensem in domo esse, in occursum iis se daret, & viso Wintoniensi, tanquam per verecundiam se subduceret. Percunctanti Wintoniensi quisnam is esset? respondit Dux, medicum suum esse, hominem è Schola rudem: Intulit Wintoniensis placere sibi hominis aspectum, & cum occasio daretur, usurum. Intellecta statim est vox nuntia appropinquantis periculi: neque jam ipse Norfolcius manendum Foxio in ea urbe vel intra idem mare putabat contra vim veteratoris astuti & tum manifesti: præveniendam omni modo Wintoniensis ægritudinem. Exin necessaria fugæ quanto potuit fieri silentio adornantur. Præmissus ad portum Ipsuicensem servus, qui navigium conduceret, & apta itineri compararet: & quoniam in oppidis, lociscque publicis morandi parum tuta ratio videbatur, delecta est domus cujusdam ex Ducis famulitio, villici, ubi Foxius commodum mare, & navigandi signum opperiretur. Eo clam Foxius proficiscitur, suscepta comite uxore tum gravida, sed eundi certa, & retinendum precibus invicta; & postquam nuntiatum est expectari illum a comitibus, expeditus ad portum defertur, navemque conscendit. Vix altum tenuerant, cum subito effusus ab contrario littore ventus mare turbavit, tanta fluctus violentia, ut ab firmissimis etiam nautis trepidaretur: tum nox continuis imbribus fœda, nubiumque globus in densissimum nimbum convolutus, & administrationem omnem nauticam impedierat, & cœlestis calculi rationem ademerat. Ea nocte anchoris vix hæsere: ubi illuxit postquam tempestas nihil remittere visa est, conversa in littus prora, retro adigere navem cæperunt, paulum jam secundante æstu, & tandem superata difficultate sub vesperam postridie diei quo solverant, in eundem portum invecti sunt. Interea dum Foxius ad mare esset, lictores à Wintoniensi missi domum villici irruperant. Ii mandata habebant, ut Foxium ubicunque capi posset, vincirent, vinctumque ad urbem retraherent. Sed cognito illum discessisse, postquam etiam ad portum usq; insecuti, vix navem qua vectabatur, ex conspectu abiisse cernerent, delusi præda revertuntur. Id Foxius simulatque navi egressus est, vulgi sermonibus edoctus, quanquam multum animo conturbaretur, colligit tamen se, conscensisque propere jumentis, simulat se oppido abire: sed eadem nocte clam reversus, pacisitur cum navicularo, ut primas ventorum remissiones ad navigandum arripiat: Docet id res suas poscere, neque sua referre, quo continentis littore ejiceretur: pergeret modo, neque dubitaret affuturum p o operi Deum. Sive merces, sive pietas valuit, suscepit homo audacissimi conatus rem, & perfecit. Solvens enim antelucano silentio, favore recursantium æstuum, quamvis sævo adhuc mari, & truculento cœlo, Foxium cum suis eo biduo in adversi littoris portu Nauporto salvum exponit. Non illustriore documento qui ista legerit agnoscat, quam certa divinæ providentiæ ratio sit: quam incerta humanæ; cum videat accuratissimas prudentium deliberationes sæpe erroribus everti; interpellari casibus, aut contrariis consiliis superari: idque fieri ut homines pro disciplina habeant, sic imperio uti, ut quo plus ex fortuna possunt, tanto se minus ex se posse sciant, neque impotentes despiciant: Deum enim utramque fortunam ex æquo respicere, hominesque ortu pares honoribus distingui, non in superbiam, contumeliamve, sed ut utrisque locus modestiæ pateat, vel adversus utrumque ultioni.

Iam Foxius, ubi dies aliquot Nauporti, reficiendis ab Nausea corporibus consumpsisset, Antuerpiam proficiscitur: inde modicis itineribus Basileam contendit. Ea urbs comitatis atque officii erga nostros singularem tum famam obtinebat: Ob quam causam multi ex Anglia celebres viri sævitiæ temporum se subducentes eo confluxerant: ex quibus qui tenuiori fortuna erant, alius aliter, sed longe major pars recensendis librariorum tipis, præliq; vitiis castigandis vitam tolerabant: quod ea urbs Typographiæ cura, copiaque diligentissimorum, ditissimorumque in ea facultate hominum reliquas Germaniæ urbes id temporis antecedebat, qui nostrorum hominum in ea re studium suorum diligentiæ anteponebant. His se Foxius adjunxit, eo acceptior quod durissima olim disciplina habitus, exercitaque per omnem adolescentiam patientia labores perferre didicerat, quæque aliis miseria videbantur: egestatem, vigilias, in ediam perferre; ea illi pro ludo fortunæ erant. Id multis fortasse mirum videri potest, qui Foxium per omnem ætatem gracili admodum corpore, & per senectam tenuissima semper valetudine fuisse meminerunt: sed nemo illius extremam vitæ ætatem attritam, depastamque curis, & tum naturæ vitio fatiscentem cum vigore integræ juventutis comparaverit, quam ex tot ejus

operibus

operibus firmissimam ei fuisse constat, sive in modica structura, erecta artuum membrorumque compages ad firmitatem sufficiat, sive animus ipse, accensus desiderio honestarum actionum, seipso contentus sit, ad exequendum ea quæ vult, minima corporis adminiculatione adjutus.

Industriæ autem ejus fidem abunde fecerit, quod inter tantas occupationes Historiam suam Actorum Ecclesiæ Basileæ nihilominus inchoaverit, opus vel ipsius tituli professione mensuram humanæ fiduciæ ferme egressum. Et primo adumbravisse tantum contentus est, tanquam lineas vel stamina duceret, corpus & subtegmen Historiæ postea adjecit reversus in patriam, vulgavitque primum latino Sermone (mox suo, ut plebi gratificaretur,) opusque ipsum imprimendum Basileam misit, ubi etiamnum in honore est, legiturque passim per exteras nationes, nostris hominibus fere incognitum, dum externa tantummiramur nostra, vel incuria, vel invidia tramittimus.

Interim in Anglia fortuna Religioni tandem vicem reddiderat, magnisque momentis res Pontificiorum inclinare denuo cœperunt excessu Reginæ Mariæ, fœminæ dum suis moribus ageret egregiæ, tantoque Patre dignæ, sed dum pessimis nihil negat, id consecutæ, ut laude quam meruit careat, quod infamia careat, id insequentium temporum modestiæ debeatur: quibus moris est omnia Principum acta vel laudare, vel certe tolerare. Commutationem fortunæ publicæ præsensisse Foxium non affirmaverim, neque tamen, quod in alio non facerem, fraudabor eum testimonio amplissimi clarissimique viri, Io. Elmari, nuper Præsulis hujus civitatis. Is multis qui adhuc supersunt præsentibus narrare solitus est se concioni interfuisse qua Foxius inter alia quæ consolandi causa apud exules Anglos pronunciaret ausus est dicere: Adesse tempus quo Patriæ redderentur, idque se Dei monitu ipsis afferre: Eumque de ea re a grandioribus natu valde reprehensum; sed excusatum postea exitu prædictionis, postquam collatione temporum repertum est, Mariam pridiè vita migrasse quam Foxius ita fore prædixerat. Sensit statim orbis Christianus beneficium immutati in Anglia principatus. Dcneratæ exulibus circumvicinæ nationes de hospitum restitutione tanquam in sua fortuna gratulabantur. Domi vero, quid est quod ad salutem, vel solatium quispiam excogitare possit quo homines non prius frui quam sperare inciperent? Qui domo profugerant revocati: qui carceribus abditi liberati: qui bona amiserant donati: qui dignitate exuti restituti sunt. Leges interim iniquæ abrogatæ: latæ salubres. Pax mentibus, conscientiæ libertas, concordia ordinibus, securitas bonis redierat, ita initia Regni temperante Elizabetha, ut quæ sub aliis Principibus, vix longa regnantium felicitas solet producere, ea cuncta sub hujus introitu, tanquam explicante exporrigenteque se numine superius omnium voto expedirentur. Cujus præcellentissimæ, & post homines conditos fulgentissimæ feminæ mentionem ex quacunque occasione fecisse, flagitium Scriptoris fuerit, ut non major semper ex se præbita occasio videatur, cur ultra dicatur. Ea matre Anna Bolena genita est, quam Henricus Rex repudiata priore consorte secundis nuptiis uxorem duxit. Ab ea in dotem principalis fortunæ Religionis amorem accepit. Adolevit moribus, ingenio, forma, quæ Principem non magis decerent quam facerent; ut in eadem & absolutissimi operis exemplum Natura, & Fortuna fastigium summæ spei collocasse viderentur. Capaciorem tantæ fortunæ fecit, quod parere prius quam imperare didicerat; id aliis facere docta quod ipsi mox alii facerent; expertaque est in privata vita odium fatale successoribus magnorum imperiorum, major animo, quam ut suis rependeret. Vt Regnum attigit effulsere simul virtutes; tamque omnia vitia infra se statim quam homines habuit. Itaque non illi animus ad studium corporis per mollitiem abjectus est. Rationes Regni publicas novisse, adjutores in partem curarum conquirere, Regni partes optimis ministeriis firmare, suorum ingenia callere, externorum Principum copias, consilia, conatus explorare, ea illi rudimenta novi Principatus fuerunt. Possent ista esse minus diuturna nisi temperarentur. Nihil illa gravitate amœnius, nihil illa severitate placabilius, nihil illa frugalitate effusius unquam fuit. In iis tantum bonis modum non novit, quorum dignitas non ex contranitentium virtutum libramine, sed in ipsa celsissimarum actionum congerie spectatur. Sic Nobilitatem generis studio gloriæ, Religionem quamvis rectissimam studio sanctitatis, Formam corporis quamvis incomparabilem castitatis perpetuæ proposito cumulavit. Vt mores ad facta transtulit Deus summe quanta tum temporum felicitate fructi sumus? Quid illa 44. annorum pace serenius, vel securius, vel opulentius intra se Anglia unquam vidit? Nam bello neque quemquam sponte lacessivit, & bellandi justas causas potiores semper victoria habuit. Ad Hibernicum, dignitas, & recuperandæ Provinciæ pudor, ad Gallicum pietas, & miseratio vicini periculi; ad Hispanienſe salus sua, & omnium causarum vim complexa necessitas rapiebat. In hoc bello nobis audivisse, & vidisse contigit quod in nullo alio forsan usuvenit. Nam aliæ nationes, quamvis atrocissimis inter se odiis contenderint, certis tamen sedibus locisque dimicaverunt. Hoc bellum tam diffusum, tot in locis, tantisque animis gestum est, ut ubicunque Sol exurgeret, occidereve, ibi Anglorum, Hispanorumque acies, per omnia maria, portusque deprehenderet, de vita, de facultatibus, aut de dignitate decernentes.

Tum

Tum primum mare istud nostrorum imperio suetum, externarum navium proris inalbuit. Numerum, speciemque navigiorum, copiarum terrestrium, navalium quevim; munitionis, machinarum, telorum, tormentorum, commeatusque reliqui modum, quibus illa classis constabat, quam Philippus 2us Hispaniæ Rex, extinguendi hujus nominis causa, misit Anno sal. hum. M. D. L. XXXVIII. vix justi operis volumen reciperet. Suffecerit dixisse, nullum uspiam maritimum apparatum ab quoquam Regum, Populorumque potentissimorum factum comparandum huic ex omni antiquitatis delectu monstrari posse. Hanc tamen classem tam immanem, tam formidabilem fiducia sui, & præsumpta victoriæ spe tumentem, fortuna invictissimæ Principis momento temporis disjecit. Concurrere Classes numero, viribusq; impares. Sed genus pugnæ adversum Hispanis fecit, quòd nostræ naves minores & humiliore rostro ædificatæ facilius in ventum circumagi atque eluctari poterant: quo facto promptum illis fuit Hispanas tardiores, & ad insequendum inhabiles, vel cedendo illudere, vel in patentes alueos pugnando certiori ictu vulnerare. Accedebat quòd nostri Duces omnis marritimi officii peritia & notitia æstuum Hispanos longè antecedebant. Contra Hispani edocti superiorum dierum usu, se nisi stabili pugna nostros sustinere non posse, jactis ante Caletum anchoris, ibi & auxilia Flandrorum expectabant, & præstantia tormentorum se defendebant. Id nobis rationem victoriæ primùm aperuit. Naves stupa, pice, sulphure, omnisque generis arida materia infarctæ incensæq; prono æstu in hostium classem impellebantur; tantumque consternationis ea res improvisa attulit, ut universæ naves sectis properè funibus, in fugam præcipitarentur. Qua in fuga pars navium flamma, pars fluctu hausta est, pars littoribus, scopulisve impacta, pars ictibus, aut concursu fugientium lacera, in potestatem nostrorum venerunt. Validiores regredi non ausæ, per Scotiæ Orcadumque extremam oram, & nisi gnavitèr fugientibus intentatum ullo seculo æquor, immenso marium, terra rumque circuitu in Hispaniam tandem reverterunt. In tanto virtutum victoriarumque cursu, proximum fuit invideri, ab invidia proximum odio, atque insidiis peti, quæ, licet integerrima omnium Princeps, sic effugere nequivit, quin salus sua per omnem fere vitam infesta fuerit, in cujus vita omnium fere Europæ gentium salus fundata est. Quo magis subit animum mirari, quæ ista præclara adversariorum disciplina sit, pietatis quam obtendunt cura virtutes ipsas insectantium? Quod in nulla non dicam Ethnica sed ne barbara natione usuvenit, ut qui modo numen esse scirent virtutem, quæ certe Deo proxima est, vel in hostibus ulciscendam putarent: nisi nobis Religio Christiana ita omnia indulgeat, ut cum inimicis ignoscere præceptum sit, iis aut bonis esse non liceat, aut liceat non esse ignotis. Sed manifestum est alio fine in humanis rebus voluntatem divinam, alio cupiditates hominum versari. Ea Elizabetham ab inimicorum scelere atque injuria semper prohibuit, eòque perduxit Saturam jam annis, ut quam apud homines gloriam adepta est, eam illibatam cœlo inferret, frustrà quoque in mortuam grassante invidia, cujus ultor omnis Posteritas est. Nunc ordo operi restituatur.

Foxius ubi in Anglia lætas res, regnare Elizabetham, fidumque, & mansurum Religioni statum esse, ex amicorum literis edoctus est, fine ejus anni quo ista gerebantur in Patriam regreditur. Id tempus ad deliberandum sumpserat: ne si qua hominum inconstantia præsentis conditionis pertæsum esset, in casum rursus se dare cogeretur. Sed & tum quoq; familiam trahebat duobus liberis auctus, ut in itineris sumptum necesse esset pecuniam ab domo afferri interim expectari. Ibi cognovit, sinistros de se sermones jactos esse, tanquàm per superbiam tardavisset, in eoq; compendium sibi ad honorem quæsivisset, tanquàm debitum si acciretur. Id intelligebat eorum artificio fieri, qui cum ipsi omni ui ad honores tenderent, Foxium ut dignum, & si vellet anteceßurum metuebant. Neq; ille purgare se tanto crimine, quod iniquitate sua casurum erat, operæpretium sibi esse duxit: Sed juxta injuriarum atq; juris sui negligens se totum in studia abdidit. Quod corporibus nostris contingit, ut ea firmiore valetudine utantur quæ intra modum cibantur exercenturvè, quam quæ excedunt, id animis quoq; opinor nostris contingere, ut difficillimè quis in sanitate officiorum perseverare possit, qui si fortuna sui modum non fecit, ipse sibi non fecerit; contra, qui fortunam per modestiam habuere, ij habitiores & vegetiores ad egregia studia semper fuerint. Nam Foxio integrum fuit quàcunq; animus inclinavit eà emergere, multa ingenii fama & præclaris, uti dictum est, amicitiis fultus. Ille non opes neq; potentiam, fælicium hominum vota, affectavit: sed cum pari cum cæteris virtute esset, conscientiam penes se, præmia penes alios esse libenter tulit. Quod ego factum neq; inter laudes ejus prorsus recipio, neq; tamen arguo quod multi fecerunt. Concedatur sane bonis viris, ut virtus quemlibet fortunæ locum legat, ubi enitcat: aut si finibus ea arctanda sit, quin ad eos convertere, qui propter spem aliquam boni esse volunt: nam qui gratuitò tales sunt, si eorum gloria non obruare, numerum non reformides. Commemoraturus sum vitam continuam fructibus, non iis quibus legentium sensus hauriuntur, sed solidis verisq;. Non hic bellorum aut pacis illustria facinora narrantur, aut si quæ alia scriptorum spatia sunt, per quæ captivas hominum aures ducunt. Nobis vita sine strepitu acta, intus, foriſque pudor, continentia, charitas, rerum humanarum contemptus, divinarum

ardor, indefessa studia, cuncta in exemplum, vel utilitatem proximi composita dicenda sunt. Demonstratum paulo ante est, Foxium dum Basileæ esset Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ scribendæ mentem adjecisse; quod ultimam manum non imposuerat, causam fuisse, quo testatius aliquando scribere posset. Id opus Pontificiorum animos varie anxit. Frustra enim tantum ab se effusum sanguinis, frustra susceptam tantæ crudelitatis conscientiam videbant, si horum omnium reddenda posteris ratio esset. Et opus ipsum ex hominum manibus tolli non posse intelligebant. Relinquebatur si falsitatis coargui, & confictis ad id calumniis extenuari fides ejus, atque authoritas posset. Quibus amoliendis, depellendisque ab se dum Foxius annititur, evitari non potuit, quin ex tot rerum, testimoniorumque novo aggestu, legitimum historiæ limitem multum exscenderet. Indeque æstimetur diligentia nostri scriptoris, qua non modo tot res ceu materiem operis sui, ex omni temporum, locorumque distantia comportaverit, & utriusque fori acta, tabulasque rerum judicatarum per omnes Regni Iurisdictiones congesserit, sed etiam eas ipsas res partim vetustate tanquam rubigine adrosas, partim eorum qui scripserunt odio vel assentatione depravatas, partim in informi truncaque veterum scriptura latentes, ipse solus, distractissimo conatus genere, primum eruerit, examinarit, ab situ vindicarit, deinde in convenientem structuram redegerit. Undecimo quam scribi cæptum est anno finitum opus fuisse ex commentariis authoris reperio, ut credibile sit victurum opus, cujus tam prolixa fætura fuit. Quo tamen tempore, neque ipse Amanuensis unquam opera ad scribendum, neque servi ad alia vitæ ministeria usus est. Tanto plus in se efficacis subsidii industria habet uni tantum rei inserviens, & in se unam collecta, quam extra se licet multis adminiculantibus, si modo ipse in plura divideris.

Sæpe apud animum meum instituì inquirere, ex duobus ærumnæ generibus, quæ maxime subire homines dignitatis suæ esse arbitrantur, quodnam usu gravius, atq; asperius reperiatur, militane, an studiorum. Pro utroque multa facere videntur, sed non utraque juxta in speciem valida. Nam bellandi incommoda non modo iis qui ea perferunt, sed audientibus etiam gravia, ut liberum narrandi egressum, ita pronum in ipsius sensus æstimatione patrocinium habent. Contra meditandi labor, & exercitatio tantummodo in principiorum vitæ tacitis suffragiis vim suam retinet, quorum judex intellectus est. Ita quæstio ad animum corpusque transfertur, ut ex his duobus, cujus mala alterius malis magnitudine præponderant, id potiorem causam habere existimetur. Mihi neque definiendæ tantæ litis arbitrium adsumitur, neque tamen reticebo quid sapientes viros de ea re sensisse intelligo. Id ita se habet. Quæ enim corpori contingunt, etsi ea sæva & acerba vehementer esse possint, eorum tamen extremum semper consuevisse esse, vel defatigationem, vel dolorem, vel denique mortem, quorum illa altera ad tempus sunt, & remediis cedunt; hanc viri fortes etiam contemnere solent. Iam animus ubi intenditur, etsi paria his genere mala infert, non tamen ultimum illud habet, ut homo defatigetur, vel doleat, sed potius illud quod cum eorum unde homo existit ruina conjungitur. In his enim malis fieri, ut neque vacationibus, remissionibusque laborum, fatigatus denuo instauretur, neque ex copia commodi incommodum arceatur. Ita concludunt, quanto perniciosius esse, appetentiam somni, cibique, quam somnum ipsum, cibumve auferri, & ex tabe, quam ex vulnere decumbere, tanto plus miseriarum in hoc sobrio, quam in illo luculento militiæ genere inesse: in altero nimirum plus voluptatis, in altero plus hominis homini ademptum esse. Confirmavit rem ita esse Foxius, qui cum per tot annos nullum omnino tempus ab cogitationibus scribendi vacuum fecisset, plurimumque sibi in iis quæ naturæ debentur vel denegavisset, vel intempestive concessisset, eo se tandem redegerat, ut consumpto quod corpori inerat naturaliter floridi, succulentique, non ab amicis, non ab propinquis nosci potuerit. Hoc enim initio cæpit primum in eam corporis maciem arescere, qua multi eum fuisse viderunt: neque rediit unquam pristini vultus decor, aut filos, sed manentibus noxæ causis, cum nullo modo dimittendam sibi consuetudinem suam, aut laxandum ab curis animum putaret, etiam indicium noxæ permansit. Multus igitur dehinc Foxius in ore hominum fuit historici nomine: Nam reliqua quæ animum ejus incolebant bona, ut minus nota in vulgus, ita notorum magnitudine obterebantur. Mox aliis quoque artibus cæpit clarescere: neque modo literis bonus videri, sed & officiis commodus, & ad juvandum alios non minus arte, quam naturali quadam auxietate comparatus. Sed instituta industriæ ejus per modum Diariorum componere vetat modestia operis: per genera nosci non indecens erit, ut ille consolando, consilio, manu infinitorum hominum, aut inopiam sublevârit, aut desideria implerit. Hinc nullius domus consulentium cætibus; frequentior ea tempestate quam Foxii fuit. Adiere eum cives, pariter atque Advenæ; illustres, atque plebei; etiam infimæ conditionis homines. Vna fere omnibus adeundi causa, conscientiæ vulnera: His medela quærebatur. Tandem ægri quoque corpore portari cæpti. Id fieri vetuit ut rumoribus occureret: nam quia duci, etiam sanari dicebantur. Cum autem per talia officia domi diem eximeret, tum foris etiam frequentissime prædicando, adeundoque

adeundoque eos ab quibus ipse adiri non poterat, & quod humanitatis suæ erat implevit, & quod pastoris munus erat non intermisit. Reliquum tempus quod sibi amicorum vel digressus, vel pudor fecit, non amœnitati, aut somno, sed vel orationi, vel studiis addixit, & utrisque secretum adhibuit loci, vel noctis, nisi qua erumpentes pectore gemitus ex propinquo auditi orantis impetum prodebant: Nam nocturnæ curæ finem nemo unquam; lux nova sæpè deprehendit. Cum hæc ita sint, scio tamen futurum, ut multi hæc à me tanquam nimis aridè decursa reprehendant, postulentque res ipsas, testes officiorum produci, aut saltem in unoquoque genere singulare aliquod factum proferri quo fides de reliquis securior sit. Id vero ne facere possem multis prohibeor. Primum quod conscientiæ depositæ efferri in vulgus vel ipsa humanitatis ratio vetat: pessimoque exemplo fecerit, qui arcana domuum, necessariorum controversias, clandestinos hominum lapsus, cujusque quemque in vita vel pudet, vel pœnitet, non omni modo celanda potius, quam enarranda existimet. Deinde quod hæc ipsæ res, quæ secretissimis colloquiis transigi consueverunt ad nostram cognitionem pervenire nullo pacto potuerunt, aut siquæ suspicionibus emanarunt, unumque aut alterum tale exemplum prodatur, at quota id pars dissolvendæ fidei fuerit? Iam ultimum illud industriæne, an ingenii dicam argumentum proferatur: Hunc virum qui se adeo totum amicorum usibus condonasset, ut nihil sibi ad eam curam reliqui faceret, sic tamen interim scripsisse tanquam nihil aliud facere videretur. Libros quos scripsit eorum causa quibus id gratum erit adjungere hoc loco visum est: Ii sic circumferuntur: Comœdiarum lib. 2. Syllogisticon. Admonitio ad Parliamentum. De lapsis per errorem in Ecclesiam restituendis. Oliva Evangelica. De Christo gratis justificante. De Christo crucifixo. Papa confutatus. Contra Osorium de Iustitia. Meditationes supra Apocalypsim. Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum Commentari Latine. Actorum & Monumentorum Ecclesiæ anglicè.

Perventum jam est ad id, unde simul in totam reliquam Foxii vitam prospectus datur. Id vero legentibus (opinor) pergratum accidere debet, perinde atque in itinere hominibus usvenire videmus, ut qui se multum locis asperis, saltuosisque fatigaverint, ii postquam campos, & planitiem aperuerint, ipsa variantis soli specie refici, & tanquam renovari videantur. In hoc veluti tractu morum occurrit primum quod facile primum in virtutibus Foxii fuit: Omnium scilicet rerum quæ hominibus maxime in pretio sunt, voluptatumque imprimis deliberata contemptio. Quod illi sive ab Natura ingenitum, sive ab disciplina haustum, sive divinitùs datum, necesse fuit, ut magnam ei facultatem afferret, præclare quicquid vellet faciendi: cum nihil sit quod animum per se recta iturum in prava detorqueat quin id ab aliqua voluptatum tanquam insidiatore, speculatoreque itineris nostri proficiscatur. Cum hoc tamen hoste rem sic habuit Foxius, ut qui non fuga aut latebra incolumis esse vellet: sed qui potius cuperet usu congrediendi, & notitia certaminum, tum robur sibi augeri, tum aliis exemplum resistendi dari: solitusque est dicere, nihil eos magnum facere, qui res, & negotia eo fine deserer ent, ne capi se, aut deliniri ab iis paterentur: Res enim ipsas natura innocentes esse: nocere tum incipere, cum nimiùm æstimentur, cupianturque; quam cupiditatem qui irrumpentem, inferentemque se propellere posset, eum merito temperantem esse; qui in nullo unquam periculo fuerit, eum non tam propria virtute quam occasionis defectu bonum videri. Itaque neque ille illustres amicitias unquam recusavit: non quo sibi honori essent, sed quod in iis magnum usum commendationis suæ, quoties aliquem ab se adjutum vellet fore intellexit. Pecunias ab divitibus oblatas accepit sed quas in pauperes refunderet. Etiam convivia amicorum multoties celebravit: non animi causa, cum cibi parcissimus esset, Interesse voluit cum urbanitatis causa, tum ne quis existimaret se luctam, & certamen voluptarii congressus reformidare, vel refugere, aut adversus epularem lasciviam absentiæ, quam moderationis suæ præsidio munitiorem sibi videri. Breviter dicam: In his rebus ad quas voluptas consequitur Foxium sic esse versatum, ut constet neminem eorum qui una semper adfuimus meminisse posse ejus vel vocis, vel facti, quo ille, vel levissimam cupiditatem prodiderit: adeoque non honoris, non pecuniæ, non laudis, aut cujuspiam externi boni aut avidum, aut appetentem fuisse, ut ne rei quidem familiaris curam intrare animum ejus ullo tempore, nedum vinci eum aut abduci domesticis cogitationibus pateretur. Quam ego ejus sive securitatem, sive, ut alii appellarunt, in propriis fortunis socordiam, unde profecta sit, alio loco demonstrabo.

Interim, dum mecum causas considero, propter quas ille vir reliqua omnia tantopere spernenda senseret, cum præsertim id neque ab prava ambitione, multoque minùs ab somno, aut torpore animi profectum existimari possit; compertum habeo: unum amorem divinum fuisse, quo perfusus, atq; impletus animus ejus, non locum non affectum ad reliquas voluptates relinqueret, ultroq; ipse se seculo tanquam abrumperet, alioqui seculi non incapacem. In hanc ille curam absorptus, tanquam qui ingentis gazæ thesaurum reperisset, ac zelo retinendi quæ repererat hunc unum oculis,

atque animo observare, nihil præter hunc in spe, atque expectatione habere, hanc metam omnium votorum cupiditatumque facere instituerat. Quo facto id illi contigit, quod in tali re contingere necesse fuit, ut qui animum ejus sic penitus defixum in Deo contuebantur, multaque eum & facere, & loqui quæ communis probitatis opinionem egrederentur, non illum afflatus Divini expertem esse crederent, neque jam ut pio honorem, sed ut cælesti viro venerationem, vitio hominum ad sponte culta insanientium attribuerent. Non subtraham quicquam justæ fidei, neque sublandiar famæ. Multa per occasionem consolandi, aut terrendi monuit Foxius, non vano exitu. In multis etiam fortasse falsus est: Demonstratum antea est, qua constantia sermonis Basileæ dum esset apud extorres Anglos, de reditu ipsorum pronunciavit. Circumfertur illud de Anna Hennagia, lectissima, nobilissimaque fœmina responsum ejus celebre. Decumbebat ea febre rapidissima, jamque eo malum creverat, ut medici exitiale esse pronunciarent. Vocatus ad suprema ejus Foxius, cujus ad animæ regimen consilio, & fide plurimum utebatur. Postquam quæ visa sunt ad consolationem ægræ exposuisset, peractaque, cujus causa venerat re Divina? Tu inquit recte, atque ex officio fecisti, quæ te in omnem exitum composueris: sed scito, me internuncio, te ex hoc morbo minime esse interituram. Inter astantes forte tum erat gener Hennagiæ Moyleus Finchius, eques amplissimus atque clarissimus hodie vivens. Is dicti novitate permotus, sive studio plura eliciendi, digressum paulum ab turba Foxium ficto jurgio adoritur: Mirari se dicens, qua mente fecisset, ut contra quam res, & periti artis judicabant, imperitus ipse, de ægritudinis fine statuendum putaret, eoque facto mulierem, sexu ipso mobilem, adhuc tamen interritam, ad impatientiam moriendi, spe, atque expectatione vitæ converteret: si inter vivos referri socrus sua posset, nullius lætitiæ justiores esse causas quam suæ; sin moriendum illi sit, nulli minus conveniisse, id dissimulare, quam ei qui in animam consuleret. Vehementer igitur se pro amicitia vereri, ne ille magnam partem opinionis, quam de fide, atque modestia ejus homines habebant eo intempestive dicto deperdidisset. Ad quæ renidens Foxius respondit: per se non stare quo minus quisque quod ei collibitum esset, de se sentiret: sed de ægra sic visum Deo, ut eo morbo non extingueretur: idque se demandato dicere. Convaluit fœmina; neque mendacio locus est, viventibus etiamnum qui possent arguere. Simile huic erat illud de Maria Honivoda, illustri imprimis matrona, neque minus fidum. Ea viginti jam prope annos tabe melancholica laboraverat, neque contra vim teterrimi morbi satis in quoquam consilii, animive superesse videbatur; quanquam adhibitis melioribus, quique aliquam præ cæteris vel artis, vel facundiæ commendationem habebant. Placuit tandem Foxium quoque acciri. Qui una jerant retulerunt se mœstiorem illa, afflictioremque domum nunquam introiviisse. Assidebant quotidie per officium ægræ familiares, propinqui, liberi, servi, pars sedilibus affixa, pars humi fusa, non flentes, gementesque, quod vulgo fit; sed consumptis lacrymis, contumaci silentio: sub specie humana tot simulachra mœrentium diceres: itaque non assurgere venientibus, non interrogati respondere, tanquam id quoque luctum deceret: Ipsa ægra, projecta spe vitæ jacebat in lectulo, inter densa suspiria, obscurum quid pectore expromens, cujus summa erat, quod exolui se cuperet. Cum tantum ægrorum præ manibus Foxius haberet, neque contra violentissimum doloris renixum quicquam frustra tentari placeret; ne rationem quoque habere viderentur qui ratione victi non essent, reliqua omnia demulcendi doloris remedia dimisit: si quid ad sanandas eorum mentes pertinebat, id precibus diligenter immiscuit. Ita consuetudine paucorum dierum effecit, ut qui humana ope sanari se posse diffiderent ultro sanescere viderentur: Cum tandem charior factus pronunciaret coram plurimis, futurum, non modo, ut ægra ex ea tabe convalesceret, sed ut quam extensissimam in senectam vita ejus protolleretur: Quo sermone audito, ægra paulum excitata, & Foxium acriter intuita: Qua eadem inquit ratione, si ego vitrum hoc in parietem adegero, confidam fore, ut non frangatur: Tenebat autem in manu ciathum vitreum, ex quo biberat, projecitque: neque vas casu impactum primo in cistellam lecto attiguam, & postea solo illapsum, ulla ex parte commi-
nutum est. Acceisitque omini fides: Restituta enim valetudini paulo post mulier, tum sexagenaria, duravit in exemplum rarissimæ in sobole fælicitatis; qua ante nonagesimum ætatis suæ annum (nam diutius vixit) sexagesimum supra trecentesimum nepotem, abnepotemue numeravit, ex liberis quos genuerat [a].

Hujus generis alia complura referri possent, sed defunctis ferme quorum conscientia fulcimur, non precabor fidem quam nequeo obligare. Quæ sequuntur vulgatiora fama sunt, quam ut testimonii egeant. Ierat Foxius per consuetudinem veteris officis, ad Arundelium comitem filium Norfolcii, hujus excellentissimi viri patrem: Eum digredientem ab se Arundelius, qua erat comitate, ad ripam horti sui deduxit: sed cum animadverteret flumen, coorto repente vento fluctibus intumuisse hortatus Foxium est, ne se tam infestis aquis committeret. Ille institutum itineris sequens. Ita (inquit) Comes, mihi ab istis aquis eveniat, ut ego tibi omnia vera, & sincera quæ dixi tradidi: ingressusque cimbam est, neque prius ab ponte solverant, quam ventus remittere,

[a] In quibus hodie, annon mirum salut: hum: 1641. quo hæc edito [illegible] fuerit est filia dilecta Mariæ, lectissima fœmina G. Hennagia, vidua amplissimi, atque clarissimi viri, Michaelis Hennagii, quæ se interfuisse narrat memoretarei actæ, testissimi, atque proxi- ruptior quam ut de fide ejus fas sit dubitare.

remittere, flumenq; placidius fluere cæpit. Interrogatus sæpè ab amicis cur ad familiares angustias tandem non respiceret, quod primum charitatis præceptum esset, ut suas res quam aliorum magis curatas commendataq; haberet : respondit : curatorem se habere rerum suarum ex pacto Deum : Illi notum quid sibi, aut quando conduceret : Hactenus non fefellisse : quando inciperet dubitare ut non simul ingratus esse inciperet ? Hæc atq; talia, cum homines vulgo mirarentur, quid tamen in his illud sit quod Foxio propriè in laudem hæreat non præsumpserim affirmare : sive animus ipse quanto purior, deæcatiorq; est, tanto longius prospectat, sive aliqua alia occultior causa sit, propter quam Deus patefacere consilia sua per homines aliquando dignetur nescios, sed loqui coactos. Festinandum ad alia est ; in quibus nihil erat quod magis studia hominum in Foxium vertit, quam ea qua in pauperes, & egenos omnis generis usus est misericordia; reperiasque qui affirment : Foxium non pecuniam modo, sed & vestem, & supellectilem, ipsumque domus suæ instrumentum clam uxore pauperibus dilargiri solitum. Quod ego ne pro vero tradam verecundia teneor. Nam quod multa in reliquis Foxii moribus studio hominum vel ficta, vel in majus exaggerata compererim, ne id quoque in hac parte contigerit vehementer debeo suspicari. Donavit quidem Foxius pauperibus largiter, in eaque re suarum ipse virium modum egressus est : sed neque quod ad dissipationem domus suæ liberalitas ejus unquam progressa est, ullum dignum authorem habeo : neque convenit, qua ipse aliorum liberalitate adjutus est, qui pecuniam illi Elemosinæ nomine copiosissime subministrabant, illum ad tam extraordinaria subsidia dilapsum. Quas omnes virtutes tanquam vallo clausit insignis vitæ modestia, atque integritas, ut nihil alienum in mores ingredi, nihil foras in facta prodire posset, nisi summa diligentia excussum, examinatumque an deceret. Cujus etiam objectu, si quid intus, per humanæ imbecillitatis sortem, vacillare contingeret ; ne tamen id in magnum morum detrimentum abiret providebatur, sublato undique corruptelarum omnis generis commercio, contra quas perpetuis stationibus, atque custodiis pudor peccandi & decoris sui cura excubabant. Interim tamen non desunt qui Foxium summæ in se iniquitatis incusent : id autem quale sit, quoniam ad plures ea injuria pertinere videtur altius investigabimus.

Foxius in ea parte Historiæ, qua luctuosum illud quinquennii Reginæ Mariæ incendium describit, multos nominaverat, non authores modo cladium, sed etiam ministros, adjutoresque ; inter quos etiam aliquos illustri loco viros. Id horum posteri Foxium injuste fecisse queruntur : neque debuisse necessitatem illam fatalem temporum, modestiam parendi, aut imposita publice ministeria, aut ipsis, aut posteris ipsorum ignominiæ esse. Quibus tametsi justissime respondetur, eandem quam ipsi pro majorum facto afferunt necessitatis excusationem, pro Foxio quoque valere debere ; aliter enim calumniæ locum relinqui, si ministri non ederentur : his tamen ego longe aliter quam pro jure satisfactum velim : Cupere enim, ut quod factum sit id ita fieri omnino necesse non fuisset : petere etiam, ne quod fortuna læsorum factum est, id animo lædendi factum arbitrentur : monere tamen interim, ne dolorem suum cum eorum iracundia miscere velint, qui Foxio longe alia de causa succensent, & sub personarum invidia aliam rem proscindunt. Duplex enim genus animadvertas eorum, qui nomine posterorum se læsos ferunt : alterum natura : factione alterum. Illis uti dixi humanitatis fructus debetur, atque conceditur : irati sunt, sed interim cives, atque in officio sunt : Neque ego cujuspiam boni civis, quamvis injustum dolorem, ita contemnerem, ut non potius quam ille de fide, ego de jure meo decederem : Cum his alteris longe alia res est : quibus nimirum contigit, patriæ prius irasci, quam Foxio, illamque primam, & veram causam odii habere, hunc non nisi patriæ causa odisse. Quibus ego non modo satisfactionis ullam, sed ne quod hostibus conceditur, vel expostulationis gratiam deberi existimo. Sustulerunt ipsi fidem commercii, spem reconciliationis ; societatis, humanitatisque fœdera omnia diremerunt. Quid enim cum vel pro sano, vel pro homine postea facturum sperem, qui patriæ charitatem potuit deponere ? Ea una sic omnium officiorum vim, atque jus in se trahit, ut nullum gravius judicium sit, quo quisque animo in Deum affectus sit, quam quanta in patriam charitate extiterit. At patria ipsa desivit. Primum id in controversia est, desciveritne, & quantum desciverit : extra controversiam est, debere eos omnem suum dolorem patriæ dimittere. Deinde quam duri illud oris est, cujus nimirum litis cognitionem solus Deus potest suscipere, ejus litis litigatorem, judicem se facere, neque modo eam quæ inter homines gravissima est authoritatem non sequi, sed neque vel patriæ provocandi, neque ipsi Deo spacium determinandi velle concedere ; sed omnia fœdis, proterviisque factis ante capere, tanquam victa causa, & potius hostibus scelus suum commodare, quam optimæ patriæ præstare officium ? ut si contingeret præclarissimam hanc patriam (quod tamen humana conditio facile recipit) contra Deum ulla in parte delinquere : at pernicioſissima exempla perfidiæ monstrarentur, si quotusquisq; animum perdentæ patriæ sumpsit, is excusatione patrii delicti non modo liberasse se scelere, sed id quod juris sui est feciſſe videatur. Quæ eo pluribus quoniam intelligo in nostris etiam multos esse, qui respondendum Pontificiis de maledictis in Foxium censent : Quibus ut paucis

 obsequar.

obſequar. Primum quid illud maledicti eſt q^d jaciunt? Mendacem ſcriptorem eſſe: Igitur mendacium eſt Rogerium, Cranmerum, Hoperum, Ridleyum, Latimorum, alioſque ejuſdem porticus ſanctiſſimos atq; innocentiſſimos viros religionis cauſa eſſe exuſtos. Sin iſta, vel ipſorum confeſſione, vera ſunt, quænam tandem illa ſunt quorum vitio totum reliquum opus in mendacii infamiam abierit, quod ſuis perſuadent? Nonnulla afferunt in nominibus, in temporibus, in numeris errata; quæ partim in ſequentibus editionibus retractata ſunt, partim ab ipſo authore ita defenſa, ut eo vivo nemo amplius oblatraret. Nonnulla etiam afferunt in ſuperioris ſeculi Hiſtoria ab Hiſtoricis ipſis contradicta, quod facillimum factu fuit, in tanta diſcordantium Authorum pugna, ut quemcunque Authorem ſecutus ſis in eundem ſcopulum impingeres. Ejuſmodi tamen omnia afferunt, quæ neque ſi vera, nobis valde curæ ſint, neque illis ſi falſa. Demus tamen illis aliquid, ſi placet; ſimus liberales in Foxii jure: Si ego iſta falſa quæ faciunt de Hiſtoria penitus excerpſero, polliceanturne mihi paſſuros ſe reliquum opus in ſuorum manibus liberè verſari? Non magis ferant conditionem quam pacem. Quid his hominibus facias, qui neque datis neque negatis acquieſcunt? Iam illud quoque quantæ proterviæ eſt, exigere ab ullo Scriptore, ut in curſu longi operis, dum innumerabiles res unius hominis labore perſequitur, nuſquam vel hallucinetur? ut ſi Cæſarem contingat, quo in loco Britanniam noſtram deſcribit, de circuitu, vel trajectu inſularum paucis milliaribus diſſentire ab eo quod hodierna dimenſio repperit, idcirco abſolutiſſimus Scriptor mendacii poſtuletur. Scripſit ille bella, expeditioneſque ſuas, quod inſtitutum operis fuit, ea fide qua debuit: in reliquis ſecutus eſt famam; credidit renunciantibus; noluit in re non nimis neceſſaria eſſe accuratus. Atque hæc ex noſtrorum potius hominum opinione, quam quod id faciendum putavi reſpondere viſum eſt. Quod ſi illi ipſi reſpondendum ſibi poſtulent, alia cum illis conditione agam. Redeant ad obſequium, Satisfaciant patriæ, Diſcedant ab hoſtibus: cum nullum publicum crimen illis adhæreat, tum privatas offenſiones proſequantur. Sin perſeverare adhuc in ſtudio volunt, deinde poſtquam omnem ſpem, famamque conſumpſerint, maledictis terrere incipiant; næ ego facile concedam, ut quem anteactæ vitæ fructum ceperint, eam orationis quoque laudem habeant: ita utrumque decus obtineant, ut neque maleficio, neque convitiis quiſquam cum iis poſſit contendere. Si iſta durior conditio videatur: Aequent ſaltem dignitatem inviſi operis. Sint Authores pari fama: Honeſtius certamen fuerit, ſi quanto ſuo compendio vicerint, tanto ſuo detrimento vinci poſſint. Quodſi per libellos, & furtivas declamationes obtrectando æterno operi, eo pacto nomen ſuum famæ ſtudeant inſerere, neque virorum, ſed mulierc ularum animis per convitia adrepant, quis ita demens eſt, ut quæ ſcripta contemnendo perire ſtatim faciat, ea oppugnando faciat diuturniora?

Iam porro, ut ipſi intelligant quantum Foxio ad dignitatem potius, quam ad contumeliam iſta eorum virulentia contulerit, pauca contrà de æquitate ejus erga ipſos dicam. Epiſtolas ejus proferre poſſum, quibus perſuadet Proceribus, iiſque qui tum ſummam in regno authoritatem habebant, ne Ed. Campianum, reliquoſque ejus conjurationis ſocios capitis condemnari permitterent, neve inveteraſcere in Regno conſuetudinem illam ſinerent, ut Pontificii morte potius, quam aliquo alio ſupplicii genere plecterentur. Et ne videretur iſtud ex naturæ ſuæ tantum bonitate, & non judicio animi dicere, multis rationibus apud eos probare contendit, quantum illud ad diminutionem cauſæ ſuæ pertinebat, ſi in conſtituendis ſuppliciis judicium potius adverſariorum, quam ſuam clementiam ſequerentur. Multo enim magis debere eos conniti, ut quos juſtitia viciſſent, eos manſuetudine quoque & miſericordia vincerent. Hæcque ſæpius inculcabat, etiam ad offenſionis periculum auſus deprecari; cum illi contra oſtenderent: Majeſtatis eſſe rem, non controverſiæ. Verti in eo exemplo vitam Principis, publicam libertatem, poſſeſſionem Regni: debere ſubditos periculo ſuo moneri, ne patrias facultates prodigere condiſcant: eam Regni rationem eſſe, ut ſi ſua bona intra ſe ſervare conſenſerit, nihil illo ſublimius aut ſecurius eſſe poſſit: quantum enim ab ea fælicitate defecerit, id noſtrorum hominum tranfugiis, & conjurationibus eſſe decuſſum. Perſtitit tamen in ſententia Foxius, & cum nihil precibus proficeret, dolorem tamen ſuum multo gemitu teſtari ſolitus eſt, quoties quempiam ex iis morte affectum eſſe audiebat. Viſa æquitate ejus in homines non alienum fuerit adjungere quid Foxius in univerſum de Romana Eccleſia, ejuſque Pontifice ſenſerit, quatenus id ex ejus ſermonibus elici potuit, cum jam maturus annis judicium ſuum multo rerum uſu roboraſſet. Ejus ſententiæ capita hæc ſunt.

Romanæ Eccleſiæ primam, antiquiſſimamque inter Chriſtianos dignitatem ſemper fuiſſe: Eam ei dignitatem opinionemque multis poſtea ſeculis manſiſſe; authoritatem paulatim accreviſſe, non conſenſu, vel jure, ſed inclinatione, & conſuetudine quadam ferendi, ut quos multum aliis præſtare contingit, hi plurimum quoque apud coſdem valere, iiſque tandem imperare incipiant: præcipua autem tum dignitate, tum authoritate apud hæc Occidentis Regna valuiſſe; quorum ut unumquodque Religionem Chriſtianam maxime appetebat, ita in eo ſtudio Romanorum potiſſimùm pietate & labore ſublevabantur: unde neque male earundem Eccleſiarum matrem dici meruiſſe: Occaſionem tanto incremento dediſſe urbem Romam veteri gloria, & fato quodam

imperandi

imperandi monſtratam terris; quæ etiam cum ipſa omni tempeſtate ingentis animi, atq; virtutis viris abundarit, tum frequentia, & opibus, & opportunitate loci, & quod Imperatorum oculis ſubjecta erat, facile contulerit, ut initio Chriſtiani neque congregari uſpiam facilius, neq; ſuſtentari copioſius, neque latere tutius, neque cum opus eſſet mori conſtantius reperirentur: unde illis admirationem, & gloriam in poſteros acceſſiſſe. Sed initia Eccleſiæ rectiſſimis potius diſciplinis, & ſanctitate ſpectata hominum, quam divitiis floruiſſe. Nihil in Eccleſiaſticorum moribus diſſolutum, nihil faſtus, ambitioniſue. Pecuniam, ſervos, villam, gemmas ignota ipſis bona. Omnia vel pudore, vel carendo coercita: ut non aliud quam Romæ Chriſtianæ fidei domicilium eſſe videretur: Atque hæc quo magis finitima principiis eſſent, eo magis curæ fuiſſe: receſſu paulatim diffluere, & corrumpi cæpiſſe, more fluminum, quæ prope fontem minora ſed limpidiora, quanto longius progrediuntur, tanto conſpectiore alveo, ſed turbidioribus aquis fluunt, donec recepto tandem mari, inſalubres quoque ea reddantur, & cum nullo in loco momenta primi diſcriminis deprehendas, extremorum tamen comparatione diverſiſſimas eſſe ſtatim perſpicias. Ita enim Eccleſiæ uſveniſſe, ut poſtquam traductis ad fidem Chriſtianam nationibus, ex dignitate Imperii viſum eſſet ſacerdotes, quod in veteri Religione conſueverant, non inopem, ſed liberalem vitam ducere, ejuſque cauſa multa ab Imperatoribus tum in ornamentum, tum in præmium Eccleſiaſticis concederentur, eo initio Sacerdotes pecuniam primo adamare cæperint, tum paulatim ex copia laſcivire, & laborem aſpernari, ex hoc (ut prioribus vitiis ſemper addit pejor poſteritas) potentiam cupere, cujus potitos, & Imperatorum munere principatum Eccleſiæ adeptos, non prius deſtitiſſe, quam dejectis quorum beneficio crevcrant Imperatoribus, & Imperii jura invaderent, & utrumque humani generis regimen expoſtularent: Interim Religionis quam majores ipſis tradiderant normam omittere; Scripturas neq; multum ipſi ſcrutari, neq; aliis ut id facerent permittere; cultumque divinum non in Obedientiam fidei, ſed in externis devotionibus, & magnificentia ſacrorum habere.

Quibus ex rebus factum eſſe, ut Eccleſia Romana, ut cuncta alia immoderata imperia, non ſolum de gradu, & faſtigio dignitatis ceciderit, ſed & vim ipſam, ſtatumq; Eccleſiæ in ſeipſa labefactarit · neque id mirum videri debere, ſi ut nulla corpora contingit lethalius ægrotare, quam quæ ſunt ſaniſſima, ita contigerit principi Eccleſiæ, ut nihil medium ei conveniret, quin aut in abſolutiſſima ſanitate maneret, aut in perniciöſiſſimum hoſtem evaderet; unde etiam Papam Antichriſtum videri.

Vtcunq; in tam manifeſto negotio, debere tamen utramque partem non nimium Argumentis fiduciæ ſuæ tribuere; neque nimio ſtudio impedire, ſi qua hominum æquitate, res ad ſanitatem, atq; concordiam deduci poſſit. Non noſtrarum fortaſſe virium fuiſſe, Romæ antiquum decus, & confirmatam in hominum mentibus Religionis opinionem eripere. Romanam Eccleſiam ſua avaritia, ambitione, prævaricatione concidiſſe. Sed neminem unquam in delinquendo eo progreſſum, quo pœnitentia non penetraviſſet. Debere dari ut regreſſum ad pœnitendum, ita modos, & ſpatia pœnitendi: fortaſſe etiam authorem diſplicuiſſe quod Germanus, aut Gallus, & non è natione ſua Italus erratorum admoniſſet. Exoriri aliquando inter ipſos poſſe, cujus authoritate non pudeat ad ſanitatem reverti, jacturamque potentiæ ſuæ paci terrarum condonare: Id modo quantulumcunque ſpei relinqui ita fore, quod in Capitibus ipſis fidei non ultra peccaverint quam quod ea non nimium noſci patiantur. Conditiones concordiæ eſſe, Si Pontifex Rom. omnes eas opiniones velit deſerere, ex quibus pecunia fit: nihil ægrius populo perſuaderi, quam Chriſtum ſervatorem Eccleſiæ ſuæ, pecuniæ artes, & nundinationem ſacrorum præcepiſſe. Si abrenunciet ſeculo, neque ſibi aut juris, aut negotii quicquam in alienis Regnis eſſe exiſtimet. Si contra adverſarii ejus non recuſent aliquem eſſe, qui in re Religionis principem conſilii, & adminiſtrationis locum inter Chriſtianos obtineat: eam rem poſtquam metus abfuerit, multas ſecum utilitates afferre: neque contra Eccleſiam Rom. quin ea præferatur, debere magis valere, quod aliquando ceciderit, quam pro ea facere, quod prima floruerit. Hæc autem quo rectius fiant Concilio Chriſtianorum permitti debere, cujus ea æquitas ſit, ut neque ex loco in quem conveniatur, neq; ex numero ſuffragiorum, cujuſpiam unius potentia, aut gratia quicquam ſibi in reliquorum injuria poſſit polliceri.

Interim dum hæc fiant pertinere multum ad ſpem, celeritatemque componendi; ſic hominum mentes deinceps informari, ut utrinque de alteris melius & ſperare & ſentire incipiant: Præcipue autem debere homines ejus pertinaciæ obliviſci, qua utraque pars, dum ſe ſolam Eccleſiam eſſe venditat, excludit alteram: id enim non impium modo, ſed & contumelioſum ſumme in Deum eſſe, exiſtimare, eum ſic mandata ſua hominibus dediſſe, ut obtemperantibus in perniciem vertantur: quod neceſſario futurum, ſi cum omnes homines idem ſentire nolint, qui plus aliis intelligendo diſſenſerint, ab iis reliqui arceantur: An igitur ſolis intelligentibus, & magna rerum ſcientia præditis cælum ſervari? Vbi igitur fatuos ſeculi futuros, ubi pueros, quos Chriſtus ſibi ſepoſuit? quanto, rectius Deum coli, exequendo ea quæ manifeſta ſunt, quam interpretando quæ ſunt ambigua? quanto, probabilius eſſe tantam videri Dei miſericordiam, ut convenientibus de ſumma obſequendi nihil aliud fraudi eſſe poſſit? eam vim obedientiæ eſſe, ut ea ſola omnes inæqualitates apud Deum exæquet: quod ſi par omnium ratio non ſit, ſanè apud Deum longe potiores eos eſſe, qui modeſtius judicarint.

Ab inimicis ad amicitias Foxii tranſeo; inter quas dictum eſt, quanto ſemper ſtudio ab Duce Norfolcio dilectus eſt, cujus & opibus vivi, & penſionibus mortui alebatur, quas nimirum ratas fecit

liberalitas

liberalitas Filii ejus, Illustrissimi Comitis Suffolcienſis, ad quem ii reditus pertinebant. Auxit fortunam ejus Wilhelmus Cecilius, Theſaurarius Regni, vir omni oratione major, quem tanti Elizabethæ intererat, miniſtrum ſibi habere, quanti Regni intererat, Elizabetham habere Principem, certeq; digniſſimus, qui in ea patria, & ſua & poſterorum fortuna floreret, quam is omnium florentiſſimam ſapientia & conſilio ſuo effecerat. Is Rectoriam Shiptonienſem, ab Regina, donum Foxio impetravit, nulla alia re adductus, niſi publicum ob meritum: cumque Foxius cunctaretur, & more ſuo veniam recuſationis ab eo peteret, modeſtiam viri ſolertia ſua expugnavit: neq; accipere ſe reſponſum dixit, neq; meruiſſe, ut rejecti ab eo beneficii Regii, tanquam ab ſe averſi, culpa penes ſe eſſet. Comitibus Bedfordienſi, & Warwicenſi perquam gratus fuit, ob ſimilitudinem morum ipſis commendatus. Franciſco Walſingamio, Secretario Regni intimus fuit, impigerrimo, ſapientiſſimoq; viro, meritoq; qui Secretariatus vim primus intenderet. Hennagios fratres ſumme dilexit, Thomam, & Michaelem, ſed illum elegantia morum ejus ellectus, hunc ob ſolida ſtudia, & ſingularem vitæ modeſtiam, ambo ampliſſimos, & in ſuo genere abſolutiſſimos viros, de quibus dicere ſolebat, in Thoma fuiſſe, quicquid Aula requirere poſſet, in Michaele totum fratrem, & præterea quicquid Aula non corruperat. Druum Drurium quoq; multo ſtudio coluit, virum integerrimum propoſiti, & in omni fortuna conſtantiſſimum, & fortaſſe ſolum in ea Aula, qui & gratiam retinuit, neq; libertatem dimiſerat: Inter Præſules, Ed. Grindallum, Archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem. Elmarum Epiſcopum Londinenſem, Pilkintonum Dunelmenſem, Noellum Decanum Paulinæ Eccleſiæ, obſervavit, Baſilienſis exilii comites. Inter ſcriptores, Laurentium Humfridum, Whitakerum, Fulkium prætulit, quorum ingeniis mire delectatus eſt, locoq; beneficii habuit, ſe ab illis invicem amari. Sed nulla arctius conſuetudine tenebatur quam Io. Crowlii, & Bolduini Collini: Hos omnibus conſiliis ſuis, curiſque ad hibuit; Collinum præcipue, de cujus viri poſſeſſione, neſcire ſe dixit, uter juſtius contenderet, an pudentiſſimus animus, an ſumma ſcientia. Inter militares viros, Fran. Drakum conſuetudine ſua mire devinxerat, quem virum prope ea tempora laudari quibus vixit ſuperfluum fuerit, commendari poſteris, vel multis voluminibus vix ſuffecerit. Præclariſſima civium Londinenſium voluntate uſus eſt; inter quos apud Tho. Greſhamum, Roum, Bacchuſium, Smitheum, Dalum, Sherintonum magnam authoritatem, opinionemq; habere viſus eſt, viros partim ampliſſimis honoribus in civitate uſos, partim copioſiſſimos negotiatores. Prætereo multos, quos fortaſſe contigit eundem in Foxii amicitia locum habuiſſe, neque id mihi vitio verti debet, ſi omnium vel meminiſſe, vel notitiam conſequi minus potuerim. Illud præterire non debeo, cujus etiam præcipue cauſa præfatos ſummos viros memorari volui; hos fuiſſe, ab quibus demonſtratum eſt, pecunias Elemoſinæ nomine Foxio largiſſime ſuppeditatas fuiſſe pauperibus diſpenſandas: Quod cum illi ita clam facerent, ut nec internunciis fiderent, neq; in eo benefacti gratiam reſpicerent, cujus conſcientiam ſufficere ſibi intelligebant; non tamen id mihi in Foxii hiſtoria diſſimulandum fuit, aut committendum, ut ſi illi tantæ liberalitatis fructum negligendum ſibi exiſtimarent, at non ab Foxio veritatem facti proditam eſſe quiſquam arguat, præſertim cum utriſque abundi ad laudem ſit, ut illi ſuis, hic non niſi ſuis factis noſcatur.

Multa deniq; comitate inter amicos fuit. Id ſeveritatis gravitatiſq; condimentum ſibi indulſerat. Rogatus quondam in Convivio, quodnam afferri ſibi ferculum juberet, unde prandium inciperet: reſpondit ultimum. Acceptaq; comiter vox eſt, tanquam lectiores dapes, quæ ultimo fere poni ſolent innuiſſet; cum ille ad finem convivii & ad abeundi voluntatem adluderet. Forte habuit in via obviam mulierem quandam, ſatis ſibi cognitam. Ea prolato quem geſtabat libro, cum dixiſſet. Vides quo profectura ſum, nempe ad Concionem: reſpondit, At tu Sacor domum abi, hodie enim apud Deum nihil effeceris: & cum illa quæretet, quando igitur ire me jubes; cum (inquit) nemini dixeris. Accidit in menſa ſua, ut quidam de Leyceſtrio Comiti liberius obloqueretur: Id cum Foxius audiviſſet, ſtatim paterâm quandam, quam iunuerat impleri vino, & afferri ſibi juſſit, qua allata, Hæc inquit patera mihi ab Leyceſtrio dono miſſa eſt: cohibuitque hominis intemperantiam, neque reprehendit. Ingratum hominem mari comparabat, quod cuncta ingeſta voraret, neque ſignum relinqueret. Adoleſcenti cuidam audaculo, qui multis aſtantibus, dixiſſet, ſe nihil in antiquorum lectione percipere, quod homines adeo mirarentur: Nihil inquit mirum eſt, nam ſi perciperes mirareris. Infinita mihi hujus generis memorandi copia eſt: ſed nolo formam operis excedere.

Cum autem per talia facta, atq; mores Foxius ætatem exegiſſet, plenus annorum, amicorumq; nondum exacto ſeptuageſimo curſus ſui anno exceſſit, nulla nota valetudine oppreſſus, ſed multum ob ſenium. Præſenſit tamen tempus exitus ſui, neq; filios ſuos, quos ardentiſſime tamen dilexit, intereſſe ſupremis ſuis voluit: ſed alterum acciri prorſus vetuit; alterum nudiuſtertius diei quo mortuus eſt ab ſe dimiſit; & utrumq; revocavit cum vel feſtinantes parum in tempore adfuturos ſciret: ſive impares eos acerbiſſimo ſpectaculo fore credidit: ſive animum ſuum turbari domeſticis deſideriis nolebat: Quod fratri meo mihiq; omnium miſerrimum contigit, ut neque oculos componere, neque ſuprema ejus mandata excipere, neque ſatiari ultimo ejus aſpectu nobis liceret: quietiore fortaſſis animo deficientis momenta toleraviſſemus, quam moriendi exemplum in eo amiſimus. Ad famam mortui indoluit civitas, elatumque permodico funere nigenti multitudinis ſuæ concurſu honoravit: neque alia lugentium ſpecie, quam ſi in tanto populo parentem, aut fratem ſuum ſinguli ſepeliſſent.

FINIS

These ensuing matters were left out in all the former Editions but the first, and are now published by authority

Left out in vol. 2. page 721. col. 2. before certaine Additions vse these Letters.

S. W. To the Lord Protector.

AFter most humble commendations to your grace, I haue receiued this day Letters from my Lord of Canterbury, touching certaine Homilies, which the Bishops in the Conuocation holden Anno Dom. M.v.xlij. agreed to make for stay of sucherrours as were then by ignorant preachers sparkeled among the people, for other agreement there had not then passed among vs. Since that time God gaue our late Soueraigne Lord the gift of pacification in those matters, which established by his highnesse authority in the conuocation extinguished our deuises, and remayneth of force with your grace, wherin to auoyd many encombrous arguments, which wit can deuise against the truth, I send to your grace the copy of mine answer to my Lord of Canterbury, to whom I write and offer my selfe more largely, then I euer did in any matter of the Realme, to any man besides my Soueraign Lord, or the chiefe Gouernour as your grace, for I am not factious, and vse only to say as I am bound to say as occasion serueth, for that is my duty, hauing no other thing purposed but truth and honestly, whatsoeuer any man shall otherwise say of mee, I am busier with your grace then needeth but such commendations as it pleased your grace to send me by Walter Coke (for the which I most humbly thanke your grace) hath engendred thus much more boldnesse, that euer mee thinketh I should desire your grace, not to suffer the Kings Majesty our late Soueraigne Lords determination to slip the Anker-hold of authority, and come to a disputation, for edition whereof, afterward the burden must rest on your grace, vnto whom I desire all prosperous successe, and the increase and continuance of such honour as God hath granted to your vertue, not to fall in encombre of any by-matter that need not to be sturred. If your grace thinke not your selfe encombred with my babling, and inculking that needeth not vnto you, I would answer your graces Letters of vj. of Aprill, so as your grace will by other Letters withdraw your name, that I may be seene to dispute with one not so farre aboue me in authority, as your grace is, which I haue thought requisite to aduertise, lest by my silence your grace should deeme I thought my selfe ouercome in those matters, where indeed I am of a contrary mind, and can shew whereupon to ground me, why I should so thinke: And thus desiring your grace to take in good part my doings, I shall continually pray for the preseruation of your grace long in felicity. At Westminster the x. of June 1547. S. W.

To the Lord Protector.

AFter my most humble commendations to your grace, since my Letters vnto your grace wherewith I sent vnto you such letters as I had written to my Lord of Canterbury for answer to his letters touching Homilies, I haue ofttimes receiued other letters from my said Lord of Canterbury, requiring the said Homilies by vertue of a Conuocation holden v. yeers past, wherein we communed of that which tooke none effect then, and much lesse needeth to be put in execution now, ne in my iudgement cannot without a new authority from the kings Maiesty that now is, commanding such a matter to be enterprised, I wrote at length to my Lord of Canterbury, and sent the Copy of those letters to your grace, not to the intent your grace should loose so much time to reade them, for they be tedious in length, but only for my discharge, who neuer medled, yet by priuate letters with any man in the Realms to perswade or dissuade matters of Religion, but with the Prince himselfe, or him that had the managing of the great matters vnder him. And following this determination am so bold to send your grace the Copy of such letters as I write to my Lord of Canterbury, whose letters to mee, I could not of congruence forbeare to answer, ne answering forbeare so speake freely as I thinke. And sory I am to heare the matter of Homilies spoken of in this time, your grace hath done prudently to stop the vaine rumours by proclamation, and it hath wrought good effect, and me thinketh is not best to enterprise any thing to tempt the people with occasion of tales, whereby to breake the proclamation and offend: And to this effect I wrote to my Lord of Canterbury: For like as in a natural body, rest without trouble doth confirme and strengthen it, so is it in a Common-wealth, trouble trauelleth and bringeth the things to losenesse: And my Lord of Canterbury is not surer of his life when the old order is broken, and a new brought in by Homilies, that hee shall continue to see his new deuice executed, for it is not done in a day, I would there were nothing else to doe now, I haue knowne bulines to occupy such as were put in trust, when Religion hath beene vntouched, a new order engendereth a new cause of punishment against them that offend: And punishments bee not pleasant to such as haue the execution, and yet they must be, for nothing may be contemned. And thus I trauell in the matter with my Lord of Canterbury, because he would I should weigh things, and so doe I as indifferently as euer did man for the preseruation of the ship wherein I sayle my selfe, and so many other whose prosperity I am bound to wish, I can admit no Inuocations. S. W.

S. W. To the Lord Protector.

AFter my most humble commendations to your good grace with thankes, that it hath pleased you to be content to heare from me, wherein now I haue from your grace liberty to write at large, I cannot find the like gentlenesse in my body to spend so much time as I would: And therefore that now desire your grace to take in good part, though I gather my matter into briefe sentences.

The Iniunctions in this visitation containe a commandement to be taught and learned, two bookes, one of the Homilies that must be taught other by Priest. An other of Erasmus Paraphrasis, that the Priest must learne himselfe, these bookes strine one with another directly, &c. Thus I haue signified to your grace some speciall faults that bee Erasmus owne faults; and in my iudgement great faults, but I haue not written all: And your

Winchester taxeth the paraphrase of Erasmus.

grace shall further understand that hee who it is, I know not who hath taken the labours to translate Erasmus into English, hath for his part offended sometime, as appeareth plainely by ignorance, and sometime evidently of purpose, to put in, leave out, and change as he thought best, never to the better but to the worse with the specialties whereof, I will not now encomber your grace, but assure you it is so. And here I will grant to your grace, that for everyly I make vnto you, set on c. pound fine vpon mine head, and let mee liue here like a beggar, whilst my reuenewes pay it: My words you haue in writing, and be against me matter of record; and so I yeld to haue me charged, as the Bishop of London was with offering the forme of his Bishoppicke, which matter came to my remembrance in the writing hereof; and now I haue written vnto your grace vpon what foundation my conscience is grounded I shall truly declare vnto you the manner of my proceeding from the beginning I never heard of the execution of the visitation, till your grace was departed from London Northward, and as the bookes flowed abroad by liberty of the Printers they came to my hands, I never slept while I had perused them, as soone as I had found certaine faults I wrote to the Councell, trusting vpon such earnest aduertisement as I made, they would incontinently haue sent for mee, and vpon knowledge of so euident matter as me thought I had to shew, haue stayed till your graces returne, I saw a determination to doe all things suddenly at one time, whereunto although your grace agreed, yet of your wisedome I conjected yee had rather haue had it tary whiles your returne, if you had not beene pressed: And that word pressed I noted in your graces letters to mee, wherein you wrote you were pressed on both sides: mee thought if by bringing my selfe to most extreame danger in your absence, I could haue stayed this matter, besides my duty to God, and to my Soueraigne Lord I had done also your grace pleasure, of whom I haue this firme opinion, that willingly and wittingly your grace will neither breake the act of parliament, ne command bookes to be bought with authority, that containe such doctrine as these bookes doe: Thus I aduentured in your graces absence, wherein although I had remembrance of your grace, yet I made not your grace my foundation, but God chiefly, as God knoweth with the preseruation of our late Soueraigne Lords honour that dead is, and the security of our late Soueraigne Lord that now is.

If Winchester never slept till he had read the paraphrase, either he was a quick reader, or else he read faster then he well understood.

Which returne Winchester & his never looked for if all crafty practises were knowne.

Let no man be offended with the vehemency of my writing, for I wrote with a whole heart, and if I could haue written it with the blood of my heart I would haue done it, to haue done good, in staying the thing till it had beene more maturely digested, and till your graces safe returne. I touched the Act of Parliament liuely, but as truly as euer was any thing spoken of. And I never wept more bitterly then I did for a conceit that troubled my head which never passed my lippes, ne shall never come out of my penne, I will tell it your grace, and you require it. Now whether the King may command against an Act of Parliament, and what danger they may fall in, that breake a Law, with the Kings consent I dare say no man aliue at this day hath had more experience, what the Iudges and Lawyers haue said then I: First I had experience in mine old Master the L. Cardinall, who obtained his Legacy by our late Soueraign Lords request at Rome: And in his sight and knowledge occupyed the same with his two Crosses, and Pases borne before him many yeares; yet because it was against the lawes of the Realme, the Iudges concluded the offence of the præmunire: which conclusion I bare away, and take it for a law of the Realme, because the Lawyers so said, but my reason digested it not. The Lawyers for confirmation of their doings, brought in a case of the Lord Tiptoft as I remember, a folly Ciuilian, hee was Chauncellor to the King, who because in execution of the Kings Commission hee had offended the lawes of the Realme hee suffered on Towerhill, they brought in examples of many Iudges that had fines set on their heads in like case for doing against the law of the Realme by the Kings commandement. And then was brought in the Iudges oath, not to stay any Processe or iudgement for any commandement from the Kings Majesty. And one Article against my Lord Cardinall, was that hee had granted Iniunctions to stay the common lawes, and vpon that occasion, Magna Charta was spoken of, and it was made a great matter the stay of the common law, and this I learned in that case, sithence that time being of the Councell, when many Proclamations were deuised against the Carriers out of corne, at such time as the transgressors should be punished, the iudges would answer it might not be by the lawes, whereupon ensued the Act of Proclamations, in the passing of which Act many liberall words were spoken, and a plaine promise, that by authority of the Act for Proclamations, nothing should be made contrary to an Act of Parliament, or Common law, when the Bishop of Exeter, and his Chauncellor were by one body brought in a præmunire, which matter my Lord Priuy seale cannot forget. I reasoned with the Lord Awdly then Chauncellor, so farre as hee had mee hold my peace for feare of entering into a præmunire my selfe, whereupon I stayed, but concluded it seemed to me strange that a man authorised by the King (as since the Kings Majesty hath taken vpon him the supremacy euery Bishop is such a one) could fall in a præmunire. After I had reasoned the matter once in the Parliament house, where was free speech without danger, and there the Lord Awdly then Chauncellor, to satisfie mee familiarly, because I was in some secret estimation as hee then knew, thou art a good fellow Bishop quoth hee, which was the manner of his familiar speech, loke the Act of Supremacy, and there the Kings doings bee restrayned to spirituall jurisdiction; and in another Act it is prouided, that no spirituall law shall haue place contrary to a common law or Act of Parliament. And this were not (quod hee) you Bishops would enter in with the King, and by meanes of his supremacy order the laytie as yee liked; but we will prouide quod hee, that the præmunire shall euer hang ouer your heads, and so wee lay men shall bee sure to enjoy our inheritance by the common lawes, and Acts of Parliament. It is not yet full two yeers agoe, since in a case of Iuels I was faine with the Emperours Embassador, and after in the Emperors Court, defend and maintaine by commandement, that the Kings of this Realm were not aboue the order of their lawes. And therefore the Iueller, although he had the Kings Bill signed, yet it would not be allowed in the Kings Court, because it was not obtained according to the lawes, in which matter I was very much troubled, euen this time twelue moneth, when I was in Commission with my Lord great Master, and the Earle of Southhampton for altering the court of augmentations. There was my Lord Mountague, and other of the Kings learned Councell, of whom by occasion of that matter I learned what the King might doe contrary to an Act of Parliament, and what danger it was to them that meddled against the act, it is fresh in memory, and they can tell whether I said true or no, and therefore being learned in sondry cases, I wrote in your graces absence to the Councell therein, as I had learned by hearing the Commons speake, whose judgements rule those matters, howsoeuer my reason can disgest them, and so wrote to the Councell. Which my writings I fashioned so as I trusted my Lord would haue stayed til your

Crocodili lacrimæ.

And why did you and your breake the act of Parliament of K. Edward, for the communion by a proclamation, or setting vp the masse in S. Maries dayes like Master like man.

graces

graces returne. And thus I haue declared to your grace the purpose of my writting to the Councell so vehement, which neuertheleſſe I continued with al humility to abide the order of authority, and learne all other obedience; for thereunto I haue euer had as great regard as to any man in this Realme. And as my word is Vana ſalus hominis, ſo I aſſure your grace I practiſe it throughly in my deeds.

When my Lords ſent laſt for me, I came to them with as much ſpeed as I might, with my ſleeues and boſome truſt full of books to furniſh my former allegations, I was heard very well and gentilly, and me thought I ſhewed matter that ſhould haue moued, for I ſhewed the two books to be contrary, as I haue written before, wherewith they ſaid they were not moued, adding how their conſcience agreed not with mine, vſing many good words to bring me to ſuch conformity, as they would haue had me at, wherenpon knowing that I know, I could not relent, but after I had beene a little beſide from them, and was returned, they entered a preciſe order with me, either to receiue preciſely the iniunctions, or to refuſe, in which caſe they had further to ſay to mee, adding that your grace was priuie to that was done there that day: my anſwer was that I would receiue the iniunctions as farre as Gods law and the Kings would bind me; and becauſe I ſaw they grew to ſuch preciſeneſſe, & remembring how after a good ſort they had cauſed me to be accompanied before with Maſter Wingfield, making innouations, what would be the end if I would not yeelde? I would not therfore leaue vnſpoken, that I thought might auoid that followed: I told them there were iij. weeks of delay to the comming of the viſitors to me: In the meane time, I offered to goe to Oxford to abide the diſcuſſion there, which offer was not allowed. I deſired them to goe to my houſe at London, and to haue learned men ſpeake with me there, which was not accepted. I entered then the allegation of the Goſpel of the ſeruant that ſaid he would not doe a thing, and yet did it, and ſo I ſaid it might be that although I then ſaid nay, as my conſcience ſerued me, yet I might percaſe change, and was a man that might be tempted? But as my conſcience was then, me thought Gods law and the Kings letted me, and vpon knowledge of their pleaſures, that I muſt to the Fleet, I told my Lords I thought it hard, vnleſſe there were a greater matter then to ſend me to priſon, for declaring before hand what I minded to doe before any thing had beene by me actually done to reſiſt the viſitation, who had all the meane time to thinke on the matter, and repent me. Whereunto the anſwer was ſuch as diſpleaſed me not inwardly ſo much, but I haue well diſgeſted it, and (ſo all may be well) care not what becometh of my body, I departed as quietly from them, as euer man did, and haue endured with as little grudge here, and haue learned this leſſon in the world neuer to looke backward, as S. Paul ſaith, ne remember that is paſt, I will neuer grudge or complaine of nothing for my ſelfe.

As for the matter to haue ſuch books recommended to the Realm in the kings name by your graces direction, me ſeemeth very weighty, and your grace not to haue beene well handled in it, all the world knoweth the Kings highneſſe himſelfe know not theſe bookes, & therefore nothing can be aſcribed vnto him, your grace hath bin to your increaſe of honour ſo occupied, as all men know, your grace had no leiſure your ſelf to peruſe theſe books, and yet bee the bookes as I haue written. I leaue the reſt to your grace. If I that tell the Councell my mind of them that haue done ſo farre amiſſe, becauſe when I know ſo much, I will not yet allow them, I ſhall from henceforth the more regard the leſſon of an old Ambaſſador that bed me, let euill tydings goe home to my maſter afoot, & ſend only good tydings by poſte. Aſhift with the word, which agreeth not with my nature as maſter Wallop ſaith, vpon friday laſt paſt, my Lord of Canterbury ſent for me to the Dean of Pauls houſe, whether I went with ſome gazing of the world. There I found my Lord of Canterbury accompanied with the Biſhop of Rocheſter, maſter doctor Cor, and maſter Aire, and I was brought thither by the Biſhop of Lincolne, what report my Lord of Canterbury hath made thereof I cannot tel, my Lord of Canterbury was in hand with his Homily of ſaluation, but nothing hard, or ſaw I to ſaue my conſcience in agreeing to him, but hard that I ſhould ſuffly confirme me in mine own conſcience, I made offer to yeeld to them in that Homily, if they could ſhew me any old Writer that wrote how faith excluded charity in the office of iuſtification, it is againſt Scriptures plaine words, and to ſwarue from ſcripture without any one Doctor to leane to it, were ſore: Where ſcriptures & doctors want, my Lord of Canterbury would fal to arguing, and ouer-come me that am called the Sophiſter, by ſophiſtry. When I hard my Lords argument I denied it, and would enter none other declaration, for I keepe that anſwer till ſome other then were there, be preſent, my ſolution whereunto, when I declare it, ſhall make all the reſt of the matter very weak & my Lo: not to like his argument at al, one argument I could not aſſoile, to come againe to the Fleet: my Lord of Canterbury charged me, that I like nothing vnleſſe I doe it my ſelfe, whereof I am not guilty, I was neuer author of any one thing other ſpirituall or temporall, I thanke God of it. I am alſo charged that all the Realme hath receiued theſe homilies without contradiction ſaue I, whereunto I anſwer, I thinke they haue not read that I haue read in theſe bookes, what hath beene done I cannot tell, now I am kept as I cannot know though I would when I was abroad, I neuer ſought to know more then was brought by common fame, for this ſhall be found true, I neuer adviſed any man to object any thing againſt theſe books, no one man, not my Chaplains: A kinſman of mine beneficed in my dioces, and not vnlearned came to me, & told me how he heard a lewd fellow ſay, that I would not receiue the iniunctions. And ſir (quod I) I rebuked him, and reuiled him, and ſaid you would as readily receiue as any man, I told him that in ſo ſaying hee did very well; vpon my comming vp a Chaplain of mine, a doctor of diuinity told mee, he would receiue the iniunctions quietly, & ſay nothing, I told him it ſhould be well done, if I had tarried in my dioceſſe, if any man had ſpoken but my ſelfe I would haue loſt my life for it, nor I think there hath not now. This matter was to try a biſhop, whether he careth more for the truth, or his owne reſt, what examples haue I ſeene in this realm, how freely men haue ſaid their conſcience againſt our late ſoueraign lords determination, & againſt the act of parliament: doctor Croc a meane man preached againſt our late Soueraign Lords determinations, & how daintily was he handled to relieue his conſcience: if your grace would haue this for a preſident, that whatſoeuer the kings Councel for the time of a princes minority ſhal ſend to be preached muſt needs be receiued without allegation: of what ſtrength is the act of parliament againſt the biſhop of Rome? The kings Majeſty, when hee commeth to his age will look to be bold to doe as much with his ſubiects as his Councel did in his minority, whereof the Councellors may be then weary, Preſidents be dangerous. For I haue ſeen it almoſt for a rule: That whatſoeuer hath bin once done, may then without queſtion be done again, in our late Soueraigne Lords time, I haue ſeene the Councell much aſtonied, when the king would haue done ſomewhat againſt an act of parliament, it was made then a great matter. The Lord Cromwell had once put in the kings our late ſoueraign Lords head to take vpon him to haue his will & pleaſure regarded for a law, for that he ſaid was to be a very king, & therupon I was called for at hampton court.

And as the L. Cromwell was very stout, come on my Lord of Winchester (quod he) for that conceit hee had whatsoeuer hee talked with mee, hee knew euer as much as I, Greeke or Latine, and all. Answer the King here (quod hee) but speake plainely and directly, and thinke not man. Is not that (quod hee) that pleaseth the King a law? haue yee not therein the ciuill law (quod hee) quod principi placuit, and so forth (quod hee) I haue somewhat forgotten it now, I stood still and wondered in my mind to what conclusion this should tend: The King saw me musing, and with earnest gentlenesse said: answer him whether it be so or no, I would not answer my Lord Cromwell, but deliuered my speech to the King, and told him: I had read indeed of Kings that had their will alwayes receiued for a law, but I told him the forme of his reigne, to make the lawes his will was more sure and quiet, and by this forme of gouernment yee be established (quod I) and it is agreeable with the nature of your people: If yee beginne a new manner of policie, how it will frame no man can tell, and how this frameth yee can tell, and would neuer aduise your grace to leaue a certaine for an uncertaine: The King turned his backe, and left the matter after till the Lord Cromwell turned the Cat in the panne afore company, when hee was angry with mee, and charged mee as though I had played his part: This tale is true, and not without purpose to bee remembred, how I haue beene tossed to and fro in this kind of matter. Thus I haue shewed your grace the whole matter with many moe words then I intended in the entry of my letter, and make now an end, enforced by wearinesse of my body, fed with close ayre, rather then meat, which my stomack desireth not, yet I must say somewhat in the matter of onely faith, wherein my Lord of Canterbury, so much trauelleth.

First it is sure, hee shall never proue that hee would say in that matter, but to make an end of it, either I am a very foole in mine owne conceit, which may easily be, or I see an occasion giuen to your grace to make such a true determination in it, as may be honourable to your grace, the contentation of all the world, the preseruation of the Kings honour that dead is, without prejudice of the Act of Parliament, without derogation to my Lord of Canterburies honour, without diminution of the reputation of the Councell, and without any glory to the Bishop of Winchester. Which is in some mens conceit the greatest matter of all that be yet rehearsed, and in good faith I would I were not, so all were well. Your graces doing in Scotland, is not to my judgement more to your graces honour then this would bee, which God grant and your grace much honour and felicity. At the Fleet the xiiij. of October.

Your graces humble beadman, S.W.

To the Lord Protector.

After my most humble commendations to your good grace, since the writing of my last long letters to your good grace, which as they wearied mee in writing, so they haue I thinke wearied your grace in reading, I haue beene in great expectation to heare somewhat from your grace, of whose gentle and fauourable mind towards mee, I cannot doubt, howsoeuer the declaration thereof at this time bee hindered by other by-perswasions, wherewith although your grace may be somewhat moued, I marualle not, and therefore whiles all things may be tryed, doe well satisfie my selfe, not minding by any suite, I haue or shall make; otherwise to presse your grace then may be conueniently obtained of you in the stake you now present. And yet sue I must of congruence, for declaration of my humility, and also importunely sue, lest I should be seene to contemne, and to bee entered into melancholly, proudly to disdaine the world, which I assure your grace I doe not, nor neuer had any such fantasie: Whereof they can be witnesse, that haue continually seene my behauiour, since the death of our late Soueraigne Lord, and since my comming to this prison. And yet my L. of Canterbury, when hee sent for me last out of the Fleet, handled mee with faire words, declaring mee a man meet in his opinion to bee called to the Councell againe, adding how wee (he said) did daily chose in, other that were not appointed by our late Soueraigne Lord. They were worldly comfortable words, and as farre contrarious on the one side, as the Fleet is on the other side: But I haue not I thanke God, that deceit which my Lord of Canterbury thought to be in mee, or would seeme to thinke so, whereby to enduce others to thinke the same, as though I were not moued to say as I doe, for any zeale to the truth, but of peruerse frowardnesse, as one that like not his estate, and therefore cared not what became of him: The truth wherefore be otherwise God knoweth: And I am able to make to the world sufficient proofe and testimony of the contrary if it be required: First, as touching the booke of Paraphrasis, whereof I wrote to your grace speciall faults, and other I haue to shew as great as they I trust: And doubt not, the matter it selfe shall sufficiently declare, that I haue done well to speake against that booke, assuring your grace, that since my comming to prison, many dayes together when I looked on it, I saw euery day, some new thing in such sort of fault, as ought worthily to condemne the worke, I haue fauoured Erasmus name as much as any other, but I neuer studied ouer this booke till now, and now I agree with them that said Erasmus laid the egges, and Luther hatched them: adding further, that of all the monstrous opinions that haue arisen, euill men had a wondrous occasion ministred to them of that booke; and therefore I trust the matter of that booke will purge the euill opinion as might bee gathered of me, wherein I offer to proue that I said with any learned man, paine of shame and rebuke, and to be taken for a malicolike beast. As for the booke of Homilies, in that point where my Lord of Canterbury would haue taught how faith excludeth charity in the office of iustifying, besides that my conscience is otherwise perswaded, and truly perswaded, it doth so touch mee outwardly in the world, as if I would for any intercession or request vpon offer to be a Councellor, or haue as much more land as all the Bishops may spend. I were worthy for so agreeing for mede on the one side, or dread on the other side; first to be whipped in euery market towne in the Realme, and then hanged for example, as the veriest varlet that euer was Bishop in any Realme christned, vnlesse my Lord of Canterbury could shew me either Scripture that so said, or some ancient Writer, wherein I desire only to see but one where commonly two be required in euery matter: But because it is in the matter of only faith, I require but one ancient Writer, whereby I cared not for my conscience as some would haue it, perswaded if I might excuse my selfe at least to the world that I were not worthy to be whipped, and hanged in all good mens iudgements, and mine owne also. And this matter I write vnto your grace, to declare vnto you in what straits I am tyed inwardly in my conscience by very truth, so I am tyed outwardly in the world with shame, whereby appeareth that I resist not this matter of a wilfull purpose, or that I like it not because I was not a Counsellor, which words my Lord of Canterbury vsed to me, for I am euen driuen to doe as I doe of necessity on both sides in my conscience

Erasmus if he had beene alive he could as well haue answered to this matter as he answered to Albertus Pius obiecting against him the same

Because ye require an ancient author, what say you to Chrysostome in Epist. ad tit. hom. 3. Si fides dei credis, cur alia infers? qua fides non sufficit sola.

The same Chrysostome also.

In Mat. 8. hom. 27. Tom. 3. at jam neminem fugere possit, his verbis declarari non ex operibus sed ex fide salutem hominibus eternam præstari.

If I might be so bold with this noble Clarke I would oppose him in his Grammar, what part of speech were Absque in S. Paul, where hee saith.

Fide justificamur absque operibus, we are justified by faith without workes, if he say it is a prepositon exclusive, as he must needs doe, then how can he deny here charity to be excluded with all the workes of the law in the action of justificatio, if this word excluding doe displease you, then take away in S. Paul these words Gratis, non ex operibus absque precibus Domin. est, &c.

That is, freely not of workes, without workes it is Gods gift &c. Workes of charity are not excluded not to follow: but not merit any part of justification.

ence before God and the world abroad, whereof if I shew not your grace such a proofe as cannot bee denyed, let mee be out of all credit in every thing, and be accounted a lyar, which I abhorre above all faults. Whereupon mee seemeth my case is miserable to be so encombred as I am, and yet to be used as I were without cause obstinate, notwithstanding all such circumstances as I haue used to humble my selfe to learne and abide; I yeeld my selfe to be opposed at Oxford, that I might say, if I yeelded, learning had ouercome mee: when that was refused, I offered my selfe to goe to Schoole at home, which offer to yeeld to the truth. And although I haue to maintaine mee, both the plaine Scriptures, the Doctors plaine and the plaine Act of Parliament: yet for conformity offered to my Lord of Canterbury, to yeeld if hee could shew me one scripture affirming faith to exclude Charity in justification, or Scripture failing as it doth indeed to shew mee but one ancient Writer that writeth so, with offer to yeeld and giue place, which offer excludeth all stubbornnes, and all euill opinion that might be conceiued of wilfulnesse in me; it is now twenty dayes agoe since I spake with my Lord of Canterbury, when the strongest arguments hee made me were to agree, with hope to be a Counsellor againe, or goe to the Fleet from whence I came, for when I made request to the contrary, hee said he had no such Commission from the counsell, and so here I remaine without baile or mainprise, without comfort of any of my friends or seruants, as one diuided from the world, no Chaplaine to accompany me in prayer, no Barber nor Taylor for bodily necessaries, nor liberty to vse phisician for releefe of disease, whereof I haue need: And your grace who I thinke would shew mee releefe, for I will neuer thinke want of good will in you, is percase perswaded, by meanes that I resist the truth wilfully, and that your grace may not in any wise shew me the least comfort in the world, for then no man shall rule me. And then your grace that shewed so much fauour to the Earle of Southampton late Chauncellor, wherein all the world commended your gentlenesse, if your grace should now any wayes comfort me in prison with the least token of gentlenesse, yee might be noted to fauour Winchesters factions, as some terme it, whereas I take God to record I neuer ioyned my selfe with any man, nor haue secretly encouraged any man to be of my opinion. And yet I haue none other opinion, but such as the Parliament hath established. The Earle of Southampton did many things whiles he was Chauncellor touching Religion, which misliked me not, but yet did I neuer aduise him so to doe: ne made on him the more for it when he had done, he was one of whom by reason I might haue beene bold, but I left him to his conscience, therein I neuer said so much secretly to any noble man of the Realme, as I haue to your grace, at which time I aduised your grace to bee noted neither on the one side, ne the other. And your grace hath for your selfe as good a name as can be. And I shall say this without flattery, that like as chance very notably hath aduanced your estate many degrees, since the time of my first acquaintance with you, so haue you had occasion to shew your vertue, whereby to bee thought worthy your estate, by meane whereof you cannot with a more felicity then you haue to be the beginning of such an estate as yee shall leaue by Gods grace to your posterity. This is not altogether out of my mater for whatsoeuer become of me, I would your grace did well, men be mortall, and deeds reuiue, and me thinke my Lord of Canterbury doth not well to entangle this your grace with this matter of Religion, and to borrow of your authority the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and the Kings Bench, with prisonment in his house, wherewith to cause men to agree to that it pleaseth him to call truth in Religion, leauing that hee setteth forth not established by any law in the Realme, but contrary to a law in the Realme: At the least a law it is not yet, and before a law made. I haue not seene such a kind of imprisonment, as I sustaine, humbly offering my selfe ready to learne: Our late Soueraigne Lord, whose soule God pardon, suffered euery man to say his mind without imprisonment, till the matter were established by law. If my Lord of Canterbury hath the strength of Gods spirit, with such a learning in his lawes, as hee able to ouerthrow with that breath all vntruths, and establish truths. I would not desire the let of it, by your grace, ne the worke of Gods truth any way hindered: In which case if all the Realme be perswaded besides my selfe in this matter, it shall be easie for to reprous me in the face of all the world, and driue me to the ground with the sword of Gods Scripture, which he should rather desire to doe, then to borrow the sword your grace hath the rule of, wherewith to feare men, which is a meane to slaunder all that is done or shall be done, if men be prisoned before a law made. And I cannot beleeue but there be more then I, or else I should not be kept so secret. For all my folkes resorted to me, and told me there was no reason to stand alone against all men, to vndoe them and my selfe also in this world. It were a greater temptation then my Lord of Canterbury made to put me in hope to be a Counsellor againe. Be your grace assured, the foundation of my ground is a zeale to the truth, although I haue many worldly considerations to alledge for me, which serue to purge me of wilfulnesse, which I assure your grace is not my fault. I will not trouble your grace with all I could say of my knowledge: whatsoeuer my words bee of my Lord of Canterbury, which the matter enforceth me to speake, I am in none enmity with his person, and that I am able to proue, but my Lord hath in the homily of saluation taken such a matter in hand, and so handled it, as if I were his extreame enemy, I would haue wished him to haue taken that peece in hand, and so handled it as he hath done. For that alleueration how Faith excluded Charity, can neither be proued by Scripture, ne confirmed by any ancient Writer, or perswaded by any effectuall argument. And one argument my Lord hath deuised, which he frameth thus: Wee be iustified by faith without all workes of the Law: Charity is a worke of the Law. Ergo wee are iustified without Charity. The answering of which argument, which I can doe plainely by authority, shall declare that either my Lord is deceiued himselfe if hee take it for a strong argument, when the opinion of his learning shall bee hindered, or if hee vse it willingly knowing the fault in it, the lacke is greater another way. But the answer to that argument dissolueth all the mater, whereunto I haue an answer made yt. C. yea resby-pack, which I will of my perill shew if my Lord will avow it for his argument. And if my Lord will send me the argument of his hand, I will send him the answer of my hand, whereby shall shortly appeare, whether I trifle or no. In the latter end of my last Letter to your grace I spake of a determination, whereof I wished your grace were author. For wearinesse of writing I did not, open what I meant in specialty, intending now to begin in the middle of this sorrow, with a merry tale: but a very true tale, and not vnmeet to be rehearsed: Thus it hapned, certaine Doctors of Diuinity at Paris, minding with vtterance of some learning, whereof they had store to requite a Gentleman that had bidden them to dinner, vsing a Preface, that as he had fed them with bodily meat, they would feed him with spirituall food, propouned this question to be disputed amongst them: Whether the Asse that

carried

carried our Lady and Christ, when Joseph fled with them into Egypt, when it carried our Lady only with Christ, in her lap, carried then as perfect a burthen, as when it carried our Lady with Christ on her lappe, and a flee sitting on her head. Herein the doctors were in great earnest, and many hot arguments were betweene them in the matter, with much spence of language. Whether our Lady alone, with Christ in her lap, were as perfect a burthen, as our Lady and Christ with a flee vpon our Ladies head: The audience which was learned, was well cheared with laughing, but other edification the matter had not. And it may be laughed at, whensoeuer it is told to see in what trifles many men spend their time: & now I shall say that which is strange at the first reading, but it is true.

The matter of iustification with only faith iustifieth, and whether faith excludeth charity in iustification, pertaineth no more to the vse and practise of our Church of England, although in knowledge it be a graue matter, then the trifling question I rehearsed pertained to the hearers edification in good liuing: I beseech your grace to know how I put a difference betweene vse and knowledge. The knowledge of iustification as I haue said is in learning of more weight, and such as for the entreating of it, many haue wept euen here at home, besides those that haue wept in Germany, but the vse and practise of it is no more necessary in the state of the Church of England, then is the handling of the other question, and for any vse in the Church, the one may be forborne as well as the other, considering the baptisme of infants, is so duly obserued. In which Sacrament of baptisme all we be iustified before wee can talke of this iustification wee striue for. And vnlesse the Church leaue the vse to Christian infants, which shall not be, there cannot be a time, in which the knowledge of the iustification wee striue for, can be practised: But all men shall as wee already haue receiue their iustification in baptisme in their infancy. So as the doctrine of only faith iustifieth, if it were true as the Homily declareth it is no more necessary for the present state of the Church, then to know whether the burthen of our Lady & Christ only were as perfect as the burthen of our Lady & Christ with a flee sitting vpon our Ladies head, which the solemne doctors of Paris so earnestly entreated.

Hereby it is euident that this insensible Asse had no feeling of Gods spirit in the matter of iustification.

Some will say I am wared mad in prison to compare these two together: But as I compare them for vse and practise, the one is as necessary as the other. And as I was bold to vse the merry example to imprint the matter the better in your graces memory. For it is as I say, when we haue all talked, for wee all are iustified in baptisme, younglings and falling after baptisme, wee must arise by the Sacrament of penance, which must be confessed of all men, vnlesse they bee such as deny all Sacraments as some haue done indeed, wading so farre in the sifting of only faith, that they haue left nothing but faith alone, and yet spent a great deale of their faith in the handling of it, or rather all. And that is a generall fault I find, that such as write in that matter doe not handle it faithfully in alledging the Doctors and Scriptures right as they be. Now if this bee true that I haue written, which is true indeed, were it not an horrible part of you to say, why trouble yee the world for a thing not necessary, and so put it from the Countrey, and make it as it were a checker Chamber case, and so to be sent to the Vniuersities, for whom it is meet soberly to talke, and not for Homilies, wherein the people shall heare that they shall neuer practise, because they learne it too late, being iustified before in their infancie in baptisme. My Lord of Canterbury told me his intent, is only to set out the freedome of Gods mercy, which may be done much more plainely, with putting the people in remembrance of the constant receiued faith of the Church in the baptisme of infants, whereby such as bee iustified and saued in the vertue of Christs passion, as after baptisme by malice fall not to sinne, and those must returne to Christ by penance, but such as dye (before that actuall sinne, hath defiled their soul againe) if they dye in the innocency receiued in baptisme, be salued.

And yet those children, when they were christened did nothing but cry for cold, or when they were ouer hard griped for feare of falling. And when this is beleeued, is not Gods mercy beleeued to be ministred after a most free liberall sort. If my Lord of Canterbury mind only that the matter shall appeare without argument, as wee practise iustification in receiuing the Sacrament of Baptisme. And as for iustification by only faith, is all out of vse, howsoeuer wee expound it, as the state of the Church is now.

And it is a terrible matter to thinke on, to see such a contention to rise vpon a matter not necessary to be spoken of, wherein if my Lord of Canterbury will needs trauell, my iudgement is that hee shall neuer perswade that faith excludeth charity in iustification, vnlesse he borrow of your graces authority prisons, and then hee shall perchase haue some agree vnto it, as poore men kneele at Rome, when the Bishop there goeth by, that is to say: knocketh on the head with a Halberd, if hee kneele not, for that is one peece of the office of the Bishop of Romes guard. Finally there hath been nothing done, but your grace may vse it to the augmentation of your honour. I haue things more to say, but this matter is ouer-long already, and me thinkes I haue beene ouer-long here, and shewing my selfe so humble a Scholler, as I haue done, it is much to be beaten, because I doe not learne where no man teacheth mee, and so willing to learne as I aske but one Scripture, or Scripture failing, as it doth for my Lord of Canterburies purpose, I aske but one ancient Doctor: This is my case, for as touching any act of disobedience, my Lords of the Councell did foresee, that I should not fall in that danger, and therefore would not trust my frailtie to be in the countrey, when the Visitors should bee there: But made me sure here lest I might haue offended, if I had beene there, though I had but a few words to speake, that is to say, sauing Gods lawes and the Kings, yet they might haue beene misreported, and so engendered mee more trouble; and this good I haue of my being here, which I suffer patiently, and make it so serue for my purpose in my conceit, as I thanke God I haue no displeasure of mind, and only feele such as the body engendereth for want of some necessaries, whereof if I may haue relefe at your graces hand, I will accept it as thankfully, as any man hath any benefit at your hand, and as instantly require it of you. And yet if I haue no other comfort from your grace then I haue hitherto had, I will thinke neuertheless as well of your grace as euer I did, and be only sorry, that in the state you be in the liberty of doing that your heart would perswade you, should be straitly enclosed with respects, as my body is with wakes. Thus desiring your grace to take in good part my bold writing to you, I shall make and pray Almighty God for the preseruation of your person. With encrease of honour and felicity. At the Fleet, or rather in the Fleet.

Your graces humble bead-man S.W.

S.W. To the Lord Protectour.

After my most humble commendations to your good grace, vpon trust that your grace would take my Letters in good part, and not otherwise then I wrote them. I wrote to your grace out of this prison, as I was wont to write to our late Soueraigne

ueraigne Lord, whose soule God pardon; when I was Ambassadour, refreshing my selfe sometime with a merry tale in a sad matter, which his highnesse euer passed ouer without displeasure, as I trust your grace will doe the semblable. For though some account mée a papist, yet I cannot play the the Pope holy, as the old terme was, I dare not vse that seuerity in writing, which my cause requireth to speake of God, and his truth in very second sentence, and become suddenly a Prophet to your grace, with a new phrase of speech, with whom I haue bene heretofore so familiarly conuersant, as I thinke honour hath not altered your graces nature, euen so aduersity hath not changed mine. Of your high place in the Common-wealth, no man is more glad then I, nor no man shall doe his duty further then I, to acknowledge you as your grace is now, Protector and Gouernour of the Realme. But I haue beene so traded to speake boldly, that I cannot change my manner now, when percase it doth mée no good. And although there be an Italian in prison with mee, in whom I sée a like folly, who liuing with a little miserably, will not for his honour take almes, fansing to be still in the state hee was sometime, which manner I condeme in him, yet I follow him thus farre, rather to write after my old manner, which commeth plainly to mind, then to take almes and aid of eloquence, wherof I haue this state néd. For your Graces letters returne euery word of my letters in my neck, & take my tie as it were a Bée, which I thought should haue stung no man, which matter in mirth, declareth the necessity of the other matter, as aptly as may be, neither to bee necessary. And when I wrote I forgat as my fellow prisoner, the Italian doth the state I am in now. And wrote as I had written from Antwerpe in the state of Ambassador. The italian my companion hath his folly of nature, I haue it of custome in bringing vp which hath the effect of nature: And is called of learned men another nature. And then the prouerbe of gentlenesse hath place, when men say to him that is offended, you must beare with the mans nature, and so I trust you will doe with mée. Two things there be in your grces letter, which I trust I may touch without contention. One is, that if your grace will in a plaine similitude see the issue of faith onely, and whether faith may exclude charity in the office of iustifying, or not, it may bee well resembled in the making of Lawes in this Parliament, where the Acts be passed by three estates, which be all three present, and doe somewhat together, and concurre to the perfecting of the Law, wherein wée may not say that any one estate onely made the law, or that any one estate excludeth the other in the office of making the Law. This may be said, that these three estates onely in respect of the rest of the Realme, make the Law, and there need no moe of the Realme bee present but they. But if wee speake of these three estates within themselues, there is none estate onely, that maketh the Law.

But where the law hath as it were a body and a soule. The high house and the low house of the Parliament make as it were the body of the law, which lyeth as it were a dead matter, such as is not apt to take life till the Kings Majesty hath by the breath of his mouth, saying, le Roy, le veult, breathed a full life into it. in the conclusion besides the life the assembly of the other estates had by his authority to assemble, which had else bene a dead assembly, euen as faith and hope bee dead without charity: And as the Kings Majesty in this similitude of making Lawes excludeth not in office of the whole the other two estates, no more doe the estates, because they deuise and frame laws, exclude the King Majesty in the office of making lawes, for without his authority they be nothing, as faith and hope bee without charity not effectuall. And looke what absurdity and vntruth this saying hath in this Realme to say the higher house, and the lower house, exclude the King in the office of making of lawes, the same absurdity is yet in Religion to say, that faith excludeth charity in the office of iustification. And therefore it was neuer written of ancient writers. And therefore I desired my Lord of Canterbury to shew me but one, and yet cannot. In our time this dreame hath bin dreamed without Scripture, without authority, against Scripture, and against authority, as I can shew. And further can shew how this imagination extendeth so farre by them, that open their mind in it throughly, as your grace would not at the first beléeue if I did expresse it. But I can shew that I faine not euidently as clearly for my discharge as I could wish. An other matter of your graces letters is, where your grace reasoneth with mée that I am ouer precise in finding of faults in the Paraphrasis, séeing euery booke hath some faults. And then your grace taketh not Erasmus for a Gospel, but as one in whom somewhat may be reprehended or amended. After which manner of sort, if your grace take the Homilies as for like reason in my iudgement they must, for they bée mens compositions, as the Paraphrasis is, and not the very Gospel it selfe, why should I be kept in prison, who offered to receiue the Homilies and Erasmus both, so farre as they were not without fault, either of Gods law or of the Kings? Because I saw the errours before, and spake of them, I haue made more speed to prison then other haue done, who percase for troubling of their consctence haue receiued the bookes close with such reuerence, as becommeth men to receiue that is sent from their Prince, wherein I would haue done as they did, if I had not séene the bookes before. But I did as I haue seene diuers noble men doe. And among hem as I remember your grace, when they haue theing sent in seruice to haue vsed such diligence, as to sée their Commission and instructions made, or they went and finding something doubtfull or amisse, after the Commission was sealed, and instructions signed worthy to be amended, haue vpon declaration of their mind therin obtained amendment with commendation. Now I haue a charge in the bishopricke of Winchester to sée the people fed with wholesome doctrine, wherein if I bee so diligent as to looke upon the Commission, and considering what I shall be charged with to doe, take this or that for a fault in my iudgement, and labour to haue it amended, wherein differ I from other mens diligence? And how can it bee taken for a fault to say reuerently to the Councell? my Lords me séemeth this; and this cannot stand togethers, either instruct mée in them, or amend them in what nature of crime should this humility bee? Am I worthy for so saying to bee condemned to a perpetuall prison? and to bee a close prisoner to speake with no man, to heare from no man, to talk with no man, for my houshold which is a great number, wandering and lamenting for me? my case should be in the nature of praise, in the nature of commendation, in the nature of thankes, if none other haue said that I can say: if one only man in a Realme saith, hee knoweth treason to subuert the whole Realme, and can shew euident proofs of his so saying, shall he be prisoned because of good will he offereth to say and proue that no man else vttereth but he? And therewith offereth to proue that he saith to bee true: it is incredible, that a King should set forth a booke tending to the subuersion of his owne estate, and therefore that I shall say cannot touch his Maiesty, who knoweth not what is done, as reason iudgeth in his tender age: if it is

also

also incredible, that your grace being Uncle to him, should be content, that any booke should bee set forth that might tend to the subuersion of his estate. And I dare say for your grace, you would not if the booke be like the horse that the Troyans receiued into their City, wherein the Troyans knew not what was in it, let mee be heard that know what is in it, and so know it, as I can shew it as euidently, as I can the Sunne and the Moone in bright dayes, and bright nights, when both shine I doe not trifle with my wit to bndoe my selfe, but trauell with my honesty to preserue my countrey, to preserue my prince, to preserue Religion: And this your grace shall find to bee true, which knowing my letters to bee construed to the extremity, I would not write vnlesse I were furnished with matter to discharge my writing, your grace I doubt not remembreth Singletons conspiracy. And Erasmus hath framed his doctrine, as though Singleton had required him thereunto. I haue such matter to shew, as though I had my selfe deuised it for my iustification. And yet I am reasoned with, as though one giuen to let good doctrine, to find a knot in a rush, to trouble good enterprises; after which sort your grace is moued to write vnto mee, and thereupon I remaine here still without hearing, hauing such matter to vtter as shall confound them all; which I would not write if I were not assured: For it were a small pleasure to me writing thus extreamely, to be confounded when I had beene heard, and then worthily sent hether againe for lying so manifestly, which I would thinke a worthy punishment, as this is vnworthy to be handled as I am for vertue, that I dare say the truth, can declare the abomination of this Paraphrasis, and of the Homilie also, in both which matters I haue shewed all I can shew, I shall declare I am not worthy to be kept here, and yet here I haue remained this vij. weekes, without speaking with any man sauing my Physician, who I thank your grace hath done me good: And yet when men see I am thus banished from the world, so as no man may speak with mee, it is not pleasant for any man to resort vnto me, and that I perceiue if my Lord of Canterbury thinke I will ware mad hee is deceiued, for I ware euery day better learned then other, and find euery day somewhat to impugne the Paraphrasis and Homilies, not by wit or deuise, or other subtilty, but plaine sensible matter if I may be heard: And if I bee not heard my conscience telleth mee I haue done my duty, and therewith from trauell shall apply my selfe to prayer, wherein I shall remember the prosperous estate of your grace whom God preserue.

Winchester retembleth the homilies to the horse of Troy.

Concerning his abominable raylings against the paraphrasis and Homilies defer the iudgement good Reader till we come to his obiections and our answers to the same.

In the Fleet S.W.

To the Lord Protectour.

AFter my most humble commendations to your good grace, whatsoeuer your graces considerations be not to heare mee yet, nor answer me, and howsoeuer I determine and doe beare patiently the state I am now in, reason neuertheless bindeth mee to continue my sute, that if your grace seeth at any time occasion to change your determination, there shall nothing want on my behalfe to prouoke your grace so to doe: For that is refused at one time may be heard at another, and importunitie speedeth when none other meane can preuaile. Being also a fault in the inferiour to dispaire of the superiour in so reasonable a request as mine is. which I cannot doe of your grace for other respects, I haue remained here long vnheard of your grace, inclosed vp more closely, now close religions be begū, then euer were any whiles they were here, no stranger may speak with me, I cannot haue the company of my Chaplaine, which is necessary for me after so long time. And if your grace hath no leasure to heare mee shortly, I trust you will without delay suffer my Chaplaine to resort vnto mee, as well as of your gentlenesse yee haue suffered the Physician for my body to come to me, for the which I most humbly thanke your grace, herein I desire your grace to answer me by this bearer, that I may haue some comfort from you, for whose preseruation I shall pray to Almighty God.

Your graces humble Bead-man, S.W.

To the Lord Protectour.

AFter my most humble commendations to your good grace, I am very loath, knowing your graces busines to trouble you with many Letters, and yet not hearing from your grace any thing for answer to mine owne Letters before written, I am so bold to write these, wherewith to put your grace in remembrance of mine estate in prison, as one diseuered from the vse of his seruants and friends, and as it were buried quick without knowledge of any iust cause wherefore, and with knowledge, by course of time that now the parliament is begunne, whereof I am a member, vnlesse my fault had cut me off, and whereunto I was called by writ, which I receiued before my comming hether, where I would also gladly doe my duty, as I am bounden if I were not detained and bounden in prison from my liberty, that I might so doe, which allegation I make the rather to your grace, to the intent with the opening of a necessary sute worthy to be regarded, I might minister occasion to your grace, whereupon to shew such gentlenesse to me, as of your owne gentle heart, I am perswaded your grace gladly would, for whose preseruation with increase of honour I shall pray to Almighty God, who haue your grace in his tuition.

Your graces humble Bead-man, S.W.

To the Lord Protectour.

AFter my most humble commendations to your good grace, I cannot discusse by coniecture, why euidence is thus put off in my case, that hath been wont commonly to be granted to all men: if it should bee of any man through policie, to keep me from the Parliament, it were good to be remembred, whether mine absence from the Upper House, with the absence of those I haue vsed to name in the Nether House, will not engender more cause of obiection, if opportunitie serue hereafter, then any presence with such as I should appoint were there, the signification whereof is the chiefe cause of these Letters, for as I am now encombred with being here, so might some be encombred therewith hereafter, which should doe mee pleasure: My matter that I haue to say toucheth the highest, and is worthy to be heard, whereunto my Lord of Canterbury can only answer that hee would neuer haue thought it, or that he hath beene otherwise enformed of them he put in trust, for it would touch him ouer-much to grant he had so much knowledge in the Paraphrasis, as I now haue, and knowing the same to haue aduised your grace to set it forth to the people, I can say much, which is expedient for your grace to heare and consider, desiring only this credit of your grace to thinke mee worthy to be heard, and thereupon giue mee audience, I cannot enchaunt men, ne looke not to bee beleeued in the matter, vnlesse it be so plaine, as no man can gaine-say it, and therein the booke to bee iudge. The nature of my cause should moue your grace,

grace, the preſent aſſembly of learned men ſhould moue your grace to celebrate mine audience: And if your grace knew what I could ſay of the long letters your grace ſent, good faith, your grace would make ſo much the more ſpeed. For whereas the purpoſe of your grace in theſe letters is, to alter my iudgement, the handling of the matters is ſuch, as I am able to ſhew good cauſe why they ſhould as they doe, worke a contrary effect, as I am able to declare, if euer I come to your preſence. My Lord of Canterbury will nedes maintaine that our late Soueraigne Lord was ſeduced, and then it is poſſible that your grace may be ſeduced alſo, and therefore it is good for your grace to heare and to heare in time; whatſoeuer I haue written to your grace is true, and I haue not written all the ſpecialties I know in the greateſt matters; which your grace ſhall perceiue to be true, I ſee euidently, that vnleſſe my matter be very notable, and alſo plaine, it ſhall not bete me to alledge it thus much, I am learned by your graces letters, and therefore if I had any cauſe to miſtruſt it, I would vſe another mean whereof in your graces letters I ſee ſome comfort, but my matter is ſo plaine and ſo expedient to bee vnderſtand, that I muſt nedes deſire your grace to be heard in it, wherein it may like you to ſend mee knowledge of your pleaſure, and that my ſute to your grace may ſtand in ſome ſtead, for whoſe preſeruation in honour I ſhall daily pray to Almighty God, who preſerue your grace.

In the Fleet.

Your graces humble Bead-man. S. W.

To the Lord Protectour.

AFter my moſt humble commendations to your good grace: In my third Letters I ſignified vnto your grace my need of the counſell of Phyſician, as the ſtate of my body then required: whereunto becauſe I had no anſwer, I haue vſed all other meanes of reliefe, that I could to auoid that need; as one loth to trouble your grace with requeſts not neceſſary, Maſter Warden of the Fleet, and my ſeruants know that I faine not, and I haue cauſe to feare, the effect will ſhew I faine not indeed. In this caſe I may not deſperately forbear to write to your grace, and thinke that becauſe I haue had no anſwer to all mine other Letters, among which I made mention of this neceſſity, that I ſhould likewiſe haue none anſwer to this. As I haue determined my ſelfe to a truth in the chiefe matters, ſo I eſchew to vſe ſimulation in bimatters: My mind I thanke God was neuer ſo quiet, as hath beene ſince my comming hether, which hath relieued my body much, but the body hath need of other reliefe, which cannot be had as I am kept by commandement. Theſe vij. weekes ſaning one day I haue beene here vnder ſuch ſtraite keeping, as I haue ſpoken with no man. And thus me ſeemeth I ſee my matter perplexed, your grace will meddle with nothing done before your comming home. And thoſe of the Councell that ſent me hether, can by themſelues doe nothing, now your grace is commen home: vpon which conſideration I ſue to none of them, and perceiue that your grace to whom I ſue, for ſome reſpect forbeareth to make me anſwer, for ſuch a paraphraſis I make of your graces ſilence, wherein I goe nea as thinke the truth, then Eraſmus in his paraphraſis ſome time, wherein he taketh vpon him to geſſe the cauſes of Chriſts doings, I thanke God my mind can take no hurt, how vehement ſoeuer theſe temptations be. But when a certaine ſect of Philoſophers called Stoicks, contemned in their learning ſtoutly the griefe and diſeaſe of the body, they were faine a little to drinke, when the gout or any diſeaſe nipped them, and now my ſtomacke nippeth me, which I haue fauoured as much as any man in England, and haue laden it as light either with meat or drinke of many yeeres, ſpecially ſince my comming hether as any other. And after I ſaw I could get no anſwer from your grace for a Phyſician, I haue left off ſuch ſtudy as I vſed, and giuen my ſelfe to continuall walking for exerciſe, and with hope of reliefe, haue delayed any further ſuite in that matter till now. And now I ſue enforced, which I doe moſt humbly with requeſt, that impriſonment, being to mee, that was neuer in priſon before, of it ſelfe tedious, be not with ſpeciall commandement made more grieuous, vnleſſe I were charged with other offence then I am yet charged with, or in my conſcience can be. For me ſeemeth I haue deſerued thankes of your grace, and the Realme, for the diſcloſing of the faults of the Paraphraſis, wherein I haue written ſome ſpecialties, but not all; and haue ſuch to ſhew as I may terme that booke at one word, abomination, both for the malice and vntruth of much matter out of Eraſmus penne, and alſo the arrogant ignorancy of the Tranſlator into Engliſh conſidering the booke ſhould be authoriſed by a King, and by the iniunctions charge the Realme for bying rather aboue xx. M. pound then vnder, whereof I haue made account by eſtimate of the number of byers, and the price of the whole bookes: The tranſlatour ſheweth himſelfe ignorant, both in Latine and Engliſh, a man farre vnmeet to meddle with ſuch a matter, and not without malice on his part, whereby your grace may take an argument, what moued them that councelled your grace to authoriſe ſuch a booke in the Realme. As for my Lord of Canterburies Homily of ſaluation hath as many faults, as I haue beene weekes in priſon, which be vij. beſides the generall that the matter maketh a trouble without neceſſity, and is handled contrary to the teaching of the Parliament.

Finally, in the ij. bookes the matter I haue to ſhew is ſome part ſo dangerous, as after I knew it as I know it, the concealement thereof were a great fault, if I did not vtter it. As for the manner of mine enterpriſe to vtter it, I know not how to haue faſhioned it better, then to write to the Councell in your abſence, and on my knees to declare ſome part of it, when I came to them receiuing their determination of impriſonment, I humbly departed from them hether without grudg, and remaine here without grudge to any one of them, for they ſhewed no faſhion of any euil mind towards mee. And I haue learned in the ciuill Law that the deed of a number, is no one mans act with this alſo, the authority is to be honoured, which rule I obſerue in thought word and deed. After which ſort I remaine with ſuch ſuites as I haue made to your grace hetherto, and with this alſo that I adde, enforced for the reliefe of my body, how little ſoeuer I doe, and haue cauſe to ſet by it, which I moſt humbly deſire your grace to conſider, and to ſend me ſome anſwer by this bearer: And I ſhall pray Almighty God for the preſeruation of your graces felicity.

Your graces humble Bead-man.

Your ſtraite keeping is to be doubted conſidering the warden of the Fleet was your ſpeciall friend.

Left out in vol. 3. pag. 463. Coll. 2. before Latimers *Letter to Mr.* Morice.

Articles untruly, unjustly, falsly, uncharitably imputed to me by *D. Powell* of *Salisbury*: first that our Lady was a sinner.

OCcasioned of some, not only lay-men, but also Priests and beneficed men, which gaue so much to our Lady of deuotion without judgement, as though she had not néded Christ to saue her: to proue Christ her Sauiour, to make Christ a whole Sauiour of all that be or shall be saued: I reasoned after this manner; that either she was a sinner or no sinner, there is no meane, if shee were a sinner, then she was redéemed or deliuered or deliuered from sinne by Christ, as other sinners be, if shee were no sinner, then shee was preserued from sinne by Christ: so that Christ saued her, and was her necessary Sauiour, whether shee sinned or no. Now certaine Authors (said I) as Chrisostome, Theophilact, and other writeth as though shee had béene something faulty in her time. Also I said that certaine Scriptures standeth something to the same, unlesse they be the more warily understanded, (and taken as in the 3. 10. 20. All haue declined that euery mouth be stopped, and all the world be bounden or in danger to God. And after in the same Chapter, all haue sinned and need the glory of of God, and in the v. And so death passed thorow into all men and women, for as much as all haue sinned. But to these Scriptures I said it might be answered that the priuiledge of one or of a few, doth not derogate or minish the verity of a vniuersall exposition in Scriptures.

And as to the Doctors I said, that other more saith otherwise; and for as much as now it is vniuersally and constantly receiued and applyed that shee was no sinner, it becommeth euery man to stand and agree to the same, and so will I quod I, nor any man that wise is, will the contrary: but to my purpose it is neither to nor from, to proue neither this nor that: for I will haue her saued, and Christ her Sauiour, whether euer shee was, &c.

And to that, what need you to speake of this? I answered great néd, when men cannot bée content that shee was a creature saued, but as it were a Sauioresse, not néeding saluation, it is necessary to set her in her degrée to the glory of Christ, Creator and Sauiour of all that bee or shall be saued. Good Authors hath written that shee was not a sinner: but good Authors neuer wrote that shee was not saued, for though shee neuer sinned, yet she was not so impeccable, but shee might haue sinned, if shée had not béene preserued: It was of the goodnesse of God that shee neuer sinned: it had comen of her owne ilnesse if she had sinned: there was difference betwirt her and Christ: And I wil giue as little to her as I can (doing her no wrong) rather then Christ her sonne and Sauiour shall lacke any parcell of his glory: and I am sure that our Lady will not be displeased with mee for so doing for our Lady, sought his glory here vpon earth, she wouldnot defraud him now in heauen: but some are so superstitiously religious, or so irrigiously superstitious, so propesterously deuout, toward our Lady, as though there could not too much be giuen to her: such are zeales without knowledge, and judgement to our Ladies displeasure.

Our Lady is not displeased to haue God honoured.

No doubt our Lady was through the goodnesse of God a good and a gracious creature, a deuout handmaid of the Lord, indued with singular gifts, and graces from aboue, which through the helpe of God shee vsed to Gods pleasure, according to her duty, so giuing vs ensample to doe likewise, so that all the goodnesse that shee had, she had it not of herselfe, but of God the Author of all goodnesse: the Lord was with her fauourably, and poured graces vnto her plentuously: as it is in the Aue Marie, the sonne of God, when hee would become man to saue both man and woman, did choose her to his mother, which loue shee shewed to her alone, and to none other of his benigne goodnesse, by the which shee was the naturall mother of Christ: and through faith in Christ shee was the spirituall sister of Christ, saued by Christ, blessed by hearing Christs word, and kéeping the same: It should not auailed her to saluation, to haue béene his naturall mother if shée had not done the will of his heauenly father: By him shée was his mother, by him shée did the will of his father: shée the handmayden, hée the Lord. The handmayden did magnifie her Lord, the handmayden would that all should magnifie the Lord, to whom be honour and glory Amen, &c.

To honour him worthily is not to dishonour our Lady, hee is as able to preserue from sinne, as to deliuer from sinne, hee was then subject to Joseph his Father in law his Mothers husband, Joseph is now subject to him: hee neuer dishonoured Joachim and Anna, his Grand-father and Grandmother, and yet I haue not read, that hée preserued them from all sinne.

To say that Peter and Paul, Dauid and Mary Magdalen were sinners, is not to dishonour them: for then Scripture doth dishonour them. It had not béene for our profit to haue preserued all that he could haue preserued.

For remembrance of that fall and uprising, keepeth vs in our fall from despairing: both is of God to haue not sinned, and to haue forsaken and left sinne. And as sure is this of heauen, as that, and this more common then that, and to vs that haue béene sinners more comfortable.

It hath béene said in times past without sinne, that our Lady was a sinner: but it was neuer said without sinne that our Lady was not saued, but a Sauiour: I goe not about to make our Lady a sinner, but to haue Christ her Sauiour. When mine aduersaries cannot reproue the thing that I say, then then they will belye mee, to saue the thing that they can reproue. They will sinne to make our Lady no sinner, to proue that, that no man dieth. So what prouers, and so cold probations saw you neuer. It were better unproued, then so weakly proued. But they be deuout towards honouring of our Lady, but to sinne to houe our Lady no sinner, or to say shee was no sinner.

I would be loath to dishonour our Lady as they, I pray God we may honour her as shée would bee honoured, for verily she is worthy to be honoured.

To make a pernitious and a damnable lye, to haue our Lady no sinner, is neither honour nor yet pleasure to our Lady, but great sinne to the dishonour and displeasure both of God and our Lady.

They should both please and honour our Lady much better to beléeue their sinfull liuing, and keep themselues from sinfulnesse as our Lady did, then so sinfully to lye to make our Lady no sinner, which if they doe not, they shall goe to the deuill certainly, though they beleeue that our Lady was no sinner neuer so surely.

As for the Aue Marie they lye falsely. I neuer

denyed

denyed it, I know it was an heauenly saluting, or greeting of our Lady, spoken by the Angell Gabriel, and written in holy Scripture of S. Luke. But yet it is not properly a prayer, as the pater noster is. Saluting or greeting, lauding or praysing, is not properly praying: The Angell was sent to greete our Lady, and to annunciate and shew the good will of God towards her, and therefore it is called the annunciation of our Lady, and not to pray her, or to pray to her properly: Shall the Father of heauen pray to our Lady? When the Angel spake it, it was not properly a prayer. And is it not the same thing now that it was then? Nor yet he that denyeth the Aue Marie to be properly a prayer, denieth the Aue Marie, so that wee may salute our Lady with Aue Marie, as the Angell did, though wee be not sent of God so to doe, as the Angel was. So though wee may so doe, yet wee haue no plaine bidding of God so to doe as the Angell had, so that the Angell had beene more to blame peraduenture to haue left it vnsaid then we be. For as much as hee was appointed of God to say it, and not wee: But as I deny not, but as wee may say the pater noster, and the Aue Marie together, that to God this to our Lady, so wee may say them sunderly, the pater noster by it selfe, and the Aue by it selfe; and the pater noster is a whole and a perfect prayer, without the Aue Marie, so that it is but a superstition to thinke that a pater noster cannot be well said without an Aue Marie at his heele. For Christ was no fole, and when he taught the people to say a pater noster to God, hee taught them not to say neither pater noster, neither Aue Marie to our Lady, nor yet pater noster to Saint Peter, as master Hubberdine doth: Therefore to teach to say twenty Aue Maries for one pater noster, is not to speake Sermones dei, ut Sermones dei, the word of God as the word of God. And one Aue Marie well said, and deuoutly with affection, sence and vnderstanding is better then xx. said superstitiously. And it is not like, but our Lady said many times the pater noster, for as much as her sonne Christ whom she loued and honoured ouer all, did make it and taught it to be said, whether shee made an Aue Marie with all, or ten or twenty. Aue Maries for one pater noster, I will leaue that to great Clarkes, as Hubberdine and Powell to discusse and determine: shee was not saued by often saying of the Aue Marie, but by consenting to the will of him, that sent the Angell to salute her with Aue Marie: Wherefore if the praying of them which declineth their eare from hearing the Law of God is execrable in the sight of God, yea though they say the pater noster, I doubt not but the saluation of the beene vnpleasant to our Lady in her sight, for whatsoeuer pleaseth not her sonne, pleaseth not her, for shee hath delight and pleasure in nothing, but in him, and in that that delighteth and pleaseth him. Now wee will bee traytors to her sonne by customable sinfull liuing, and yet wee shall thinke great perfection and holinesse in numbering euery day many Aue Maries to our Lady, and so we think to make her our friend and patronesse, and then we care not for God: for hauing our Lady of our side, wee may be bold to take our pleasure: for wee fantasie as though the very worke & labour of slummering the Aue Marie is very acceptable to our Lady, and the more, the more acceptable, not passing how they be said, but that they be said, if the pater noster which Christ both made and bad vs say it, may be said to Christs displeasure, much more the Aue Marie, which neither Christ nor our Lady bad to bee said, may be said to our Ladies displeasure, and better neuer once said, then often so said. So that I would haue a difference betwixt well saying and often saying, and betwixt that that Christ bad vs say, and that that hee bad not say: and whether Aue Marie be said in heauen or no, who can tell but Doctour Powel; and if it bee said alway there without a pater noster, why may not pater noster be said here without Aue Marie, and whether doth our Lady say it in heauen or no? which thing I speake not to with-draw you from saying of it, but to with-draw you from superstitious and vnfruitfull saying of it. So that by occasion of false faith and trust that yee haue in the daily saying of it, you set not aside imitation and following of holy liuing, which will serue at length, when superstitious greeting, will neither serue nor stand in strength: it is meet that euery thing be taken esteemed and valued as it is.

Wee salute also and greet well the holy Crosse, or the image of the holy Crosse, saying, All hayle holy Crosse, which hath deserued to beare the precious talent of the world: and yet who will say that wee pray properly to the holy Crosse? whereby it may appeare that greeting is one thing, praying another thing: The crosse can neither heare nor speake againe, no more then this pulpit: therefore wee doe salute it, not properly pray to it.

The Angell spake also to Zachary, before he spake to our Lady. Ne timeas Zacharia, &c. Bee not afraid Zachary, for thy prayer is heard, and thy wife Elizabeth shall bring thee forth a child, which shall be called Iohn, and great ioy and gladnesse shall be at his birth, and hee shall be great and full of the holy Ghost from the wombe of his mother, &c.

What and a man should say these words euery day, betwixt the pater noster, and the Aue Marie in the worship of Saint Zachary, which I thinke is a Saint in heauen, and was or euer our Lady came there, & therefore to bee honoured, I thinke he might please and honour Saint Zachary, as well some other way, and better to, though they be words sent from God, spoken of an Angell, and written in holy Scripture of the Euangelist Luke.

And yet and it were once begunne and accustomee, I wene some men would make it more then sacriledge to leaue it of, though the Diuell should sow neuer so much superstition by processe of time vnto it.

Christ made the Pater noster for a prayer, and bad his people say it to his heauenly father, one God in Trinity of Persons, one Father and comforter, one Worker and doer of all things here in this World, saying vnto vs: Vos autem sic orabitis; so or after such manner, shall yee pray; Pater noster, &c. God sent his Sonne amongst other things to teach his people to pray: God sent his Angell to grete our Lady, not to teach his people to pray. For neither Christ nor the Angell said to the people, this shall yee pray, Aue Maria. When the Apostles said to Christ, Doce nos orare, teach vs to pray, Christ said: Cùm oratis, dicite Pater noster: when you pray, say Pater noster; hee said not when you pray, say Aue Maria. I weene Christ could teach to pray, as well as Doctor Powell and Master Hubberdin. I say that the Aue Maria, was before the Pater noster; Doctor Powell sayeth, it shall endure after the Pater noster, I can proue my saying by Scripture, so cannot hee his: yet as it is no good Argument, the Aue Mary was before the Pater noster; Ergo it is properly a prayer, so is it no good Argument, the Aue Mary shall last after the Pater noster; Ergo it is properly a prayer, without the antecedent bee impossible, which is not credible to come out of such a phantasticall braine.

Aue Maria is no prayer but a salutation.

Who was euer so mad as to thinke that words of holy Scripture could not bee well said? And yet wee may not bee so peuish as to allow the superstitious saying of holy Scripture. The Diuell is crafty, and wee fraile and prone to superstition and idolatry, God giue mee grace to worship him and his, not after our owne curiosity, but according to his ordinance with all humility.

Saint Zachary is to bee honoured, and in no wise to bee dishonoured: so that wee may leaue vnsaid, that that the Angell said without dishonouring him.

It is not necessary to our saluation to make an ordinance of honouring him with saying as the Angell did.

It is better for a mortall man to doe the office of a man, which God biddeth him doe, then to leaue that vndone, and doe the office of an Angell which God biddeth vs not doo: if the other bee presumption. I had leiffer presume to pray to God which is Gods bidding and mans office, then to presume into the office of an Angell without Gods bidding.

It is a godly presumption to presume to doe the bidding of God.

Here I neither say, that our Lady was a sinner, nor yet I deny the Ave Mary.

Saints are not to be honoured.

I Said this word Saints, is diuersly taken of the vulgar people, Images of Saints are called Saints and Inhabitours of Heauen are called Saints. Now by honouring of Saints is ment, praying to Saints. Take honouring so, and Images for Saints; so Saints are not to bee honoured, that is to say, dead Images are not to bee prayed vnto: for they haue neither eares to heare withall, nor tongue to speake withall, nor heart to thinke withall, &c.

They can neither helpe mee, nor mine Ore, neither my Hed, nor my Toothe, nor worke any miracle for me, one no more then another: and yet I shewed the good vse of them to bee lay mens Bookes as they bee called, reuerently to looke vpon them, to remember the things that are signified by them, &c.

And yet I would not haue them so costly and curiously gilted and decked, that the quick Image of God, (for whom Christ shed his bloud, and to whom whatsoeuer is done, Christ reputeth it done to himselfe) lacke necessaries, and be vnpounded for, by that occasion, for then the lay man doth abuse his Booke.

A man may read vpon his Booke though it bee not very curiously gilded, and in the day time, a man may behold it without many candles, if hee be not blind.

Now I say, there bee two manner of mediatours one by way of redemption, another by way of intercession, and I said, that these Saints, that is to say, Images called Saints, bee Mediatours nære nother way.

As touching Pilgrimages, I said, that all idolatry, superstition, errour, false faith, and hope in in the Images, must bee pared away, before they can bee well done, houshold looked vpon, poore Christen people prouided for, restitutions made, all ordinance of God discharged, or euer they can bee well done. And when they bee at best, before they bee bowed, they neede not to bee done: they shall neuer be required of vs, though they be neuer done, and yet wee shall bee blamed when they bee all done. Wiues must councell with their Husbands, and Husbands with their Wiues, both with curates, ere euer they may bee bowed to bee done.

And yet idolatry may bee committed in doing of them, as it appeareth by Saint Paul, in the first Epistle to the Corinth. cap. 10. Where hee biddeth the Corinth. this: to beware of idolatry, and that after they had receiued the true faith in Christ, which had beene vaine, if they could not haue done idolatry, and expositours addeth to beware not all onely of the act of idolatry, but also of all occasion of that act: which is plaine against Master Hubberdine, and person of Christs Church, which went about to proue, that now there could bee no idolatry.

As touching the Saints in Heauen, I said, they bee not our Mediatours by way of redemption: for so Christ alonely is our Mediatour and theirs both: so that the bloud of Martyrs hath nothing to doe by way of redemption: the bloud of Christ is enough for a thousand Worlds, &c.

But by way of intercession, so Saints in Heauen may bee Mediatours and pray for vs, as I thinke they doe when wee call not vpon them: for they bee charitable and neede no spurres, and we haue no open bidding of God in Scripture to call vpon them, as wee haue to call vpon God, nor yet wee may call vpon them without any diffidence or mistrust in God, for God is more charitable, more mercifull, more able, more readie to helpe them all, so that though wee may desire the Saints in Heauen to pray God for vs, yet it is not so necessarie to bee done, but that wee may pray to God our selues, without making sute first to them, and obtaine of him whatsoeuer wee neede, if wee continue in prayer, so that whatsoeuer wee aske the Father in the name of Christ his sonne, the Father will giue it vs: for Saints can giue nothing without him, but hee can without them, as hee did giue to them: Scripture doth set Saints that bee departed before our eyes for ensamples, so that the chiefest and most principall worship and honouring of them is to know their holy liuing and to follow them, as they followed Christ, &c.

God biddeth vs come to him with prayer, & to do his bidding is no presuming, it is rather presuming to leaue it vndone to doe that, that hee biddeth vs not doe &c. Wee must haue Saints in reuerent memorie, and learne at Gods goodnesse towards them to trust in God, and marke well their faith toward God and his word, their charitie toward their Neighbour, there patience in all aduersitie, and pray to God which gaue them grace so to doe, that wee may doe likewise, for which like doings wee shall haue like speedings, they bee well honoured when God is well pleased; The Saints were not Saints by praying to Saints, but by beleeuing in him that made them Saints: and as they were Saints, so may wee bee Saints, yea there bee many Saints that neuer prayed to Saints: And yet I deny not, but wee may pray to Saints, but rather to him, which can make vs Saints, which calleth vs to him, biddeth vs call vpon him, promiseth helpe, cannot deceiue vs and breake his promise when wee pray faithfully to him wee honour him, not after our owne fantasticall imagination, but euen after his owne most wisest ordination, whom to honour is not to dishonour Saints, therefore they lie that say, that I would not haue Saints to bee honoured, &c.

There is no fire in Hell.

I Neuer knew man that euer said so. I speake of diuerse opinions that hath beene written of the nature of that fire, some that it is a spirituall fire, or at least way a spirituall paine in the corporall fire, for as it is called a fire, so it is called a worme: now because they thinke not that it is a corporall worme, but a spirituall and a metaphoricall worme so they thinke of the fire; Some that it is a corporall and naturall fire, some hath thought diuerly before the resurrection without body, and after with body, some that the soules without body suffereth in the fire

fire, but not of the fire: some both in and of the fire: The Scholasticall authours thinke, that the soules before the resurrection, because they bee spirituall substance, doth not receiue the heate of the fire into them, which is a sensible and a corporall qualitie, so the Athanasius a Greeke author calleth their paine Tristitiam, a heauines or an anguish: and this opinion is probable enough: Some thinketh that though they be alway in paine, yet they bee not alwayes in fire, but goeth from waters of snow to exceeding heat: but it is when there bodies bee there, but whether in cold or in heate, in water or in fire, in aire or in earth they lack no paine, there torment goeth with them, for they thinke that the Diuels that tempt vs, though they haue paine with them, yet they haue not fire with them, for then they should bee knowne by heate of the fire.

I am certaine saith Saint Augustine, that there is a fire in hell, but what manner of fire, or in what part of the world no man can tell, but he that is of Gods priuie Councell: I would aduise euery man to bee more carefull to keepe out of hell, then trust hee shall find no fire in hell: Chrisostome saith, that to bee depriued of the fruition of the God-head is greater paine then the being in hell: there is fire burning: there is the worme gnawing, there is heate, there is cold, there is paine without pleasure, torment without easement, anguish, heauinesse, sorrow, and pensiuenes, which tarrieth and abideth for all lyers, and hinderers of the truth.

There is no Purgatory after this life.

Purgatory. Not for such lyers that will beare mee in hand to say that I said not: I shewed the state and condition of them that bee in Purgatory: Then I denied it, not that they haue charity in such sure tye that they cannot lose it, so that they cannot murmure nor grutch against God, cannot dishonour God, can neither displease God, nor be displeased with God, cannot be diseuered from God, cannot die, nor be in perill of death, cannot be damned, nor be in perill of damnation, cannot bee but in surety of saluation, they bee members of the mysticall body of Christ as wee be, and in more surety then wee be, they loue vs charitably, charity is not idle, if it be, it worketh and sheweth it selfe, and therefore I say, they wish vs well, and pray for vs, they need not to cry loud to God, they bee in Christ, and Christ in them, they be with Christ, and Christ with them, they joy in their Lord Christ alway, taking thankefully whatsoeuer God doth with them, euer giuing thankes to their Lord God, euer lauding and praising him in all things, that hee doth discontent with nothing that hee doth, &c.

And for as much as they bee alwayes in charity, and when they pray for vs they pray alwaies in charitie, and bee alwayes Gods friends, Gods children, brethren and sisterne to our Sauiour Christ, euen in Gods fauour, euen haue Christ with them, to offer their prayer to the Father of heauen, to whom they pray in the name of the sonne. And we many times for lacke of charity, hauing malice and enuie, rancor, hatred, one toward another, bee the children of the deuill, inheritors of hell, aduersaries to Christ, hated of God, his Angels, and all his Saints; they in their state may doe vs more good with their prayers, then wee in this state: And they doe vs al way good, vnlesse the lacke and impediment be in vs, for praier said in charitie, is more fruitfull to him that it is said for, and more acceptable to God then said out of charitie, for God loketh not to the worke of praying, but to the heart of the praier: Wee may well pray for them, and they much better for vs, which they will doe of their charitie, though wee desire them not.

I had leuer be in Purgatorie, then in the Bishop of Londons prison: for in this I might die bodily for lacke of meat: in that I could not, in this I might die ghostly for feare of paine, or lacke of good councell; in that I could not: in this I might bee in extreame necessity: in that I could not, if extreame necessity bee periculum pereundi, perill of perishing. And then you know what followeth, if we be not bounden, per præceptum, to helpe, but them that be in extreame necessity, wæ sæ not who nædeth in Purgatorie, but wæ sæ who nædeth in this world: And Iohn saith, if thou se thy brother and helpe him not, how is the charitie of God in thee? Here, either wæ bee, or wæ may be in extreame necessitie, both in body and soule, in Purgatorie nere nother: Here wee bee bound to helpe one another, as wee would bee holpen our selues under paine of damnation: Here for lacke of helpe we may murmure and grudge against God, dishonour God, forsake our selues, which inconueniences shall not follow, if wæ doe our duty one to another. I am sure the soules in Purgatorie bee so charitable, and of charitie so loath to haue God dishonoured, that they would haue nothing with-drawen from the poore here in this world to be bestowed vpon them which might occasion the dishonour of God, &c.

Therefore howsoeuer wee doe for Purgatorie, let us prouide to keepe out of hell. And I had a thousand pound to bestow as long as I saw necessary occasion offered to mee of God to dispence it vpon my nædy brother here in this world, according to Gods commandement, I would not withdraw my duty from him for any prouision of Purgatorie, as long as I saw dangerous wayes vnprepared, poore mens daughters vnmarried, men begge for lacke of worke, sicke and sore for lacke of succour. I would haue difference betwixt that that may bee done, and that that ought to be done, and this to goe before that, and that to come after this: if God command one way, mine owne deuotion moueth mee another way, whether way should I goe, I may by no trentalles, no masses, no ladders of heauen make no foundations for my selfe with other mens goods, goods wrongfully gotten must nœds home againe, must nœds be restored to the owners if they can be knowne, if not they be poore mens goods: debts must nœds be paid, creditors satisfied and content, Gods ordinance toward my neighbour here in this world discharged, all affections and lusts mouing to the contrary purged. Or else though our soule priests sing till they be blear eyed, say till they haue worn their tongues to the stumps, neither their singings, nor their sayings shall bring vs out of hell, whether wee shall goe for contemning of Gods forbiddings.

Yee that purgeth all errors of false opinions, all vnlustinesse to doe Gods ordinance, prouideth not for Hell and Purgatorie. Purgatories iniquity hath set aside restitutions, and brought poore Christians to extreame beggery, replenished hell, and left heauen almost empty.

That breake their Charity,
That can breake their Patience.
That can disseuer them from Christ.
That can disseuer Christ from them.

In Purgatory there is no paine.
That can cause them to dishonour God.
That can cause them to displease God.
That can cause them to be displeased with God.
That can bring them to perill of death.

That

That can bring them to perill of damnation.
That can bring them to extreame necessity.
That can cause them to be discontent with god.
That can bring them from surety of salvation,

keth them to swell, they that reclaime at that, doth not reclaime at this.

Nor at this. Christs blood is not sufficient without blood of Martyrs.
Nor at this. Magdalen did not know Christ to bee God, before his resurrection.
Nor at this, &c. There can be no Idolatry.
Rome cannot be destroyed.
The Pope is Lord of all the world, Whatsoever he doth is well done.
Pater noster is to be said to S. Peter.
Pater noster is but a beggerly prayer.
Ave Marie is infinitely better.
20 Ave Maries for one pater noster.
It was not necessary Scripture to bee written.
Hee that leaveth father and mother maketh for our pilgrimage.
With many moe.

And yet it followeth not that there is no paine.

Howbeit if the Bishops two fingers can shake away a good part, if a Fryers cowle, or the Popes pardon, or Scala cæli of a groate can dispatch for altogether, it is not so greatly to be cared for, I haue not leisure to write at large, and I wrote before such things, which in this haste commeth now to mind.

They that can reclaime at this, that the soules in Purgatory doe pray for vs, if they could get as much money for the prayer, that the soules in Purgatory saith for vs, as they haue done for that, that they haue said for them, they would not reclayme you know the waspe that doth sting them, and ma-

Left out in vol. 3. page 479. Coll. 2. before Latimers Letter to K. Henry.

A publicke and authenticke Instrument of the Bishops, for the abolishing, and inhibiting of the Scripture, and divers other bookes to be read in English, in the time of King *Henry* the eight. 1531.

A writing of the Bishops against English books.

IN the name of God, Amen. Be it knowne to all and singular true and faithfull people, to whom these present Letters testimoniall, or this present publike and authentike instrument shall come, or shall see, reade, heare or understand the same, and whom this vnder-written shall or may teach, or appertaine in any manner of wise in time to come. William by the sufferance of Almighty God, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all the Realme of England, sendeth greeting in our Lord God euerlasting. Wee signifie vnto you all, and let you well wit and know by these presents, that where the King our Soueraigne Lord, hearing of many bookes in the English tongue, containing many detestable errours, and damnable opintons printed in parties beyond the seas, to be brought into diuers townes, and sundry parties of this his Realme of England, and sowen abroad in the same, to the great decay of our faith Catholike, and perilous corruption of his people, vnlesse spedy remedy were briefly prouided, his Highnesse willing euermore to employ all his study and mind in the high degree which Almighty God hath called him vnto, to the wealth of his subiects, that they might liue not onely in tranquillity and peace, but also to be kept pure and cleane of all contagion and wrong opinions in Christs Religion: Considering also that hee being Defendor of the faith, would bee full loath to suffer such euill seed sowne amongst his people, and so take root, that it might ouergrow the corne of the Catholike doctrine, before sprong in the soules of his subiects, for the repelling of such bookes, calling vnto him of his great goodnesse, and gracious disposition, not onely certaine of the chiefe Prelates and Clarkes of his Realme, but also of each Vniuersity a certaine number of the chiefe learned men of them, proposed such of those bookes, as his grace had ready: therefore vnto them to be read, requiring to heare in that behalfe their aduise and iudgement of them: who both by great diligence and mature deliberation, perusing ouer the said bookes, found in them many errours and heresies, both detestable and damnable, being of such a sort, that they were like briefly to corrupt a great part of his people (if they might bee suffered to remaine in their hands any space) gathering also out of them many great errours, and pestilent heresies, and noting them in writing, to the intent to shew for what cause they reputed the said bookes damnable, of which hereafter out of each booke gathered, many doe ensue. Albeit many more there bee in the said bookes, which bookes totally doe swarme full of heresies, and detestable opinions.

Heresies and errours contained in the booke, the parable of the wicked Mammon.

FAith only doth iustifie vs. 2.

The Law doth make vs to hate God, because we be borne vnder power of the Deuill. 2. Woe be to you that call euill good, and good euill.

It is impossible for vs to consent to the will of God. 2.

The Law requireth impossible things of vs. 2.

The spirit of God turneth vs from nature, that wee doe good; as naturally as a tree doth bring forth fruit. 8.

Workes doe only declare vnto thee that thou art iustified. 9.

Christ in all his deeds did not deserue heauen. 14

Labouring in good workes to come to heauen, thou doest shame to Christs blood. 17.

Saints in heauen cannot helpe vs thether 17

To build a Church in honour of our Lady, or any other Saint, is in vaine, they cannot helpe thee, they be not thy friends. 18.

All flesh is in bondage of sinne, and cannot auoid to sinne continually. 25.

Thou canst not be damned, without Christ bee damned, nor Christ be saued without thou be saued. 27.

The commandements be giuen vs, not to do them, but to know our damnation, and call for mercy to God. 28.

Falling

Faſting is only to auoid ſurfet, and to tame the body: all other purpoſes be nought.36.

To bid the poore man pray for me, is only to remember him to doe his duty, not that I haue any truſt in his prayer.38.

Though thou giue mée a thouſand pound to pray for thée, I am no more bound now, then I was before.40.

A good déed done and not of feruent charity, as Chriſts was is ſinne.40

The veriell Turke liuing hath as much right to my goods at his néed, as mine owne houſhold, or mine owne ſelfe.42

Almes deſerueth no méed.42

There is no worke better then another to pleaſe God, to make water, to waſh diſhes, to be a Souter and an Apoſtle, to waſh diſhes and to preach, and to preach, all is one to pleaſe God.44.

Ceremonies of the Church hath brought the world from God.45

Beware of good intents: they are damned of God.46.

Sée thou doe nothing, but that God biddeth thée.46

Churches are for preaching onely, and not as they bee vſed now.47

To worſhip God otherwiſe, then to beleéue that hee is iuſt and true in his promiſe, is to make God an Idoll.47.

Pharaoh had not power to let the people depart at Gods pleaſure.61.

Our Prelates in ſinne ſaith they haue power.61

Wee be ſo in captiue of the Deuill, and he holdeth our will in his power, that wee cannot conſent to Gods law, and his will is impoſſible for vs.

Euery man is Lord of another mans good.46

I am bound to loue the Turke with the very bottome of my heart.49

Hereſies and errours contained in the booke called, the obedience of a Chriſtenman.

DIcit quòd tenemur ſatisfacere proximo, ſed non Deo. fol. 7. pag. 1.

Dicit quòd filii nec debent, nec poſſunt contrahere matrimonium abſque conſenſu parentum, fol. 49. pag. 1.

Dicit quòd vota ſunt contra ordinationem divinam, fol. 29. pag. 1.

Non licere Chriſtiano reſiſtere principi Infidel. & Ethnico, tollit libertatem arbitrii, fol. 36. pag. 1.

Whatſoeuer is done before the Spirit of God commeth, and giueth vs light, is damnable ſinne, contra morales etiam virtutes, fol. 36. pag. 2.

Hee reproueth men that make holy Saints his Aduocates to God, and there hée ſayeth, that Saints were not rewarded in Heauen for there holy workes, 37. pag. 1.

God moued the hearts of the Egyptians to hate the people, likewiſe hee moued Kings, &c. fol. 45. pag. 1.

Paul was of higher authority then Peter, fol. 62. pag. 2. fol. 58. pag. 1. and 2.

Qui intendit ſatisfacere Deo, infidelis eſt, & non tenemur ſatisfacere Deo, ſed proximo, fol. 70. pag. 2. in fine.

Oportet Præsbiterum ducere vxorem ob duas cauſas, fol. 71. pag. 2.

Improbat confeſſionem auricularem, fol. 83. pag. 1. and 2.

Euery man is a Prieſt, and wee need no other Prieſt to bee a meane, &c. fol. 91. pag. 1.

Deſtruit Sacramenta matrimonii & ordinis, fol. 9. and 91.

Hee ſayeth that Purgatory is of the Popes intention, and therefore hee may doe whatſoeuer hee will, fol. 101. pag. 1.

Saints bee ſaued, not by their merits, but onely by the merites of Chriſt, fol. 103. pag. 2

Hee ſayeth that no man may bee hired to pray, fol. 110.

Why ſhould I truſt in Pauls prayer or holineſſe, if Saint Paul were aliue, hee would compare himſelfe to Saint Paul and bee as good as hee.

Hee ſayeth that Saints which bee dead bee but our hierlings, and that there prayer doth not profite vs, fol. 119. pag. 1.

Hee ſayeth, that all that bee baptized, become Chriſt himſelfe, fol. 113. pag. 2.

Hee ſayeth that the Children of faith bee vnder no law, fol. 124. pag. 1.

There is no deed ſo good, but that law doth condemne it, fol. 131. pag. 1.

To aske of God more then he had promiſed commeth of falſe faith and is plaine idolatry, fol. 139. pag. 1.

Our paine taken in keeping the Commandements doth nothing but purge the ſinne that remaineth in the fleſh, but to looke for any other reward or promotion in Heauen, then God hath promiſed for Chriſts ſake, is abhominable in the ſight of God, fol. 139. pag. 1 and 2.

Hee denieth Purgatory, fol. 142.

The Pope hath no other authority but to preach onely, fol. 142. pag. 2.

If thou binde thy ſelfe to chaſtity to obtaine that which Chriſt purchaſed for thee ſurely ſo art thou an infidell, fol. 145. pag. 2.

Hee denieth, rebuketh, and damneth miracles, 147.

In prayer hee ſayeth, that no man ſhould ſerue God with good intent or zeale, for it is plaine idolatry, 149. and 150.

Errours, blaſphemies, and hereſies, noted in the booke of the Reuelation of Anti-chriſt, and the Epiſtle going before.

TO bind a man perpetually to any vow of Religion is without doubt an errour, fol. 19. pag. 2.

To faine the conſtitutions of Religion are good, becauſe Holy men did ordaine them, as Auguſtine, Benedict, Francis, Dominick, and ſuch other that is to leaue the faith, and to follow ſuch examples of Fathers in ſome things, Hoc eſt in iſtis rebus, is erring, fol. 19. pag. 1. and 2.

Whoſoeuer ordained Vniuerſities, bee at Alexander, at Halis, Saint Thomas, or any other, he was a ſtarre that fell from Heauen to Earth, there are brought in morall vertues for faith and opinions for truth, fol. 32. pag. 2.

The Vniuerſities are the very confuſed cloud and opened gate of Hell, and this cloke of all other is moſt noiſom, and doth moſt hurt and damage, fol. 31. pag. 1.

All morall Diuines haue a wicked conſcience full of ſcrupuloſity, fol. 3. pag. 1.

In the whole new law is no vrgent precept nor greuious, but onely exhortations to obſerue things neceſſary for ſoules health, fol. 63. pag. 1.

Morall vertues are, iuſt, temperance, ſtrength, chaſtitie deſcribed by naturall reaſon maketh a Synagogue, and corrupteth Chriſts faith, fol. 64. pag. 2.

Chriſt tooke away all lawes, and maketh vs free, and at liberty, and moſt of all, hee ſuppreſſeth all ceremonies, &c,

If they would make all the obſeruations of the cere-

ceremonies, as Lent, Fasting, Holy-dayes, Confession, Matrimony, Masse, Mattines, and reliques &c. Free and indifferent, hee should not bee Anti-christ, but now because hee commandeth it in the name of Christ, hee doth vtterly corrupt the Church, suppresse the faith and aduance sinne, fol. 67. pag. 2.

Faith onely sufficieth, fol. 63. pag. 2.

To beleeue in Christ maketh sure inheritors with Iesus Christ, fol. 1. pag. 1.

If a man say, then shall wee no good workes doe, I answere as Christ did, this is the worke of God, fol. 3. pag. 1.

God bindeth vs to that, which is impossible for vs to accomplish, fol. 3. pag. 1.

Christ offered vp our iniquities, as a sacrifice to his Father, fol. 4. pag. 1.

Sinne cannot condemne vs, for our satisfaction is made in Christ which died for vs, fol. 4. pag. 1.

I will shew you an euident Argument and reason, that thou maist know without doubt, who is Antichrist, All they, that doe pursue are Anti-christs, the Pope, Bishops, Cardinals, and their adherents doe pursue: Therefore, the Pope, Bishops, and Cardinals, and their adherents are Anti-christs. I wene our Sillogismus bee well made, fol. 9. page 2.

I thinke verily, that so long as the successours of the Apostles were persecuted and martyred, there were good Christen men and no longer, fol. 10. page 1.

It is impossible, that the word of the Crosse should be without affliction and persecution, fol. 10. page 1.

That the Apostles did curse euer any man, truly wee cannot read in Scripture, for Christ commanded that wee should blesse these that cursed them, fol. 11. page 10.

They are ignorant and euill that doe apply Anti-christ to one person, for hee calleth Anti-christ the whole body and multitude of wicked men, fol. 13. page 2.

By workes superstitions and ceremonies, wee decay from the faith, which alone doth truely iustifie and make holy, fol. 15. page 1.

If our most holy Father had these Lawes, Mattens, Prayers, and other free and according to the Gospell (God left vs all equall) we should haue had none of these innumerable sinnes, for where is no law there is not transgression, fol. 28. page 2.

The abusion of the Masse, with all his solemnities, with vigiles, yeare mindes, foundations, burials, and all the busines that is done for the dead, is but a face, and a cloke of godlinesse, and diseate of the people, they were good workes, rather for the dead, then for the quick, fol. 24. page 1. and 2.

To keepe and obserue one day to fast, and another to abstaine, to forbeare such a meate vpon the fasting day to deserue Heauen thereby is a wicked face and cloke; and against Paul, fol. 29. page 2.

The multiplication of Holy dayes, of Feastes of Corpus Christi, of Visitation, and of our Lady, &c. is a wicked face and colour, and indeed foolish, vnprofitable and vaine, fol. 30. page 1.

Keeping of virginity and chastity of Religion is a diuelish thing, fol. 30. page 1.

Worshipping of reliques is a proper thing and a cloke of aduantage against the precept of God, and nothing but the affection of men, fol. 30. page 2, and 31. page 1.

The first two that the Church hath receiued of the Pope, with helpe of Saint Thomas is Vniuersities, defense of free will, morall vertues, and naturall philosophy called the headed Cerberus fol. 35. page 2.

There is but one speciall office, that pertaineth to thine orders and that is to preach the word of God, 36. page 1.

The Temple of God is not stones and wood, neither in the time of Paul was there any house which was called the Temple of God, 37. page 2.

Hee that fasteth no day, that sayeth no Mattins and doth none of the precepts of the Pope sinneth not, if hee thinke that hee doth not sinne, 43. page 2.

Christ ordained the Sacrament of the Altar, onely to nourish faith of them that liue, but the Pope maketh it a good worke, and a sacrifice to bee applied both to quick and dead, fol. 48. page 2.

These signes (loquitur de miraculis in peregrinationibus & diuisionibus) are not to the encrease of the Faith and Gospell: for they are rather against the Faith and Gospell, and they are the operation of Sathan and lying signes, fol. 49. page 1.

The people of Christ doth nothing, because it is commanded, but because it is pleasant and acceptable vnto them, fol. 63. page 1.

All things necessary are declared in the new Testament, but no man is compelled, but according to their owne will; Therefore Christ teacheth Mathew 16. That a rebellion should not bee killed but auoided, 63, page 1, and 2, and 66.

Contra omnes ritus & ceremonias in Missa pluſquam insane, 68, page 1.

Christ ordained that there should bee no sinne, but vnbeliefe, infidelity, no iustice but faith, 69. page 1.

No labour is now a dayes more tedious then saying of Masse and Mattens &c. which before God are nothing but grieuous sinnes, 70. page 1, and 2.

The sinnes of Manasses & other wicked Kings sacrificing their owne Children are but light and childish offences to these; The cursed sacrifice of Gentiles may not bee compared to ours, wee are seuen times worse gentiles then wee were before wee knew Christ, 70. page 2.

It were better to receiue neither of the parties of the Sacrament of the Altar, then the one alone, 73. page 1.

The law of the Pope that commandeth euery man to communicate together vpon one day, is a most cruell law, constraining men to their owne destruction, 73. page 2.

The new Testament of Christ will not suffer any law of compulsion, but onely of councell and exhortation, 74. page 2.

The most spirituall man of all, if hee confesse his sinnes to a Priest sinneth: for hee should confesse against his will. For this sentence standeth firme and stable, hee that doth a thing against his will, doth it not, and compelled seruice pleaseth not God, 75. page 1.

The Spirit would, that nothing should bee done, but that which is expressly rehersed in Scripture, 81. page 1.

I doubt not, but Saint Barnard, Frances, Dominick, and many other holy men and women erred, as concerning Masses, Mattins. &c. fol. 82. page 2.

Saint Thomas de Aquino sauereth nothing of the Spirit of God, 83. page 1.

The Pope did condemne the truth of the word of God openly, at Constance in Iohn Husse, persuering vnto this day in the same stubbernes, 86. page 2.

The errours and heresies contained in the booke called, The summe of the Scripture.

THe water of the font hath no more vertue in it then hath any other water.

The

The water of Baptisme lyeth not in hallowed water, or in other outward thyng, but only in faith. 6 pa. I

Men should not seeke their healthy in good workes, but all only in faith and grace. page 2.

The water of baptisme is nothing but a signe that wee must bee vnder the standard of the Crosse, 12 page 2

God-fathers and God-mothers be bound to helpe them, that they be put to Schoole, that they may vnderstand the Gospel, and the Epistles of Saint Paul, 15. page 2.

We be all equally bound to know the gospel and Epistles of Paul, 15. page I

Wee thinke that when we beleeue that God is God, and can our Creed, that wee haue the faith that a Christian man is bound to haue: but so doth the Deuill beleeue. 17. page 2

To beleeue that the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost be one God, is not the principall that wee must beleeue: our faith doth not lye principally in that: for so beleeueth the Deuill, 18 pag. I

We haue as much right, and as great to heauen as Christ. 19. pag. I

If wee beleeue that God hath promised vs euerlasting life, it is impossible that wee should perish, 20. pag. I. and 2

If thou canst surely and stedfastly beleeue in God hee will hold his promise, for hee hath bound himselfe to vs, and by his promise hee oweth vs heauen in case that we beleeue him. 21. pag. 2

A louely one stedfast faith and trust in God may bring vs to heauen. 22. pag. I.

All they erre that thinketh they shall be saued when they haue done many good workes. 25. pag. 2

All Christly glory is ours, 27. pag. I

Wee need not labour for to bee Christs heires, and sonnes of God, and to haue heauen, for wee haue all these things already, ibidem.

We need not to labour by our good workes to get euerlasting life: for wee haue it already, we bee all iustified, we be all the children of God. 28. pag. 2

By faith men are sure to be saued, but if God had said, whosoeuer doe such or such workes shall be saued, we should euer haue beene vncertaine. 35. pag. 2. 36. pag I

All that thinketh that the good workes helpeth any thing, or profit any thing to get the gift of saluation they blaspheme against God, and rob God of his honour, 28 pag. 2

If wee be circumcised, that is to say, if wee put any trust in workes Christ shall not helpe vs. ibidem.

Wee deserue nothing of God. 30. page 2

We deserue not euerlasting life by our good workes: for God hath promised it vnto vs before that wee began to doe good. 40. page 2

We must loue death and more desire to die then to feare death 36. page I

All Theologians are abused, that saith that hope proceedeth out of good workes. 40. page 2.

To serue God in a tedious nesse, or for feare of hell, or for the ioyes of heauen, is but shadowes of good workes, and such seruice doth not please God. 41. page I

Euery Christian man must keepe Gods Commandements by loue, and not by hope to get for his seruice euerlasting life, 42. page I

The Iewes kept the Commandements, and the Law of God, yet they could not come to heauen. 43. page 2

If workes might haue saued Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, Dauid had beene saued before the nativity of Christ, 44. page I

God made men his children and his heires, while wee were his enemies, 44. page 2

A man must doe his diligence to keepe his heritage of God, and labour to entertaine it, ibidem.

A Christian man perceiuing his owne sinnes should thinke and say to God: I am certaine that thou wilt not damne me, and yet thou maist doe it righteously, 46. page I

Men trusting in their good workes, are like to the theefe on the left side, and are such men as commeth to the Church daily, keepeth holy-dayes and fasting dayes, and heareth masses, and these people be surest damned, and this is one of the greatest errours in Christendome, to thinke that his good workes shall helpe to his saluation, 47

It were better neuer to haue done good workes, and aske mercy therefore, then to doe good workes, and thinke that for them God is bound to a man by promise, 48. page I

We can shew no more honour to God, then faith and trust in him, 48. page 2

When wee sinne, wee minish not the glory of God, ibidem.

All the danger in our sinnes, is the euill example that we giue to our neighbour, ibidem.

Our Lord demandeth nothing but the heart, 49

When our Lord hath our heart, he regardeth not whether we fast, pray, heare masse, or whether we weare blew habite or gray, ibidem.

All outward things are indifferent before God, 49

When our hearts be ruled in God, according to to the gospel, all is one, what thing soeuer we doe, ibidem.

Faith without good workes is no little, nor no feable faith, but it is no faith, 50. page I

Euery man doth as much as he beleeueth, 50. page 2

Wee cannot be without motions of euill desires: but wee must mortifie them in resisting them, 52. page 2

God commandeth vs to exercise workes of mercy: all other workes in the Church be founden by auarice not commanded by God, &c. ibidem.

All very Christianity lyeth in loue of our neighbours for God and not in fasting, keeping of holy dayes, watching, praying, and singing, long prayers daily, and all day hearing masse, rouing in pilgrimage. &c. 52 page I & 2

Many Doctours in Theologia, and not only common people beleeueth that it is a part of a Christian faith to beleeue that Iesus Christ hath liued here in earth, 53. page 2. 54. page I

He that doth good against his will he doth euill, 56. page I. 2

No man is righteous but that fulfilleth the Commandements with ioyfull heart, 57. page I

No man doth more then he is bound to doe, and therefore no man may make other partakers of their good workes. 59. page I

Christ hath gotten heauen by his passion, but that right hath hee no need of, but hath granted it to all them that beleeue in his promises. 59. page I

If God had promised vs heauen for our good workes, we should euer be sure of our saluation. 59 page I

Be our sinnes neuer so great, that it seemeth impossible to vs to be saued, yet without any doubt we shall beleeue to be saued, ibidem.

The saluation of a Christian man lyeth not in this life, but rather endeth: for we cannot be saued but by death, and in this life is no profit, 60. page I

It is but folly & infidelity to weep for death of our friends, 61. page 2

It is a great sinne before God to ordaine where thou wilt be buried, or what stone thou wilt haue on thy tombe, all is one before God, to be buried in the Church, or in any other place, 61. page 2

In times passed, all that liued after the Gospel

were Monkes, & gaue them to that life,62 page 2

First Monkes were Helias, Heliseus, the sonnes of Jonadab,63. page 1

The Monkes after our Sauiours ascension vnto S Benedict, and Gregories dayes made no vowes nor profession: they might, eate, drinke, fast, pray, when they list. They had no certaine Halles, nor howers to sing daily,63. page 2

What is now the life of Religion, but a superstitious subiection vnto certaine vaine ceremonies, 66 page 1

If a man vow to liue chaste, and in pouerty in a Monastery, then if he perceiue that in the Monastery he liueth worse then he did before, as in fornication and theft, then he may leaue the Cloyster and breake his vow without sinne,71. page 1

Saint Augustine holdeth them for heretikes, that saith that religious men should not labour with their hands,81. page 1

Bodily labour is commanded to all persons, ibid.

It is abomination to make sumptuous Monasteries, Chappels, Alter-clothes, 81. page 2

If thou loue thy wife because she is thy wife, that is no loue before God: but thou shalt loue her, because she is thy sister in God,83. page 1

It is nothing but all incredulity to runne with pilgrimage, and seeke God in one certaine place, which is like mighty in all places,87. page 1

Men should see that their children come to Church to heare the sermon,89. page 1

Foure manner of people, or foure parts of people liuethand are fed by one part, that is to say, by Citizens, Artificers, and husbandmen, which laboureth and getteth their owne expences, and the expences of the other 4. parties, of priests, Monks, of Lord Councellors, old people and children, of men of warre, theeues, Murtherers, Ruffines, common people, and that getteth nothing, but spendeth all,92. page 2.

Thou shalt not count at night how much money thou hast gayned,97. page 2

Thou shalt not vere or grieue by Iustice, or otherwise the poore that oweth vnto thee: for thou maist not doe it without sinne,97. page 2

The good Christian shall not defend themselues by iustice in no manner for any manner of wrong that they suffer, but recommend all to the good will of God,98. page 1

He that is rich, and liueth of his rents may not vse to ouer-spend his goods as he will, but thy goods belong as well vnto the poore as to thee,68. page 2

God hath not giuen riches to rich men for to boast and brag therewith. Nor to make great cheare, neither to make themselues Lords, but to the intent that they should be seruants vnto all the world, 101 page 1

It is not true that a rich man doth gaine his goods, nor that he is Lord of his owne goods, nor that hee may not vse them at his pleasure, 101, page 2

A man shall be reproued for no other thing at the day of iudgement, but for forgetting of the poore, 101. page 2

Making of Churches, and foundations of Masses, Chaunteries and Chappels, are rather inuented by couetous mind of men, then otherwise, 101, page 2

There be two sorts of people: one is the kingdome of God, to which belongeth all true Christian people, and in this Kingdome Christ is King and Lord, and it is impossible in this Kingdome, that is to say among very true Christian people, that the sword of iustice temporall should haue ought to doe, 104, page 1 & 2

There is another sort of people belongeth to the world, and they be vnrighteous, and they had need of the sword of temporall iustice, 105, page 1

No man is vnder the secular power, but they that be of the Christen estate, and out of Gods Kingdome, 106. page 1 & 2

Jesus Christ hath not ordained in his spirituall Kingdome, which is all true Christians any sword: for he himselfe is their King and Gouernour, without sword, or without outward Law, 108. page 2

Christen men amongst themselues haue nought to doe with the sword nor with the Law, for that is to them neither needfull or profitable. The secular sword belongeth not to Christs kingdome, for in it is none but good and iust, 109. page 2

The gospel maketh all true Christen men seruants to all the world, 101, page 1

Christ saith that no man shall resist euill, nor sue any man at the Law, 110. page 2

The gospel is written for all persons, estates, Prince, Duke, Pope, Emperour. 112. page 2

When Iudges hath hope, that an euill doer will amend, they must be alwayes mercifull, as Christ was to the woman taken in aduoutry. The temporall law must obey the gospel, and them that wee may amend by warning, we shall not correct them by iustice, 113. page 2

A true Christian man never playneth to the iury, that men doe vnto him, 114. page 1

By the gospell christen men ought not to haue sute and parties among them, 114 page 2

The obedience of a Christen man to temporall power is, as Christ was obedient to temporall puysaunce, and payed tribute money, not because that he ought it, but because hee would not offend: so must a christen man doe: But when Lords aske nought thou oughtest them nought before God, 116 page 2

Men of warre are not allowed by the gospel, the gospel knoweth peace and not warre, 117. page 1

Doctors that say that warre is a thing reasonable or good, vnderstandeth not the words of the gospel, or of Saint Iohn. ibidem.

Saint John prayed not warre by his word, but rather forbad it, as teacheth all the gospel. 118. page 1

Some textes of Canon-law suffereth warre, but the teaching of Christ forbiddeth all warres. Neuertheless, when a City is besieged, or a countrey inuaded, the Lord of the Countrey is bound to put his life in ieopardy for his subiects, ibid.

So a Lord may vse horrible warre charitably, and christianly, 119. page 1

A seruant should not be sorry that his Master wil not suffer him to heare Masse, nor come to the Church, for God careth not what thing wee doe, nor in what place, 121. page 1

Out of the Booke of Beggers.

THere be many men of great literature, & iudgement, that for the loue they haue vnto the church, and vnto the common wealth, haue not feared to put themselues into the greatest infamy that may be in the obiection of all the world, yea in the perill of death, to declare their opinion in this matter, which is that there is no Purgatory, but it is a thing inuented by the couetousnesse of the spirituality, only to translate all kingdomes from other Princes vnto them: and that there is not one word spoken of it in all holy Scripture, God took Enoch away, that is to say, he departed out of this world like other men. Primo male vertit, nam scriptura dicit transtulit, non abstulit deinde falsum est, quod addit: nam ad Hæbreos undecimo legitur, fide Enoch translatus est, ne videret mortem et non inueniebatur, quia transtulit illum dominus ecclesiastice, Enoch placuit deo et translatus est in Paradisum, ut det gentium sapientiam.

Dauids good intent, and Mathewes in building the temple were nought: Et quid est quod dicit, 30 Reg. 2, quia cogitasti in corde tuo ædificare domum nomine

mine meo fecisti, hoc ipsum mente pertractus & ob illum propositus videtur David, illud præmii à Deo tuliſſe, & ejus filii in regno ei ſuccederent.

Out of the Primer.

HEe putteth in the Booke of ſeuen Pſalmes, but hee leaueth out the whole Letany, by which it appeareth his erronious opinion againſt praying to Saints.

Hee hath left out all the Hymnes, and Anthemes of our Lady, by which appeareth his erronious opinions againſt praying to our Lady.

The ungodly and erronious saying contained in an Engliſh worke, inſcribed an expoſition upon the 7 Chap. of the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*.

WHoſoeuer in himſelfe doth not feele this godly thing, this gift of chaſtity, but doth feele in continency, to him, I ſay a commandement is giuen that hee may bee maried, fol. 2.

Hereof doth follow that no perſon may make a vow or promiſe to liue chaſt or ſingle, and that none is bound to keepe any ſuch vowes, but rather to breake them: And hee that ſhall obſerue them, it is damnable, and by the Law of God already condemned, fol. eodem.

The touching of Women, ſome perſons haue compaſſed much ſtreightly, ſo that they dare not touch a Womans hand or skin, moreouer they imagined many both ſtatutes and ceremonies to keepe them from company of Women, as they thought that built Abbeis, but how fortunately that hath come to paſſe, what place thereby hath beene giuen to Sathan it were horrible to be ſpoken of, ibidem.

Hee that is compelled outwardly to abſtaine from Women, and is inwardly full of luſt is a diſſembler, and it is double lechery, fol. 3.

Marke what ſoule ſleyers they be that prouoke fooliſh youth to a vowe of chaſtity, compelling them to nouriſh inwardly hidden malice, fol. eodem.

All other euils may be ſuffered with a meane conſcience.

This cannot ſo be endured, this can be holpen by no medicine, but by marriage.

It is good for a man not to touch a woman, this word good is not vnderſtand of merit and deſerning afore God, as though an vnmarried man were better afore him, then the married, like as Saint Ierome hath expounded this text, for it concerneth onely faith, and no deede or worke, but it is ſpoken of temporall quietnes of this life, ſo that the virgin and maid hath much more joy and tranquility, fol. 4.

Chaſtity is a good thing, if luſt and incontinency make it not ſo common a thing as wee haue hitherto vſed to doe, and yet doe, but all amiſſe, but the Apoſtle will, that vniuerſally all men bee conſugall: but all the Biſhops ſince his time hath deſtroyed this godly ordinance, when they babble & rail in Pulpits, changing this word quiſque into quidam, fol. 6.

Men ought to ſtint of their ſtatutes making, for a better ſtatute can none bee then this, that men without any reſpect of time vſe their wife, not to exempt certaine dayes as they haue which wee call vigils, and women conceaued, fol. 8.

Faſting is a meaſurable vſage of meats, and drinkes, prayer is a crying, ſigh, deſire and mourning, fol. 9.

No man ought to enforce and compell men to faſting and prayer as they hitherto by lawes haue done, fol. 11.

Before God, all things are like and equall, fol. 12.

Abominable they doe ſinne which make Nonnes ſwell in pride when they babble, that their religion is more precious then matrimony, and then faine that they ſhall haue a crowne or garland of gold, ſo maketh them arrogant, wicked, vnfaithfull; chaſtity is a gift of God, and therefore can no man nother promiſe, nor vowe, nor keepe it, fol. 13.

The ſects of all them that are called religious and of all manner chauelings, are falſely called the ſpirituall orders: for matrimony like as in very deede, ſo it ought to bee called the ſpirituall ſtate before other orders wordly and ſecular matrimony is of all other the hieſt religion and moſt ſpirituall eſtate.

Matrimony is as gold, the ſpirituall eſtate as dung, the Spirit and ſuch ſpirituall eſtates haue no more agrement then Chriſt and Beliall, the day and the night, the ſpirit and the fleſh, faith and our ſenſes or reaſon, fol. 17.

Their prayer, their ſinging, doing their ſpirituall workes, for ſo much as they haue not the very word of God to confirme them, God cannot bee pleaſed with them, fol. 18.

Dico autem non nuptis & viduis &c. Of this we haue gathered that Paul had a wife, and here hee ſpeaketh onely of Widowes, a wife which either was dead, or for a time left him for the Goſpels ſake, but the other Apoſtles led about there wiues, fol. 19.

By teſtimony of Scriptures, all the Apoſtles and all the Biſhops ſucceſſours were married, fol. 2.

Saint Paul ſayeth, that hee ought to bee choſen for to bee a Biſhop that is the Husband of one Wife.

Seing ye chooſe not maried men to be Biſhops, other Chriſt muſt be a foole and vnrighteous which ſo did chooſe, or you Antichriſts and deceiuers.

You put away vniuerſally marriage from Prieſts contrary vnto God, to nature, to reaſon, to right, onely of preſumption without all manner of cauſe, fol. 21.

There is no ſinne, ne miſchiefe in all the World ſo manifold, that can let a man from prieſthood, but godly matrimony, fol. 32.

Wicked traditions and lawes and vngracious conſtitutions letteth Bigamy from Prieſthood.

What other thing is it to ſay, that a Prieſt ſhould not mary, then to ſay, that a man ſhould not bee a man, fol. 23.

The body of a Chriſten man muſt as well nouriſh ſeede, and beget children and multiply as the body of birds, beaſts and other liuely things.

Euery man as willeth Saint Paul, needeth to goe to Matrimony neceſſity ſo requireth, fol. 25.

This dare I bee bold to ſay, that where is one chaſte, there ought more then an hundred thouſand to liue married, fol. 26.

Saint Ierome which extolleth chaſtity with moſt highelt, but moſt perilous laudes, neuerthelesſe confeſſeth, that hee could not tame his fleſh; hee belonged to the number of them that belonged to Matrimony, Such example ſhalt thou find in a booke De vitis Patrum, fol. 27.

To keepe a young man in Cloiſter to liue chaſt, is as much as to offer a child to Moloch, there to be burned, fol. 28.

If the one would bee at one, and the other will not, the party that would bee reconciled to loue, may mary another, though the other bee aliue, fol. 23.

Whosoeuer doth not expell faith, is by reason of the same harmles, pure, cleane, holy profitable, fol. 35.

Infantes bee holy and cleane, though they haue not receiued baptisme, because their Parents bee holy and cleane.

The wretched lawes of the Pope bindeth vnmaried persons to abide, other the comming againe of the other, that was his mate and that vnder pain (O presumption, O shamles bolones) of damnation, fol. 38.

To helpe a man to God, or let a man from God, commeth onely of faith and vnbeleefe, fol. 43.

Pretio empti estis, &c. a generall prouerbe, or fit sentence against all humane lawes and traditions: bee sheweth what liberty is granted by the doctrine of Christ, and how that faith maketh all states and thyngs equall, fol. 47.

Christ with his precious bloud hath redeemed and deliuered vs from all sinnes and lawes, so that no longer any law can bind vs in conscience, fol. 48.

All exteriour things before God, are free, and that a Christian man may vse them according to his appetite either leauing or taking.

Thou owest nothing vnto God, but faith and confession; by confession, I meane not the whispering of sinnes into the Priests eare, ne yet thy confession of thy sinnes to God: but with Saint Paul if thou confesse with thy mouth that Jesus is Christ, and beleeue in thy heart that God hath raised him from death, thou shalt bee saued: In all other things, hee giueth thee liberty of thine owne will, thou mayest doe all things without ieopardy of conscience, God careth not as concerning for himselfe, though thou diddest forsake thy wife, run from thy Lord or Maker, and shouldest breake all manner couenants, that thou makest with all menne, but for that thou art bound to thy neighbour, fol 49.

Thou canst not perish or bee damned whatsoeuer thing, thou shalt outwardly either doe, or els leaue vndone: wee owe nothing vnto any man, saue loue onely.

In Cloisters and Monasteries they doe against faith, God, liberty, and Gods ordinances; They shall occupy seates appointed for them in the deepe dungeon of Hell, fol. 52.

By this is ouerthrowne the Diuelish Doctrine of the brainles and doting Doctours and Preachers of the Diuell, which doe forge singular coronets for Nunnes and Virgins, in Heauen onely saith hee, fol. 53.

Reading, founding of Organes, singing amongst religious bee superstitious, and among them, the seruice and honour of God is suppressed and conuinced, fol. 54.

Where the Apostles here are better, it is to be vnderstanded of goodnes in this World, fol. 6.

The solly and cruell Tirants and soule Murtherers that shutteth vp youth in Cloisters.

ALl which great errours and pestilent heresies being contagious and damnable with all the Bookes containing the same with the translation also of Scripture corrupted by William Tindall, as well in the Old testament as in the New, and all other Bookes in English containing such errour, the Kings highnes present in person, by one whole aduise and assent of the Prelates and Clarkes, as well of the Vniuersities, as of all other assembled together, determined vtterly to bee repelled, reiected, and put away out of the hands of his people and not to bee suffered to goe abroad among his Subiects; And his highnesse willeth further that his pleasure and determination should bee notified, by Preachers abroad vnto the people, as well for putting away of all such Bookes as reading, retaining, or hauing hereafter of any other like, deliuering vnto certaine Preachers, the forme of a writing to be published in effect vnto the people in their sermons, whereof the forme here followeth, willing them in all his Realme to publish the same.

Here followeth the Bill in Englisſh to bee publisſhed by the Preacher.

IT is the office and duty of euery Preacher and Teacher of the word of God, not onely to shew and declare vnto his audience that which might bee profitable and wholesome for the wealth of their soules, to bee followed and taken, but also to note and signifie vnto them such things as be dangerous and contagious, to the intent they might bee auoided and eschewed, and also as nære as they can iudge who bee Teachers and Authours of the same, this example wee haue of our Sauiour Christ, where hee sayeth, Attendite à falsis Prophetis, &c. Saint Paul likewise many times giueth warning to such as hee wrot vnto, that they should beware of the false Apostles, that in his absence went about to corrupt the Doctrine that hee had taught them being present. Wherefore considering that it hath pleased the Kings highnes like a noble, and a vertuous Prince, tendering not onely the present bodily wealth and tranquility of all his Subiects, for his and the worldly commodity and benefit, but most chiefly regarding the wealth of their soules and there due order towards God thereby to deserue and attaine immortall glory, to assemble and call together the chiefe personages of his Prelates, and a great number of learned men of both Vniuersities, charging and commanding them for the discharge and exoneration of his conscience, to find, read, examine, and discusse the contents of such Bookes as bee now spread abroad within this his graces Realme in the English tongue concerning the points and articles of our faith, and after their learning and conscience to make relation vnto his highnes, whether the same bookes bee expedient and profitable for his people, to the direction and ordering of there conscience and soule, or els contagious and pestiferous for the same: And whether the opinions contained in them, were agreeable to Gods word and Doctrine or no, for as much as the said congregation and assembly had free liberty and license granted vnto euery man to say as his conscience and learning serued him without any reproofe or blame to be imputed or arrected for any thing to bee spoken there, whose person so euer it touched, or any necessity to agree to the more part, but onely to say that his owne learning and conscience could maintaine and iustifie; After mature deliberation and consultation had, it was there by a whole consent, no man repugning or againsaying determined and agreed that the Bookes now being abroad in the English tongue containe false traditions and corrupt Doctrine, farre discrepant from the true sence of the Gospell and Catholike vnderstanding of Scripture, onely perswading pernicious Heresies to the destructions of the soules of good Christen men, and that the certainty hereof, I can report vnto you of mine own knowledge, being one of the said assembly and hearing and seeing the said opinions red, declared and examined, and by the true sense and meaning of Gods learning reproued and rejected: I thinke therefore

therefore my duty is, taking vpon mee the office of a Preacher, following the example of our Maſter Chriſt and Saint Paul as is aforeſaid to warne and monith you by the words of Chriſt, as I ſpake before: Attendite à falſis Prophetis, &c. And take heed of your ſelfe that yee bee not infected by the contagion and infection of ſuch Pſeudo Apoſtles as haue in our Engliſh tongue, ſet forth Bookes to ſeduce you from the true knowledge of Gods lawes, and bring by their falſe interpretations of Scripture into the deteſtable and abominable Hereſies to the deſtruction of our ſoules, wherefore you that haue the Bookes called the obedience of a Chriſten man: The ſumme of Scripture, the Reuelation of Antichriſt, the ſupplication of Beggers, Mammona iniquitatis, the Matrimony of Tindall, the new Teſtament in Engliſh, of the tranſlation which is now printed, and ſuch other Bookes in Engliſh, the Authours whereof either dare not, or doe not put to their names, bee pernicious Bookes, deteſt them, abhorre them, keepe them not in your hands, deliuer them to the Superiours ſuch as call for them: And if by reading of them heretofore, any thing remaineth in your breſts of that teaching, either forget it, or by information of the truth expell it and purge it, to the intent that yee being ſo purified and cleanſed of that contagious Doctrine and peſtiferous traditions may bee fit and apt to receiue, and retaine the true Doctrine and vnderſtanding of Chriſts lawes to the comfort and edification of our ſoules; thus I moue and exhort you in God to doe, this is your duty to doe.

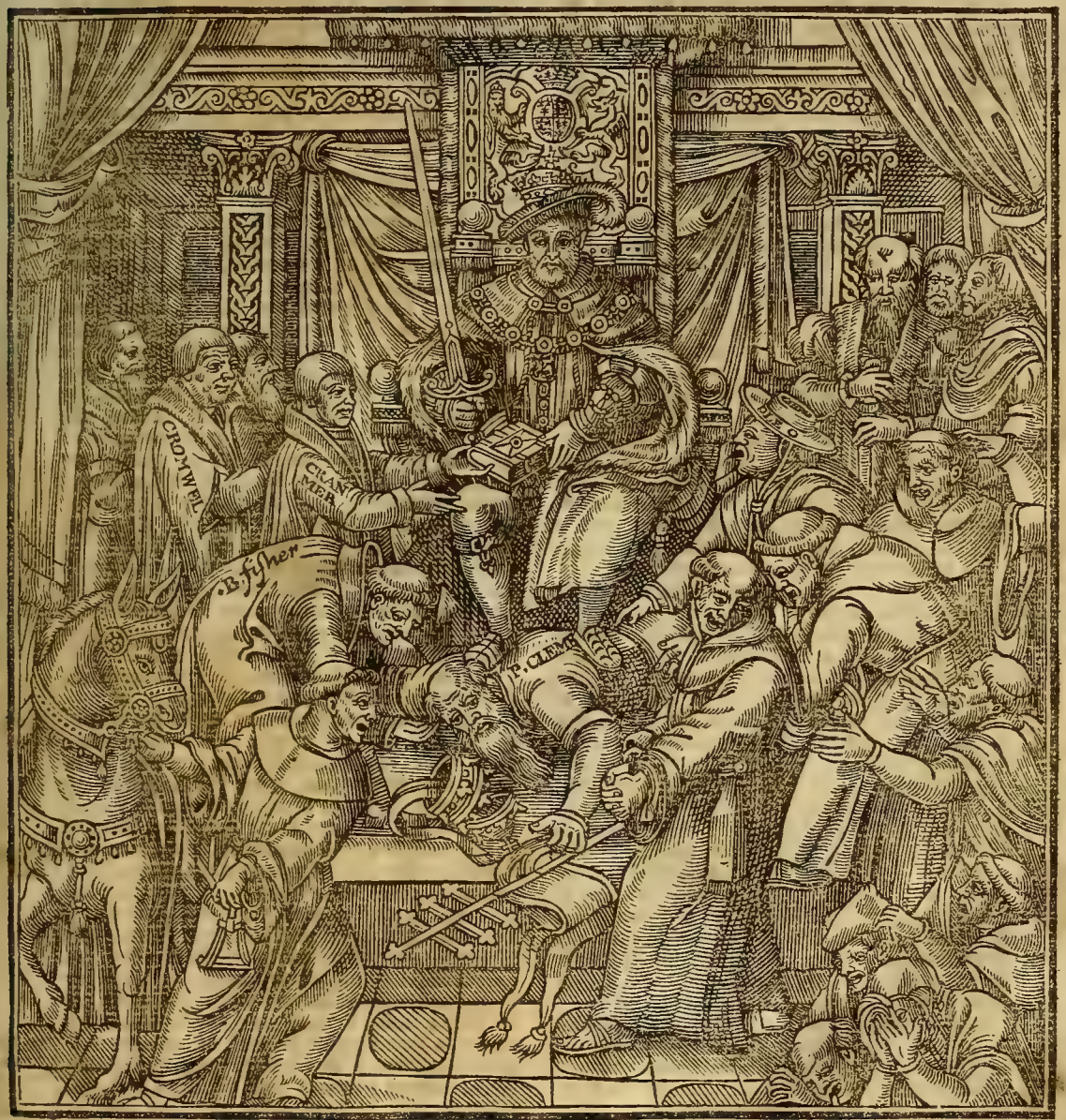
The Prelates of the Church hauing the cure and charge of your ſoules ought to compell you, and your Prince to punith and correct you not doing of the ſame, vnto whom as Saint Paul ſaith, the ſword is giuen by Gods ordinance for that purpoſe, yea ſhall alſo farther vnderſtand, that the Kings highneſſe, for as much as it was reported vnto him, that there is engendred an opinion in diuers of his ſubiects, that it is his graces duty to cauſe the Scripture of God to be tranſlated into the Engliſh tongue to be communicate vnto the people, and that the Prelates, and alſo his Highneſſe doe wrong in hindering of the ſame, his Highneſſe therefore willed euery man there preſent in the ſaid aſſembly, freely and frankly to ſhew and open vnto him what might bee proued, and conferred by Scripture, and holy Doctors in that behalfe, to the intent that his Highneſſe (as hee there openly proteſted) might conforme himſelfe thereunto, minding to doe his duty towards his people, as he would they ſhould doe their duties towards him: In which matter, after the Scriptures declared, holy Doctors and Authors alledged, and read, and all things ſaid, which might be on both ſides, and for both parts ſpoken, deduced, and brought forth, finally it appeared, that the hauing of the whole Scripture in Engliſh is not neceſſary to chriſten men, but that without hauing any ſuch Scripture, endeauoring themſelues to doe well, and to apply their minds to take and follow ſuch Leſſons as the Preacher teacheth them, and ſo learned by his mouth, may as well edifie ſpiritually in their ſoules, as if they had the ſame Scriptures in Engliſh. And like as the hauing of Scripture in vulgar tongue, and in the common peoples hands, hath beene by both holy Fathers of the Church heretofore in ſome times thought meet and conuenient, ſo at another time, it hath beene thought to holy Fathers not expedient to bee communicate amongſt them, wherein for as much as the Kings Highneſſe, by the aduiſe and deliberation of his Councell, and the agreement of the great learned men thinketh in his conſcience, that the diuulging of the Scripture at this time in the Engliſh tongue, to be committed to the people, conſidering ſuch peſtilent bookes, and ſo euill opinions, as bee now ſpread amongſt them, ſhould rather be to their further confuſion and deſtruction, then the edification of their ſoules, and that as holy Doctors teſtifie, vpon ſuch like conſiderations, the ſemblable hath beene done in times paſt, it was thought there in that aſſembly to all and ſingular in that Congregation, that the Kings Highneſſe, and the Prelates in ſo doing not ſuffered the Scripture to be diuulged and communicate in the Engliſh tongue vnto the people, at this time doth well. And alſo I thinke and iudge the ſame, exhorting, and moouing you, that in conſideration his Highnes did there openly ſay and proteſt, that he would cauſe the new Teſtament to be, by learned men faithfully and purely tranſlated into Engliſh tongue, to the intent he might haue it in his hands, ready to bee giuen to his people, as he might ſee their manners and behauiour meet, apt, and conuenient to receiue the ſame, that yee will ſo deteſt theſe pernitious bookes, ſo abhorre theſe hereſies, and new opinions, ſo decline from arrogancy of knowledge and vnderſtanding of Scripture after your fantaſies, and ſhew your ſelfe in cunning and reaſoning, ſo ſober, quiet, meet and temperate, as all feare of miſuſing the gift of Scripture taken away, ye may appeare ſuch in your Princes eyes, and eyes of your Prelates, as they ſhall haue no iuſt cauſe to feare any ſuch danger, perſwading vnto your ſelfe in the meane time without grudging or murmuring the very truth, which is this, that we cannot require or demand Scripture to be diuulged in the Engliſh tongue, otherwiſe then vpon the diſcretions of the ſuperiours, ſo as whenſoeuer they thinke in their conſcience it may doe you good, they may and doe well, to giue it vnto you: And whenſoeuer it ſhall be ſeene otherwiſe vnto them, they doe amiſſe in ſuffering you to haue it. Of and vpon the which Decree, order and determination aboue recited his gracious Highneſſe being in perſon in the Chappell, called the old Chappell, which ſometime was called, Saint Edwards Chamber, ſat on the Eaſt-ſide of the Parliament Chamber, within his graces pallace at Weſtminſter, vpon the xviij. day of May, the yeat of our Lord God 1530. and in the two and twentieth yeare of his raigne called before his grace the three Notaries here vnder written, and then and there in the preſence of all the perſonages there aſſembled and gathered together, willed and required the ſaid three Notaries to make publicke and authenticke inſtruments, and vs to ſet thereunto our ſeale accordingly in and for witneſſe, and perpetuall memory and monument, of this his graces deſire, order and determination, and of all and ſingular the premiſſes, and all the perſonages then and there being preſent, to teſtifie the ſame, and beare Record and teſtimony thereupon: In witneſſe of all, and ſingular the premiſſes, Wee William, Archbiſhop, Primate and Legate aforeſaid, haue commanded and obtained theſe preſent Letters teſtimoniall, or preſent publicke or authenticke inſtrument, containing therein the order, decree, and determination aboue-ſaid, to be made, and to bee ſubſcribed, and conſigned by the hands of the Notaries hereafter named, and to bee ſealed with our owne ſeale. All which premiſſes haue beene done in manner and forme aboue ſpecified, then and there being preſent the noble perſonage of Thomas Moore Knight, great Chauncellor of England, our Reuerend Brother in Chriſt Cutbert, by the permiſſion of God Biſhop of Durham, and worſhipfull perſonages, Maſter Steuen Gardiner Secretary, Maſter Richard Samſon, Deane of the Chappell, Doctor of law, Maſter Richard Wolman, Maſter of the requeſts, Maſter John Bell, Councellor, Doctors of the holy Decrees, Maſter Nicholas Wilſon the Kings Confeſſor, Maſter Richard Sharke, Arch-deacon of Wiltſhire, Doctors

ctors of Diuinity, Maſter Iohn Oliuer, Maſter Edmund Steward, doctors of the Law. Chaplains to our ſaid Soueraigne Lord the Kings grace, Maſter Richard Wawoly, Maſter William Mortimer, Maſter Edward Crome, Maſter Edward Wiggen, Doctors alſo of Diuinity, Maſter Robert Carter, Maſter Edward Leighton, Maſter Hugh Latimer, and Maſter William Latimer, and Roger Milſon maſters of art in both the Vniuerſities aboue ſaid with many moe learned men of the ſaid Vniuerſities, in a great number aſſembled then and there together witneſſe to the premiſſes required and adhibited: Theſe being premiſed, now let vs ſée the anſwer of Maſter Latimer againe to this foreſaid teſtimoniall or inſtrument of the Biſhops, in a Letter which the ſaid Latimer wrote to King Henry the ſame time in that behalfe. The Copy of his Letter is this.

THE

¶ Here followeth the second Volume,

and the seventh Booke, beginning with the raigne of King HENRIE the eighth.



{Anno 1509.} AS touching the ciuill state and administration of the Commonwealth, and likewise of the state of the Church vnder the raigne of King Henrie the seuenth, how hee entred first into possession of the Crowne: how the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster were in him conioyned through marriage with Elizabeth the eldest daughter to King Edward the fourth, by the prudent counsell of Iohn Morton then Bishop of Elie, after Archbishop of Canterbury, and Cardinall: how long the said King raigned, and what persecution was in his time for lacke of search and knowledge of Gods Word, both in the dioceſſe

Notes summarily collected and repeated of things done in the time of King Henry the seuenth.

of Lincolne vnder bishop Smith (who was erector of the house of Brasen nose in Oxford) as also in the diocesse of Couentrie, and other places mo: and further, what punishment and alteration God commonly sendeth vpon cities and Realmes publique, for neglecting the safetie of his flocke, sufficiently in the former booke hath beene already specified: wherein many things more amply might haue bene added, incident in the raigne of this Prince, which we haue for breuitie pretermitted. For he that studieth to comprehend in storie all things which the common course and vse of life may offer to the writer, may sooner finde matter to occupy himselfe, then to profit other. Otherwise I might haue inferred mention of the seditious tumult of Perkin Werbecke, with his retinue, Anno 1494. Also of Blackheath field by the Blacksmith, Anno 1496. I might also haue recited the glorious commendation of Georgius Lilius in his Latine Chronicle, testifying of king Henry the seuenth, how he sent three solemne Orators to Pope Julius the second to yeld his obedience to the See of Rome, Ann. 1506. And likewise how Pope Alexander the ninth, Pius the third, and Julius the second, sent to the said King Henry the seuenth three sundry famous Embassadors, with three swords, and three Caps of Maintenance, electing and admitting him to bee the chiefe defender of the Faith. The commendation of which fact, how glorious it is in the eyes of Georgius Lilius, and Fabian, that I leaue to them. This I suppose, that when King Henry sent to Pope Julius three Orators with obedience, if hee had sent him three thousand harquebusiers to furnish his field against the French King fighting at Rauenna, hee had pleased Pope Julius much better. If Georgius Lilius had beene disposed to illustrate his story with notes, this had beene more worthy the noting, how Lodouike 12. the French King, calling his parliament, moued this question against Pope Julius: whether a Pope might inuade any prince by warrelike force, without cause, and whether the prince might withdraw his obedience from that Pope or not? And it was concluded in the same parliament with the King, against the Pope. Also it was concluded the same time (which was in the raigne of this King Henry the seuenth) that the * Pragmaticall sanction should be receiued in full force and effect, thorough all the realme of France.

And forsomuch as we are fallen into the mention of Georgius Lilius, this in him is to bee found not unworthy noting, How after the burning of Thomas Norice aboue mentioned, at the Citie of Norwich, the same yeare followed such a fire in Norwich, that the whole citie, well neere, was therewith consumed. Ex Georg. Lilio. Like as also after the burning of the foresaid good aged father in Smithfield the same yeare (which was 1500.) we read in the Chronicle of Fabian a great plague to fall vpon the city of London, to the great destruction of the inhabitants thereof. Wherein againe is to be noted (as is aforesaid) that according to the state of the Church, the disposition of the commonwealth commonly is guided, either to be with aduersity afflicted, or else in prosperity to flourish. But after these notes of King Henry the seuenth, now to the story of King Henry the eighth.

This King Henry the seuenth finishing his course in the yeare aboue said, which was 1509. had by Elizabeth his wife aboue named, foure men children, and of women children as many. Of whom three onely suruiued: to wit, Prince Henry, Lady Margaret, and Lady Mary. Of whom king Henry the eighth succeeded after his father. Lady Margaret was married to James the fourth, king of Scots: Lady Mary was affied to Charles king of Castile.

Not long before the death of king Henry, prince Arthur his eldest sonne had espowsed Lady Katharine daughter to Ferdinandus, being of the age of fifténe yeares, and she about the age of seuenténe; and shortly after his marriage, within fiue moneths departed at Ludlow, and was buried at Worcester. After whose decease, the succession of the Crowne fell next to King Henry the eighth, who being of the age of eighteene yeares, entered his raigne the yeare of our Lord 1509. and shortly after married with the foresayd Katharine, his late brother Prince Arthurs wife, to the end that her dowrie being great, should not bee transported out of the land. In the which his marriage, being more politique than Scripture-like, he was dispensed with by Pope Julius, at the request of Ferdinandus her father. The raigne of this King continued with great nobleneſſe and fame the space of thirty eight yeares. During whose time and raigne was great alteration of things, as well to the ciuile state of the Realme, as especially to the state Ecclesiasticall, and matters to the Church appertaining. For by him was exiled and abolished out of the Realme, the vsurped power of the Bishop of Rome, idolatrie and superstition somwhat repressed, images and pilgrimages defaced, Abbeyes and Monasteries pulled downe, sects of Religion rooted out, Scriptures reduced to the knowledge of the vulgar tongue, and the state of the Church and Religion redressed. Concerning all which things, in the processe of this volume here following, wee will endeauour (Christ willing) particularly and in order to discourse: after that first we shall comprehend a few matters, which within the beginning of his raigne are to be noted and collected. Where, leauing off to write of Empson and Dudley, who, in the time of King Henry the seuenth, being great doers in executing the penall lawes ouer the people at that time, and purchasing thereby more malice than lands, with that which they had gotten, were shortly after the entring of this King beheaded, the one a Knight, the other an Esquire: leauing also to intermeddle with his warres, triumphs, and other temporall affaires, we meane in this volume principally to bestow our trauell in declaration of matters concerning most chiefely the state of the Church and of Religion, as well in this Church of England, as also of the whole Church of Rome.

Wherein first commeth to our hands a turbulent tragedie, and a fierce contention which long before had troubled the Church, and now this present yere 1509. was renewed afresh betwéne two certaine Orders of begging Friers, to wit, the Dominike Friers and the Franciscans, about the conception of the Virgin Mary the mother of Christ.

The Franciscans were they which did hold of S. Francis, and followed the rule of his Testament, commonly called Grey friers, or Minorites. Their opinion was this, That the Virgin Mary preuented by the grace of the holy Ghost, was so sanctified, that she was neuer subject one moment in her conception, to originall sinne. The Dominike friers were they, which holding of Dominike, were commonly called Blacke friers, or preaching friers. Their opinion was, that the Virgin Mary was conceiued as all other children of Adam be: so that this priuiledge onely belongeth to Christ, to be conceiued without originall sinne: notwithstanding, the said blessed Virgin was sanctified in her mothers wombe, and purged from her originall sin so as was John Baptist, Jeremy, or any other priuiledged person. This friuolous question kindling and ingendring betwéene these two sects of friers, burst out into such a flame of parts and sides taking, that it occupied the heads and wits, schooles, and vniuersities almost thorough the whole Church; some holding one part with Scotus, some the other part with Thomas Aquine. The Minorites holding with Scotus their Master, disputed and concluded, That shee was conceiued without all spot or note of originall sinne; and thereupon caused the

feast

Perkin Werbecke which feigned himselfe to be King Edwards sonne.

Blacke heath field.

Ex Masseo, lib. 30.

* Pragmatica sanctio, was a practising, or a determination of a certaine parliament in France against the Bishop of Rome, in defence of certaine matters of Religion concluded in the Councell of Basil.

A note of Gods plagues following the burning of his people.

The children and off-spring of King Henry the seuenth.

Lady Margaret married to King James the fourth of Scotland.

Lady Marie married to the King of Castile.

Prince Arthur married to Lad. Katharine daughter to the Spanish King.

The death of Prince Arthur.

King Henry marrieth Lady Katherine his brothers wife.

Blind dispensations of the Pope.

Franciscan Friers.

Dominicke Friers.

A troublous dissention in the Church, for the conception of the Virgin Mary.

Whether the Virgin Mary was conceiued without Originall sinne.

feaſt and ſeruice of the conception of S. Mary the Virgin to bee celebrate and ſolemnized in the Church. Contrary, the Dominike friers taking ſide with Aquinas, preached, That it was hereſie, to affirme that the bleſſed Virgin was conceiued without the guilt of originall ſinne; and that they which did celebrate the feaſt of her conception, or ſaid any Maſſes thereof, did ſinne grieuouſly and mortally.

A new found feaſt of the conception of the Virgin Mary.

In the meane time, as this fantaſie waxed hot in the Church, the one ſide preaching againſt the other, came Pope Sixtus the fourth, Anno 1476. who ioyning ſide with the Minorites or Franciſcans, firſt ſent forth his decree by authoritie Apoſtolike, willing, ordaining, and commanding all men to ſolemnize this new found feaſt of the conception in holy Church for euermore: offering to all men and women, which deuoutly frequenting the Church, would heare Maſſe and ſeruice from the firſt euen-ſong of the ſaid feaſt, to the Octaues of the ſame, as many dayes of pardon, as Pope Urban the fourth and Pope Martin the fifth did grant for hearing the ſeruice of Corpus Chriſti day, &c. And this Decree was giuen and dated at Rome, Anno 1476.

A new Ave Maria of the Popes making.

Moreouer, the ſame Pope, to the intent that the deuotion of the people might be the more incouraged to the celebration of this conception, added a clauſe more to the Aue Maria, granting great indulgence and releaſe of ſinnes to all ſuch as would inuocate the bleſſed Virgin, with the ſame addition ſaying thus: Aue Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, & benedictus fructus ventris tui, Ieſus Chriſtus; & benedicta ſit Anna Mater tua, de qua, ſine macula, tua proceſſit caro virginia: Amen. That is, Haile Mary full of grace, the Lord is with thee, bleſſed art thou among women, and bleſſed is the fruit of thy wombe, Ieſus Chriſt, and bleſſed is Anna thy mother, of whom thy virgins fleſh hath proceeded without blot of originall ſinne: Amen.

The Pope addeth to the words of the Scripture.

Wherein thou maieſt note (gentle Reader) for thy learning three things: Firſt, how the Pope turneth that vnproperly into a prayer, which properly was ſent of God for a meſſage or tydings. Secondly, how the Pope addeth to the words of the Scripture, contrary to the expreſſe precept of the Lord. Thirdly, how the Pope exempteth Mary the bleſſed Virgin, not only from the ſeed of Abraham and Adam, but alſo from the condition of a mortall creature. For if there be in her no originall ſinne, then ſhee beareth not the image of Adam, neither doth ſhee deſcend of that ſeed, of whoſe ſeed euill proceedeth vpon all men and women to condemnation, as S. Paul doth teach, Romans 5. Wherefore if ſhe deſcend of that ſeed, then the infection of originall euill muſt neceſſarily proceed vnto her. If ſhee deſcend not thereof, then commeth ſhee not of the ſeed of Abraham, nor of the ſeed of Dauid, &c. Againe, ſeeing that death is the effect and ſtipend of ſinne, by the doctrine of S. Paul, Rom. 6. then had her fleſh iniury by the Law, as Chriſt himſelfe had, to ſuffer the malediction and puniſhment of death, and ſo ſhould neuer haue dyed, if originall ſinne had no place in her, &c. But to returne vnto our ſtory: This conſtitution of the Pope being ſet forth for the conception of the bleſſed Virgin, which was the yeare of our Lord 1476. it was not long after, but the ſaid Pope Sixtus perceiuing that the Dominicke Friers with their complices would not conforme themſelues hereunto, directed forth, by the authoritie Apoſtolicall, a Bull in effect as followeth:

Three abſurdities to be noted in this Decree of the Pope.

Rom. 5.

Rom. 6.

The tenor of the Popes Bull for the conception of the Virgin to be without Originall ſin.

Sane cum ſancta Romana Eccleſia de intemerata ſemperque Virginis, &c. In English: Whereas the holy Church of Rome hath ordained a ſpeciall and proper ſeruice for the publique ſolemnization of the feaſt of the conception of the bleſſed Virgin Mary: certaine Orders of the Blacke Friers in their publique Sermons to the people in diuers places, haue not ceaſed hitherto to preach; and yet daily doe, that all they which hold or affirme the ſaid glorious Virgin to haue beene conceiued without originall ſinne, bee Heretiques: and they which celebrate the ſeruice of the ſaid her conception, or doe heare the Sermons of them which doe ſo affirme, doe ſinne grieuouſly. Alſo not contented herewith, doe write and ſet forth bookes moreouer, maintaining their aſſertions, to the great offence and ruine of godly mindes: Wee therefore to prevent and withſtand ſuch preſumptuous and perverſe aſſertions which haue riſen, and more hereafter may ariſe, by ſuch opinions and preachings aforeſaid, in the mindes of the faithfull; by the authoritie Apoſtolicall, doe condemne and reproove the ſame; and by the motion, knowledge, and authoritie aforeſaid, decree and ordaine, That the Preachers of Gods Word, and all other perſons, of what ſtate, degree, order, or condition ſoeuer they bee, which ſhall preſume to dare affirme or preach to the people theſe foreſaid opinions and aſſertions to bee true, or ſhall reade, hold, or maintaine any ſuch bookes for true, having before intelligence hereof, ſhall incurre thereby the ſentence of Excommunication: from which they ſhall not bee abſolued otherwiſe than by the Biſhop of Rome, except only in the time of death. This Bull being dated the yeare of our Lord, 1483. gaue no little heart and encouragement to the Gray Friers Franciſcans, which defended the pure conception of the holy Virgin, againſt the blacke Dominike Friers with their confederates, holding the contrary ſide. By the vigour of which Bull, the Gray Order had got ſuch a conqueſt of the Blacke guard of the Dominicks, that the ſaid Dominicks were compelled at length for a perpetuall memoriall of the triumph, both to giue to the glorious Virgin euery night an Antheme in praiſe of her conception, and alſo to ſubſcribe vnto their doctrine: in which doctrine theſe with diuers other points be contained.

1 That bleſſed Mary the Virgin ſuffered the griefes and aduerſities in this life, not for any neceſſity inflicted for puniſhment of Originall ſinne: but onely becauſe ſhee would conforme her ſelfe to the imitation of Chriſt. Ex Iod. Clitouæo de Puritate conceptionis, Lib. 2.

2 That the ſaid Virgin, as ſhe was not obliged to any puniſhment due for ſinne, as neither was Chriſt her ſonne: ſo ſhe had no need of remiſſion of ſinnes, but in ſtead thereof had the diuine preſeruation of Gods helpe, keeping her from all ſin: which grace onely ſhe needed, and alſo had it. Filthy abſurdities in the Popes doctrine.

3 Item, That where the body of the Virgin Mary was ſubiect to death, and died: this is to bee vnderſtood to come not for any penalty due for ſinne, but either for imitation and conformitie vnto Chriſt, or elſe for the naturall conſtitution of her body, being elementall, as were the bodies of our firſt parents: who if they had not taſted of the forbidden fruit, ſhould haue beene preſerued from death, not by nature, but by grace, and ſtrength of other fruites and meats in Paradiſe. Which meats becauſe Mary had not, but did eat our common meates, therefore ſhe dyed, and not for any neceſſitie of Originall ſin, Clitoveus lib. 2. cap. 2. How the Virgin Mary was ſubiect to death after the Friers opinions.

4 The vniuerſall propoſition of S. Paul, which ſaith, That the Scripture hath concluded all men vnder ſinne, is to be vnderſtood thus, as ſpeaking of all them which be not exempted by the ſpeciall priuiledge of God, as is the bleſſed Virgin Mary.

5 If iuſtification bee taken for reconciliation of him that was vnrighteous before, and now is made righteous: then the bleſſed Virgin is to bee taken, not for iuſtified by Chriſt, but iuſt from her beginning by preſeruation.

6 If a Sauiour be taken for him which ſaueth men

fallen into perdition and condemnation, so is not Christ the Sauiour of Mary, but is her Sauiour onely in this respect, for sustaining her from not falling into condemnation, &c.

7 Neither did the Virgin Mary giue thanks to God, nor ought so to do for expiation of her sinnes, but for her conseruation from fall of sinning.

Good stuffe.

8 Neither did she pray to God at any time for remission of her sinnes; but onely for remission of other mens sinnes she prayed many times, and counted their sinnes for hers.

9 If the blessed Virgin had deceased before the passion of her Sonne, God would haue repосed her soule not in the place among the Patriarks, or amongst the Iust, but in the same most pleasant place of Paradise where Adam and Eue were before they transgressed.

These were the doting dreames and fantasies of the Franciscans, and of other Papists, commonly then holden in the schooles, written in their bookes, preached in their sermons, taught in Churches,* and set forth in Pictures. So that the people was taught nothing els almost in the Pulpits, all this while, but how the Virgin Mary was conceiued immaculate and holy without originall sin, and how they ought to call to her for helpe, whom they with speciall termes do call, The way of mercy: the mother of grace: the louer of piety: the comforter of mankinde: the continuall intercessour for the saluation of the faithfull: and an aduocate to the King her Sonne, which neuer ceaseth, &c. Verba Papæ Sexti in Decret. And although the greatest number of the schole Doctors were of the contrary faction, as Peter Lombardus, Thomas Aquine, Bernardus, Bonauentura, and other: yet these new Papists shifted off their objections with friuolous distinctions, and blinde euasions, as thus: Petrus Lombardus, they said, is not receiued nor holden in the Schooles as touching this article, but is rejected. Clitouæus, lib. 2. cap. 15.

* The Gray Friers had made a picture of Joachim and Anna kissing, by the which kisse Anna was conceiued with Mary. Ex Rob. Lycio, Minorita.

Idolatry to the blessed Virgin.

Bernardus in Epist. ad Lugdunens. although he seemeth to deny the conception of the blessed Virgin to be void of Originall sinne, saying, that she could not be holy when she was not, and liued not: to this they answer, That albeit she was not yet in essence, yet she was holy in her conception, and before conception, in the diuine præscience of God, which had chosen and pre-elected her before the worlds, to be the mother of the Lord.

Obiections papistically salued.

Againe, where Bernard doth argue, that she was not without Originall sinne conceiued, because she was not conceiued by the holy Ghost: to this they answer, That the holy Ghost may worke two waies in conception: either without company of man, and so was Christ onely conceiued: or else with company and helpe of man, and thus was the blessed Virgin conceiued. Clit. li. 2. cap. 14.

Popish beleefe and doctrine goeth by time.

Bonauentura (say they) was an holy father, but he spake then after the custome and manner of his time, when as the solemnity and purity of this conception was not yet decreed nor received by the publique consent and authority of the Church: now seeing the authority of the Church of Rome hath established the same, it ought not to be contraried, nor can, without dangerous disobedience. In all mens actions diligent respect of time must be had. That which bindeth not at one time, afterward the same by law being ratified, may binde at another. Ibid.

Veritie consisteth not in number of voices; nor victorie in multitude of Souldiers.

Finally, for the number and multitude on the contrary side, thus they answer for themselues, as we now in these our dayes likewise in defence of the truth, may well answer against the Pope and all his popish Friers, turning their owne weapons against themselues: Multitude, say they, ought not to moue vs; victory consisteth not in number and heapes, but in fortitude and hearts of Souldiers: yea rather fortitude and stomacke commeth from heauen, and not of man. Iudas Machabeus with a little handfull ouerthrew the great army of Antiochus. Strong Sampson with a poore Asses bone slue a thousand Philistims. Dauid had no more but a silly sling and a few stones, and with these stroke downe terrible Goliah the Gyant, &c. Lib. eod. cap. 13.

With these and such other like reasons the gray Franciscans voided their aduersaries, defending the conception of the Virgin Mary to be vnblemished, and pure from all contagion of Originall sinne. Contrariwise, the blacke gard of the Dominicke Friers for their parts were not all mute; but layd lustily from them againe, hauing great authorities and also the Scripture on their side. But yet the other hauing the Sée Apostolical with them, had the better hand, and in fine gat the victory triumphantly ouer the other, to the high exaltation of their Order. For Pope Sixtus (as I said) by the authority Apostolicall, after he had decreed the conception day of the Virgin perpetually to be sanctified, and also with his terrible Bull had condemned for heretikes all them which withstood the same; the Dominicke Friers, with authority oppressed, were driuen to two inconueniences: the one was, to keepe silence; the other was to giue place to their aduersaries the Franciscans. Albeit, where the mouth durst not speake, yet the heart would worke; and though their tongues were tyed, yet their good will was ready by all meanes possible to maintaine their quarrell and their estimation.

The Popes law stronger than the Scripture.

Whereupon it happened the same yeere of our Lord 1509. after this dissention betweene the Dominicke Friers and the Franciscans, that certaine of the Dominicks, thinking by subtill sleight to worke in the peoples heads that which they durst not atchieue with open preaching, deuised a certaine Image of the Virgin so artificially wrought, that the Friers by priuy gins made it to stirre, and to make gestures, to lament, to complaine, to weepe, to grone, and to giue answers to them that asked: insomuch that the people therewith were brought in a marueilous perswasion, till at length the fraud being espied, the Friers were taken, condemned, and burned at Berne the yeere aboue mentioned, 1509. Ex Peucer. Sebast. Munstero, Carione, & aliis. In the Centuries of John Bale I finde their names to be, Ioannes Vetter, Franciscus Vliscus, Stephanus Bolizhorst and Henricus Steinegger.

{Anno 1509.} Ex Caspar Pucero Chron. lib. 5. ex Sebast. Munster. Cosmog. lib. 3.

4. Friers burned at Berne.

In the story of Iohn Stumsius, this story aforesaid doth partly appeare: but in the Registers and Records of the City of Berne, the order and circumstance thereof is more fully expressed and set forth, both in meeter and prose, and is thus declared.

In the City of Berne there were certaine Dominicke Friers, to the number chiefely of foure principall doers and chefetaines of that Order, who had inueigled a certaine simple poore Frier, who had newly planted himselfe in the Cloyster: whom the foresaid Friers had so infatuated with sundry superstitions, and feigned apparitions of S. Mary, S. Barbara, and S. Katharine, and with their inchantments, and imprinting moreouer in him the wounds of S. Francis, that he beleeued plainely, that the virgin Mary had appeard to him, and had offered to him a red Hoste consecrated, with the bloud also of Christ miraculous: which blessed Virgin also had sent him to the Senators of Berne, with instructions, declaring vnto them from the mouth of the Virgin, that she was conceiued in sin, and that the Franciscan Friers were not to be credited, nor suffered in the City, which were not yet reformed from that erroneous opinion of her conception. He added moreouer, That they should resort to a certaine Image there of the Virgin Mary (which Image the Friers by engines had made to sweat) and should do their worship, and make their oblations to the same, &c.

Ex Histor. Fernensi conscriptæ vulgari & Latino sermone.

This

This feigned deuice was not so soone forged by the friers, but it was as soon beleeued of the people; so that a great while the red coloured Host was taken vndoubtedly for the true body and blood of Christ, and certaine coloured drops thereof sent abroad to diuers noble personages and States for a great Relique, and that not without great recompence. Thus the deceiued people in great numbers came flocking to the Image, and to the red Hoste & coloured bloud, with manifold gifts and oblations. In briefe, the Dominicke friers so had wrought the matter, and had so swept all the fat to their owne beards from the order of the Franciscans, that all the almes came to their box. The Franciscans seeing their estimation to decay, and their kitchin to ware cold, and their panches to be pinched, not able to abide that contumely, and being not ignorant or vnacquainted with such counterfeited doings (for as the prouerbe saith, It is ill halting before a Creeple) effsoones espied their crafty iugling, and detected their fraudulent miracles. Whereupon the foure chiefe Captaines aboue named were apprehended and put to the fire: of whom the Prouinciall of that Order was one.

Friers neither can agree with themselues; nor yet doe disagree but in vaine trifles.

And thus much touching the beginning and end of this tumultuous and popish tragedie. Wherein euidently it may appeare to the Reader, how neither these turbulent Friers could agree among themselues; and yet in what friuolous trifles they wrangled together. But to let these ridiculous friers passe with their trifling phantasies, most worthy to be derided of all wise men: in the meane time this is to be lamented, to behold the miserable times of the Church, in which the Duell kept the mindes of Christs people so attentiue and occupied in such frierly toyes, that nothing else almost was taught or heard in the Church, but onely the commendation and exaltation of the Virgin Mary. But of our iustification by faith, of grace and the promises of God in Christ, of the strength of the Law, of the horror of sin, of difference betweene the Law, and the Gospell, of the true liberty of conscience, &c. no mention or very little was heard. Wherefore in this so blind a time of darknesse it was much needfull and requisite, that the Lord of his mercy should looke vpon his Church, and send downe his gracious reformation, which also hee did. For shortly vpon the same, through the gracious excitation of God, came Martin Luther; of whom the order of story now requireth, that wee should, and will entreat (Christ willing) after the story of Richard Hunne, and a few other things premised, for the better opening of the story to follow.

The miserable blindnesse of the time considered.

{Anno 1510.} Pope Iulius playeth the Warriour.

Mention was made sufficiently before of the doings of Pope Iulius, and of his warlike affaires, for the which he was condemned, and not vniustly, in the Councell of Turone in France, Anno 1510. and yet all this could not asswage the furious affection of this Pope, but the same yeare hee inuaded the City of Mutina and Mirandula in Italy, and tooke them by force of warre. Which Pope Iulius not long after, in the yeare of our Lord 1512. refusing peace offered by Maximilian the Emperour, was encountered by Lewis the French King about Rauenna, vpon Easter day; where hee was vanquished, and had of his army slaine to the number of fiftéene thousand. Ex Chron. Carion. And the yeare next following, Anno 1513 this Apostolicall warriour, which had resigned his keyes vnto the Riuer of Tybris before, made an end together both of his fighting and liuing, after he had raigned and fought ten yeares. After whom succéeded next in the Sée of Rome, Pope Leo the tenth. About the compasse of which time, great mutations and stirres began to worke, as well in States temporall, as especially in the State of the Church.

{Anno 1512.} The Pope ouercome in battell.

{Anno 1513.} The death of Pope Iulius.

Pope Leo 10.

The state and succession of Princes.

Charles 5. Emperour of Germany,	Anno 1519	reigned	39.
Francis King of France,	Anno 1515	reigned	32.
Henry 8. King of England,	Anno 1509	reigned	38.
James 5. King of Scotland,	Anno 1514	reigned	

In the time of which Pope, Emperour, and Kings of England and of France, great alterations, troubles, and turnes of religion were wrought in the Church, by the mighty operation of Gods hand, in Italy, France, Germany, England, and all Europe; such as haue not béene séene (although much groaned for) many hundred yéeres before: as in further discourse of this History (Christ willing) shall more manifestly appeare.

But before we come to these alterations, taking the time as it lyeth before vs, wee will first speake of Richard Hunne, and certaine other godly minded persons here in England, afflicted for the word of Christs Gospell in great multitudes, as they bée found and taken out of the Registers of Fitzjames Bishop of London, by the faithfull helpe and industrie of R. Carket Citizen of London.

The historie of diuers good men and women, persecuted for Religion in the City and Dioceese of the Bishop of London; briefly extracted out of the Registers of Richard Fitzjames.

AMongst and beside the great number of the faithfull Martyrs and professors of Christ, that constantly in the strength of the holy Ghost, gaue their liues for the testimony of his truth, I finde recorded in the Register of London, betwéene the yeares of our Lord 1509. and 1517. the names of diuers other persons both men and women; who in the fulnesse of that darke and milky time of ignorance had also some portion of Gods good Spirit, which induced them to the knowledge of his truth and Gospell, and were diuerslie troubled, persecuted, and imprisoned for the same: notwithstanding by the proud, cruell, and bloudy rage of the Catholique seat, and through the weaknesse and frailty of their owne nature (not then fully strengthened in God) it was againe in them for the time suppressed and kept vnder, as appeareth by their seuerall abiurations made before Richard Fitzjames, then Bishop of London, (in his time a most cruell persecutor of Christs Church) or else before his Vicar generall deputed for the same. And for as much as many of the aduersaries of Gods truth, haue of late dayes disdainfully and braggingly cried out, and made demands in their publique assemblies, and yet doe, asking where this our Church and Religion was within these fifty or sixty yeres; I haue thought it not altogether vaine, somewhat to stop such lying crakers, both by mentioning their names, and likewise opening some of the chiefe and principall matters for which they were so vnmercifully afflicted and molested: thereby to giue to vnderstand, as well the continuance and consent of the true Church of Christ in that age, touching the chiefe points of our Faith, though not in like perfection of knowledge and constancie in all: as also by the way something to touch what fond and friuolous matters the ignorant Prelats shamed not in that time of blindnesse to obiect against the poore and simple people, accounting them as hainous and great offences; yea such as deserued death both of body and soule. But lest I should séeme too prolix and tedious herein, I will now briefly proceed with the story, and first begin with their names, which are these:

Ex Registri Fitzjames.

The profession of the Protestants no new doctrine.

Anno 1510.	Ioane Baker.	Thomas Walker, alias Talbot.
	William Pottier.	Thomas Forge.
	Iohn Forge.	Alice Forge.
	Thomas Goodred.	

	Iohn Forge their sonne.	Iohn Housholde.	Anno
	William Couper.	Robert Rascal.	1517.
	Iohn Caluerton.	Elizabeth Stanford.	Anno
	Iohn Woodrofe.	George Browne.	1518.
Anno 1511.	Richard Woolman.	Iohn Wikes.	
	Roger Hilliar.	Iohn Soutake.	
	Alice Couper.	Richard Butler.	
	Thomas Austy.	Iohn Samme.	
	Ioane Austy.	William King.	Anno
	Thomas Grant.	Robert Durdant.	1521.
	Iohn Garter.	Henrie Woolman.	
	Christopher Rauins.	Edmund Spilman.	
	Dyonise Rauins.	Iohn Higges, alias Noke, alias Iohnson.	Anno 1523.
	Thomas Vincent.	Henry Chambers.	Anno
	Lewes Iohn.		1526.
	Ioane Iohn.	Iohn Higgins.	
Anno 1512.	Iohn Webbe, alias Baker.	Thomas Egleston.	Anno 1527.

Here followeth the particular examination of all these here above named.

To these were diuers and sundrie particular Articles (besides the common and generall sort accustomably vsed in such cases) priuately obiected; euen such as they were then accused of either by their Curate, or other their neighbours. And because I thinke it somewhat superfluous to make any large recitall of all and euery part of their seuerall processe, I minde therefore briefely onely to touch so many of their Articles as may bee sufficient to induce the Christian Reader to iudge the sooner of the rest; being (I assure you) of no greater importance than these that follow: except that sometime they were charged most slanderously with horrible and blasphemous lies, against the maiestie and truth of God: which as they vtterly denied, so doe I now for this present keepe secret in silence, as well for brenities sake, as also somewhat to colour and hide the shameleste practises of that lying generation. But to our purpose.

Ex Regist. Richard. Fitzjames.

Ioane Baker.

THe chiefest obiection against Ioane Baker, was, that she would not onely her selfe not reuerence the Crucifix, but had also perswaded a friend of hers lying at the point of death, not to put any trust or confidence in the Crucifix, but in God which is in heauen who only worketh all the miracles that bee done, and not the dead Images, which be but stockes and stones: and therefore she was sory that euer she had gone so often on pilgrimage to S. Saviour and other Idols. Also, that she did hold opinion that the Pope had no power to giue pardons, and that the Lady Pong (who was not long before that time burned) died a true Martyr of God: and therefore shee wished of God, that she her selfe might doe no worse that the said Lady Pong had done.

Against worshipping of the Crucifix or Crosse.

Testimonie for the Lady Pong Martyr.

William Pottier.

VNto William pottier, besides diuers other false and slanderous Articles (as that he should deny the benefit and effect of Christs passion) it was also alledged, that he should affirme that there were six Gods. The first three was the holy Trinity, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost; The fourth was a Priests Concubine being kept in his chamber; The fift was the Diuell; and the sixt that thing that a man setteth his minde most vpon.

False slander of the Aduersaries.

Answer.

The first part of this Article hee vtterly denied; confessing most firmely and truely, the blessed Trinitie to bee onely one God in one unitie of Deitie: as to the other three hee answered, that a Priest delighting in his Concubine, made her as his God. Likewise a wicked person, persisting in his sinne without repentance, made the Diuell his God. And lastly hee granted, that hee once hearing of certaine men, which by the singing and chattering of birds would seeke to know what things were to come either to themselues or others, said, that these men esteemed their birds as Gods: and otherwise hee spake not.

Tho. Goodred. Tho. Walker Tho. Foxe.

AMongst the manifold and seuerall Articles obiected against Thomas Goodred, Thomas Walker, Thomas Foxe, Alice Foxe his wife, Iohn Foxe their sonne, Iohn Caluerton, Iohn Woodrofe, Richard Woolman, and Roger Hilliar (as that they that should speake against pilgrimages, praying vnto Saints, and such like) this principally was propounded, that they all denied the carnall and corporall presence of Christs body and bloud in the Sacrament of the Altar: and further, had concealed and consented vnto their Teachers and Instructors in that Doctrine, and had not, according vnto the Lawes of the Church, accused and presented them vnto the Bishop or his Ordinarie. Also great and hainous displeasure was conceiued against Richard Woolman, for that hee termed the Church of Pauls a house of theeues; affirming, that the Priests and other Ecclesiasticall persons there were not liberall giuers vnto the poore (as they ought) but rather takers away from them what they could get.

Against transubstantiation and corporall presence.

Likewise, as Thomas Austy, Ioane Austy his wife, Thomas Grant, Iohn Garter, Christopher Rauins, Dyonise Rauins his sister, Thomas Vincent, Lewis Iohn, Ioane Iohn his wife, and Iohn Web, were of one fellowship and profession of faith with diuers of the last before recited: so were they also almost all apprehended about one time, and chiefely burthened with one opinion of the Sacrament. Which declareth euidently, that notwithstanding the darke ignorance of those corrupted times, yet God did euer in mercie open the eyes of some, to behold the manifest truth euen in those things whereof the Papists make now greatest vaunt and brag of longest continuance. Furthermore, many of them were charged to haue spoken against pilgrimages; and to haue read and vsed certaine English bookes repugning the faith of the Romish Church; as the foure Euangelists, Wicklifes Wicket, a booke of the ten Commandements of Almightie God, the Reuelation of Saint Iohn, the Epistles of Paul and James, with other like, which those holy ones could neuer abide: and good cause why; for as darknesse could neuer agree with light, no more can ignorance, the maintainer of that kingdome, with the true knowledge of Christ and his Gospell.

Thomas Austy. Ioane Austy.

Against transubstantiation and corporall presence.

Against holy-dayes.

IT was further particularly obiected against Ioane Iohn the wife of Lewis Iohn, that (besides the premisses) shee learned and maintained, that God commanded no holy dayes to be kept, but only the Sabbath day; and therefore shee would keepe none but it, nor any fasting dayes; affirming, that to fast from sinne was the true fast. Moreouer, that she had, despised the Pope, his pardons, and pilgrimages: Insomuch that when any poore body asked his almes of her in the worship of the Lady of Walsingham, shee would straight answer in contempt of the pilgrimage; The Lady of Walsingham helpe thee. And if shee gaue any thing vnto him, shee would then say, Take this in the worship of our Lady in heauen, and let the other go. Which declareth, that for lacke of better instruction and knowledge, she yet ignorantly attributed too much honour to the true Saints of God departed: though otherwise shee did abhorre the idolatrous worshipping of the dead Images. By which example, as also by many others (for shortnesse sake at this present omitted) I haue iust occasion to condemne the wilfull subtiltie of those, that in this bright shining light of Gods truth, would yet vnder colour of godly remembrance, still maintaine the hauing of Images in the Church, craftily excusing their idolatrous kneeling and praying vnto them, by affirming, that they neuer worshipped the dead Images, but the things that the Images did represent.

Against Pilgrimage and adoration of Images.

But

But if that were their onely doctrine and cause of hauing of them, why then would their predecessors so cruelly compell these poore simple people thus openly in their recantations to abiure and reuoke their speaking against the grosse adoration of the outward Images onely, and not against the thing represented? Which many of them (as appeareth partly by this example) in their ignorant simplicitie confessed might be worshipped. Howbeit, God bee thanked (who euer in his mercy continue it) their colourable and hypocriticall excuses cannot now take such place in the hearts of the elect of God as they haue done heretofore, especially seeing the Word of God doth so manifestly forbid as well the worshipping of them, as also the making or hauing of them for order of Religion.

William Couper and his wife.

Against inuocation of dead Images.

IT was alledged against William Couper and Alice Couper his wife, that they had spoken against Pilgrimages and worshipping of Images: but chiefely the woman, who hauing her childe on a time hurt by falling into a pit or ditch, and earnestly perswaded by some of her ignorant neighbours to goe on pilgrimage to Saint Laurence for helpe of her childe, said, that neither Saint Laurence nor any other Saint could helpe her childe, and therefore none ought to goe on pilgrimage to any image made with mans hand, but onely vnto Almightie God: for pilgrimages were nothing worth, sauing to make the Priests rich. Vide plura inferiùs.

Iohn Houshold, &c.

Against transubstantiation and authoritie of the Pope.

VNto John Houshold, Robert Rascall, and Elizabeth Stamford, as well the Article against the Sacrament of the Altar was obiected, as also that they had spoken against praying to Saints, and had despised the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome, and others of his Clergie. But especially John Houshold was charged to haue called them Antichrists, and Whoremongers, and the Pope himselfe a strong strumpet, and a common baud vnto the world, who with his pardons had drowned in blindnesse all Christian Realmes, and that for money.

George Browne, Against adoration of the Crosse.

ALso among diuers other ordinarie Articles propounded against George Browne, these were counted very heynous and heretical: First, that he had said, that he knew no cause why the Crosse should be worshipped, seeing that the same was an hurt and paine vnto our Sauiour Christ in the time of his passion, and not any ease or pleasure: alledging for example, that if hee had had a friend hanged or drowned, hee would euer after haue loued that gallowes or water, by the which his friend died, rather worse for that, than better. Another obiection was, That hee had erroneously, obstinately, and maliciously said (for so are their words) that the Church was too rich. This matter, I may tell you, touched somewhat the quicke, and therefore no marueil though they counted it erroneous and malicious: for take away their gaine, and farewell their Religion. They also charged him to haue refused holy water to be cast about his chamber, and likewise to haue spoken against Priests, with other vaine matters.

Against immoderate riches of the Popes Clergie.

Iohn Wikes.

THe greatest matter wherewith they burthened John Wikes, was, that hee had often and of long time kept company with diuers persons suspected of heresie (as they termed them) and had receiued them into his house, and there did suffer and heare them sundry times reade erroneous and heretical bookes, contrary to the faith of the Romish Church, and did also himselfe consent vnto their doctrine: and had many times secretly conueyed them from the taking of such as were appointed to apprehend them.

LIke as the greatest number of those before mentioned, so were also John Southake, Richard Butler, John Sam, William King, Robert Durdant, and Henry Woolman, especially charged with speaking words against the reall presence of Christs body in the Sacrament of the Altar, and also against Images, and the rest of the seuen Sacraments. Howbeit they burthened the last fiue persons with the reading of certaine English heretical bookes; accounting most blasphemously the Gospell of Iesus Christ, written by the foure Euangelists, to be of that number, as appeareth euidently by the eighth Article obiected by Thomas Benet Doctor of Law, Chancellor and Vicar generall vnto Richard Fitzjames then Bishop of London, against the said Richard Butler. The very words of which Article, for a more declaration of truth, I haue thought good here to insert, which are these: Also wee obiect to you, that diuers times, and especially vpon a certaine night, about the space of three yeares last past, in Robert Durdants house of Yuer Court neere vnto Stanes, you erroneously and damnably read in a great booke of heresie of the said Robert Durdants, all that same night, certaine Chapters of the Euangelists in English, containing in them diuers erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of heresie, in the presence of the said Robert Durdant, Iohn Butler, Robert Carder, Ienkin Butler, William King, and diuers other suspected persons of heresie, then being present, and hearing your said erroneous Lectures and opinions. To the same effect and purpose tended the tenour of some of the Articles propounded against the other foure. Whereby (as also by others like before specified) we may easily iudge what reuerence they, which yet will be counted the true and onely Church of Christ, did beare to the word and Gospell of Christ, who shamed not to blaspheme the same with most horrible titles of erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of heresie. But why should wee marueil thereat, seeing the holy Ghost in sundrie places of the Scripture doth declare, that in the later dayes there should come such proud and cursed speakers, which shall speake lies through hypocrisie, and haue their consciences marked with an hot iron? Let vs therefore now thanke our heauenly Father for reuealing them vnto vs; and let vs also pray him, that of his free mercies in his sonne Christ Iesus, hee would (if it be to his glorie) either turne and mollifie all such hearts, or else (for the peace and quietnesse of his Church) he would in his righteous iudgement take them from vs.

Ioh. Southake, Richard Butler, &c. Vide inferiùs.

Against the reall presence.

Reading of English bookes.

Of these men see more hereafter in the table following.

About this time Richard Fitzjames ended his life. After whose death Cuthbert Tunstall (afterwards Bishop of Durham) succeeded in the See and Bishoprick of London: who, soone vpon his first entry into the roome, minding to follow rightly the footsteps of his predecessor, caused Edmund Spilman Priest, Henry Chambers, John Higgins, and Thomas Egleston to bee apprehended, and so to bee examined vpon sundrie like Articles as before are expressed; and in the end, either for feare of his cruelty and the rigor of death, or else through hope of his flattering promises (such was their weakenesse) hee compelled them to abiure and renounce their true professed faith touching the holy Sacrament of Christs body and bloud; which was, That Christs corporall body was not in the Sacrament, but in heauen, and that the Sacrament was a figure of his body, and not the body it selfe.

The death of Rich. Fitzjames Bishop of London.

Cuthbert Tunstall Bishop of London.

The reall presence denied.

MOreouer, about the same time there were certaine Articles obiected against Ioh. Higges, alias Noke, alias Johnson, by the said Bishops Vicar generall; amongst which were these: First, that he had affirmed, that it was as lawfull for a temporall man to haue two wiues at once, as for a Priest

Against a Priest to haue two benefices.

Priest to haue two Benefices. Also, that he had in his custodie a booke of the foure Euangelists in English, and did often reade therein: and that he fauored the doctrines and opinions of Martin Luther; openly pronuncing that Luther had more learning in his little finger, than all the Doctors in England in their whole bodies: and that all the Priests in the Church were blinde, and had led the people the wrong way. Likewise it was alledged against him, that he had denied purgatory, and had said, that while he was aliue he would doe as much for himselfe as hee could, for after his death hee thought that prayer and almes deeds could little helpe him.

Testimonie touching Martin Luther.

These and such like matters were they wherewith these poore and simple men and women were chiefly charged, and as hainous heretiques excommunicated, imprisoned, and at last compelled to recant: and some of them in vtter shame and reproch (besides the ordinary bearing of fagots before the Crosse in procession, or else at a Sermon) were enjoyned for penance (as they termed it) as well to appeare once euery yeare before their Ordinary, as also to weare the signe of a fagot painted vpon their sleeues or other part of their outward garment, and that during all their liues, or so often and long as it pleased their Ordinary to appoint. By which long rigorous and open punishing of them, they meant (as it should seeme) vtterly to terrifie and keepe backe all others from the true knowledge of Iesus Christ and his Gospell. But the Lord be euermore praised, what effect their wicked purposes therein haue taken, these our most lightsome dayes of Gods glorious Gospell doe most ioyfully declare.

The manner of popish penance.

There were also troubled besides these certaine others more simple and ignorant, who, hauing but a very small smacke or taste of the truth, did yet at the first (as it may seeme) gladly consent vnto the same: but being apprehended, they quickely againe yelded, and therefore had onely assigned them for their penance, the bearing of a little candle before the Crosse, without any further open abiuring or recanting. Amongst which I finde two especially; the one a woman called Ellen Heyer, to whom it was objected, that she had neither confessed her selfe vnto the Priest, nor yet receiued the Sacrament of the Altar by the space of foure yeares; and notwithstanding had yearely eaten flesh at Easter, and after, as well as others that had receiued the same, contrary to the vsuall manner and conuersation of all other Christian people.

The troubles of Ellen Heyer and Robert Berkeway.

The other was a man named Robert Berkeway, who (besides most wicked blasphemies against God, which he vtterly denied) was charged to haue spoken hainous words against the Popes holy and blessed Martyr Thomas Becket, calling him micher and theefe, for that he wrought by crafts and imaginations.

Thus haue I, as briefely as I could, summarily collected the principall articles obiected against these weake, infirme, and earthly Vessels. Not minding hereby to excuse or condemne them in these their fearefull falls and dangerous defections; but leauing them vnto the vnmeasurable rich mercies of the Lord, I thought onely to make manifest the vnsaciable bloudy cruelty of the Popes kingdome against the Gospell and true Church of Christ, nothing mitigating their enuious rage, no not against the very simple Idiots, and that sometimes in most friuolous and irreligious cases. But now leauing to say any further herein, I will (by Gods grace) goe forward with other somewhat more serious matters.

¶ The death and martyrdome of William Swetingand Iohn Brewster.

IN searching and perusing of the Register, for the collection of the names and Articles before recited, I finde that within the compasse of the same yeares there were also some others, who after they had once shewed themselues as fraile and vnconstant as the rest, (being either therewith pricked in conscience, or otherwise zealously ouercome with the manifest truth of Gods most sacred word) became yet againe as earnest professors of Christ as euer they were before, and for the same profession were the second time apprehended, examined, condemned, and in the end were most cruelly burned. Of the which number were William Sweting and Iohn Brewster, who were both burned together in Smithfield the eighteenth day of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1511. The chiefest case of Religion alledged against them in their Articles, was their faith concerning the Sacrament of Christs bodie and blood. Which because it differed from the absurd, grosse, and Capernaiticall opinion of the new Schoolemen, was counted as most hainous heresie. There were other things besides obiected against them; as the reading of certaine forbidden bookes, and accompanying with such persons as were suspected of heresie. But one great and hainous offence counted amongst the rest, was their putting and leauing off the painted fagots, which they were at their first abiuring enjoyned to weare as badges during their liues, or so long as it should please their Ordinarie to appoint, and not to leaue them off vpon paine of relapse, vntill they were dispensed withall for the same. The breach of this injunction was esteemed to be of no small weight, and yet the matter well and thoroughly considered, it seemeth by their confessions, they were both thereunto by necessity enforced. For the one named Sweting, being for fears of the Bishops cruelty constrained to wander the countries to get his poore liuing, came at length vnto Colchester, whereby the Parson of the parish of Mary Magdalen, he was prouoked to be the holy-water Clerke, and in that consideration had that infamous badge first taken away from him. The other (which was Brewster) left off his at the commandement of the Controller of the Earle of Orfords house: who hiring the poore man to labour in the Earles houshold businesse, would not suffer him working there to weare that counterfeit cognisance any longer. So that (as I said) necessity of liuing seemeth to compell both of them at the first to breake that injunction: and therefore if charitie had borne as great sway in the hearts of the Popes Clergie as did crueltie, this trifle would not haue beene so hainously taken, as to be brought against them for an Article and cause of condemnation to death. But where tyrannie once taketh place, as well all godly loue, as also all humane reason and duties are quite forgotten. Well to be short, what for the causes before recited, as also for that they had once already abiured, and yet (as they terme it) fell againe into relapse, they were both (as you haue heard) in the end burned together in Smithfield: although the same parties (as the Register recordeth) did againe before their death fearefully forsake their former reuiued constancie, and submitting themselues vnto the discipline of the Romish Church, craued absolution from their excommunication. Howbeit because many of the Registers notes and records in such cases may rightly be doubted of, and so called into question, I referre the certaine knowledge thereof vnto the Lord (who is the trier of all truths) and the externall iudgement vnto the godly and discreet Reader: Not forgetting yet by the way (if that the report should be true) vpon so iust an occasion to charge that Catholique Clergie and their wicked Lawes, with a more shamelesse tyrannie and vncharitable cruelty than before: for if they nothing stay their bloody malice towards such as so willing

Will. Sweting, Iohn Brewster, Martyrs.

Against transubstantiation and corporall presence in the Sacrament.

The cruell rage of the Catholike Clergie against the Professors of the Gospell.

Submission would not be taken of the charitable Catholikes.

willingly submit themselues vnto their mercies: what fauour may the faithfull and constant professors of Christ looke for at their handes? I might here also aske of them, how they follow the pittifull and louing admonition (or rather precept) of our Sauiour Christ (whose true and onely Church they so stoutly brag to be) who in the seuentéenth chapter of Saint Luke saith, Though thy brother sinne against thee seuen times in a day, and seuen times in a day turne to thee, saying, It repenteth me; thou shalt forgiue him. But what go I about to allure them vnto the following of the rule and Counsell of him, vnto whose word and Gospell they séeme most open and bitter enemies? Wherefore not purposing to stay any longer thereupon, but leauing them vnto the righteous reuengement of the Lord, let vs now hereunto adioyne the story of one Iohn Browne, a good Martyr of the Lord, burnt at Ashford about this fourth yéere of King Henry the eighth, whose story hereunder followeth.

No mercie in the Popes Church.

Iohn Browne father to Richard Browne; which Richard was in prison in Canterbury, and should haue beene burned, with two more besides himselfe, the next day after the death of Queene Marie; but by the proclaiming of Queene Elizabeth they escaped.

Iohn Brown burned in Ashford about the fourth yeere of King Henry the eighth.

THe occasion of the first trouble of this Iohn Browne was by a Priest sitting in Grauesend barge. Iohn Browne, being the same time in the barge, came and sat hard by him: whereupon, after certaine communication, the Priest asked him. Doest thou know, said he, who I am? thou sittest too nére me, thou sittest on my cloathes. No sir, said he, I know not what you are. I tell thée I am a Priest. What sir, are you a Parson, or Vicar, or a Ladies Chapleine. No, quoth he againe, I am a Soule-priest, I sing for a Soule, saith he. Do you so sir, quoth the other, that is well done: I pray you sir, quoth he, where finde you the soule when you go to Masse? I cannot tell thée, said the Priest. I pray you where do you leaue it, Sir, when the Masse is done? I cannot tell thee, said the Priest. Neither can you tell where you finde it when you go to Masse, nor where you leaue it when the Masse is deue, how can you then saue the soule, said he? Go thy wayes, said the Priest, thou art an heretique, and I will be euen with thée. So at the landing, the Priest taking with him Walter Moze, and William Moze, two gentlemen brethren, rode straightwayes to the Archbishop Warham: whereupon the said Iohn Browne within thrée daies after, his wife being churched the same day, and he bringing in a messe of pottage to the boord to his guests, was sent for, and his fét bound vnder his owne horse, and so brought vp to Canterbury; neither his wife, nor he nor any of his, knowing whither he went, nor whither he should. And there continuing from Low sunday till the Friday before Whitsunday, his wife not knowing all this while where he was, he was set in the stockes ouernight, and on the morrow went to death, and was burned at Ashford Anno 1517. The same night, as he was in the stockes at Ashford where he and his wife dwelt, his wife then hearing of him, came and sat by him all the night before he should be burned: to whom he declaring the whole story how he was handled, shewed and told, how that he could not set his fét to the ground, for they were burned to the bones; and told her how by the two Bishops Warham and Fisher, his fét were heat vpon the hot coales, and burned to the bones, to make mé, said he, to denie my Lord, which I will neuer do, for if I should denie my Lord in this world, he would hereafter deny me. I pray thée, said he, therefore good Elizabeth continue as thou hast begun, and bring vp thy children vertuously in the feare of God: and so the next day, on Whitsunday euen, this godly Martyr was burned. Standing at the stake this prayer he made holding vp his hands:

Chilton of Wye a Baily arrant, and one Beare of Wilesborough with two of the Bishops seruants, set him vpon the horse, and so carried him away.

O Lord I yeeld me to thy grace,
Grant me mercie for my trespas;
Let neuer the fiend my soule chase.
Lord I will bow, and thou shalt beat,
Let neuer my soule come in hell heat.

Into thy hands I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord of truth.

And so he ended.

Ex testimonio Aliciæ Browne, eius filiæ; cuius mariti nomen dicebatur Strat, in parochia S. Pulcri.

At the fire the said Chilton the Bailife Arrant bad cast in his children also; for they would spring (said he) of his ashes.

This blessed Martyr Iohn Browne had borne a fagot seuen yéeres before in the days of King Henry the seuenth.

As it is the property of Satan euer to maligne the prosperous estate of the Saints of God, and true professors of Christ; so ceaseth he not continually to stirre vp his wicked members to the effectuall accomplishing of that which his enuious nature so grédily desireth: if not always openly by colour of tyrannicall Lawes, yet at the leastwise by some subtill practise of secret murther. Which thing doth most plainly appeare not onely in a great number of the blessed Martyrs of Christs Church mentioned in this booke, but also, and especially in the discourse of this lamentable history that now I haue in hand, concerning the secret and cruell murthering of Richard Hunne, whose story here consequently ensueth, decerped and collected partly out of the Registers of London, partly out of a bill exhibited and denounced in the Parliament house.

¶ The Story of *Richard Hunne.*

Richard Hun Marty.

THere was in the yéere of our Lord 1514, one Richard Hunne Merchant-Tailor dwelling within the City of London, and freeman of the same, who was estéemed during his life, and worthily reputed and taken not onely for a man of true dealing, and good substance, but also for a good Catholique man. This Richard Hunne had a childe at nurse in Middlesex, in the Parish of Saint Mary Matfilon, which died: by the occasion whereof one Thomas Dryfield Clerke, being Parson of the said Parish, sued the said Richard Hunne in the Spirituall Court for a bearing sheet, which the said Thomas Dryfield claimed vniustly to haue of the said Hunne for a mortuarie for Stephen Hunne sonne of the said Richard Hunne: which Stephen being at nurse in the said parish, died, being of the age of fiue weékes, and not aboue. Hunne answered him againe, that for as much as the childe had no property in the sheet, he therefore neither would pay it, nor the other ought to haue it. Whereupon the Priest, moued with a couetous desire, and loth to lose his pretended right, ascited him to appeare in the Spirituall Court, there to answer the matter. Whereupon the said Richard Hun being troubled in the Spirituall Court, was forced to séeke counsell of the learned in the Law of this land, and pursued a writ of Præmunire against the said Thomas Dryfield, and other his Aiders, Counsellors, Procters, and Adherents, as by the processe thereof is yet to be séene. Which when the rest of the priestly Order heard of, greatly disdaining that any Layman should so boldly enterprise such a matter against any of them; and fearing also, that if they should now suffer this Priest to be condemned at

{Anno 1514.}

the suit of Hunne, there would be thereby euer after a libertie opened vnto all others of the Laity to do the like with the rest of the Clergie in such like cases; they straight wayes, both to stop this matter, and also to be reuenged of him for that he had already done, sought all meanes they possibly could how to intrap and bring him within the danger of their owne cruell Lawes: and thereupon making secret and diligent inquisition, and seeking all corners they could against him, at length they found a meanes how to accuse him of heresie vnto Richard Fitzjames then Bishop of London, and so did: who (desirous to satisfie the reuenging and bloudie affection of his Chapleines) caused him thereupon to be apprehended and committed vnto prison within the Lollards Tower at Pauls, so that none of his friends might be suffered to come to him. This Richard Hunne being clapt in the Lollards Tower, shortly after, at the earnest instigation of one Doctor Horsey the Bishops Chancellor, (a man more readie to preferre the Clergies cruell tyrannie, than the truth of Christs Gospell) was brought before the Bishop at his Manor of Fulham, the second day of December in the yere before mentioned: where within his Chappell he examined him vpon these Articles following, collected against him by the said Horsey and his complices.

The despight full demeanor of the Pope-holy catholiques to be noted.

Rich. Hunne committed to Lollards tower.

The Articles obiect against Rich. Hunne.

First, that he had read, taught, preached, published, and obstinately defended, against the Lawes of Almightie God; that tythes, or paying of tithes was neuer ordained to be due, sauing onely by the couetousnesse of Priests.

2 Item, that he had read, taught, preached, published and obstinately defended; that Bishops and Priests be the Scribes and Pharises that did crucifie Christ, and damned him to death.

3 Item, that he had read, taught, preached, &c. that Bishops and Priests be teachers and preachers, but no doers, neither fulfillers of the Law of God, but catching, rauening, and all things taking, and nothing ministring, neither giuing.

4 Item, where and when one Ioane Baker was detected and abjured of many great heresies, (as it appeareth by her abjuration) the said Richard Hunne said, published, taught, preached, and obstinately tooke vpon him, saying that he would defend her and her opinions, if it cost him fiue hundred markes.

5 Item, afterwards (where and when the said Ioane Baker, after her abjuration, was enjoyned open pennance according to her demerits) the sayd Richard Hunne said, published, taught, and abstinately did defend her; saying the Bishop of London and his officers haue donel open wrong to the said Ioan Baker, in punishing her for heresie; for her sayings and opinions be according to the Lawes of God. Wherefore the Bishop and his Officers are more worthie to bee punished for heresie than she is.

6 Item, that the said Richard Hunne hath in his keeping diuers English bookes, prohibited and damned by the Law; as the Apocalyps in English, Epistles and Gospels in English, Wickliffs damnable Workes, and other bookes containing infinite errors, in the which he hath beene long time accustomed to reade, teach, and studie dayly.

Particular answer vnto these seuerall objections in the Register I finde none, sauing that next vnder them there is written in his name with a contrarie hand these words following: As touching these Articles I haue not spoken them as they be here layd: howbeit vnaduisedly I haue spoken words somewhat sounding to the same; for the which I am sorie, and asked God mercie, and submit me vnto my Lords charitable and fauourable correction. Which they affirme to be written with Hunnes owne hand: but how likely to truth that is, let the discreet wisedome of the Reader indifferently iudge by the whole sequele of this processe. And further, if it were his owne act, what occasion then had they so cruelly to murther him as they did? seeing he had already so willingly confessed his fault, and submitted himvnto the charitable and fauourable correction of the Bishop (for the which, euen by their owne Law in cases of most heinous heresie, he ought to be againe receiued and pardoned) except perhaps they will account horrible murther to bee but the Bishops fauourable correction. Againe, it seemeth they had very few credible witnesses to proue certainly that this was his answer and hand-writing: for the Register, or some other for him appointed to record the same, hath certified it as of heare-say from others, and not of his owne proper sight and knowledge, as the words noted in the margent of the booke adioyning to the foresaid answer plainly do declare, which are these; Hoc fuit scriptum manu propria Richardi Hunne, vt dicitur. Now if he had any sure ground, to stablish this certificate, I doubt not but he would, in stead of vt dicitur, haue registred the names of the assistants at the time of his examination (which he confesseth to be many) as generally they doe in all their Acts, especially in cases of heresie, as they terme it. But how scrupulous those good fellowes that spared not so shamelesly to murther him, would be to make a lie of him that was already dead, let, as I said, the indifferent iudgement of the godly wise discerne.

Arguments and reasons moouing this answer not to be of Richard Hun.

This examination ended, the Bishop sent him backe againe the same day vnto the Lollards tower; and then, by the appointment of Doctor Horsey his Chancellor, he was colourably committed from the custody of Charles Joseph the Sumner, vnto John Spalding the bel-ringer, a man by whose simpleneese in wit (though otherwise wicked) the subtill Chancellor thought to bring his diuelish pretended homicide the easier to passe: which most cruelly he did, by his ministers suborned, within two nights then next following accomplish; as is plainly proued hereafter by the diligent enquirie and finall verdict of the Crowner of London and his Inquest, made by order of the Lawes in that behalfe limited. But when this vsuall practise of the Papists was once accomplished, there wanted then no secret shifts nor worldly wyles for the crafty colouring of this mischiefe: and therefore the next morning, after they had in the night committed this murther, John Spalding (I doubt not but by the counsell of his maister Chancellor) gat himselfe out of the way, into the City, and leauing the keyes of the prison with one of his fellowes, willed him to deliuer them vnto the Sumners boy which accustomably did vse to carry Hunne his meate and other necessaries that he needed; thinking that the boy, first finding the prisoner dead, and hanged in such sort as they left him, they might by his relation bee thought free from any suspition of this matter. Which thing happened in the beginning almost as they wished. For the boy the same morning (being the fourth day of December) hauing the keyes deliuered him, accompanied with two other of the Bishops Sumners, went about ten of the clocke into the prison, to serue the prisoner as he was wont to do; and when they came vp, they found him hanged with his face towards the wall. Whereupon they (astonished at this sight) gaue knowledge thereof immediately vnto the Chancellor, being then in the Church, and watching, I suppose, of purpose for such newes: who forthwith gat vnto him certaine of his Collegues, & went with them into the prison, to see that which his owne wicked conscience knew full well before, as was afterwards plainly proued, although then he made a faire face to the contrarie; blazing abroad among the people by their Officers and seruants, that Hunne had desperately hanged himselfe,

Richard Hun sent backe againe to Lollards tower.

Richard Hun priuily murthered in the Lollards tower.

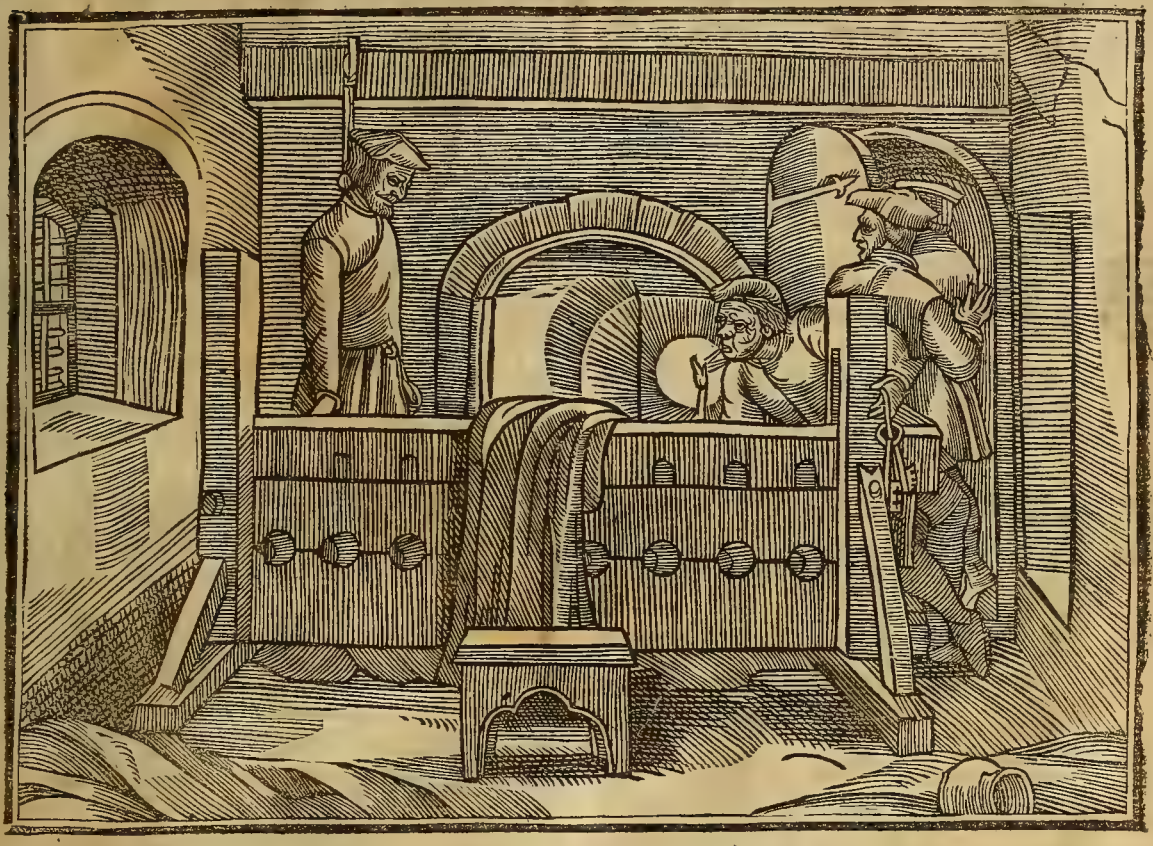
Crafty packing of the murthering Papists.

The secret conueyance of the murthering of Richard Hunne.

Horsey the Chancellor craftily practiseth.

This answer smelleth of forging and craftie packing.

A description of the *Lollards Tower*, where M. RICHARD HVNNE *was first murthered, then by the said parties hanged, after condemned of heresie, and at last burned in* Smithfield.



himselfe. Howbeit the people hauing good experience as well of the honest life and godly conuersation of the man, as also of the diuellish malice of his aduersaries the Priests, iudged rather, that by their Procurement hee was secretly murthered. Whereof arose great contention; for the Bishop of London on the one side, taking his Clergies part, affirmed stoutly that Hunne had hanged himselfe: The Citizens againe on the other side, vehemently suspecting some secret murther, caused the Crowner of London, according to Law, to chuse an Inquest, and to take good view of the dead body, and so to trie out the truth of the matter. Whereby the Bishop and his Chapleines were then driuen to the extremity of shifts: and therefore minding by some subtill shew of Iustice to stop the mouthes of the people, they determined, that in the meane while as the Inquest was occupied about their charge, the Bishop should for his part proceed ex Officio, in case of heresie against the dead person: supposing, most like, that if the party were once condemned of heresie, the Inquest durst not then but finde him guilty of his owne death, and so clearely acquit them from all the former suspition of priuie murther. This determination of theirs they did immediately put in practise in order as followeth:

The death of Hun suspected by the Londoners.

The Crowner striketh vpon the death of Hun.

Heresie laid to Hun after his death.

D. Hed promoter of the dead.

First, besides the Articles before mentioned, which they affirme were obiected against him in his life time, D. Hed did now also after his death collect certaine others out of the prologue of his English Bible remaining then in the Bishops hands, which he diligently perused, not to learne any good thing therein, but to get thereout such matter as he thought might best serue their cursed purpose; as appeareth by the tenor of the Articles, which are these:

ExRegist. Rlc. Fitzjames, Lond.

New articles commenced against Hunne after his death.

1 First, the said Booke damneth all holy Canons, calling them Ceremonies and statutes of sinnefull men and cunning; and calleth the Pope Sathanas and Antichrist.

2 Item, it damneth the Popes pardons, saying they be but leasings.

3 Item, the said booke of Hunne saith, That Kings and Lords called Christian in name, and heathen in conditions, defile the Sanctuary of God, bringing Clerks full of couetise, heresie, and malice, to stop Gods Law that it cannot be known, kept, and freely preached.

4 Item, the said Booke saith, that Lords and Prelats pursue fully cruelly them that would teach truly and freely the Law of God; and cherish them that preach sinnefull mens traditions and statutes, by the which he meaneth the holy Canons of Christs Church.

5 Item, that more men and Idiots haue the truth of the holy Scriptures more than a thousand Prelats and religious men, and Clerkes of the schole.

6 Item, that Christian Kings and lords set idols in Gods house, and excite the people to Idolatrie.

7 Item, that Princes, Lords, and Prelats so doing, be worse than Herod that pursued Christ, and

worse than Iewes and heathen men that crucified Christ.

8 Item, that euery man, swearing by our Lady or any other Saint or creature, giueth more honor to the Saints than to the holy Trinity, and so he saith they be Idolaters.

9 Item, he saith that Saints ought not to be honored.

10 Item, he damneth adoration, prayer, knéeling, and offering to Images, which he calleth stocks and stones.

11 Item he saith, that the very body of the Lord is not contained in the Sacrament of the Altar, but that men receiuing it shall thereby kéepe in minde that Christs flesh was wounded and crucified for vs.

12 Item, he damneth the Vniuersity of Oxford; withall degrées and faculties in it, as Art, Ciuile, Canon, and Diuinty; saying that they let the true way to come to the knowledge of the Lawes of God, and holy Scripture.

And holy Mother Church wh ich cannot abide the word of God to be translated.

13 Item, he defendeth the translation of the Bible and holy Scripture into the English tongue, which is prohibited by the lawes of our mother holy Church.

These Articles thus collected, as also the others before specified, they caused for a more shew of their pretended iustice and innocencie, to be openly read the next Sunday following, by the Preacher at Pauls Crosse, with this protestation made before:

The Bishops publication at Pauls Crosse against Rich. Hunne.

Maisters and friends, for certaine causes and considerations, I haue in commandement to rehearse, shew, and publish here vnto you, the Articles of heresie vpon which Richard Hunne was detected and examined: And also other great Articles and damnable points and opinions of heresie contained in some of his bookes, be come to light and knowledge here ready to be shewed.

And therewith he read the Articles openly vnto the people: concluding with these words:

And Maisters, if there be any man desirous to sée the specialty of these Articles, or doubt whether they be contained in this booke or not, for satisfying of his minde let him come to my Lord of London, and he shall sée it with good will. Moreouer, here I counsell and admonish, that if there be any persone that of their simplenesse haue béene familiar and acquainted with the said Richard Hunne in these Articles, or haue heard him reade vpon this booke, or any other sounding to heresie, or haue any like bookes themselues, let them come vnto my Lord of London betwixt this and Candlemasse next, and knowledge their fault, and they shall be charitably intreated and dealt withall, so that both their goods and honesty shall be saued: and if they will not come of their owne offer, but abide the processe of the Law, then at their owne perill be it, if the rigour of the Law be executed against them.

After which open publication and admonition, the Bishop at sundry times examined diuers of his Priests, and other Lay persons, vpon the contents of both these Articles. Among which examinates there was a man seruant and a maid of the sayd Hunnes, who although they had of long time dwelt with him, were not able to charge him with any great thing worthy reprehension, no not in such points as the Bishop chiefely obiected against him. But yet the Priests (through whose procurement this mischiefe was first begun) spared no whit stoutly and maliciously to accuse him, some in the contents of the first Articles, and some in the second. Wherefore hauing now, as they thought, sufficient matter against him, they purposed spédily to proceed to his condemnation. And because they would séeme to doe all things formally, and by prescript order, they first drew out certaine short and summary rules, by the which the Bishop should be directed in this solemne Session; which are these:

1 First, let the Bishop sit in his Tribunall seat in our Ladies Chappell.

2 Secondly, let him recite the cause of his coming, and take Notaries to him, to inact what shall be there done.

Marke the manner of this proceeding.

3 Thirdly, let him declare, how vpon Sunday last at Pauls Crosse he caused to be published a generall monition, or denunciation, that all fautors and maintainers of Richard Hunne should come in as by this day, and submit themselues: and let him signifie withall, how certaine haue come in, and haue appeared already.

4 Fourthly, let him protest and say, that if there remaine any yet behinde which haue not appeared according to the former monition and denunciation, yet if they will come and appeare, and submit themselues, they shall be heard and receiued with grace and fauour.

5 Fifthly, let the Bishop, or some other at his appointment, recite the Articles obiected against Richard Hunne in the time of his life; and then the other Articles likewise which were out of his great booke of the Bible extracted.

6 Sixtly, Let the answers and confessions of the said Richard Hunne summarily be recited, with the Attestations made to the same Articles. Also let his bookes be exhibited, and then Thomas Brooke his seruant be called for.

7 Seuently, let it be openly cried at the quire doore, That if there be any which will defend the Articles, opinions, bookes, or the memory of the sayd Richard Hunne, let them come and appeare, and they shall be heard as the Law in that behalfe shall require.

8 Eightly, let it be openly cried as in manner before, for such as be receiuers, fauourers, defenders, or belæuers of the said Richard Hunne, that all such do appeare and submit themselues to the Bishop, or else he intendeth to proceed to the excommunication of them in generall, according to the exigence of the Law in that behalfe.

9 Ninthly, Let the Bishop speake to the standers by, and to them of the Clergy, which sat with him vpon the bench, demanding of them, what their iudgement and opinion is touching the premisses, and whether they thinke it conuenient and agreeable for him to proceed to the sentence against the said Richard Hunne in this part to be awarded.

10 Tenthly, after their consent and counsell giuen, let the Bishop reade out the sentence.

11 Finally, after the sentence read, let the Bishop appoint the publication and denunciation of the foresaid sentence to be read at Pauls Crosse, or elsewhere, as to him shall séeme expedient, with a citation likewise generally against all them that be receiuers, fauourers, and belæuers of the said Hunne, to giue to vnderstand, why he ought not farther to proceed against them, &c.

A solemne processe of Fitziames Bishop of London, against Richard Hunne being dead.

Now according to the tenour of these prescripts and rules, the Bishop of London, accompanied with the Bishops of Durham and Lincolne, sat in iudgement the fiftéenth day of December then next following, within the place by the same appointed: adioyning also vnto them as witnesses of their proceedings, sir publique Notaries, his owne Register, and about twenty fiue Doctors, Abbots, Priors, and Priests of name, with a great rabble of other common annointed Catholiques. Where after a solemne proclamation made, that if there were any that would defend the opinions and Bookes of Richard Hunne, they should presently appeare and be heard according to Law, he commanded all the Articles and obiections against Hunne openly to be read before the assembly: and then perceiuing that none durst appeare in his defence, by the aduice of his

Ex Registro Fitzjames Lond.

his Assistants, he pronounced the sentence definitiue against the dead carkasse, condemning it of heresie, and therwith committed the same vnto the secular power, to be by them burned accordingly. Which ridiculous decree was as fondly accomplished in Smithfield the twentieth day of the same moneth of December (being full sixteene dayes after they had thus horribly murthered him) to the great griefe and disdaine of all the people. And because the Bishop in his sentence definitiue vseth a more formall and ample order of words than accustomably is vsed in others, and also pretendeth full hypocritically in the beginning, as it were by way of induction, diuers causes that moued him to proceed against the dead carkasse; I thought good therefore here to insert the same, as a finall conclusion of their crafty coloured tragedy: the tenour whereof is this:

The corps of Richard Hun burned after his death.

The sentence definitiue against Richard Hunne after his death.

IN Dei nomine, Amen, Cum nuper (pendente sacra Synodo, & generali Prælatorum & Cleri Prouinciæ Cantuarienſis Conuocatione, in Eccleſia noſtra Cathedrali S. Pauli London, per Prælatos & Clerum Prouinciæ Cantuarienſis, actualitèr ibidem exercita) contigiſſet, quòd quidam Richardus Hun de parochia Sanctæ Margaretæ in Brigſtrete Lond. de & ſuper crimine hæreticæ prauitatis notatus & diffamatus extitiſſet: Reuerendiſſimus in Chriſto pater & dominus, Dominus Willielmus miſeratione diuina Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopus, totius Angliæ Primas, & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatus, ipſius venerabilis cœtus & Conuocationis caput & Preſidens, ex vehementibus & violentis (quas contra eundem Richardum Hun ſuper hæretica prauitate tunc habebat) præſumptionibus contra eundem Richardum, debitam facere inquiſitionem cupiens, vt (ſi ratione hæreſis huiuſmodi membrum fuiſſet à corpore Chriſti myſtico præciſum) ipſum ad caput & corpus (id eſt, Chriſtum, ſanctæque matris Eccleſiæ vnitatem) per ſalutaria monita & condignam pœnitentiam reuocaret & reduceret: ne idem Richardus inter ſimplices & deuotas Chriſti fidelium & Catholicorum animas coerrando, & zizania hæretica ſeminando, fidelium mentes macularet & inficeret, & ſiniſtris ac peruerſis aſſertionibus & opinionibus, à veritatis ſemita & vera fide Chriſtiana aberrare faceret: ad effectum citandi eum ad comparendum coram dicto reuerendiſſimo patre & Domino Archiepiſcopo, ſuiſque coepiſcopis & ſuffraganeis; cæteriſque illius concionis ſiue ſacræ Synodi Prælatis ſuper præmiſſis reſponſurum perquiri fecit & mandauit. Verum idem Richardus apprehendi non potuit. Vnde dictus reuerendiſſimus pater ſuum tam pium, tam ſanctum & laudabile propoſitum ad effectum perducere non potuit. Quod cum nos Richardus permiſſione diuina Londinenſis Epiſcopus, dicti Richardi ordinarius (cui etiam tanquam de hæreſi ſuſpectus idem Richardus à multis retroactis temporibus delatus & detectus extiterat) intellexerimus, non volentes nec audentes prædicta facinora ſilentio & conniuentibus oculis pertranſire & prætermittere, ne ob noſtram negligentiam, & corporem ſanguis, eius in diſtricto examine, ſiue Dei judicio, de manibus noſtris requiratur, volentes certiorari & informari an ea quæ de ipſo & contra eum nobis delata & dicta fuerant, veritate aliqua fulcirentur, & an in luce vel in tenebris ambularet, ne fortaſſe ouis morbida exiſtens, innocuas animas gregis dominici peſtifera hæreſi corrumperet & inficeret, ad informandum animum noſtrum, ipſum coram nobis vocandum, & ſuper præmiſſis diligentèr interrogandum & examinandum, omniáque faciendum: quæ ſecundum canonicas ſanctiones erant facienda, ejus animam pio & paterno zelantes affectu, deſcendimus & properauimus: contra quem objectis judicialiter & propoſitis publicè in iudicio articulis, de & ſuper quibus nobis (vt præfertur) delatus, detectus, & notatus fuerat. Quos pervenerabilem virum magiſtrum Iohannem Downam hic publicè iam lectos, pro hic lectis & inſertis habemus & haberi volumus: habitiſque & receptis ad coſdem articulos reſponſionibus & confeſſionibus ſuis. Deinde teſtes fide dignos de & ſuper eiſdem articulis & alijs contra dictum Richardum in debita juris forma recepimus, admiſimus, & diligentèr examinari fecimus: propoſitóque ſuper per nos verbo Dei ad crucem diui Pauli, eius deteſtabiles hæreſes & errores, in articulis & libris ſuis, quibus vſus eſt, comprehenſas, in eius & ipſorum deteſtationem & damnationem publicantes, atque publicè recitantes, populo in magna multitudine ibidem tunc congregato, notificauimus & intimauimus: Quod iſto die contra eundem Richardum, tanquam contra hæreticum, ad ipſiuſque condemnationem & excommunicationem in ſpecie, ad aliáque in hac parte requiſita, nec non ad excommunicationem receptatorum, defenſorum, fautorum. & credentium ipſius in genere, iuxta canonicas ſanctiones, ſanctorum patrum decreta, & omnem iuris vigorem & diſpoſitionem, deo duce, procedere intendebamus: monitionémque ſiue denunciationem quandam generalem dedimus & fecimus tunc ibidem, videlicet, quòd ſi qui fuerint eius receptatores, defenſores, fautores, & credentes, quòd citra hunc diem ad nos & ſanctæ matris Eccleſiæ gremium redirent, & ſe ſubmitterent: quòd ſi facerent, de miſericordia omnipotentis Dei confiſi, polliciti ſumus quod ipſos, de erroribus & reatibus ſuis huiuſmodi pœnitentes, cum gratia, benignitate, miſericordia, & fauore, ad animarum ſuarum ſolatium & ſalutem reciperemus, quódque honeſtatem eorum pro poſſe ſeruaremus in hac parte. Alioquin ſi ſic ſponte venire non curarent, ſed juris ordinarium proceſſum expectarent, ſcirent nos hoc admiſſum aduerſus eos ſeuerius executuros, in quantum jura permitterent. Aduieniente itáque iam die iſto, ad præmiſſa & infra ſcripta facienda, ſic vt præfertur, per nos præfixo, nos Richardus Epiſcopus antedictus, in negotio inquiſitionis hæreticæ prauitatis prædictæ legitime procedentes, volentéſque huiuſmodi negotium ſine debito terminare, ſolenne concilium tam in ſacra theologica facultate, quam jure canonico & ciuili doctorum, & hunc venerabilem cœtum cleri & populi coram nobis fecimus congregari: & viſis, auditis, intellectis, rimatis, ac diligenter & matura deliberatione diſcuſſis meritis & circumſtantijs negotij memorati, actiſque & actitatis in eodem productis & deductis prædictorum, digeſto & maturo concilio, cum nullus appareat contradictour ſeu defenſor, qui dicti Richardi opiniones, articulos, & memoriam defendere velit, ſolum Deum oculis noſtris proponentes ad ſententiam noſtram contra eum, eius opiniones & libros, receptatoréſque, fautores, defenſores, & credentes, ſe nobis juxta tenorem & formam monitionis & denunciationis noſtrarum prædictarum minimè ſubmittentes, nec ad gremium ſanctæ matris Eccleſiæ redire curantes, licet quidam ſaluationis pij filij citra monitionem & denunciationem noſtras prædictas ad nos venerunt, & ſe ſubmiſerunt, quos cum gratia & fauore recepimus in hac parte ferendam, ſic duximus procedendum & procedimus in hunc qui ſequitur modum. Quia per acta actitata, inquiſita, deducta, confeſſata, & probata, nec non per vehementes & vrgentes præſumptiones, & iudicia perſpicua compertmus luculentèr, & inuenimus dictum Richardum. Hun crimine hæreticæ prauitatis multiplicitèr irretitum, atque hæreticum fuiſſe & eſſe, nonnullaſque opiniones & aſſertiones deteſtabiles & hæreſes damnatas, dum in humanis agebat & vitales caperet auras, affirmaſſe, propoſuiſſe, & recitaſſe, libriſque ſuſpectis, & de jure damnatis, & nonnullas hæreſes peſtiferas in ſe continentibus vſum fuiſſe, receptiſque, admiſſis & examinatis teſtibus per commiſſarios ad hoc deputatos de & ſuper impœnitentia finali, pertinacia, &

obitu dicti Richardi Hun: Idcirco nos Richardus Episcopus antedictus, seruatis seruandis, prout in tali negotio postulat ordo juris, dicti Richardi Hun impenitentia ac finali obstinatia & pertinacia, per euidentia signa testibus legitimis, vehementissimis & violentis præsumptionibus comprobatis, prout jam coram nobis legitime extitit facta fides, edicto apud Crucem diui Pauli, die dominico vltimo præterito, ad audiendum & per nos ferendum sententiam, ad hunc diem per nos publicè facto & proposito: propterea de hujus venerabilis cœtus (videlicet, reuerendorum patrum, Dominorum Thomæ Dunelmensis, & Wilhelmi Lincolnienſis, ac Iohannis Calipolensis, Episcoporum, nec non in sacra Theologia, Decretorum, & legum Doctorum, & Cleri, atque proborum & venerabilium virorum, Domini Majoris, Aldermanorum, & Vicecomitum Ciuitatis Londinensis, & populi hic congregatorum, & nobis in hac parte assidentium & assistentium) consensu, assensu, & consilio, eundem Richardum Hun diuersarum hæresium libris, dum vixit, vsum fuisse, ac notorium & pertinacem impœnitentem hæreticum fuisse, ac in hæresi decessisse, atque conscientia criminis & metu futuræ sententiæ animo pertinaci & impœnitenti, corde indurato obiisse & decessisse, præmissorumque prætextu de jure excommunicatum fuisse & esse, atque in excommunicatione hujusmodi decessisse, ipsiusque receptatores, fautores, defensores, & credentes, etiam in genere de jure excommunicatos, atque sententia majoris excommunicationis innodatos & inuolutos fuisse & esse pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus: ipsum Richardum Hun & libros suos hæreticos de jure damnatos, suámque ac librorum ipsorum memoriam in detestationem & damnationem sceleris & criminis hujusmodi condemnamus: dictúmque Richardum Hun, ob præmissa, Ecclesiastica carere debere sepultura sententiamus, etiam pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramns, & è foro Ecclesiastico tanquam membrum putridum projicimus, corpúsque suum & ossa brachio & potestati seculari relinquimus & committimus, juxta & secundum canonicas & legitimas sanctiones, consuetudinesque laudabiles in regno Angliæ ab antiquo visitatas & obseruatas, in opprobrium sempiternum & detestationem criminis nefandissimi prædicti, ad æternámque hujus rei memoriam, cæterorúmque Christi fidelium metum atque terrorem, per hanc nostram sententiam, siue finale decretum, quam siue quod ferimus & promulgámus in his scriptis.

a What finall obstinacy was in him, when you lay before that by his own hand writing hee submitted himselfe to the Bishops fauorable correction?

Notwithstanding, after all this tragicall and cruell handling of the dead body, and their faire and colourable shew of Iustice, yet the Inquest no whit stayed their diligent searching out of the true cause and meanes of his death. Insomuch that when they had beene diuers times called both before the Kings priuy Councell (his Majesty himselfe being sometime present) and also before the chiefe Iudges and Iustices of this Realme, and that the matter being by them throughly examined, and perceiued to be much bolstered and borne withall by the Clergy, was againe wholly remitted vnto their determination and ending; they found by good proofe, and sufficient euidence, that Doctor Horsey the Chancellor, Charles Ioseph the Sumner, and John Spalding the Bell-ringer, had priuily and maliciously committed this murther, and therefore indicted them all three as wilfull murtherers. Howbeit through the earnest suit of the Bishop of London vnto Cardinall Wolsey (as appeareth by his Letters hereafter mentioned) meanes was found, that at the next Sessions of Gaole-deliuery, the Kings Atturney pronounced the Indictment against Doctor Horsey to be false and vntrue, and him not to be guiltie of the murther. Who, being then thereby deliuered in body, hauing yet in himselfe a guilty conscience, got him vnto Exceter, and durst neuer after for shame come againe vnto London. But now that the truth of all this matter may seeme more manifest and plaine vnto all mens eyes, here shall follow, word by word, the whole inquiry and verdict of the Inquest, exhibited by them vnto the Crowner of London, and so giuen vp and signed with his owne hand.

Doctor Horsey Chancellor, Charles Ioseph and Spalding, murtherers of Richard Hunne.

The Verdict of the Inquest.

THe fifth and the sixth day of December, in the sixth yeare of the raigne of our Soueraigne Lord King Henrie 8. William Barnwell Crowner of London, the day and yeare aboue said, within the Ward of Castle-Baynard of London assembled a Quest, whose names afterward doe appeare, and hath sworne them truly to inquire of the death of one Richard Hunne, which lately was found dead in the Lollards Tower within Pauls Church of London: whereupon all we of the Inquest together went vp into the said Tower, where we found the bodie of the said Hunne hanging vpon a staple of yron, in a girdle of silke, with faire countenance, his head faire kembed, and his bonnet right sitting vpon his head, with his eyne and mouth faire closed, without any staring, gaping, or frowning, also without any driueling or spurging in any place of his bodie: Whereupon by one assent all wee agreed to take downe the body of the said Hunne, and as soone as we began to heaue the body it was loose: whereby by good aduisement wee perceiued that the girdle had no knot about the staple, but it was double cast, and the linkes of an yron chaine, which did hang on the same staple, were layd vpon the same girdle whereby hee did hang: Also the knot of the girdle, that went about his necke, stood vnder his left eare, which caused his head to leane towards his right shoulder. Notwithstanding there came out of his nosthrils two small streames of bloud, to the quantitie of foure drops: saue onely these foure drops of bloud, the face, lips, chin, dublet, collar, and shirt of the said Hun was clean from any bloud. Also wee finde that the skinne both of his necke and throat, beneath the girdle of silke, was fret and failed away, with that thing which the murtherers had broken his necke withall. Also the hands of the said Hunne were wrung in the wrists; whereby wee perceiued that his hands had beene bound. Moreouer, wee finde that within the said prison was no meane whereby a man might hang himselfe, but onely a stoole, which stoole stood vpon a bolster of a bed, so tickle, that any man or beast might not touch it so little, but it was readie to fall. Whereby wee perceiued, that it was not possible that Hunne might hang himselfe, the stoole so standing. Also all the girdle from the staple to his necke, as well as the part which went about his necke, was too little for his head to come out thereat. Also it was not possible that the soft silken girdle should breake his necke or skinne beneath the girdle. Also wee finde in a corner, somewhat beyond the place where hee did hang, a great parcell of bloud. Also wee finde vpon the left side of Hunnes jacket, from the breast downeward, two great streames of bloud. Also within the flap of the left side of his jacket we finda great cluster of bloud, and the jacket folden downe thereupon: which thing the said Hunne could neuer fold nor doe, after he was hanged. Whereby it appeareth plainly to vs all, that the necke of Hunne was broken, and the great plentie of bloud was shed before hee was hanged. Wherefore all wee finde, by God and all our consciences, that Richard Hunne was murthered. Also we acquit the said Richard Hunne of his owne death.

The verdict of the Inquest.

Also there was an end of a wax candle, which, as Iohn Belringer saith, hee left in the prison burning with

with Hunne that same Sunday at night that Hunne was murthered: which wax candle wee found sticking vpon the stockes, faire put out, about seuen or eight foot from the place where Hunne was hanged: which candle after our opinion was neuer put out by him, for many likelyhoods which wee haue perceiued. Also at the going vp of Master Chancellor into the Lollards Tower, wee haue good proofe that there lay on the stockes a gowne either of Murrey or Crimson in graine, furred with Shankes: whose gowne it was wee could neuer prooue, neither who bare it away. All wee finde, that Master William Horsey, Chancellor to my Lord of London, hath had at his commandement both the rule and guiding of the said prisoner. Moreouer, all wee finde, that the said Master Horsey Chancellor hath put Charles Ioseph out of his Office, as the said Charles hath confessed, because he would not deale and vse the said prisoner so cruelly, and doe to him as the Chancellor would haue had him to doe. Notwithstanding, the deliuerance of the keys to the Chancellor by Charles on the Saturday at night before Hunnes death, and Charles riding out of the towne on that Sunday in the morning ensuing, was but a conuention made betwixt Charles and the Chancellour to colour the murther. For the same Sunday that Charles rode forth, he came againe to the towne at night, and killed Richard Huune, as in the depositions of Iulian Littell, Thomas Chicheley, Thomas Simonds, and Peter Turner doth appeare.

After colouring of the murther betwixt Charles and the Chancellor conspired, the Chancellor called to him one Iohn Spalding Belringer of Pauls, and deliuered to the same Belringer the keyes of the Lollards Tower; giuing to the said Belringer a great charge, saying, I charge thee to keepe Hunne more straightly than he hath beene kept, and let him haue but one meale a day. Moreouer, I charge thee let no body come to him without my licence, neither to bring him shirt, cap, kerchiefe, or any other thing, but that I see it before it come to him. Also before Hunne was carried to Fulham, the Chancellor commanded to be put vpon Hunnes necke a great collar of yron, with a great chaine, which is too heauie for any man or beast to weare, and long to endure.

Proofes of Huns death.

Moreouer, it is well prooued, that before Hunnes death the said Chancellor came vp into the said Lollards tower, and kneeled downe before Hunne, holding vp his hands to him, praying him of forgiuenesse of all that he had done to him, and must doe to him. And on Sunday following the Chancellor commanded the Poenitentiarie of Pauls to goe vp to him and say a Gospell, and make for him holy-water, and holy-bread, and giue it to him; which he did: and also the Chancellor commanded that Hunne should haue his dinner. And the same dinner time Charles boy was shut in prison with Hunne, which was neuer so before: and after dinner when the Belringer fet out the Boy, the Belringer said to the same Boy, Come no more hither with meat for him vntill to morrow; for my Master Chancellour hath commanded that hee should haue but one meale a day: and the same night following Richard Hunne was murdred: which murther could not haue beene done without consent and licence of the Chancellour, and also by the witting and knowledge of Iohn Spalding Belringer: for there could no man come into the prison but by the keies being in Iohn Belringers keeping. Also, as by my Lord of Londons booke doth appeare, Iohn Belringer is a poore innocent man. Wherefore all we doe perceiue, that this murther could not be done but by the commandement of the Chancellour, and by the witting and knowing of Iohn Belringer.

The witnesse of Charles Ioseph sumner.

Charles Ioseph, within the Tower of London, of his owne free will, and vnconstrained, said, That Master Chancellour deuised, and wrote with his owne hand, all such heresies as were laid to Hunnes charge; record Iohn God, Iohn True, Iohn Pasmere, Richard Gibson, with many other. Also Charles Ioseph saith, That when Richard Hunne was slaine, Iohn Belringer bare vp the staires into Lollards Tower a wax candle, hauing the keyes of the doores hanging on his arme; and I Charles went next to him, and Master Chancellor came vp last: and when all wee came vp, wee found Hunne lying on his bed; and then Master Chancellor said, Lay hands on the Theefe; and so all we murthered him. and then I Charles put the girdle about Huns necke; and then Iohn Belringer and I Charles did heaue vp Hunne, and Master Chancellor pulled the girdle ouer the staple, and so Hunne was hanged.

¶ The Deposition of *Iulian Littell* late seruant of *Charles Ioseph*, by her free will, vnconstrained, the sixth yeere of our Soueraigne Lord King *Henry* the eighth, within the Chappell of our Lady of Bethleem, shewed to the Inquest.

The witnesse of Iulian Littell, against Charles Ioseph.

FIrst, Iulian saith, that the Wednesday at night after the death of Richard Hunne, Charles Ioseph her master came home to his supper: Then Iulian said to him, Master, it was told me that ye were in prison. Charles answered, It is merry to turne the penny: and after supper Charles trussed up a parcell of his goods, and with helpe of Iulian bare them into Master Porters house to keepe: and that done, Charles said to Iulian; Iulian, if thou wilt be sworne to keepe my counsell I will shew thee my minde. Iulian answered, Yea, if it be neither felony nor treason. Then Charles tooke a booke out of his purse, and Iulian sware to him thereupon. Then said Charles to Iulian, I haue destroyed Richard Hunne. Alas Master, said Iulian, how? he was called an honest man. Charles answered, I put a wyre in his nose. Alas, said Iulian, now be ye cast away and vndone. Then said Charles, Iulian, I trust in thee that thou wilt keep my counsell: And Iulian answered, Yea, but for Godssake, Master, shift for your selfe. Then Charles said, I had leuer than an hundred pound it were not done; but what is done, cannot be vndone. Moreouer Charles said then to Iulian; Upon Sunday when I rode to my cousin Baringtons house, I tarried there and made good cheere all day till it was night, and yet before it was midnight I was in London and had killed Hunne: and vpon the next day I rode thither againe, and was there at dinner, and sent for neighbours, and made good cheere. Then Iulian asked Charles, Where set you your horse that night you came to towne, and wherefore came you not home? Charles answered, I came not home for feare of bewraying. And then Iulian asked Charles, Who was with you at the killing of Hunne? Charles answered, I will not tell thee. And Iulian saith that vpon the Thursday following Charles tarried all day in his house with great feare: and vpon Friday following, early in the morning before day, Charles went forth, as he said, to Pauls; and at his comming in againe he was in a great feare, saying hastily, Get me my horse, and with great feare and haste made him ready to ride; and bad Master Porters lad leade his horse into the field by the backside: and then Charles put into his sleeue his Mase or Maser, with other plate borrowed of Master Porter, both gold & siluer, but how much I am not sure: and Charles went into the field after his horse, and Iulian brought his budget after him. Also vpon

Friday

Friday in Christmasse weeke following, Charles came home late in the night, and brought with him three Bakers and a Smith of Stratford, and the same night they carried out of Charles house all his goods, by the field side, to the Bell in Shoreditch, and early in the morning conueyed it with carts to Stratford.

Moreouer Julian saith, that the Saturday at night before the death of Hunne, Charles came home, and brought with him a gurnard, saying it was for Hun; and Charles boy told to Julian, that there was also ordained a peece of fresh Salmon, which John Belringer had.

Also Charles said to the said Julian, Were not this vngracious trouble, I could bring my Lord of London to the dores of heretikes in London, both of men and women, that be worth a thousand pounds; but I am afraid that the vngracious Midwife shall bewray vs all.

Also Charles said vnto Wilkresse Porter likewise and more largely, speaking of the best in London: Whereto Wilkresse Porter answered, The best in London is my Lord Maior. Then Charles said, I will not scuse him quite, for that he taketh this matter so hot.

Whereas Charles Joseph saith he lay at Neckil with a harlot a mans wife, in Baringtons house, the same night that Richard Hunne was murthered, and there abode vntill the morrow at eleuen of the clocke, and thereupon brought before the Kings Councell, for his purgation, the foresaid bawd Baringtons wife, and also the foresaid harlot: this purgation we haue proued all vntrue, as right largely may appeare, as well by the deposition of Julian Littell, as of Thomas Chichesley Taylor, Thomas Simonds Stationer, of Robert Johnson and his wife, of John Spalding Belringer: Also of Peter Turner sonne in law of the foresaid Charles Joseph: who said before to an honest woman a wax-chandlers wife, that before this day seuenth night Hunne should haue a mischieuous death, &c. Also of John Ederby Baker, to whom John Spalding himselfe declared these words, that there was ordained for Hunne so grieuous penance, that when men heare of it, they shall haue great maruell thereof, &c. Besides the deposition moreouer of Allen Creswell Wax-chandler, and Richard Horsenaile Baylife of the Sanctuary towne called Godsture in Essex. Which testimonies and depositions hereafter follow.

The witnesse of Peter Turner.

The witnesse of John Spalding himselfe.

The Deposition of Allen Creswell Wax-Chandler.

THe said Allen saith that John Granger seruant with my Lord of London, in my Lord of Londons kitchen, at such time as the said Allen was searing of Hunnes coffin, that Granger, I say, told him, that he was present with John Belringer the same Sunday at night that Richard Hunne was found dead in the morrow, when the Keeper set him in the stockes; in so much that the said Hunne desired to borrow the Keepers knife: and the Keeper asked him what he would do with his knife; and hee answered, I had leuer kill my selfe than to be thus entreated. This deposition the said Allen will proue as far forth as any Christian man may; saying, that Granger shewed to him these words of his owne free will and minde, without any question or enquirie to him made by the said Allen. Moreouer the said Allen saith, that all the euening Granger was in great feare.

The Deposition of Richard Horsenaile, Baylife of the Sanctuarie Towne called Godsture in Essex.

THe said Richard saith, That the Fryday before Christmasse day last past, one Charles Joseph, Sumner to my Lord of London, became a sanctuary man, and the aforesaid Friday he registred his name; the said Charles saying it was for the safegard of his body, for there be certaine men in London so extreame, against him for the death of Richard Hunne, that he dare not abide in London. Howbeit the said Charles saith, he knowledgeth himselfe guiltlesse of Hunnes death: for he deliuered the keyes to the Chancellor by Hunnes life. Also the said Baylife saith, that Charles payd the duty of the said registring, both to him and Sir John Stodley Vicar.

¶ *The Copie of Richard Fitzjames Letter, then Bishop of London, sent to Cardinall Woolsey.*

The Letter of the Bishop of London to Cardinall Woolsey.

IBeseech your good Lordship to stand so good Lord vnto my poore Chancellor now in Ward, and indicted by an vntrue Quest, for the death of Richard Hun, vpon the only accusation of Charles Ioseph made by paine and durance; that by your intercession it may please the Kings grace to haue the matter duely and sufficiently examined by indifferent persons of his discreet Councell, in the presence of the parties, ere there be any more done in the cause; and that, vpon the innocencie of my said Chancellour declared, it may further please the Kings grace to award a Plackard vnto his Atturny to confesse the said indictment to be vntrue, when the time shall require it: for assured am I, if my Chancellor be tried by any twelue men in London, they be so maliciously set, In fauorem hæreticæ prauitatis, that they will cast and condemne any Clerke, though he were as innocent as Abel. Quare si potes beate Pater, adiuva infirmitates nostras, & tibi in perpetuum deuinctierimus. Ouer this, in most humble wise I beseech you, that I may haue the Kings gracious fauour, whom I neuer offended willingly; and that by your good meanes I might speake with his grace and you, and I with all mine shall pray for your prosperous estate long to continue.

Your most humble Orator R. L.

Lastly, now it remaineth to inferre the sentence of the Questmen, which followeth in like sort to be seene and eppended, after I haue first declared the words of the bishop spoken in the Parliament house.

The words that the Bishop of London spake before the Lords in the Parliament house.

MEmorandum, that the Bishop of London said in the Parliament house, that there was a Bill brought to the Parliament, to make the Jury that was charged vpon the death of Hunne, true men: and said and tooke vpon his conscience, that they they were false periured caitifes: and said furthermore to all the Lords there being, For the loue of God looke vpon this matter; for if you doe not, I dare not kepe mine house for heretiques: And said, that the said Richard Hunne hanged himselfe, and that it was his owne deed, and no mans else. And furthermore said, that there came a man to his house, whose wife was appeached of heresie, to speake with him; and he said that he had no mind to speake with the same man; which man spake and reported to the seruants of the same Bishop, that if his wife would not hold still her opinions, he would cut her throat with his owne hands: with other words.

The sentence of the Inquest, subscribed by the Crowner.

THe inquisition intended and taken at the city of London in the parish of Saint Gregory in the Ward

The sentence of the inquest.

ward of Baynard castle in London, the sixth day of December, in the sixth yeare of the raigne of King Hen. 8. before Thomas Barnwel Crowner of our Soueraigne Lord the King within the city of London aforesaid. Also before James. Parfod and John Mundey, Sheriffes of the said City, vpon the sight of the body of Richard Hunne, late of London Taylor, which was found hanged in the Lollards Tower; and by the oath and proofe of lawfull men of the same ward, and of other three Wards next adioyning, as it ought to be, after the custome of the City aforesaid, to enquire how, and in what manner wise the said Richard Hunne came vnto his death: and vpon the Oath of John Bernard, Thomas Stert, William Warren, Henry Abraham, John Aborow, John Turner, Robert Allen, William Barler, John Burton, James Page, Thomas Pickhill, William Burton, Robert Bridgewater, Thomas Bulked, Gilbert Howell, Richard Gibson, Christopher Crafton, John God, Richard Holt, John Palmere, Edmund Hudson, John Arunsell, Richard Cowper, John Tim: The which said vpon their oathes, that where the said Richard Hunne, by the commandement of Richard Bishop of London, was imprisoned and brought to hold in a prison of the said Bishops called Lollards Tower, lying in the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul in London, in the parish of Saint Gregory in the Ward of Baynard Castle aforesaid; William Horsey of London Clerke, otherwise called William Hereford, Chancellor to Richard Bishop of London; and one Charles Joseph late of London Sumner, and John Spalding of London, otherwise called John Belringer, feloniously as Felons to our Lord the King, with force and armes against the peace of our Soueraigne Lord the King, and dignity of his Crowne, the fourth day of December, the sixth yeere of the raigne, of our Soueraigne Lord aforesaid, of their great malice, at the Parish of Saint Gregory aforesaid, vpon the said Richard Hunne made a fray, and the same Richard Hunne feloniously strangled and smothered, and also the necke they did breake of the said Richard Hunne, and there feloniously slew him and murthered him, and also the body of the said Richard Hun, afterward the same fourth day, yeere, place, parish, and ward aforesaid, with the proper girdle of the same Richard Hunne, of silke, blacke of colour, of the value of twelue pence, after his death, vpon a hooke driuen into a piece, of timber in the wall of the prison aforesaid, made fast, and so hanged him, against the peace of our Soueraigne Lord the King, and the dignity of his Crowne: and so the said Iury hath sworne vpon the holy Euangelists, that the said William Horsey Clerke, Charles Joseph, and John Spalding, of their set malice, then and there feloniously killed and murthered the sayd Richard Hunne in manner and forme aboue said, against the peace of our Soueraigne Lord the King, his Crowne, and dignity.

Richard Hunne cleered by the Inquest, not to haue hanged himselfe.

Subscribed in this manner:

Thomas Barnwell, Crowner of the Citie of London.

The Parliament iudging with Richard Hunne.

AFter that the twenty foure had giuen vp their Verdict, sealed and signed with the Crowners seale, the cause was then brought into the Parliament house, where the truth was layd so plaine before all mens faces, and the fact so notorious, that immediately certaine of the bloudy murtherers were committed to prison, and should no doubt haue suffered what they deserued, had not the Cardinall by his authority practised for his Catholique Children, at the sute of the Bishop of London. Whereupon the Chancellor, by the Kings pardon, and secret shifting, rather than by Gods pardon and his deseruing, scaped, and went, as is said, to Exceter, &c. Neuertheleſſe though iuſtice toke no place where fauour did saue, yet because the innocent cause of Hunne should take no wrong, the Parliament became suters vnto the Kings Majestie that whereas the goods of the said Hunne were confiscate into the Kings hands, it would please his grace to make restitution of all the said goods vnto the children of the said Hunne. Vpon which motion, the King of his gracious disposition did not onely giue all the foresaid goods vnto the foresaid children vnder his broad Seale yet to be seene, but also did send out his warrants (which hereafter shall follow) to those that were the cruell murderers, commanding them, vpon his high displeasure, to deliuer all the said goods, and make restitution for the death of the said Richard Hunne: all which goods came to the summe of fiftéene hundred pounds sterlings, besides his plate and other iewels.

The practise of Cardinall Woolsey for his Clergy men.

The tenor of the Kings Letter in the behalfe of Richard Hunne.

The Kings Letter for the restitution of Hunns goods.

TRustie and Welbeloued We greet you well. Where- as by the complaint to vs made, as well as also in our high Court of Parliament, on the behalfe and part of Roger Whapplot of our City of London Draper, and Margaret his wife, late the daughter of Richard Hunne: And whereas you were indicted by our Lawes, of and for the death of the said Richard Hunne, and the said murther cruelly committed by you, like as by our Records more at large plainely it doth appeare, about the fifth day of December, in the sixth yeare of our raigne; the same We abhorre; neuertheleſſe We of our especial grace, certaine science, and meere motion, pardoned you vpon certaine considerations vs mouing: for the intent that the goods of the said Richard Hunne and the administration of them were committed to the said Roger Whapplot. We then supposed and intended your amendment, and restitution to be made by you to the infants, the children of the said Richard Hunne; as well for his death, as for his goods, embezeled, wasted, consumed, by your tyrannie and cruell act so committed, the same being of no little value: and as hitherto ye haue made no recompence, according to our Lawes, as might stand with equity, iustice, right and good conscience, and for this cause due satisfaction ought to be made by our Lawes: Wherefore We will and exhort, and otherwise charge and command you, by the tenour of this our especiall Letters, that ye satisfie and recompence the said Roger Whapplot, and the said Margaret his wife, according to our Lawes in this case, as it may stand with right and good conscience, else otherwise at your further peril; so that they shall haue no cause to returne vnto Vs, for their further remedy eftsoones in this behalfe, as yee in the same tender to auoide our high displeasure: otherwise that yee vpon the sight heereof, set all excuses apart; and repaire vnto our presence, at which your hither comming you shall bee further aduertised of our minde.

From our Mannor, &c.

Defence of Richard Hun against Sir Thomas More and Allen Cope.

Defence of Richard Hunne.

IDoubt not but by these premisses thou hast (Christian Reader) sufficiently to vnderstand the whole discourse and storie of Richard Hun from top to toe. First how he came in trouble for denying the bearing sheet of his young Infant departed: then how he was forced for succour of himselfe to sue a Præmunire: and thereupon what conspiracie of the Clergy was wrought against him, what snares

snares were layd, what fetches were practised, and Articles deuised to snarle him in the trap of heresie, and so to imprison him. Furthermore, being in prison, how he was secretly murthered; after his murther, hanged; after his hanging, condemned; after his condemnation, burned; and after his burning lastly, how his death was inquired by the Crowner, and cleered by acquitall of the Inquest. Moreouer, how the cause was brought into the Parliament, and by the Parliament the Kings precept obtained for restitution of his goods. The debating of which tragicall and tumultuous story, with all the branches, and particular euidences of the same, taken out as well of the publique acts, as of the Bishops Registers, and speciall Records remaining in the custody of Dunstan Whapplot, the sonne of the daughter of the said Richard Hunne, and there to be seene I thought here to vnwrap and discouer so much the more, for three speciall purposes:

Ex publicis act Ex archiuis & Regist. Lond.

Three purposes considered.

First, as is requisite, for testimony and witnesse of truth falsely slandered, of innocency wrongfully condemned, and of the party cruelly oppressed.

The second cause moueth me for Sir Thomas Moores Dialogues, wherein he dallieth out the matter, thinking to jest poore simple truth out of countenance.

The third cause which constraineth me, be the dialogues of Alanus Copus; which two, the one in English, the other in Latine, railing and barking against Richard Hunne, do double wise charge him, both to be an heretique, and also a desperate homicide of himselfe. Which as it is false in the one, so is it to be found as vntrue in the other, if simple truth, which hath few friends, and many times commeth in crafty handling, might freely come to indifferent hearing. Wherefore as I haue hitherto described the order and manner of his handling, with the circumstances thereof, in plaine and naked narration of story, simply layed out before all mens faces; so something here to intermit, in the defence as well of his oppressed cause, as also in discharge of my selfe, I will now compendiously answer to both these foresaid aduersaries, stopping as it were with one bush two gaps, and the mouthes also, if I can, of them both together. And first against Sir Thomas Moze, albeit in degree worshipfull, in place superior, in wit and learning singular, if his judgement in Christs matters had been correspondent to the same, being otherwise a man with many worthy ornaments beautified: yet being but a man, and one man, I lay and object against the person of him, the persons and censures of twenty foure Ruckmen, the deposition of so many Iurates, the judgement of the Crowner, the approbation of the Parliament, and lastly the Kings Bill assigned for restitution of his goods, with his owne broad seale confirmed, &c. And thus much to the person and credit of Sir Thomas Moze.

Answer for Richard Hun against Sir Thom. More Knight.

Sir Thomas More, hauing many good vertues, had one great vice.

The person of Sir Thomas More commended.

Now as touching his reasons: whereas he coming in with a flim flam of a horse mine or a mine horse (in his owne termes I speake) thinketh it probation good enough, because he could not see him taken by the sleeue which murthered Hunne: against these reasons vnreasonable of his I allege all the euidences and demonstrations of the history aboue prefired, to be considered, and of all indifferent men to be peised.

The reasons of of Sir Thomas More refuted.

First, how he was found hanging, with his countenance faire, with his beard and head faire kembed, his bonnet right set on his head, with his eine and mouth faire closed, without any driueling or spurging. His body being taken downe was found loose (which by hanging could not be) his neck broken, and the skinne thereof beneath the throat, where the girdle went, fret and faced away; his girdle notwithstanding being of silke, and so double cast about the staple, that the space of the girdle betweene the staple and his necke, with the residue also that went about his necke, was not sufficient for his head to come out at. His hands moreouer wrung in the wrists, his face, lips, chin, doublet, and shirt collar vnstained with any bloud: when as notwithstanding in a manner somewhat beyond the place where he did hang, a great quantity of bloud was found. Also, whereas the staple whereon he hanged was so that he could not climbe thereto without some meane, there was a stoole set vp vpon the bolster of a bed, so tickle, that with the least touch in the world it was ready to fall: and how was it possible that Hunne might hang himselfe vpon that staple the stoole so standing? Besides the confession moreouer of Charles Josephs owne mouth to Iulian Littell, of Robert Johnson, John Spalding the Belringer, Peter Turner, and others. All which testimonies and declarations, being so cleere and vndeniable, may suffice (I trust) any indifferent man to see where the truth of this case doth stand: vnlesse

The circumstances of Hunnes hanging considered.

Not possible that Hunne so hanging should hang himselfe.

Walter More being a gentleman of Utopia, peraduenture after some strange guise of that countrey, vseth to carry his eyes not in his had, but in his affection, not seeing but where he liketh, nor beleeuing but what he listeth.

Vtopia Mori.

Finally, where Sir Thomas More, speaking of himselfe, so concludeth, that he hearing in the matter what well might be said, yet could not finde contrary but Hunne to be guilty of his owne death: so in as many words to answer him againe, I perusing and searching in the story of R. Hun what may well be searched, cannot but maruell with my selfe either with what darknes the eys of M. More be dazled, not to see what is so plaine: or else with what conscience he could dissemble that which shame cannot deny. And thus by the way to the dialogues of Sir Thomas More.

Thirdly, touching the Dialogues of Allen Cope, which had rather the Bishops Chancellor and Officers to be recounted among theeues and murtherers, than Hunn to be numbered among the Martyrs; I haue herein not much to say, because himselfe saith but little: and if he had said lesse, vnlesse his ground were better, it had made as little matter. But forasmuch as he saying not much, sendeth vs to seeke more in More, so with like brenity againe I may send him to William Tindall to shape him an answer. Yet notwithstanding lest Cope, in saying something, should thinke Huns innocent cause to lacke some friends, which will not or dare not aduenture in defence of truth, somewhat I will answer in this behalfe.

Answer to Alan. Copus for Richard Hunne.

And first touching this murther of Hunne not to be his owne wilfull act, but the deed of others; besides the demonstrations aboue premised to Sir Thomas More, now to Walter Cope; If I had no other euidences but onely these two, I would require no more: that is, his cap found so straight standing vpon his head, and the stoole so tottering vnder his feet. For how is it, I will not say like; but how is it possible for a man to hang himselfe in a silken girdle double cast about a staple, in such shortnesse, that the space of the knot could not well compasse his head about, and yet haue his cap so straight set vpon his head as his was?

Hunn murthered not by himselfe, but by others.

Againe, how is it possible, or can it be imagined for him to hang himselfe, climbing vp by a stoole which had no stay for him to stand vpon, but stood so tickle, that if he had touched the same neuer so little, it must needs haue fallen;

But Cope being something more prouident in this matter, seemeth to exceed not altogether so far as doth Walter More. For he, vnderstanding the case to be ambiguous and doubtfull, so leaueth it in suspence, not determining that Hunne did hang himselfe, and yet not admitting that he died a martyr, no more than they which are quelled by theeues and murtherers by high way sides. Well be it so as Cope doth argue, that they which die by the hands

Cope denyeth Richard Hun to die a Martyr.

of

of Felons and murtherers in thæuish wayes, be no Martyrs; yet notwithstanding this his owne similitude, comparing the Bishops Chancellor and Officers to thæues and murtherers, doth grant at least that Hunne died a true man, although no Martyr. Now if the cause be it, and not the paine, that maketh a Martyr, in pondering the cause why Hunne was slaine, we shall finde it not altogether like to the cause of them which perish by thæues and Robbers. For such commonly because of their goods, and for some worldly gaine to be sought by their death, are made away, and being true men, may peraduenture haue the reward, although not the name of Martyrs: Whereas this mans death being wrought neither for money, nor any such temporall lucre to redound to his oppressors; as it hath another cause, so may it haue another name, and deserue to be called by the name of Martyrdome. Like as Abel being slaine by wicked Cain, albeit he had no opinion of Religion articulate against him, but of spite onely and of malice was made away, yet notwithstanding is fully numbred among the Martyrs: so what let to the contrary, but that Hunne also with him may be reckoned in the same society, seeing the cause wherfore they both did suffer, proceedeth together out of one fountaine? And what moreouer if a man should call Naboth (who for holding his right inheritance was slaine) a martyr, what great iniury should he do either to the name or cause, or the person, worthy to be carped at? Against Thomas Becket, you know Master Cope, no speciall Article of Faith was layd, wherefore he dyed: And why then do you bestow vpon him so deuoutly the title of a Martyr, for withholding that from the King, which by the law of God, and of the Realme, did belong vnto him; and cannot suffer Hunne to be tituled for a Martyr, dying in his owne right, by the hands of spirituall Thæues and homicides, as you your selfe doe terme them? But what doe I straine my trauell any further to proue Hunne a Martyr; when as Copes owne confession doth import no lesse, though I said nothing? For what if I should take no more but his own very words, and say, that he was knowne to be an heretique, as Cope doth affirme? What could I say more, seeing he dyed for his heresie, to proue him to die a Martyr? For to die an heretique with the Papists, what is it else (to say truth) but to die with God a Martyr.

But howsoeuer it pleaseth either Sir Thomas More to iest, or Allen Cope to skold out the matter, and to stile Richard Hunne for a knowne and desperate heretique: yet to all true godly disposed men Hunne may well be knowne to be a godly and vertuous person; no heretique, but faithfull and sound, saue that onely he seemed rather halfe a Papist; at least no full Protestant, for that he resorted dayly to Masse, and also had his beades in prison with him, after the Catholique manner; albeit he was somewhat enclined (as may appeare) toward the Gospell. And if the name of a Martyr be thought too good for him, yet I trust Master Cope will stand so good Master to him, to let him at least be a Martyrs fellow. But what now if I go further with Master Cope, and name Richard Hunne not onely for a Martyr, but also commend him for a double Martyr? Certes, as I suppose, in so saying I should affirme no lesse than truth, nor any thing more than truely may be said, and iustly proued. But to giue and grant this contention vnto the Aduersary, which notwithstanding might be easily proued; let vs see now the proofes of Master Cope, how he argueth that Richard Hunne is no martyr: because (saith he) true men, being killed in highwaies by thæues and murtherers, are not therefore to bee counted martyrs, &c. And was there nothing else in the cause of Hunne, but as is in true men killed by thæues and murtherers? They that are killed by thæues and murtherers are killed for some prey, or money about them: And what prey or profit was in the death of Hunne, let vs see, to redound to them which oppressed him? If it were the mortuary, or the bearing cloath, that was a small thing, and not worthy his death. If it were the Præmunire, the danger thereof pertained to the Priest, and not to them. If they feared lest the example thereof once begun, should afterward redound to the prejudice of the whole Church, then was the cause of his death not priuate but publique, tending to the whole Church and clergie of Rome: and so is his death not altogether like to the death of them which for priuate respects are killed of thæues and murtherers.

But he was an heretique, saith Cope. By the same reason that Cope taketh him for an heretique, I take him the more to be accepted for a martyr: for by that way which they call heresie the liuing God is serued, and by no way better. And if he were an heretique, why then did they not proceed against him as an heretique while hee was aliue? When they had him at Fulham before them, if they had beene sure to intrap him in that snare, why did they not take their aduantage when they might with least ieopardy? why did they not proceed and condemne him for an heretique? why made they such halse to preuent his death before? why did they not tarie the sentence of the Law, hauing the Law in their owne hands? But belike they perceiued that he could not be proued an heretique while he liued, and therefore thought it best to make him away priuily, and to stop the Præmunire, and afterward to stop the pursuit of his death by making him an heretique. And therefore were Articles deuised by the Chancellor (as is proued before by witnesse of Charles Ioseph and another) against him, and he condemned for an heretique, and all his fauourers also, whosoeuer durst stir to take his part, and so thereupon was committed to the secular power, and burned. Wherein they did him double wrong; first in that they burned him for an heretique, hauing before submitted himselfe to their fauourable correction, as it appeareth yet in the Bishops Registers by his owne hand, as it is there pretended; which was against their owne Lawes. Againe, if he had not submitted himselfe at that time, yet did they him wrong to burne him before they knew and heard him speake (as Tindall saith) whether he would recant or no. And yet admit that he was condemned and burned for an heretique, yet to be killed and burned of them for an heretique, that taketh not from him the name of a martyr, but rather giueth him to be a double martyr. But Cope yet proceeding in his hot choler against Richard Hunn, after he hath made him first no martyr, and then an heretique, thirdly he now maketh him also a murtherer of himselfe, and saith, that no other man was any part of his death but onely his owne hands, and that either for indignation and anger, or for desperation, or for some cause he knoweth not what. And in his Epilogus to make it probable, hee alledgeth the example of one, but namelesse, who in Queene Maries time in like sort went about to hang himselfe, had hee not been taken in the manner, and rescued.

Furthermore, as touching the Chancellor he argueth, that there was no cause why he should attempt any such violence against him, both for his age, for his dignity, for his learning, and for the greatnesse of his owne perill which might ensue thereof. Who, if he had maligned the man, and had beene so disposed to worke his destruction, had meanes otherwise without danger to bring that about, hauing him within his danger conuict and fast tyed for heresie. Whereunto I answer, that to all this matter sufficient hath been answered by the story it selfe of his death, aboue specified. Whereby the manner of his death, by circumstances of his handling and hanging, by his necke broke, by his body lose, by his skinne fretted, by his wrists wrung,

The cause, not the paine maketh a martyr.

The cause of Abels death and of Hunnes compared.

Cope Dial. 6. Pag. 847.

Cope ibidem.

Hunne no full Protestant.

The cause of Huns secret murther discussed.

Craftie practise.

Him had double wrong.

Copes reasons why Hun should hang himselfe.

Copes reasons answered.

Proofes that Hun did not hang himselfe.

hꝛung, by his girdle in ſuch ſhoꝛtneſſe double caſt about the ſtaple, by his cap right vpon his head, by his haire kembed, by his eyes cloſed, by the cake of bloud found in the floꝛe, by his ſhirt collar, doublet, jacket, and other outward parts of his garments without dꝛop of bloud vnſpotted, by the ſtoole ſo ſtanding vpon the bolſter, by the Chancellors murrey gowne found the day after vpon the ſtocks, the ware candle faire put out: Furthermoꝛe, by the verdict of the Inqueſt, by the atteſtation of the witneſſes ſwoꝛne, by the Cꝛowners iudgement, by the aſſent of the Parliament, by the Kings Letters aſſigned, and bꝛoad ſeale foꝛ reſtitution of his goods: and finally by the confeſſion of the parties themſelues which murthered him, &c. And yet thinketh Cope to make men ſuch fooles, hauing their fiue wits, to wæne yet that Hunne did hang himſelfe, after ſo many demonſtrations and euidences to the contrary, as in euery part of this ſtoꝛy may appeare. And though it were, as it was, vnlike, and hard foꝛ a man to beléeue, that Doctoꝛ Hoꝛſey, a man of ſuch age, dignity, and learning, would ſo much foꝛget himſelfe to attempt ſuch a villany; yet ſo great is the Diuell ſometimes with man, where God permitteth, that hée woꝛketh greater things than this, and moꝛe vncredible. Foꝛ who would haue thought it like that Cain would euer haue killed Abell his owne naturall bꝛother? which was moꝛe than foꝛ a Biſhops Chancellor to kill a Citizen: yet ſo he did. And where Cope pꝛetendeth the cauſes of anger and deſperation whereby Hunne did hang himſelfe; how is it like, oꝛ who euer did heare, a man being in ſuch extremitie of deſperation, to ſtand firſt trimming himſelfe, and kembing his head, befoꝛe he go to hang himſelfe? No moꝛe credit is alſo to bee giuen to that which followeth in the ſame Cope, where he ſaith, that Richard Hunne being in priſon, was conuict of hereſie. By the which woꝛd Conuict, if hée meane that Hunne was pꝛoued an heretique, that is falſe; foꝛ that hee being at Fulham examined vpon certaine Articles, both denied the Articles to bee true as they were obiected; and alſo if they were true, yet hee ſubmitted himſelfe to their fauourable coꝛrection: and therefoꝛe not ſtanding obſtinately in the ſame, could not bee pꝛoued an heretique. And if by this terme conuict, he meane that he was by ſentence caſt; ſo was Hunne neuer caſt by any ſentence foꝛ an heretique, ſo long as hee liued, but after his death, when he could nothing anſwer foꝛ himſelfe. And becauſe this vntruth ſhould not go without his fellow, ſée how he hudleth vp one falſe narration in the necke of another; affirming moꝛeouer, that Hunne was caſt into priſon befoꝛe he entred his ſute of Præmunire againſt the Pꝛieſt. Which is vtterly falſe and vntrue, both diſagréeing to other ſtoꝛies, and alſo refuted by the woꝛds of Sir Thomas Moꝛe his owne authoꝛ; who repoꝛteth, that Hunne (in ſuing his Præmunire againſt the Pꝛieſt) being ſet vpon a gloꝛy of victoꝛy, made his boaſt among his friends, that he truſted to haue the matter long ſpoken of, and to be called Hunns caſe. Hæc Morus. Whereby it appeareth that Hunne was not then in priſon clapt vp foꝛ hereſie, but was abꝛoad ſéeking counſell among the Lawyers, and boaſting among his friends; as wꝛiteth More, Lib. 3. Dial.

After this heape of vntruths aboue palled, adde yet further another copie of Copes falſe dealing: who ſéeking all coꝛners and euery where how to pick matter againſt my foꝛmer hiſtoꝛie, chargeth mee with arrogancie, as though I tooke ſo highly vpon me to vndo and deroga̅te from the Kings Acts and iudgements in the acquitall of Doctoꝛ Hoꝛſey. If it ſo pleaſed the King to acquit Doctoꝛ Hoꝛſey by his gracious pardon, I am not againſt it, neither do I deny but the King ſo did: neither do I ſay, noꝛ euer did, but the King of his ſupereminent pꝛeroga̅tiue may ſo do: and wherein then do I vnrip oꝛ looſe the Kings Acts here done and concluded? But if the queſtion be this, Whether Doctoꝛ Hoꝛſey with his conſurates did kill Richard Hunne oꝛ no: then doe I ſay, that the pardon of the King doth not take away the verity of the crime committed, but remoueth away the penaltie of the law deſerued: and ſo if the life of them was ſaued by way of pardon (as maiſter Moꝛe himſelfe ſéemeth not to deny) then was it not through their innocencie claiming iuſtice, that they eſcaped, but through petition ſtanding in néed of mercy. Foꝛ what néedeth pardon where Iuſtice abſolueth? yea, who ſueth pardon, but in ſo doing muſt yéeld himſelfe guiltie? foꝛ pardon neuer commeth lightly either with God oꝛ man, except the crime be firſt confeſſed. Wherefoꝛe if they eſcaped by Iuſtice, as Cope pꝛetendeth, how then doth maiſter Moꝛe ſay, they were ſaued by pardon? and if they eſcaped by pardon, how then doth Cope ſay they were not guiltie? And be it admitted, that the ſentence of the Kings Atturny in the Kings name did abſolue them as vnguiltie, according as the King was then infoꝛmed by the Cardinall and ſute of friends; yet afterward the King, being better infoꝛmed by the Parliament, and the truth better knowne, deteſted and abhoꝛred their fact, and yet continued his pardon vnto them, as by the Kings owne acts and his bꝛoad ſeale appeareth, yet remaining in recoꝛds to be ſéene.

And as touching my foꝛmer hiſtoꝛies ſet foꝛth in Latine and in Engliſh, which ſpake firſt of the foꝛman of the Queſt, then of the Kings Atturney to hæ laboured with ſome gifts oꝛ money: as Cope hath yet pꝛoued no vntruth in my ſaying, ſo leſſe can hæ finde any repugnance oꝛ diſagréeing in the ſame. Foꝛ hæ that ſpeaketh of bꝛibing, firſt of one perſon, and then afterward of another, where both might be bꝛibed together, is not contrarie, I thinke, to himſelfe, but rather doth compꝛehend that in the one booke, which he beſoꝛe leaueth out in the other; and yet no great repugnance either in the one oꝛ in the other, ſéeing that which is ſaid may be verified in both, as it is no other like but in this matter it was. Foꝛ how is it otherwiſe like oꝛ poſſible, but that there muſt néeds be found ſome pꝛiuie packing in this matter, ſéeing after ſuch euidence found and bꝛought in by the Cꝛowners inqueſt and Iurie of twentie foure choſen perſons, after ſo many markes and tokens of the murther ſo cléere and demonſtrable, and layd foꝛth ſo plaine to the eyes of all the woꝛld, that no man could denie, oꝛ not ſee the ſame; yet through the handling of the foꝛeſaid Atturney, and of the foꝛeman of the Queſt, the murtherers were boꝛne out, and confeſſed to be no murtherers? If ſuch bolſtering out of matters and partialitie were then ſuch a rare caſe in the Realme of England in the time of Cardinall Wolſey, who then vnder the King and in the Kings name did what hée liſt; then let it ſeeme vntrue in my foꝛmer ſtoꝛies, that I haue wꝛitten. And yet the woꝛds of my ſtoꝛie, which Cope carpeth at ſo much, be not mine, but the woꝛds of Edward Hall his owne authoꝛ. Wherefoꝛe if his diſpoſition be ſo ſet, that he muſt néeds be a cenſurer of other mens wꝛitings, let him expoſtulate with Hall and not with me.

But I trouble the Reader too much in this matter of Richard Hunne, being of it ſelfe ſo cléere that no indifferent iudge can doubt thereof. As foꝛ wꝛanglers and quarrellers they will neuer bee ſatisfied. Wherefoꝛe to returne againe to the purpoſe of our ſtoꝛie intermitted: in the Table aboue, containing the names of them which about this time of Richard Hunne were foꝛced to denie and abiure their pꝛofeſſed opinions, mention was made of Elizabeth Stamfoꝛd, John Houſhold, and other moe, abiuring about the yeare of our Lord 1517. Whoſe veration and weakneſſe although it be pittifull to behold, yet to conſider the confeſſion of their Doctrins in thoſe ancient dayes, it is not vnpꝛofitable.

Wherein

Manifeſt vntruth in Cope.

Another vntruth noted in Cope.

Cope hudleth vp vntruths.

Another vntruth noted in Cope.

Tho. Morus Dial. lib. 3.

Another vntruth in Cope noted.

Answer to Copes cauillation.

The eſcaping of Hoꝛſey came rather of fauoꝛ than of his demerits.

Ex Ed. Hall, in vit. Henric. 8. Anno 6.

Elizabeth Stamfoꝛd. Anno 1517.

Wherein we haue to see the same forme of knowledge and doctrine then taught and planted in the hearts of our fore-elders, which is now publiquely receiued, as well touching the Lords Sacrament of his body, as also other specialties of sincerity. And although they lacked then publique authority to maintaine the open preaching and teaching of the Gospell, which the Lords mercifull grace hath giuen vs now; yet in secret knowledge and vnderstanding they seemed then little or nothing inferior to these our times of publique reformation: as may appeare by this confession of Elizabeth Stamford here vnder written; which onely may suffice for example, to vnderstand what ripe knowledge of Gods Word was then abroad, although not in Churches publiquely preached, for danger of the Bishops, yet in secret wise taught and receiued of diuers.

The teaching of the former times to be considered.

In number of whom was this Elizabeth Stamford, who being brought and examined before Fitz-james Bishop of London, Anno 1517. confessed, That she was taught by one Thomas Beele (sometime dwelling at Henley) these words eleuen yeeres before: That Christ feedeth, and fast nourisheth his Church with his owne precious body, that is, the bread of life comming downe from heauen: this is the worthie word that is worthily receiued, and ioyned vnto man to be in one body with him. Sooth it is that they be both one, they may not be parted: this is the wisely deeming of the holy Sacrament, Christs owne body: this is not receiued by chewing of teeth, but by hearing with eares, and vnderstanding with your soule, and wisely working thereafter. Therefore saith Saint Paul, I feare mee amongst vs, brethren, that many of vs bee feeble and sicke; therefore I counsell vs brethren to rise and watch, that the great day of doome come not suddenly vpon vs, as the Theefe doth vpon the Merchant. Also the said Tho. taught & shewed her, that the sacrament of the Altar was not the very body of Christ, but very bread: And that the Sacrament was the very body of Christ put vpon the Crosse, after a diuine and mysticall manner. And moreouer, that the said Thomas Beele did many times and oft teach her this foresaid lesson, that she should confesse her sinnes to God, and that the Popes pardons and Indulgences were nought worth, and profited not, and that worshipping of Images and pilgrimages are not to be done.

Thomas Beele.

To this Elizabeth Stamford may also be annexed the doctrine and confession of Ioane Sampson, wife of John Sampson, Carpenter of Alderman-bury in London: Against whom, being cited and examined before the Bishop of London, certaine witnesses were produced: who vpon their oath, being sworne, did detect and denounce the said Ioane Sampson in these Articles and opinions following:

Ioan Sampson.

Articles of Ioan Sampson.

1 First, That the beingin her labour, what time Ioane Sampson her predecessor, then being aliue, was with her, and after the manner then of women called much vpon the helpe of the Virgin Mary, she spitting thereat, was in such sort agrieued, that the other party was compelled to forsake the house.

2 Also, that she spake against pilgrimage, and the worshipping of the blessed Virgin, and of all Saints, affirming that there is none holy but one.

3 Item, another time in the hearing of one Margaret Anworth, when she and other women were inuocating the blessed Virgin to helpe in womans labor, she stood against them, and contumeliously spake against the inuocators.

4 Item, that she speaking against the pilgrimage of our Lady of Willesdon (as she was then called) and of Saint Saviour at Barmsey, called the said Saint Saviour, Sym Sawyer.

5 Item, for hauing two certaine books in English, one bigger and another lesser, which she committed to one John Anked a Cooke; which bookes in the Register be not named.

6 Item, that the said Ioane Sampson at a supper in the hearing of certaine men, and of a certaine widow named Ioane White, spake openly in contempt of the Sacrament of the Altar, saying that the Priests were Idolaters which did lift vp the bread ouer their heads, making the people to worship it, and making the people to beleeue that it was the Lords body; and that it was better to eate the Altar cloath, if it might be eaten and digested as easily as the other.

Against the sacrament of the Altar.

Here follow moreouer the names of diuers other which in the Registers be specified to abiure, as

William Iacum Carpenter.	Pinner.
Iohn Stradling.	Robert Pope.
Iohn Newman Sherman.	Iohn Geeste of Stratford.
Robert Boshel.	Iohn Brian of the Parish of S. Stephen.
Thomas Edward. Dyer.	Iohn Bol.
Richard Dewar.	Richard Wescot.
Richard Apulby.	William Crosse.
Iohn Osburne.	George Laund Prior of Saint Sithe.
Robert Roger.	Henrie Coll.
Iohn Eton.	William Man.
Iohn Chapman.	William Sweting.
William Chakon.	Iacob Brewster.
Richard Mildnale.	Sabine Mande.
Iohn Hatchet.	Iohn Spencer.
Iacob Sturdey.	Patrike Dowdal, alias Capper.
Thomas Puruall Taylor.	Robert Aleyn.
Iohn Bitam.	Iohn Finch Cooke.
Robert Hutton	Iohn Southwicke.

The names of diuers persons which abiured.

AGainst this Iohn Southwik last named it was layd and obiected, that when one Riuelay, comming from the Church of the Gray Friers in London, had sayd to his wife (asking where he had been) that he had heard Masse, and had seene his Lord God in forme of bread and wine ouer the Priests head; the foresaid Iohn Southwike there present answered againe and said; Nay, William, thou sawest not thy Lord God; thou sawest but bread, wine, and the Chalice. And when the said William answered againe in the same words as before, saying, I truste verily that I saw my Lord God in forme of bread and wine, and this I doubt not: the other replying againe, answered and said as before; Nay, I tell thee thou sawest but onely a figure or sacrament of him, the which is in substance bread and wine, &c. This was in the yeare of our Lord 1520. In which he was compelled to abiure.

Iohn Southwike.

All these aboue named in one key of doctrine and religion did hold and concord together: against whom were obiected fiue or six speciall matters; to wit, for speaking against worshipping of Saints, against pilgrimage, against inuocation of the blessed Virgin, against the Sacrament of the Lords body, and for hauing Scripture bookes in English: which bookes especially I find to be named as these, the booke of the foure Euangelists, a booke of the Epistles of Paul and Peter, the Epistle of Saint James, a booke of the Apocalyps, and of Antichrist, of the ten Commandements, and Wicklifes Wicket, with such other like.

Consent of doctrine.

Iohn Stilman, Martyr.

IT would aske a long tractation, and tedious, to recite in order the great multitude and number of good men and women, besides these aboue rehearsed, which in those dayes recanted and abiured about the beginning of King Henries raigne and before: among whom yet notwithstanding some there were whom the Lord reduced again, and made

{Anno 1518.}

Iohn Stilman Martyr.

strong in the profession of his truth, and constant vnto death; of which number one was Iohn Stilman by name, who about the foure and twentieth day of September, in the yeare of our Lord 1518. was apprehended and brought before Richard Fitzjames then Bishop of London, at his Manor of Fulham, and by him was there examined and charged, that notwithstanding his former recantation, oath, and abiuration, made about eleuen yeares then past, before Edmund then Bishop of Salisburie, as well for speaking against the worshipping, praying, and offering vnto Images, as also for denying the carnall and corporall presence in the Sacrament of Christs memoriall: yet since that time he had fallen into the same opinions againe, and so into the danger of relapse; and further had highly commended and praised Iohn Wickliffe, affirming that he was a Saint in heauen, and that his booke called the Wicket was good and holy. Done after his examination he was sent from thence vnto the Lollards tower at London, and the two and twentieth day of October then next ensuing was brought openly into the Consistorie at Pauls, and was there iudicially examined by Thomas Yed the Bishops Vicar generall, vpon the contents of these Articles following:

Wickliffes Wicket. Ex Regist. Fitzjames London.

Articles layd against Iohn Stilman.

1 First I obiect vnto you, that you haue confessed before my Lord of London and me D. Yed his vicar generall, That about twentie yeares past, one Stephen Wone of the Diocesse of Winchester (with whom you abode six or seuen yeares after) did teach you to beleeue that the going on pilgrimage and worshipping of Images, as the Lady of Walsingham and others, were not to be vsed. And also that afterwards one Richard Smart, who was burned at Salisbury about fourteene or fifteene yeares past, did reade vnto you Wickliffes Wicket, and likewise instructed you to beleeue that the Sacrament of the Altar was not the body of Christ: all which things you haue erroneously beleeued.

Peares of antiquity to be noted. A godly martyr. Richard Smart burned at Salisbury, Anno 1503.

Wickliffes Wicket.

2 Item you haue diuers times read the said booke called Wickliffes Wicket, and one other booke of the ten Commandements which the said Richard Smart did giue you, and at the time of your first apprehension you did hide them in an old Oke, and did not reueale them vnto the Bishop of Salisbury, before whom you were abiured of heresie about eleuen yeares since; where you promised by oath vpon the Euangelists, euer after to beleeue and hold as the Christian Faith taught and preached, and neuer to offend againe in the said heresies, or any other, vpon paine of relapse. And further, you there promised to performe all such penance as the sayd Bishop of Salisbury did enioyne you: who then enioyned you vpon the like paine, not to depart his Diocesse without his speciall licence.

3 Item, it is euident that you be relapsed, as well by your owne confession, as also by your deeds, in that about two yeares after your abiuration you went into the said place where you had hidden your bookes, and then taking them away with you, you departed the foresaid Diocesse, without the licence of the Bishop, and brought them with you to London, where now being attached and taken with them vpon great suspition of heresie, you are brought vnto the Bishop of London: by reason of which your demeanor, you haue shewed both your impenitent and dissembled conuersation from your errors, and also your vnfaithfull abiuration and disobedience vnto the authority of our mother holy Church, in that you performed not the penance: in which behalfe you be voluntarily perjured, and also relapsed, in that you departed the same diocesse without licence.

4 Item, you be not onely (as afore is said) impenitent, disobedient, voluntary perjured and relapsed by this your foresaid heretical demeanour, but also sithence your last attachment vpon suspition of heresie, you haue maliciously spoken erroneous and damnable words, affirming before my Lord of London, your Ordinary, and me, iudicially sitting at Fulham, that you were sory that euer you did abiure your said opinions, and had not suffered then manfully for them; for they were and be good and true; and therefore you will now abide by them to die for it. And furthermore, you haue spoken against our holy Father the Pope, and his authority, damnably saying that he is Antichrist, and not the true successor of Peter, or Christs Vicar on earth: and that his pardons and indulgences, which he granteth in the Sacrament of penance, are naught, and that you will none of them. And likewise that the College of Cardinalls be limmes of the said Antichrist: and that all other inferiour Prelates and Priests are the Synagogue of Satan. And moreouer you said, that the Doctors of the Church haue subuerted the truth of holy Scripture, expounding it after their owne mindes, and therefore their works be naught, and they in hell: but that Wickliffe is a Saint in heauen, and that the booke called his Wicket is good, for therein he sheweth the truth. Also you did wish that there were twentie thousand of your opinion, against bs Scribes and Pharisees, to see what you would doe for the defence of your Faith. All which heresies you did afterward erroneously affirme before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and then said that you would abide by them to die for it, notwithstanding his earnest perswasions to the contrary: and therefore for these premisses you bee euidently relapsed, and ought to be committed vnto the secular power.

Wickliffes Wicket.

After these Articles thus propounded, and his constant perseuering in the truth perceiued, Doctor Yed Vicar generall, the fine and twentieth day of October, by his sentence definitiue did condemne

The burning of Iohn Stilman.

him a relapsed heretique, and so deliuered him the same present day vnto the sheriffes of London, to be openly burned in Smithfield.

Thomas Man, Martyr.

NExt to Iohn Stilman aboue mentioned, followeth in this order of blessed Martyrs, the persecution

Thom. Man Martyr.

secution and condemnation of Thomas Man: who the twenty ninth day of March, in the yeare of our Lord 1518. was burned in Smithfield. This Thomas Man had likewise bene apprehended for the profession of Christs Gospell about sir yeares before, the fourteenth day of August, Anno 1511. and being at that time brought before Doctor Smith Bishop of Lincolne, was by him examined vpon diuers and sundry Articles, the effect whereof are these:

The articles of Tho. Man.

1 First, That hee had spoken against Auricular confession, and denied the corporall presence of Christs body in the sacrament of the Altar.

2 Item, that he beleeued that all holy men of his sect were onely Priests.

3 Item, that he had affirmed that the Father of heauen was the Altar, and the second person the sacrament, and that vpon the Ascension day the sacrament ascended vnto the Altar, and there abideth still.

4 Item, that he beleeued not aright in the sacrament of extreame Unction.

5 Item, that he had called certaine priests, meanly arayed, pild knaues.

6 Item, that he had said that pulpits were priests lying stooles.

7 Item, that he had beleeued that Images ought not to be worshipped, and that he neither beleeued in the Crucifix, nor yet would worship it.

8 Item, that he had affirmed that he heard say, the word of God and God to be all one, and that hee, that worthily receiueth the word of God, receiueth God.

9 Item, that hee had said that the popish Church was not the Church of God, but a Synagogue: and that holy men of his sect were the true Church of God.

For these and such like matters was hee a long time imprisoned, and at last, through frailtie and feare of death, was content to abiure and yeeld himselfe vnto the iudgement of the Romish church, and thereupon was enioyned not onely to make his open recantation, but also from thencefoorth to remaine as prisoner within the Monastery of Dsney besides Oxford, and so to beare a fagot before the first Crosse, at the next generall procession within the Vniuersity. Howbeit not long after, the Bishop hauing nede of the poore mans helpe in his household businesse, tooke him out of the said Monasterie, and placed him within his owne house vntill his businesse was ended; and then (his turne once serued) he appointed Doctor Wilcocks his Vicar generall, that in his next iudiciall session within the Priory of Frideswide at Oxford, hee should assigne him to remaine within the said Priory, and not to depart thence without licence of the Prior for the time being, vpon paine of relapse: and vpon like paine he also enioyned him to weare the signe of a fagot vnder his vppermost garment, vntill he were dispensed withall for the same. All which notwithstanding, he (being belike both sorie for his offence in denying the truth, and also wearie of his seruile and prison-like bondage) bethought himselfe how he might best escape their cruell hands; and therefore after a while seeing good opportunity offered him, he fled the diocesse and iurisdiction of Lincolne, and seeking abroad in other countries for worke, thereby to sustaine his poore life, he most commonly abode sometime in Essex, sometime in Suffolke; where also he associated and ioyned himselfe vnto such godly professors of Christs Gospell as he there could heare of. But within few yeares after (such is the cruell rage of Satan and his wicked members, which neuer suffer the godly long to continue vntroubled) hee was againe accused of relapse by the inquest of the Inquisition of London, and thereupon was apprehended and brought before Richard Fitzjames then Bishop of London, and the ninth day of February, Anno 1518. hee was examined by Doctor head the Bishops Vicar generall, within his palace at London: where the said Hed, iudicially assisted with diuers of his complices, declared first vnto Man, that forsomuch as he was since his first abiuring, againe detected and accused by certaine credible and honest persons, of the same heresies which he had once before recanted: and further (contrarie to the order of penance enioyned him by the late Bishop of Lincolne) he had departed the priorie of saint Frideswide, and the diocesse of Lincoln, without leaue either of the Bishop or Prior; and was now also found within the Diocesse of London, and that without his badge assigned him by the said Bishops vicar generall: he therefore as Chancellor and Vicar generall vnto the Bishop of London, deputed for that purpose, did then mean to proceed against him as a relapser, by order of the ecclesiasticall Lawes in that behalfe prouided. Wherefore hee appointed him to appeare againe in the Consistory of Pauls the twelfth day of February next after, there to answer vnto such Articles as then should be propounded against him. At which day and place, the Chancellor (first reciting the causes aboue mentioned, why hee did then proceed against him) objected vnto him these articles following:

The cause of his martyrdome.

Articles against obiected against Thomas Man.

1 First, that he was of the Diocesse of London.

2 Item, that he was a Christian man, and professed Christs faith, and the determinations of holy Church concerning the seuen sacraments, and other articles of the Catholique Faith.

3 Item, that it was not lawfull for any man (especially a lay man) erroneously and obstinately to hold, teach, or defend any opinion contrary vnto the determinations of the said Church, and that the person so doing is an heretique.

4 Item, that within one of the twelue moneths of the yeare of our Lord 1511. he had bene detected before the Bishop of Lincolne that then was, of diuers points of heresie, as that he had affirmed, that the very body and blood of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar, but materiall bread and wine, and that he had receiued it at Easter as holy bread: and likewise had affirmed, that the Crucifixe and other Images in the Church were not to bee worshipped; and also, that confession made vnto a priest was of none effect, with diuers other like opinions and heresies.

Against the reall presence in the Sacrament.

5 Item, that for these and such like points of heresie he had bene abiured in saint Maries Church at Oxford, before Doctor Wilcockes Chancellor vnto the said bishop of Lincoln, in the month of October in the yeare last aboue said, and there did renounce them and all other, promising to fall no more into the like.

6 Item, that there also he had taken a solemne oath, to do such penance as should be enioyned him by the authority of the said Bishop.

7 Item, that then he was enioyned to abide within the Monastery of Dsney by Oxford: and also there to beare a fagot before the first Crosse in the generall procession.

8 Item, that after a certaine time that he had bene within the Monasterie of Dsney, the Bishop of Lincolne (for certaine causes) tooke him into his owne house and seruice, respiting his penance for a time.

9 Item, that afterwards, which was the ninth day of October, Anno 1512. the said Bishops Chancellor iudicially sitting in the Chapter house of the priorie of saint Frideswide in Oxford, did enioyne him that he should tarry within the said Priorie, and not go out of the gates thereof, without licence of the Prior for the time being, vntill he had other com-

Tho. Man sent to the monastery of Dsney.

Tho. Man sent to the monastery of Frideswide.

Thom. Man fled out of the Monasterie.

Thom. Man the second time apprehended.

mandement from the Bishop, vpon paine of relapse: and further, that he should from thenceforth, vpon the like paine, weare a signe of a fagot vnder his vppermost garment.

10 Item, that after his abiuration, and since the premises thus done, he was yet againe detected to the Bishop of London by open fame, and denounced by worshipfull and credible persons, that he had vsed like false errors and heresies, and had spoken and taught certaine conclusions of heresie against the Christian Faith, and determinations of holy Church: and that hee had fallen into the like heresies as before his abiuration, both against the sacrament of the altar, against pilgrimages and worshipping of Images: and had blasphemed our blessed Lady, calling her Mably.

Hee meant some Image or picture of the Virgin, set vp in some blinde place to be worshipped.

11 Item, that when he wrought with one John Bates in Stratford Langthorne in Rogation weeke then three yeares past, and being bidden by the said Bates wife to go and heare the Gospell hee answered and said vnto her; I will not come there, go you if you list, ye shall haue as much need for it as to put your finger in the fire and to burne it.

12 Item, that in times past, for feare of abiuration he had fled from Colchester to Newbery, and after that vnto Hamersham, and had there dammably accompanied with heretiques, and had taught heresies among them: and also since the time of his abiuration he had said, that he and his wife had turned six or seuen hundred people vnto those opinions which he was abiured of, and others also, contrary to Christs Faith, and determinations of Holy Church.

His answer vnto these Articles was, that as touching the first nine, he granted them in part to be true; confessing to the second, that hee was a true Christian, and did profesſe the true Christian Faith: but the contents of the last three he vtterly denied to bee true; affirming for certaine answer vnto the eleuenth Article, that at the time mentioned in the same he did not worke in the towne of Stratford. Upon which answer the Chancellour called forth two witnesses to be sworne and examined against him; willing him that if he had any iust matter against any of them, he should refuse them. But to what purpose this his faire offer and trimme shew of vpright Iustice serued, I cannot see: For notwithstanding that he charged the one of the witnesses with theft and adultery, (for that hauing a wife of his owne, he did yet runne away with another mans wife and goods) and also alledged that the other was too young to be a sworne witnesse in case of life and death; yet were they both still retained and allowed by the Chancellor, and sworne not to depart away or hide themselues, but to be alwayes ready to iustifie that which they had to say against the said Thomas Man: and so for that time as well they as also all the rest were commanded to depart, and the prisoner sent againe to his prison.

False witnes.

False witnes receiued against Thomas Man.

And here in the order of the oath ministred vnto these witnesses, I finde one note (me thinketh) worthy present remembrance, both for that it is mentioned in the processe, and also because it somewhat openeth the foolish, rediculous, and feigned figuratiue ceremonies of the Papists, who do attribute a spirituall signification almost vnto all their doing. The Register, discoursing at large the manner of their oath, hath these words: Ad sancta Dei Euangelia iurari fecit, tribus medijs digitis erectis, & super librum positis, in signum Trinitatis, & fidei Catholicæ: & duobus (videlicet pollice & auriculari) suppositis & suppressis, & sub libro positis, in signum damnationis corporis & animæ, si non deposuerint veritatem in hac parte. That is to say. He caused them to sweare vpon the holy Euangelists, with their three middle fingers stretched out right, and layd vpon the booke in signe of the Trinitie, and Catholique Faith, and the other two (to wit, the thumbe and the little finger) put downewards vnder the booke, in token of damnation of body and soule, if they did not depose the truth in the matter. This ceremoniall order and exposition of theirs, as it is of their owne fond inuention, without any ground or example of the Scriptures of God, so minde I to leaue it still vnto themselues, with other their apish toyes and ridicles, as things worthy to be laughed at, and will now further proceed with the rest of this processe which I haue in hand.

The ceremoniall manner of the Popish ministring of their oath.

The fifteenth day of February, D. Ped the chancellor againe iudicially sitting in the Consistory at Pauls, commanded Thomas Man to be brought before him, and there causing the Articles obiected against him by the Bishop of Lincolne, with his order of abiuration and penance, and also his owne Articles last propounded, to be first read, he called forth a third witnesse to be sworne and examined vpon the same. But because he would seeme to doe all things by order of Iustice, and nothing against Law, he therefore appointed vnto the said Thomas Man certaine Doctors and Aduocates of the Arches, as his Councellors to pleade in his behalfe. Which was euen like as if the lambe should be committed to the defence and protection of the Wolfe, or the Hare to the Hound. For what good help could he looke for at their hands, which were both most wicked haters and abhorrers of his Christian profession, and also stout vpholders and maintainers of that Antichristian Law, by the which he was for the same condemned? And that full well appeared by the good aduice and profitable counsell which they gaue him against his next examinations. For as well vpon the twenty, and also the twenty three dayes of the same moneth of February, in their seuerall sessions, hee seeing his owne negations to their obiections to take no place against their sworn witnesses, had no other thing to alledge for himselfe, but that, through his twenty weekes of hard imprisonment vnder the Bishop of Lincolne, he was forced to recant and abiure: which was a poore shift of counsell, God knoweth: and yet D. Raynes being one of his chiefe assigned Aduocates, in stead of aduice, could by his subtill questioning then make him confesse, that certaine talke, whereof one of the witnesses had accused him, was spoken about fiue yeares before past: which, because it was since his recantation, was rather an accusation of himselfe, than an excusing: and therefore it is easie to iudge, with how fauourable and vpright hearts they tooke vpon them to be his Aduocates and defenders. The Chancellor likewise charged him vpon the same twentie three day, that since his last imprisonment he had said vnto Robert Clun y the Bishops sumner, & his keeper that as far forth as he could see or perceiue for his part in this matter, the lawes of the Church was grounded vpon Pilat and Caiaphas. Which obiection he granting to be true, the Chancellor did for that time dismisse the Court, vntill the first day of March next following. Vpon which day (minding to make quicke dispatch) hee in few words asked Man, what matter he had to alledge for himself why he should not then (considering the premisses) be pronounced a relapsed heretique, and receiue such punishment by the secular power, as to such was due by order of Law? But he hauing no other allegations than before, which might take place with them was finally condemned as an heretique. And notwithstanding that, as the Register noteth (but how truly God onely knoweth) hee did againe forsake his former renewed profession of Christs Gospell, and yelded himselfe vnto the Bishop of Rome, requiring to be absolued from his curse of Excommunication, and contented to doe such penance as they should enioyne him, he was yet the twenty ninth day of March deliuered by Doctor Ped vnto

Thom. Man againe called by D. Ped Chancellor.

Agnus Lupo Commissus.

The subtill practise of the Romish Churchmen.

The lawes of the Church of Rome grounded vpon Pilat and Caiaphas.

the

The Popish Chancellor would not seeme to consent to his death, but yet could send him to the shambles to be killed.

the sheriffe of London, to be then presently burned with this protestation made before, that hee might not consent to the death of any, and therefore he desired the sherife that he would receiue this person as relapsed and condemned, & yet to punish him otherwise than by rigorous rigor. The words to be marked in their sentence be these: Rogamus attentè in visceribus Iesu Christi, ut hujusmodi dignæ seueritatis vltio & executio de te & contrà te in hac parte fienda taliter moderetur, vt non sit rigor rigidus, neque mansuetudo dissoluta, sed ad salutem & sanitatem animæ tuæ, &c. That is, we desire in the bowels of our Lord Iesus Christ, that the punishment and execution of due seuerity, of thee, and

The burning of Thomas Man.

against thee in this part, may so be moderate that there be no rigorous rigor, nor yet no dissolute mansuetude, but to the health and wealth of thy soule, &c. Wherein these Catholique Churchmen doe well declare, according to the words of Thomas Man before expressed, that the Lawes of their Church be grounded vpon Pilat and Caiaphas. For like as Caiaphas with his court of Pharisées cried against Christ vnto Pilat; It is not lawfull for vs to put any man to death: but if thou let him goe thou art not Cæsars friend: Euen so they, first condemning the Saints of God to death, and then deliuering them vnto the secular Magistrate to be thereupon executed, would yet couer their malignant hearts with the cloake of hypocriticall holinesse and vnwillingnesse to shed bloud. But God be thanked, which bringeth all things to light in his due time, and vncouereth hypocrisie at last, that she may be seene and knowne in her right colours.

Thus Thomas Man, the manly Martyr of Iesus Christ, being condemned by the vnjust sentence of Hed the Chancellor, was deliuered to the sheriffe of London sitting on horsebacke, in Pater noster row, before the bishops doore, An. 1518. he protesting to the said sheriffe, that he had no power to put him to death, and therefore desired the sheriffe to take him as a Relapser and condemned, to sée him punished; Et tamen citra Mortem, that is, without death, as the words stand in the Register. The sheriffe receiuing neither Articles to be read at his burning, nor any Indentures of that his deliuery, immediately carried him to Smithfield, and there the same day in the forenoone caused him to be put into Gods Angell; according to the words of the said Thomas Man before, saying, that if he were taken againe of the pild knaue Priests, as he called them, he wist well he should go to the holy Angell, and then be an Angell in heauen.

Thom. Man burned of the sheriffe without any warrant An. 1518. mens. Matth. 19. Ex Regist.

In the deposition of one Thomas Kilby weauer of Stratford Langthorne, against the forenamed Martyr Thomas Man, it appeareth by the Registers, that he had béene in diuers places and countries in England, and had instructed very many, as at Amersham, at London, at Billerica, at Thenford, at Stratford Langthorne, at Vrbridge, at Burnham, at Henley vpon Thames, in Suffolke and Northfolke, at Newbery, and diuers places moe: where he himselfe testifieth, that as he went Westward he found a great company of well disposed persons, being of the same judgement touching the sacrament of the Lords supper that hee was of, and especially at Newbery, where was (as hee confessed) a glorious and swéet society of faithfull fauourers, who had continued the space of fiftéene yeares together, till at last by a certaine lewd person, whom they trusted and made of their counsell, they were bewrayed, and then many of them, to the number of six or seuenscore, were abiured, and three or foure of them burnt. From thence he came then (as he confessed) to the Forrest of Windsor, where he, hearing of the brethren which were at Amersham, remoued thither, where hee found a godly and a great company, which had continued in that doctrine and teaching twentie three yeares, which was from this present time seuentie yeares agone. And this congregation of Buckinghamshire men remained till the time of John Longland Bishop of Lincolne, whereof we shall (Christ willing) heare more anone. Against these faithfull Christians of Amersham, was great trouble and persecution in the time of William Smith Bishop of Lincolne, about the yeare of our Lord 1507. at which time diuers and many were abiured, and it was called Abjuratio Magna, the great Abjuration, and they which were noted of that doctrine and profession, were called by the name of knowne men, or iust fast men, &c. In this congregation of the faithfull brethren were foure principall Readers or instructors. Whereof one was Tilesworth, called then D. Tilesworth, who was burnt at Amersham, mentioned in our history before, by the name of William Tilesley, whom I suppose to be rather called Tilesworth. Another was Thomas Chase, called amongst them Doctor Chase, whom we declared before to be murthered and hanged in the bishop of Lincolnes prison at Woborne, called Littlegaole. The third was this Thomas Man, called also Doctor Man, burned as is here mentioned in Smithfield, Anno 1518. who, as by his owne confession and no lesse also by his trauell appeareth, was Gods champion, and suffered much trouble by the Priests for the cause and law of God. He confesseth himselfe in the same Register, that he had turned seuen hundred people to his religion and doctrine, for the which he thanked God. He conueyed also fiue couples of men and women from Amersham, Vrbridge, Burnham, and Henley vpon Thames, where they dwelt, vnto Suffolke and Northfolke, that they might be brought (as he then termed it) out of the diuels mouth. The fourth was Robert Cosin, named likewise among them Doctor Cosin.

Ex Regist. Ric. Fitzjames, pag. 798.

Six score abiured, and three or foure burnt about Newberry, sixtie yeares agoe.

Abjuratio Magna.

Knowne men, or iust fast men, at Amersham.

Will. Tilesley, or rather Tilesworth, Martyr. Vide supra.

Thom. Chase Martyr. Vide supra.

Thom. Man a great reader among the brethren of Amersham.

¶ Robert Cosin Martyr.

THis Robert Cosin seemeth to be the same which in the former part of this history is forementioned, being called by the name of Father Robert,

Robert Cosin burnt at Buckingham.

The teaching and doctrine of Robert Cosin.

and was burnt in Buckingham. Of this Robert Cosin I finde in the Registers of Lincolne, That he with Thomas Man had instructed and perswaded one Joane Norman, about Amersham, not to go on pilgrimage, nor to worship any Images of saints. Also when she had bowed a piece of siluer to a saint for the healthy of her childe, they dissuaded her from the same, and said that she néeded not to confesse her vnto a priest, but that it was sufficient to lift vp her hands to heauen. Moreouer, they were charged by the Bishop, for teaching the said Joane, that shée might as well drinke vpon the sunday before Masse, as any other day, &c. Ex Regist. Ioan. Longland. And thus you sée the doctrine of these good men, for the which they were in those dayes abiured and condemned to death.

A perilous heresie.

¶ William Sweeting, alias Clerke, Martyr.

Will. Sweeting Martyr.

WIlliam Sweeting, otherwise named Clerke, first dwelt with the Lady Percy at Dalington in the County of North-hampton for a certaine space, and from thence went to Worted in the countie of Eller, where he was the holy-water Clerke the space of seuen yeares: after that, he was Bailife and farmer to Willresse Margerie Wood the terme of thirtéene yeares. From Worted he departed and came to the towne of saint Dithe, where he serued the Priest of saint Dithes called George Laund the space of sixtéene yeares and more. Where he had so turned the Priest by his perswasions, that the said Priest of saint Dithe was afterward compelled to abiure. This William Sweeting, comming vp to London with the foresaid Priest, for suspition of heresie was committed to the Lollards Tower, vnder the custody of Charles Joseph, and there, being abiured in the Church of saint Paul, was constrained to beare a fagot at Pauls Crosse, and at Colchester; and afterward to weare a fagot vpon his coat all his life. Which he did two yeares together vpon his left sléeue, till at length the Parson of Colchester required him to helpe him in the seruice of the Church, and so pluckt the badge from his sléeue, and there he remained two yeares, being the holy-water Clerke. From thence afterward he departed, and trauelling abroad, came to Reuerith in the diocesse of Winchester, where he was holy-water Clerke the space of a yeere. Then he went to Chelsith, where he was their Neatherd and kept the towne beasts. In the which towne, vpon saint Annes day in the morning, as hee went forth with his beasts to the field, the good man was apprehended and brought before the Bishop, and his chamber searched for bookes. This was Anno 1511.

Ex Regist. Ric. Fitz-James, pag. 60

George Laund Priest of saint Dithy abiured.

The crimes whereupon he was examined were these:

Crimes obiected.

¶ First, for hauing much conference with one William Man of Worted, in a booke which was called Matthew.

The Gospel of S. Matthew.

Item, that hee had familiarity, and frequented much the company of James Brewster, who had béene before abiured.

Against Pilgrimage.

Item, that when his wife would goe on pilgrimage, he asked of her, what good she should receiue by her going on pilgrimage: adding moreouer, that, as he supposed, it was to no purpose nor profit, but rather it were better for her to kéepe at home, and to attend her businesse.

Against transubstantiation.

Item, that he had learned and receiued of William Man, that the sacrament of the Altar was not the present very body, but bread in substance, receiued in memoriall of Christ.

Item, that he had propounded and affirmed the same doctrine to James Brewster.

Against Images.

Item, because he had reproued his wife for worshipping the Images in the Church, and for setting vp candles before them.

And thus haue you all the causes and crimes layd against this William Sweeting, wherefore he was condemned: Who then being asked what cause he had why he should not be iudged for relapse, said hee had nothing else, but onely that he committed himselfe to the mercie of Almighty God.

¶ Iames Brewster Martyr.

James Brewster of Colchester Martyr.

WIth William Sweeting also the same time was examined and condemned James Brewster, of the parish of saint Nicolas in Colchester. This James Brewster was a Carpenter, dwelling ten yeres in the towne of Colchester, who, being vnlettered, could neither reade nor write, and was apprehended vpon the day of saint James, in one Walkers house in saint Clements parish.

About six yeares before, which was Anno 1505, he had béene abiured by William Warham Archbishop of Canterburie, the sée of London being then vacant. And after other penance done at Colchester, he was enioyned to weare a fagot vpon his vpper garment during his life. Which badge he did beare vpon his left shoulder nére the space of two yeares, till the Controller of the Earle of Oxford plucked it away, because he was labouring in the works of the Earle.

The crimes whereupon he was examined, and which he confessed, were these:

Crimes obiected against Brewster.

First, that he had béene fiue times with William Sweeting in the fields kéeping beasts, hearing him reade many good things out of a certaine booke. At which reading also were present at one time Woodrofe, or Woodbinde a Net-maker, with his wife:

The burning of William Sweeting and Iames Brewster.

also a brother in law of William Sweeting: at an other time Thomas Goodred, who heard likewise the said William Sweeting reade.

Item, because hee vsed the company and conference of Henry Hert Carpenter, of Westminster, and wrought with him in his science at Westminster.

Item, for hauing a certaine little booke of scripture in English, of an old writing, almost worne for age, whose name is not there expressed.

Item, because he hearing vpon a time one Ma-

ker

Maozim in the 11. chapter of Daniel is an Idol, and signifieth as much as forts or munitions.

ster Wardfield of Colchester thus say; That hee that will not worship the Maozim in heart and thought, shall die in sight: he asked afterward of William Man, what that word Maozim should meane: who told him that it signified as much as the massing God, to wit the Sacrament of the Altar.

Item, that he had much conference with Henry Hert, against oblations and Images, and that it was better bestowed money which was given to the poore, than that that was offered in pilgrimage.

Item, for that he had communication and conference with Roger Heliar, and one Walker a thicker of saint Clements, concerning divers such matters of pilgrimage, offering to Images, worshipping of Saints, and the Sacrament of the Altar.

A perilous heresie. Ex Regist. Lon.

Item, when Thomas Goodred, William Sweeting, and he, in the fields keeping beasts, were talking together of the sacrament of the Lords body, and like matters, this James Brewster should thus say: Now the sonne of the living God helpe us. Unto whom William Sweeting againe should answer, Now Almightie God so do.

And thus have you the causes likewise and crimes layd against James Brewster, upon which he with William Sweeting were together examined and condemned. Then being asked, as the Romish manner is, whether he had any cause why hee should not be adjudged for relapse; he trusting to finde favour and grace in submitting himselfe, said, that hee submitted him to the mercis of Almightie God, and to the favourable goodnesse of him his Judge. And likewise did William Sweeting submit himselfe; trusting belike that they should finde some favour and relefe in this humble subjecting themselves unto their goodnesse.

The unmercifull and unchristian dealing of the Catholique Fathers.

But note here the unmercifull and unchristian dealing of these Catholique Fathers, who upon their submission were contented to give out a solemne commission, the tenor whereof was to release and pardon them from the sentence of excommunication, wherein to they had incurred: But immediately after upon the same, the Bishop, all this notwithstanding, pronounced upon them the sentence of death and condemnation. Whereupon they were both delivered to the secular power, and both together burnt in Smithfield at one fire, the eighteenth day of October, Anno 1511.

William Sweeting & James Brewster burnt in Smithfield.

¶ Christopher Shoomaker Martyr.

TO these blessed saints before named, we will also adjoyne Christopher Shoomaker: of whom this I finde briefly in the Register of sir John Longland; that the said Christopher Shoomaker, a parishoner of great Missenden, came to the house of John Say, and after other matters of talke, read to him out of a little Booke the words which Christ spake to his Disciples. And thus comming to his house about foure times, at every time hee read something out of the same booke unto him: teaching him not to be deceived in the Priests celebration of Masse, and declaring that it was not the same very present body of Christ, as the Priests did phantasie; but in substance bread, bearing the remembrance of Christ: and taught him moreover, that pilgrimage, worshipping and setting up Candles to Saints, were all unprofitable. And thus the said John Say being taught by this Christopher, and also confirmed by John Okenden and Robert Pope was brought to the knowledge of the same Doctrine. Thus much briefly I finde in that Register concerning Christopher Shoomaker; declaring further, that hee was burned at Newbery about this time, which was Anno 1518. And thus much out of the Registers of London.

Christopher Shoomaker Martyr burnt in Newbury.

IN turning over the Registers and Records of Lincolne likewise, and comming to the yeare of our Lord 1520, and 1521. I finde that as the light of the Gospell began more to appeare, and the number of the professors to grow, so the vehemencie of persecution, and stirre of the Bishops, began also to encrease. Whereupon ensued great perturbation and grievous affliction in divers and sundrie quarters of this Realme, especially about Buckingham shire and Amersham, Urbridge, Henly Newbery, in the Diocesse of London, in Essex, Colchester, Suffolke, and Norfolke, and other places moe. And this was before the name of Luther was heard of in these countries among the people. Wherefore they are much beguiled and misse-informed, which condemne this kinde of Doctrine now received, of novelties, asking where was this Church and Religion fourty yeeres ago, before Luthers time? To whom it may be answered, that this Religion and forme of Doctrine was planted by the Apostles, and taught by true Bishops; afterward decayed, and now reformed againe: and although it was not received nor admitted of the Popes Clergie before Luthers time, neither yet is; yet it was received of other, in whose hearts it pleased the Lord secretly to worke, and that of a great number, which both professed and suffered for the same, as in the former times of this history may appeare. And if they thinke this doctrine be so new that it was not heard of before Luthers time, how then came such great persecution before Luthers time here in England? If these were of the same profession which they were of, then was their cruelty unreasonable, so to persecute their owne Catholique fraternity. And if they were otherwise, how

The antiquitie of the true doctrine of the Gospell.

¶ The burning of Christopher Shoomaker.

The death of Christopher Shoomaker.

Anno 1518.

then is this doctrine of the Gospell so new, or the professors thereof so late start up as they pretend them to bee? But this commeth onely of ignorance, and for not knowing and considering well the times and antiquities of the Church which have been before us. Which if they did, they should see and say, that the Church of England hath not lacked great multitudes which talked and followed the sweetnesse of Gods holy word almost in as ample manner, for

Ignorance of antiquity.

for the number of well disposed hearts, as now. Although publique authority then lacked to maintaine the open preaching of the Gospell, yet the secret multitude of true professors was not much vnequall: certes the feruent zeale of those Christian dayes seemed much superior to these our dayes and times; as manifestly may appeare by their sitting vp all night in reading and hearing, also by their expences and charges in buying of bookes in English, of whom some gaue fiue markes, some more, some lesse, for a booke: some gaue a load of hay for a few chapters of saint James or of saint Paul in English. In whish rarity of bookes, and want of Teachers, this one thing I greatly marueil and muse at; to note in the Registers, and to consider how the word of truth notwithstanding did multiply so exceedingly, as it did amongst them. Wherein is to be seen no doubt the maruellous working of Gods mightie power: for so I finde and obserue in considering the Registers, how one neighbour resorting and conferring with another, eftsoones with a few words of their first or second talke, did winne and turne their mindes to that wherein they desired to persuade them, touching the truth of Gods Word and his sacraments. To see their trauels, their earnest seeking, their burning zeales, their readings, their watchings, their sweet assemblies, their loue and concord, their godly liuing, their faithfull marying with the faithfull, may make vs now in these our dayes of free profession to blush for shame.

Elder times of the Gospell with these latter times compared.

The earnest zeale of our forefathers in following Christs Gospell.

Foure principall points they stood in against the Church of Rome; in pilgrimage, adoration of saints, in reading scripture bookes in English, and in the carnall presence of Christs body in the sacrament.

After the great abjuration aforesaid, which was vnder William Smith Bishop of Lincolne, they were noted and termed among themselues by the name of knowne men, or just fast men: as now they are called by the name of Protestants.

Abjuratio magna.

Knowne men, Just fast men.

As they were simple, and yet not vncircumspect in their doings, so the craftie serpent, being more wylie than they, by fraudulent subtilty did so circumuent them, that they caused the wife to detect the husband, the husband the wife; the father the daughter, the daughter the father; the brother to disclose his brother, and neighbour the neighbour. Neither were any assemblies nor readings kept, but both the persons and also the bookes were knowne; neither was any word so closely spoken, nor article mentioned, but it was discouered. So subtilly and sleightly these Catholique prelats did vse their Inquisitions and examinations, that nothing was done or sayd among these knowne men, fifteene or twenty yeares before, so couertly, but it was brought at length to their intelligence. Such captious interrogatories, so many articles and suspitions they had, such espials and priuy scouts they sent abroad, such authority and credit they had with the King, and in the Kings name; such dilligence they shewed in that behalfe, so violently and impudently they abused the booke of the peaceable Euangelists, wresting mens consciences vpon their oath, swearing them vpon the same to detect themselues, their fathers and mothers, and other of their kindred, with their friends and neighbours, and that to death. All which things in the further procesle of the Table ensuing (Christ willing) which we haue collected out of some part of the Registers of Lincolne, shall appeare.

The practise of Romish Prelats.

The practise of Prelats.

For the better declaration whereof, first here is to be noted by the way, touching the see of Lincolne, that after William Smith succeeded Iohn Longland. This Will. Smith, although he was somewhat eagre and sharpe against the poore simple flocke of Christs seruants, vnder whom some were burned, many abjured, a great number molested, as partly hath bene afore declared; yet was hee nothing so bloudy and cruell as was the said Longland, which afterward succeeded in that diocesse. For so I find of him, that in the time of the great abjuration and troublesome affliction of Buckingham-shire men, wherein many were abjured, and certaine burned; yet diuers hee sent quietly home without punishment and penance, bidding them go home and liue as good Christian men should do. And many, which were enjoyned penance before, he did release. This Smith dyed about the yeare of our Lord 1515, by whom was builded, as is aforesaid, the Colledge of Brasen nose in Oxford.

Will. Smith Bishop of Lincolne.

Iohn Longland Bishop of Lincolne.

The Colledge of Brasennose in Oxford builded.

Not long after him followed Iohn Longland, a fierce and cruell verer of the faithfull poore seruants of Christ: who to renew againe the old sparkles of persecution, which were not yet vtterly quenched, first began with one or two of them which had bene abjured, whom he thought to be most notorious; causing them by force of their oath to detect and bewray not onely their owne opinions touching points of Religion, but also to discouer all other of their affinitie, which were either suspected or abjured before. And them likewise he put to their oath, most violently constraining them to vtter and confesse both themselues, and whom else soeuer they knew. By reason whereof an incredible multitude of men, women, and maidens were brought forth to examination, and straightly handled. And such as were found in relapse were burned.

The rest were so burthened with superstitious and idolatrous penance and injunctions, that either thorough griefe of conscience they shortly after died, or else with shame they liued. All which tragicall doings and procedings of the Bishop against these knowne and just fast men, in these Tables heereunder following (Christ granting) shall appeare, both with the accusers, and with the parties themselues accused, and also the crimes objected.

Bishop Longland a grieuous persecutor of Christs people.

Accusers.

The parties accused.

The crimes objected.

But before we enter into the table, it shall be requisite first to heare the order and copie of his captious and crafty interrogatories, whereby he constrained the simple poore men to accuse and appeach one another: which interrogatories were these in order as followeth:

¶ Interrogatories ministred commonly by the Bishop of Lincolne, against these Examinates here following.

THe Interrogatories or Articles which Longland Bishop of Lincolne vsed most commonly to minister to these Examinates or knowne men, in number were nine, and are these as followeth:

Captious interrogatories ministred by the Bishop of Lincolne.

1 First, whether they or any of them did know, that certaine of the parish of Amersham had bene conuented before William Smith, late Bishop of Lincolne, for heresie?

2 Item, whether they knew that they so conuented before the said Bishop, did erre in the Sacrament of the Altar, or in any other sacrament of the Church: and if they did, in what sacraments, and in which of them? Also whether they knew that the said parties so conuented did confesse their errors, and receiued penance for the same?

3 Item, whether they are any of them were of the society of them so conuented for heresie: and if they were, what fellowship they had with them, and with whom?

4 Item, whether they or any of them were euer conuersant with such a one (naming the person whom they knew suspected) as with Thurkan Littlepage. And if they were, what conuersation they had with him, how long, and when: and whether they knew the said person to haue bene suspect of heresie?

5 Item, whether they or any of them were euer conuer-

conuerſant with him; or him (naming ſome other perſon whom they ſuſpected) as Alexander Maſkall: and if they were, how, and how long? And whether they knew the ſaid perſon to be ſuſpected of hereſie?

6 Item, whether they or any of them had bene before time detected of hereſie, to the office of the foreſaid William Biſhop of Lincolne: And if they were, by what perſon or perſons they were detected? Or elſe, whether they were onely called by the foreſaid William Biſhop for hereſie?

7 Item, whether he or they be noted and holden for heretiques; or be reputed and defamed to bee of the ſect of them which were conuented for hereſie: and whether he or they be named for a knowne man amongſt them?

8 Item, whether he or they haue bene euer at any readings of ſuch as haue bene ſo conuented for hereſie?

9 Item, whether he or they were euer in any ſecret communication or conuenticle with them: whom or which of them he knew to be named and reputed for a knowne man, or holding againſt the ſacrament of the Altar, or other ſacraments and articles of faith: and if they knew any ſuch, to declare where, and when, and what they were, and who were preſent the ſame time?

¶ Theſe Articles and Interrogatories thus declared, now followeth to be ſhewed a certaine briefe ſumme compendiouſly collected out of the regiſters of Iohn Longland Biſhop of Lincolne, declaring in order of a Table, the names firſt of them which by oath were conſtrained againſt their wills to detect and accuſe other. Secondly, the perſons that were accuſed. Thirdly, the crimes to them objected: as in the proceſſe of this table ſhall follow to be ſeene.

And firſt, foraſmuch as the Biſhop perceiued that Roger Bennet, William Chedwell, Edmund Dormer, Thomas Harding, Robert Andrew, with ſuch other, were men eſpecially noted to bee of that ſide, therefore to worke his purpoſe the better, hee began with them; producing the ſame as witneſſes, to detect firſt Robert Bartlet of Amerſham, and Richard his brother, vnderſtanding that theſe forenamed witneſſes, becauſe they had bene abjured before, durſt now doe no other, vpon paine of relapſe, but needs confeſſe whatſoeuer was put vnto them. And therefore becauſe Robert Bartlet and Richard his brother, being called before the Biſhop, and ſworne vpon their oath, would confeſſe nothing againſt themſelues, the Biſhop, to conuict them by witneſſes, went firſt to William Chedwell, lying ſore ſicke in his bed, cauſing him vpon the Euangeliſts to ſweare, whether hee knew the foreſaid Robert and Richard Bartlet to be knowne men. Which being done, the Biſhop then called before him Robert Andrew, Roger Benet, John Hil, Edmund Dormer, John Milſent, Thomas Bernard, Thomas Littlepage, John Doſſet, all Amerſham men: Who being abſured before, as is ſayd, durſt no otherwiſe doe, but confeſſe vpon their oath, that Robert and Richard Bartlet were known men. And yet the Biſhop, not contented with this, cauſed alſo their two wiues, to wit Margret the wife of Robert Bartlet, and Iſabel the wife of Rich. Bartlet, to depoſe and giue witneſſe againſt their owne naturall huſbands. Albeit Iſabel Bartlet, being ſomewhat more temperate of her tongue, refuſed vtterly to confeſſe any thing of her husband, and denied her husbands words to be true; till at laſt, ſhee being conuict of periurie, was conſtrained to vtter the truth, as in the proceſſe of this Table following more particularly followeth to be ſeene.

A Table, deſcribing the grievous affliction of good Men and Women in the Dioceſſe of Lincolne, vnder Iohn Longland *their Biſhop; with the names both of the Accuſers, and of them that were accuſed: alſo with the crimes to them objected: Out of the Regiſters of the ſayd Dioceſſe, Anno* 1521.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.
	Robert Bartlet. Richard Bartlet his brother.
Wil. Chedwell ſicke in his bed. Robert Andrew. Rob. Bennet. Iohn Hill.	THis Robert Bartlet and Richard his brother were detected by theſe foreſaid Accuſers, to be Knowne men, that is, to be of the ſame company and affinitie with theſe Iurates and other that had bene abjured before in the time of William Smith Biſhop of Lincolne, about the yeare of our Lord 1508. and that in the houſe of Thomas Harding they were ſo noted, by the words of Hardings wife, who, ſpeaking to Robert Bartlet, ſaid that ſhee was glad that he was conuerted to grace, and choſen to Almightie God; requiring him neuer to forſake that hee was called to; for if hee did, there was no ſacrifice left for him. Also the ſaid Hardings wife ſpeaking to Richard Bartlet comming into her houſe, ſaid; Here commetha good man, and I hope hee will bee a good man: but he hath ſo much minde of buying and ſelling, and taking of farmes, that it putteth his minde from all goodneſſe. By which words it appeared, ſaid they, that hee was a Knowne man.
Edmund Dormer. Ioh. Milſent. Thomas Bernard. Thomas Littlepage. Iohn Doſſet. Margaret Bartlet. Iſabel Bartlet. Theſe being before abjured, were now compelled by oath to detect	

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.
	man. Item, that Robert Bartlet, ſpeaking to Hardings wife, ſaid, he had thought to haue called William Tilſeworth falſe heretique: but now he was better aduiſed. Item, that they vſed the lectures and readings of that company.

This Robert Bartlet and Richard his brother firſt being ſworne, and yet confeſſing nothing before the Biſhop, at laſt were conuicted by witneſſe, as aboue appeareth, and noted therefore of periury. Wherefore incurring into greater danger, they were conſtrained at their next examination to vtter themſelues, and confeſſe what they had both done and ſaid: that is, that the ſayd Robert had read vnto Richard his brother a parcell of ſcripture beginning thus: James the ſeruant of God, to the twelue kinds, &c. Item, that he heard William Tilſeworth ſay, That Images of ſaints were but ſtockes and ſtones, and dead things: and that he taught the ſame to his brother Richard, and concealed the words of William Tilſeworth. Item, that he partly beleeued Thomas Maſtal, teaching him that the true preſence of Chriſt was not in the ſacrament: and likewiſe of Images and pilgrimage. Item, for receiuing the Communion at Eaſter without chriſt, &c.

For reading Scripture in Engliſh.

The brother detecteth the brother.

Richard Bartlet his brother.
The crime whereof Robert Bartlet accuſed his brother Richard was this: becauſe hee ſaid his brother Richard had bene much conuerſant with Thurſtan Littlepage, and had learned of him the counſels and ſecrets of thoſe men. Alſo, that he had learned of him ſome of the Epiſtle of ſaint James, thus beginning: James the ſeruant of God, to the twelue kinds, &c.

Anno 1521. Ex Regiſt. Ioh. Longland, Lincoln.

Iſabell Bartlet his wife.	
Robert Bartlet was brought to examination, and cauſed by his oath to detect	The cauſe wherein Robert Bartlet did detect his wife, was this: that when the Biſhops ſeruant was come for her husband, ſhe vttered theſe words, ſaying, Alas, hee was now an vndone man, and ſhee but a dead woman. Furthermore, the ſaid Robert being demanded of the Biſhop Whether hee knew Iſabel his wife to be of the ſect of heretikes before he married her, ſaid, Yea. Being asked againe, If ſhee had not beene of that ſect, whether then he would haue married her; he granted the ſame likewiſe.

The husband detecteth the wife.

Agnes Wellis his ſiſter.
Furthermore, the ſaid Robert Bartlet detected his owne ſiſter, in that hee had twice inſtructed her not to worſhip Images, and alſo had taught her in the epiſtle of S. James.

The brother accuſeth the ſiſter.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.
	Elizabeth Deane, wife of Richard Deane, of Weſt-Wicam. Emme Tilſeworth, wife of William Tilſeworth. William Grinder and his wife. Iohn Scriuener. Alexander Maſtal. Will. Tilſeworth. Thurſtan Littlepage. Iohn Bartlet his brother.
The foreſaid Rob. Bartlet was brought to examination, and cauſed by his oath to detect	The ſaid Robert Bartlet detected alſo theſe to be of the number of Knowne men; for that they reſorted many times together, reading and conferring among themſelues, and talking againſt worſhipping of Images, and Pilgrimage. And if any came in amongſt them which was not of their ſide, then they would ſay no more, but keepe all ſilence, &c.

Agnes Wellis, wife of Iohn Wellis, his ſiſter.	
Rich. Bartlet by his oath was conſtrained to detect	This Agnes was detected of her brother in three points: Firſt, for learning the Epiſtle of Saint James in Engliſh, of Thurſtan Littlepage. Secondly, for not beleeuing the bodily preſence in the Sacrament. Thirdly, for ſpeaking againſt worſhipping of Images, and going on pilgrimages.

The brother accuſeth his ſiſter.

Old father Bartlet his father.
This Richard Bartlet alſo in his confeſſion ſaid of his father, that he was a better man than he was taken for. For the other day there came a man to him as hee was threshing, and ſaid, God ſpæd father Bartlet, ye worke ſore: Yea, ſaid he, I threſh God Almightie out of the ſtraw.

The Popes god almightie threſhed out of the ſtraw.

¶ Againſt this Agnes Wellis brought and examined before the Biſhop, were miniſtred theſe Interrogatories, which for certaine cauſes I thought here to inſert, for our poſterity to note and conſider: and they are theſe that follow.

¶ Articles miniſtred to Agnes Wellis.

Articles miniſtred againſt Agnes Wellis.

1 WHether ſhe knew that certaine of the parith of Amerſham were conuented before William Smith late Biſhop of Lincolne, for hereſie?

2 Item, whether ſhe knew that certaine of them, ſo conuented before the Biſhop for hereſie, did erre in the ſacrament of the Altar, or in other ſacraments, and what errors they were, and wherein?

3 Item, whether ſhe knew any other to be ſuſpect of the ſame hereſie or ſect, beſide them of Amerſham ſo conuented, who they were, and how many?

4 Item, whether ſhee had beene of the ſame company, or ſect, or opinion with them, which were

were conuented before the Bishop for heresie: and if she were, what company shee vsed, and whose?

5 Whether she was at any time conuersant with Thurstan Littlepage: and if shee were, how oft shee had beene in his company, how, what time, in what place, who else were present, for what causes, and whether shee knew him to be suspected for heresie?

6 Item, whether she knew and had beene conuersant with Alexander Mattall: and if shee were, how, when, in what place, who were present, for what causes, and whether she knew him suspected for heresie?

7 Item, whether she was euer detected to the office of W. Smith, late bishop of Lincolne: at what time, or since the time that Littlepage and Mattall were conuented before the Bishop for heresie: and whether shee was then called and conuented before the Bishop for heresie, or not?

8 Item, whether she had beene, or is now noted, had, holden, reputed, or defamed to be of the same sect with Thurstan Littlepage, or other conuicted of heresie; and whether she be, or hath beene nominated for a Knowne woman among them?

9 Item, whether she hath beene present at any time at the readings or conferrings betweene Thurstan Littlepage and other conuicts?

or reading the Scripture in English.

10 Item, whether Thurstan Littlepage did euer teach her the Epistle of saint James, or the Epistles of saint Peter or Paul, in English; and whether she had repeated oft times the Epistle of saint James vnto the said Thurstan, in the presence of Richard Bartlet her brother?

11 Item, whether Richard Bartlet her brother did teach her at any time the Epistle of saint James: and if he did, how oft, and in what place?

12 Item, whether shee had beene instructed by Thurstan Littlepage, or by any other in the foresaid sect, that in the sacrament of the Altar was not the true body of Christ, but onely the substance of bread?

13 Item, whether shee had beene instructed by Thurstan Littlepage, or any other, that pilgrimage was not to be vsed, nor the images of saints to be adored?

14 Item, whether she did credit the said Thurstan Littlepage, or any other, teaching her in the premisses, and whether she did beleeue or expressely consent with them in the foresaid Articles?

15 Item, whether that Robert Bartlet her brother did euer teach her the Epistle of Saint James: and if he did, how often, and where?

16 Item, whether the said Robert Bartlet had taught her, that pilgrimage was not to be vsed, and that Images were not to be adored?

17 Item, whether she knew such a law and custome among them, that such as were of that sort did contract matrimonie onely with themselues, and not with other Christians?

18 Item, whether she did euer heare Thurstan or any other say, that they onely which were of their doctrine were true Christians?

19 Item, when she came to receiue, and was confessed, whether she did vtter and confesse her heresies to the Priest?

captious Articles.

¶ Vnto these captious and cruell interrogatorie Articles ministred against Agnes Wellis she answered negatiuely almost to all them, refusing to vtter any person vnto the Bishop. But soone after, being otherwise schooled I cannot tell how by the Catholiques, she was compelled to detect both her selfe, her brother Robert Bartlet, Thurstan Littlepage, and also Isabel Worwin, wife of John Worwin, &c.

Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
	{Anno 1521.} Ex Regist. Ioh. Longland Lincoln.
	Being asked whether shee spake these words following to her husband at the comming of the Bishops man; Alas, now are you an vndone man, and I but a dead woman:
	First, she stood in long deniall of the same; and although her husband gaue witnesse against her, yet stood she that her husband said not truth. At last shee was compelled to grant those words to be spoken: and then being asked what she meant by them, thus she excused her selfe, That her husband had beene vnkinde to her a long time, and therefore she desired to depart from him: Whereupon now for sorrow she spake these words, &c.
	She excuseth her own words.
	The which words her husband did excuse something otherwise, saying, that his wife spake those words betweene the threshold and the hall doore, because of a vehement feare of the losse of her goods.
Isabel Bartlet was then brought and examined before the Bishop: where shee	
	Richard Hobbes of Hichenden.
	Henry Hobbes of Hichenden.
	Hernes wife.
	Herne widow of Amersham.
	Thomas Couper of Amersham, Husbandman.
	Iohn Stampe Wheeler of Amersham.
	Alice Harding wife of Thomas Harding.
Wil. Chedwel of Amersham.	The crime layd to Alice Harding was this: because when the priest was comming to Richard Bennet to giue him counsell, shee went before, and instructed him what he should do.
	Wil. Rogers Tyler. Wil. Harding Roger Harding.
	These were detected by Roger Benet, for that they being admonished to appeare before the bishops Chancellor at Amersham, neglected so to doe.
	I. Iehnings, seruant to Iames Morden.
	George, seruant of T. Tochel.
	For English bookes.
	Thomas Gray, seruant of Roger Bennet.
Roger Bennet by like compulsion of his oath was caused to detect these persons:	These were detected for carrying about certaine bookes in English.
	William Smith, Wheeler.
	The wife of Io. Milsent.
	The wife of W. Rogers.
	Ro. Stampe and his wife.
	The wife of Rob. Bartlet.
	These good women here named were detected to the Bishop by Roger Bennet, for that vpon the holy-dayes, when they goe and come from the church, they vse to resort vnto one I. Colingworths house, and there to keepe their conuenticle.
	The wife of Dauid Lewis, and her father.

This

Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
	This woman was charged for speaking these words: that the Churchmen in old time did leade the people as the hen doth leade her chickens: but our Priests do now leade the people to the Diuell.
	Agnes Franke wife of William Franke. I. George, I. Gardiner, I Samme. Iames Morden.
	Because she turned away her face from the Crosse, as it was carried about on Easter day in the morning at the resurrection. Fol. 10.
	Iohn Scriuener the elder.
	For carrying about bookes from one to another.
	Thomas Rowland.
Tho. Rowland put likewise to his oath, did detect	For these words following: If I lie, curse, storme, sweare, chide, fight, or threat, then am I worthy for to bee beat: I pray you, good master mine, if I offend in any of these nine, amend me with a good scouring.
	Thomas Chase.
	In the like sort also was charged Thomas Chase, because hee heard him twice recite the Epistle of Saint James: beginning James the seruant of God, and of our Lord Iesus Christ, to the twelue kindes, &c.
Iames Morden compelled in like manner by his oth, did detect	Also for these words, It was by the dayes of Herod K. of the Iewes, that there was a Priest, Zacharie byname, and he came of the sort of Abias, and his wife the daughter of Aaron: both they were iust before God, going in all the commandements, &c.
	Will. Norton, Agnes Ashford of Chesham.
	The cause layd to this Agnes, was for teaching this James the words following.

We be the salt of the earth; if it be putrified and vanished away it is nothing worth. A citie set vpon an hill may not be hid. Ye tend not a candle and put it vnder a bushell, but set it on a candlesticke, that it may giue a light to all in the house. So shine your light before men, as they may see your workes, and glorifie the Father which is in heauen. No title nor letter of the law shall passe ouer till all things be done. And fiue times went he to the foresaid Agnes to learn this lesson. Item, that the said Agnes did teach him to say this lesson: Iesus seeing his people, as he went vp to a hill, was set, and his Disciples came to him; hee opened his mouth and taught them, saying, Blessed be the poore men in spirit, for the Kingdome of heauen is theirs. Blessed bee milde men, for they shall weld the earth. And twice he came to her to learne this lesson. Ex Regist. Longland, Fol. 11.

And these lessons the said Agnes was bid to recite before sir Bishops, who straightly enjoyned and commanded her, that she should teach those lessons no more to any man, and especially to her children. Ex Reg. fol. 11.

Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
	Richard Ashford, Smith.
	Agnes Ashford. Thomas Chase.
	Because these two did exhort him thrice, that hee should keepe the things they spake of as secret in his stomacke, as a man would keepe a theefe in prison.
	Thomas Tredway of Chesham.
	Robert Pope. Iohn Morden and his wife.
The foresaid Iames Morden detected	Because they were heard, in the presence of this James Worden their nephew, to recite the ten Commandements in their house in English.
	Alice Atkins.
	Because of him shee learned the Pater-noster, Aue-Maria, and Creed in English, and the fiue meruailes of Saint Austen, Also another peece of an English booke, beginning; Heere ensue foure things, by which a man may know whether he shall bee saued, &c.
	Marian Morden his owne sister.
	Also, that shee did not worship Images. And after these little things hee intended to teach her of the Sacrament.
	W. Africke, or Littlepage. Iohn Africke, or Littlepage. Emme Harding, or Africke. Iohn Phip Physition.

¶ To this James Worden, with other moe abiurers, it was enjoyned by Bishop Smith, for seuen yeares to visit the Church of Lincolne twice a yeare from Amersham. And when diuers had got licence of the Bishop, for length of the iourney, to visit the Image of our Lady of Willenden for the space of fiue yeares, this James Worden when hee could not obtaine licence so to doe, yet notwithstanding, for the tediousnesse of the way went with them to the same image, and thereupon was charged for violating the Bishops injunction.

Also because, to get his liuing, hee wrought halfe a yeare out of the Dioces, when hee had beene enjoyned by the Bishop, not to goe out of the Dioces of Buckingham. Fol. 11.

This James Worden confessed, that hee vsed his Pater-noster and Creede so much in English, that hee had forgot many words thereof in Latine, and therefore was enjoyned by Bishop Smith to say it no more in English, but onely in Latine; and because hee kept not this injunction he fell therefore into relapse.

Note gentle reader, what hereof is here.

Wil. Rogers Tyler, and his wife.

Rog.

Anno. 1521.

Ex Regiſtro Io. Longland, Lincoln.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed, and Crimes obiected.
	W. Harding.
	Rog. Harding.
	Ioane Ienings.
	George, ſervant to Tho. Tochel.
	Thomas Gray, ſervant of Roger Benet.
Roger Benet by like compulſion of his oath was cauſed to detect theſe following to bee knowne perſons:	Agnes Franke,
	Ioane Colingworth.
	W. Smith.
	The wife of Iohn Milſent.
	Rob. Stampe and his wife.
	The wife of Robert Bartlet.
	The wife of David Lewis of Henley.
	Iohn Frier, ſervant to M. Penne.
	Iohn Tracher.
	Iohn Mordens wife.
	Richard Aſhford.
	W. Littlepage, ſometime prentiſe of Ioh. Scrivener.
	Emme his wife. Io. Scrivener, Iſabel Morwyn.
	For teaching Coplands wife her errors.
	Iohn Milſent and his wife.
	Roger Harding and his wife.
	Tho. Bernard. Tho. Afrike and his wife.
	W. Rogers. W. Harding and his wife.
	Kat. Bartlet the mother of Robert and Richard Bartlet.
Thomas Halfeaker ſworne upon his oath, did detect theſe perſons here following:	Th. Harding and his wife.
	W. Franke and Agnes his wife.
The great abiuration was Anno 1511.	**Becauſe theſe comming to the Church, and eſpecially at the eleuation time, would ſay no prayers, but did ſit mumme (as he termed it) like beaſts. Becauſe Katharine Bartlet, being of good health, came but ſeldome to the Church, but feigned her ſelfe ſicke. And becauſe Will. Franke maried Agnes his wife, thee being before abiured.**
	Rob. Pope.
	Becauſe he fled away when the great abiuration was at Amerſham. Alſo for hauing certaine Engliſh bookes. Fol. 16.
	Emme Afrike, alias, Emme Harding.
	Ioh. Afrike. Henrie Milner.
	Hernes wife, now the wife of Waiuer.
	William Tilſeworth.
	Emme Tilſeworth of London.
	Thomas Tilſeworth and his wife.
	The wife of Robert Tilſeworth.
	William Glasbroke.
Th. Holmes detected	Chriſtopher Glasbroke, Milner.
	Thomas Grove and Ioane his wife.
	Thomas Man by Briſtow.
	Henry Milner.
	Counted for a great heretike, and learned in the Scripture.
	Iohn Schepard.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed, and Crimes obiected.
	The wife of Iohn Schepard of Dorney.
	The elder daughter of Roger Harding of Amerſham.
	Nic. Stokeley Couper, and his wife, of Henley.
	Iohn Clerke.
	Thomas Wilbey of Henley.
	W. Stokeley.
	Hobs with his ſonnes, of Hichenden.
	The wife of Iohn Scrivener, Smith of Owborne.
	Thomas Clerke the elder.
	Thomas Clerke the younger.
	Wigmer Farmer of Hichenden.
	Robert Carder, Weaver.
	Iohn Frier, ſervant to M. Pen.
	Iohn Morwin and Iſabel his wife.
	Elizabeth Houer, wife of Henry Houer of little Miſſenden.
	Richard White, Fuller, of Beckensfield.
	Andrew Randall and his wife of Richmanſworth.
	The father of Andrew Randall.
	Becauſe they receiued into their houſe Thomas Man, flying for perſecution, and for reading Wicklifes Wicket.
	Benet Ward Fuller.
The foreſaid T. Holmes detected.	**This Benet Ward was alſo denounced by Iohn Merſton, for ſaying that it booteth no man to pray to our Lady, nor to any ſaint nor Angell in heauen, but to God only, for they haue no power of mans ſoule.**
	The wife of Benet Ward, and her daughter.
	For ſaying that Tho. Pope was the deuouteſt man that euer came in their houſe; for he would ſit reading in his booke to midnight many times.
	Tho. Tailor and his wife of Vxbridge.
	Rob. Quicke. Rob. Coſine.
	Thomas Clerke and his wife, of Ware.
	One Geldener about Hertford.
	Iohn Say and W. Say his ſon, of little Miſſenden.
	The wife of Iohn Wellis of Amerſham.
	Ioane Glasbroke, ſiſter to Wil'. Glasbroke, of Harrow on the Hill.
	Tho. Suſan, Wheeler.
	Iohn a Lee, Smith.
	Iohn Auſty, Sherman.
	Iohn Frier.
	Edmund Harding.
	Iohn Heron, Carpenter of Hambeldon.
	Henry Miller.
	Iohn Phip.
	He was very ripe in the ſcripture.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed, and Crimes obiected.
	Emme wife of Richard Tilſeworth.
	Iohn Phip. He was a reader or rehearſer to the other.
	Iohn Say of Miſſenden. William Stokely.
	Rog. Squire. For ſaying to Holmes; This is one of them that maketh all this buſineſſe in our towne with the Biſhop. I pray God teare all the bones of him.
The foreſaid Tho. Holmes detected.	Roger Herne. A certaine Tanner.
	Iohn Butler, carpenter. Richard Butler. Will. King of Vxbridge.
For reading the Scripture in English.	These three ſat vp all the night in the houſe of Durdant of Iuencourt by Stanes, reading all the night in a booke of Scripture.
	Iohn Mucklyf, weaver. For ſpeaking againſt holy-bread, and holy-water.
	Tho. Man. For ſaying that Chriſt was not ſubſtantially in the Sacrament.
	Thomas Stilman.
	Ienken Butler. For receiuing an Engliſh booke giuen him by Carder his father; who after his abiuration done before biſhop Smith, fell ſicke and died.
	Richard Vulfard of Riſelip. Hackar. Thomas King.
	Ioane Cocks, the wife of Robert Wywood husbandman. For deſiring of Durdant her maſter, that he being a knowne man would teach her ſome knowledge of Gods Law: and deſiring the ſame alſo of the Butlers.
	Nicolas Durdant of Stanes. Davy Durdant of Ankerwike. The wife of old Durdant. The wife of Nicolas Durdant.
Rob. Carder of Iuer, weaver, detected theſe:	These were detected, for that old Durdant of Iuencourt, ſitting at dinner with his children and their wiues, bidding a boy there ſtanding to depart out of the houſe, that hee ſhould not heare and tell, did recite certaine places vnto them, out of the Epiſtles of Saint Paul, and of the Goſpels.
	Rich. White, father in Law to Benet Ward of Beckenſfield.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed, and Crimes obiected.
	Hee was detected to bee a knowne man, becauſe after the death of biſhop Smith, he was heard to ſay theſe words; My Lord that is dead was a good man, and diuers Knowne men were called before him, and hee ſent them home againe; bidding them that they ſhould liue among their neighbours as good Chriſtian men ſhould doe. And now, ſaid he, there is a new Biſhop, which is called a bleſſed man; and if hee be as he is named, he will not trouble the ſeruants of God, but will let them be in quiet.
Marian Morden was forced vpon her oath to vtter	Iames Morden her owne brother. For teaching her the Paternoſter, Aue, and Creed in Engliſh; and that ſhe ſhould not goe on pilgrimage, nor ſhould worſhip ſaints or images, which ſhe had not done by the ſpace of fiue yeares paſt, following and beleeuing her brother.
Iames Morden was forced vpon his oath to vtter	Iohn Littlepage. Henry Littlepage. William Littlepage. Ioane Littlepage. Richard Morden his brother of Cheſham. Emme his wife. Alice Browne of Cheſham. Radul. Morden his brother, of Cheſham. His wife. Iohn Phips. Elizabeth Hamon. A Chanon of Miſſenden.
Tho. Coupland, forced by his oath, detected	Tho. Grove of London. Iſabel Morwin. The wife of Norman of Amerſham. Tho. Couper of Woodrow. Roger Harding. W. Grinder. Becauſe theſe two could not ſay their Creed in Latine. The wife of Robert Stampe of Woodrow.
T. Rowland, T. Coupland, Rich. Stephens, and Rog. Benet forced by their oath to accuſe	Thom. Harding of Amerſham. Alice Harding his wife. Becauſe after their abiuration in biſhop Smiths time, diuers knowne men, as they then termed them, which were abiured before, had much reſort to their houſe. Agnes Squire. For ſpeaking theſe words: When doe ſay, I was abiured for hereſie: it may well be a napkin for my noſe, but I will neuer bee aſhamed of it.
Io. Sawcoat vpon his oath did appeach	The Vicar of little Miſſenden. Tho. Grove and his wife. Hee was detected, for that hee did giue to Doctor Wilcockes twentie pounds, to excuſe him that he might not bee brought to open penance.

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Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
	Thomas Holmes, For that hee was heard to say these words after the great abjuration, when hee had abjured; that the greatest cobs were yet behind.
	R. Sanders of Amersham, Because he euer defended them which were suspected to be knowne men. Also because he bought out his penance, and caried his badge in his purse.
	Bishop Longland seeking how to convict John Phip of perjurie, (who, being charged with an oath, did not answer affirmatiuely to such suspitions as were layd vnto him by Thomas Holmes and other seuerall accusers) did examine Sibill Africke his owne sister, vpon her oath to detect John Phip her brother of relapse: but she so answered, that the Bishop could take by her no great hold of relapse against him. Wherein is to be noted the singular iniquitie and abuse in the Church of Rome, which by vertue of oath setteth the sister to procure the brothers bloud. The like also was sought by Thomas Africke his sisters husband; but they had by him no vantage.
Ienket Butler did appeach	John Butler his owne brother, For reading to him in a certaine booke of the Scripture, and perswading him to hearken to the same.
	Robert Carder.
	Richard Butler his brother.
	Henry Vulman of Vxbridge.
	Rich. Ashford of Walton, otherwise called Rich. Nash, or Rich. Tredway.
	William King of Vxbridge.
W. Ameriden did detect	Isabel Tracher, wife of Iohn Tracher, Because shee came not to the church ofter on the work dayes, being admonished both by the Churchwardens, by the graduates of the Church, and by Doctor Cockes Commissarie, but followed her businesse at home. Also because she purposed to set her daughter to Alice Harding saying that shee could better instruct her than many other. Also because she cursed the Priest after he was gone, which had giuen to her the Eucharist, saying that he had giuen to her bitter gall.
	Thomas Clement of Chesham.
	Alice Holting, For that she being great with childe did dine before she went to church to take her rites; saying, that Isabel Tracher did so tell her, that shee might dine before she receiued the Sacrament.
	W. Trecoer of Amersham, For keeping Thomas Groue in his house on Easter and Christmasse day, because hee would not come to the Church.

Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
	Robert Cosin.
	Thom. Man.
	Alice Harding, For dissuading from pilgrimage, from worshipping of images, and from bowing her money to Saints for health of her childe. Also, for saying that shee needed not to confesse to a Priest; but to be enough to lift vp her hands to Heauen. Also for saying that she might as well drinke vpon the Sunday before masse, as any other day, &c.
Ioane Norman did appeach	Hen. Miller wyredrawer, which from Amersham fled to Chempsford, That hee abjured and did penance in Kent before, and afterward, comming to Amersham, taught them (as hee said) many heresies.
	John Barret goldsmith of London.
	Ioane Barret his wife.
	Ioane his servant, Because he was heard in his owne house, before his wife and maid there present, to recite the Epistle of Saint James: which Epistle, with many other things he had perfectly without booke. Also because Ioane his wife had lent to this Iohn Scriuener the Gospell of Matthew and Marke: which booke he gaue to Bishop Smith.
	Iohn Merywether, his wife, and his sonne.
Iohn Scrivener forced by his oath to accuse	Durdant by Staines.
	Old Durdant.
	Isabel wife of T. Harding.
	Hartop of Windsore.
	Ioane Barret wife of Iohn Barret of London.
	Henry Miller. Stilman. Tailor. All these were accused, because at the marriage of Durdants daughter they assembled together in a barne, and heard a certaine Epistle of saint Paul read: which reading they well liked, but especially Durdant, and commended the same.
	Tho. Rowland of Amersham. It was objected to Tho. Rowland for speaking these words: Ah good Lord, where is all our good communication which was wont to be among vs when your master was aliue?
	Tho. Grove of London butcher.
	Will. Glasbroke of Harrow on the hill.
	Christopher Glasbroke of London.
	William Tilsworth of London Goldsmith, prentise sometimes to Iohn Barret. These were appeached because they vsed to resort and conferre together of matters of religion in

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.
	the houſe of Thomas Man of Amerſham, before the great abjuration.
	Iohn Newman.
	He was appeached becauſe hée was preſent in the houſe of Ioh. Barret at the reading of Scripture.
	Iohn Wood of Henley.
	William Wood.
	Lewis of Henley, ſeruingman.
	Wilie and his ſonne.
	This Wilie was appeached becauſe he taught the Goſpell of Matthew to Iohn Wood and William Wood, after the great abjuration; and father Robert did teach them ſaint Pauls Epiſtle. Which old father was after that burned at Buckingham.
Father Robert burned.	
	Thurſtan Littlepage. Emme his wife.
	This Thurſtan had taught him the ſaying of Solomon that wrath raiſeth chiding: had taught him alſo the Pater-noſter, and Ave in Engliſh. His Creed in Engliſh he learned of his grandmother. The ſaid Thurſtan alſo taught him, Chriſt not to be corporally in the Sacrament.
	Ioh. Littlepage his brother.
	Alice wife of Thurſtan Littlepage.
Will. Littlepage, forced by his oath, did accuſe	Becauſe hee was ſaid to haue learned the ten commandements in Engliſh, of Alice, Thurſtans wife, in his fathers houſe.
	Iohn Frier.
	Becauſe this Iohn Frier had taught the ſaid William the ten Commandements in Engliſh.
	Thomas Grove.
	Hernes wife.
	The wife of Iohn Morwin.
	Richard Bartlet. Robert Bartlet.
	Thomas Bernard.
	Ioane Clerke of little Miſſenden,
	For ſaying ſhée neuer did beléeue in the ſacrament of the Altar, nor euer would beléeue it.
	Iohn Horne of Ambylden.
Iohn Gardiner did appeach	His ſiſter Agnes Ward. Wards wife of Marlow. Nicolas Stokeley.
	Becauſe that when this Gardiner ſaid, God helpe vs and our Lady, and all the ſaints of heauen: Then ſhe ſaid, What need is it to goe to the feet, when we may goe to the head?
	William Stokeley.
	The wife of William Deane,
	William Ramſey of Newberie.
	Iohn Simon and his wife of Marlow.
	Iohn Gray of Marlow.
	David Schyrwood.
	William Schyrwood.
	Raynold Schyrwood.

Acuſers.	Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.
Iohn Say did detect	Chriſtopher Shoomaker. Iohn Okenden. Robert Pope.
	This Chriſtopher Shoomaker had béene burned a little before at Newbery.

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Chriſtopher Shoomaker martyr.

Biſhop Longland ſéeking matter againſt Iſabel Morwin (of whom hée could take no great aduantage by examination) called and cauſed Elizabeth Copland her owne ſiſter, to teſtifie againſt her in manner as followeth:

	Iſabel Morwin her owne ſiſter.
Elizabeth Copland witneſſeth againſt.	Firſt, becauſe in talke together, comming from their father being at the point of death, Iſabel ſaid to her ſiſter Elizabeth, that all which die either paſſe to hell or heauen. Nay, ſayd the other, there is betweene them purgatory.

Againe, when Elizabeth came from the rood of reſt, Iſabel ſaid, that if ſhe knew ſo much as ſhe hath heard, ſhe would goe no more on pilgrimage while ſhe liued: for all ſaints, ſaid ſhe, be in heauen. Then asked Elizabeth, wherefore pilgrimage was ordained of Doctors and Prieſts. The other ſaid, For gaine and profit. Who hath taught you this, (quoth Elizabeth) man or woman? your Curate, I dare ſay, neuer learned you ſo. My Curate, ſayd ſhee, will neuer know ſo much: and moreouer ſaid to Elizabeth her ſiſter, that if ſhee would keepe counſell and not tell her husband, ſhee would ſay more. And when Elizabeth anſwered that ſhe would not tell: but, ſaith the other, I will haue you to ſweare: and becauſe ſhee would not ſweare, the other would not proceed any further.

	Iohn Tracher of Cheſham.
Alice Browne forced by her oath to detect	The cauſe why this Iohn Tracher was denounced was this: for that hee taught her in the Goſpell this ſaying of Ieſus; Bleſſed be they that heare the word of God and keepe it. Alſo becauſe hée taught her the eight beatitudes in Engliſh.

M. Tilſeworth becauſe ſhe refuſed to detect other by vertue of her oath, and denied ſuch matter as by witneſſe and by the Biſhops Acts were proued againſt her, in paine of relapſe the biſhop enjoyned her to make certaine fagots of cloath, and to weare the ſame both before her vpper garment and behinde, ſo long as ſhee liued. Ex Regiſt. Longland.

	Thomas Africke.
	For asking how his Couſin Widmore Clerke the elder, and Iohn Phip did at Hitchenden: whether they kept the Lawes of God as they were wont.
	Roger Parker, deceaſed.
	Iohn Phip.
W. Phippes forced by his oath to detect	For ſaying that Images are not to bee worſhipped, becauſe they are made and carued with mans hand, and that ſuch ought not to be worſhipped.
	Iohn Gardiner.
	For that to the ſaid Will. this Gardiner

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Accuſers.	Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.
	Gardiner ſaid, that all which are burned for this ſect are true martyrs.
Iohn Stilman.	
Iohn Butler by his oath was forced to detect	Thomas Geffrey, firſt of Vxbridge, then of Ipſwich, Tailour. For reading and teaching him in the acts and preachings of the Apoſtles. Item, for having a Scripture booke in Engliſh, which booke the ſaid Geffrey gaue to the Biſhop of London when he was accuſed. Item, that the ſaid Geffrey ſaid, that true pilgrimage was, barefoot to go and viſit the poore, weake, and ſicke; for they are the true Images of God.
	Richard Vulford. This Vulford and Thomas Geffrey told the ſaid John Butler, that the Hoſt conſecrated was not the very true bodie of Chriſt.
A ſtorie of a mouſe put into the pix,	In proofe whereof they ſaid, that let a Mouſe be put in the pix with the holk, and the mouſe would eate it vp. And for more proofe, they declared vnto the ſaid Iohn Butler, that there were two Prieſts in Eſſex which put a Mouſe in the pixe to a conſecrated Hoſt, and the Mouſe did eat it. Afterward, the fact of theſe prieſts being knowne and brought to the Biſhop, one of the Prieſts was burned for the ſame.
	Iohn Clerke of Denham. Alſo the ſame Vulford and Geffrey told him and Iohn Clerke, that holy bread and holy water were but a vaine-glory of the world: for God neuer made them, but they were mens inuentions: and that God neuer made prieſts, for in Chriſts time there were no prieſts.
Doctor Colet commended.	Moreouer, that Thomas Geffrey cauſed this Iohn Butler diuers Sundayes to goe to London to heare Doctor Colet.
	Andrew Fuller of Vxbridge. Becauſe this Iohn Butler had an old booke of Richard Vulford. Alſo another great booke of Andrew Fuller, for which hee payed fiue ſhillings and foure pence; and another little booke of Thomas Man, which he brought to the biſhop.
	Thomas Man. Moreouer, this Thomas Man was appeached becauſe hee read to this deponent ten yeares ago, how Adam and Eue were expelled out of Paradiſe: and for ſpeaking againſt pilgrimage and worſhipping of Images, and againſt the ſinging ſeruice vſed then in Churches.
The foreſaid Iohn Butler did detect	This Thomas Man was burnt & died a Martyr, of whom mention is made before.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.
	William King. This William King was appeached becauſe hee lodged Thomas man in his houſe vpon a certaine holy-day at diuine ſeruice: vnto whom reſorted Richard Vulford, and Iohn Clerke, and this Iohn Butler: to whom the ſaid Thomas Man declared that pilgrimage was naught, and that Images were not to bee worſhipped.
	Rob. Carder. Durdant. Richard Butler his owne brother Wil. King. To theſe was layd, that Thomas Carder brought this Iohn Butler to Durdants houſe at Iuencourt by Stanes, where was Richard Butler his brother, and William King reading in a certaine Engliſh booke: At which time Durdant deſired them not to tell that hee had any ſuch Engliſh booke in his houſe, leſt hee ſhould be burned for the ſame.
	Richard Naſh, or Aſhford. Alſo another time, that Iohn Butler with Richard Butler his brother, and Robert Carder, went to the houſe of Rich. Aſhford or Naſh, to heare the ſame Aſhford reade in a certaine little booke which contained many good things.
	Richard Vulman of London. This Vulman was detected vpon this, for that he would haue read to this Iohn Butler a certaine Engliſh booke, and ſpake againſt pilgrimage and Images.
	Henry Vlman and his wife of Vxbridge.
	Radolph Carpenter of London. A daughter of Iohn Phip. A daughter of William Phip. This Ralfe Carpenter was detected for hauing certaine bookes of the Apocalyps in Engliſh. Alſo for that this Carpenter and his wife did bring him and the wife of Henry Vlman to a corner houſe of Fryday ſtreet, where the good man of the houſe, hauing a ſtumpe foot, had diuers ſuch bookes, to the intent they ſhould heare them read.
Iohn Philip compelled by his oath to detect.	R. Butler. Ienkin Butler, his owne brethren. The mother of Richard Aſhford. Io. Butler his other brother. These were detected partly for holding againſt the ſacrament of the Altar; partly alſo becauſe they were reading two houres together in a certaine booke of the Acts of the Apoſtles in Engliſh.

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Accuſers.	Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.
	lith at Chelham in Aſhfords houſe.
	The wife of Robert Pope.
For reading bookes in English.	For hauing certaine bookes in English, one bound in boards, and three with parchment couerings, with foure other sheetes of paper written in English, containing matter against the Romish Religion. Also another booke of the seruice of the Virgin Mary in English.
	Thomas Stilman.
	Thomas Stilman was therefore detected, for that he told William Phip, how that he being in Lollards Tower did climbe vp the steeple where the bells were; and there, cutting the bell-ropes, did tye two of them together, and so by them slipped downe into Pauls Churchyard, and escaped.
	Iohn Morden of Aſhley greene. Richard Aſhford his brother.
Thom. Tredway compelled by his oath to detect	These were accused and detected, because Iohn Morden had in his house a booke of the Gospels and other chapters in English, and read there or foure times in the same. In which booke his brother Aſhford also did reade once. Item, because Iohn Morden spake against images: and spake these words; Our Lord Iesus Christ saith in his Gospel, Blessed bee they that heare the word of God, and keepe it, &c.
	Agnes Aſhford his owne mother.
Tredway detecting his owne mother.	Tredway also detected his mother, for teaching him that hee should not worship the images of Saints.
Ioane Bernard detecting her owne father.	Likewise Ioane Bernard, being accused by Robert Copland, was sworne by her oath to detect Thomas Bernard her owne naturall father, for speaking against pilgrimage, against worshipping of Saints, and against Dirges and praying for the dead, and for warning his daughter not to vtter any of all this to her ghostly father.
Richard Bernard detecting his owne father.	The like oath also was forced to Richard Bernard, that hee should in like manner detect Thomas Bernard his owne naturall father, for teaching him not to worship Images, nor to beleeue in the sacrament of the Altar, but in God onely which is in heauen. And that hee should not vtter the same to the Priest.
	Richard Carder.
The Vicar of Iuer, and Richard Tailor witnesse, accused	For defending the cause of Ienken Butler, and for saying that the Bishop did him injurie.
	Item for saying, that if he had knowne the Bishops man would haue set him so to the Bishop, he would haue giuen him warning thereof before.
	Item for saying, that if hee should call him, hee would confesse nothing, although he burned him.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.
	Richard Carder her husband.
Agnes Carder, wife of Richard Carder, detected	For saying that hee suspected that thee was too much familiar with the Vicar of Iuer: and when she answered againe, how could hee be euill with her, seeing hee saith Masse euery day, and doth confesse himselfe before; then her husband said, that hee could confesse himselfe to a post, or to the Altar.
	Where note, that the Bishop then examining her of that offence, whether shee was culpable, and whether shee was commonly in the voyce of the people defamed with him or no, shee confessed it so to be. Whereupon no other penaltie nor penance for that crime of adultery was enjoyned her of the Bishop but onely this, that she should frequent the Vicars house no more.
	Richard Vulford of Riſelyp.
Against Images.	For speaking against images, pilgrimages, oblations, and against the Sacrament of the altar.
Iohn Clerke of Denham forced by his oath to detect	Item, when this Iohn Clerke had made a wheele for fish, Richard Vulford comming by, asked him when he had made his wheele, whether the wheele now could turne againe and make him? and he said, No. Euen so (quoth hee) God hath made all Priests, as thou hast made the wheele, and how can they turne againe and make God?
	Iohn Butler.
	The daughter of Iohn Phip of Hinchenden.
Iohn Maſtall detected	For saying that thee was as well learned as was the parish priest, in all things except onely in saying of Masse.
	Alice Sanders, wife of Richard Sanders of Amerſham.
	For giuing twelue pence to Thomas Holmes, to buy a certaine booke in English, for her daughter. To whom Thomas Holmes answered againe, that a Noble would not suffice to buy it.
	Another time, for giuing fiue pence to the buying of a certaine booke in English, which cost fiue markes.
Rob. Rowland. Will. Franke. Tho. Houre. T. Rowland. Ioane Franke. Iohn Baker. All these detected	Another time Thomas Houre comming from Dwburne, she asked what newes: and he said, that many were there condemned of heresie; and therefore he would leane to that way no more. Then said shee, if hee did so, hee would gaine nothing thereby. Whereby he had no more words with her husband, and after was put from the holy-water Clerkship in that towne.
	Another time for saying to Thomas Rowland these words: You may see how Thomas Houre and other which labored to haue

Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
	haue heretiques detected before Bishop Smith are brought now to beggery; you may take example by them.
Ioane Franke, Will. Franke the elder, Will. Franke the younger, Alice Tredway detected	Ioane Colingborne. For saying to one Ioane Timberlake, and to Alice Tredway ten yeares agoe, that thee could neuer beléeue pilgrimages to be profitable, nor that Saints were to be worshipped: and desired them not to tell their Curate. Which Alice immediatly caused her to be called before the Bishop.
William Carder upon his oath was forced to detect	Isabel Tracher, wife of William Tracher, his mistresse. For that thee being not sicke, but in good health, and being rebuked diuers times of her husband for the same, yet would not goe to the Church, but tarried at home, and kept her worke as well holy-day as worke-day, the space of three yeares together.
Isabel Gardiner, and Iohn Gardiner forced by their oath to detect	Thomas Rave of great Merlow. For speaking against pilgrimages in the company of Iohn and Elizabeth Gardiner, as hee was going to our Lady of Lincolne for his penance enjoyned by bishop Smith. Also the same time, as hee met certaine comming from saint Iohn Shorne, for saying they were fooles, and calling it Idolatry.
The Vicar of Wicombe.	Also in the same voyage, when he saw a certaine Chappell in decay and ruine, he said; Lo, yonder is a faire milke house downe.
	Item, when he came to Lincolne, hee made water in the Chappell at Masse time, excusing afterward that he did it of necessitie. Item the same time, speaking against the sacrament of the altar, he said, that Christ sitteth in heauen at the right hand of the Father almighty: and brought forth this parable saying, that Christ our Lord said these words when he went from his Disciples and ascended to heauen: That once he was in sinners hands, and would come there no more. Also when he came to Wicomb, there to do his penance, he bound his fagot with a silken lace. Also being demanded of D. London, whether he had done his penance in comming to our Lady of Lincolne; he answered that Bishop Smith had released him to come to our Lady of Dillenden for fiue yeares. And thée yeares he came, but whether he came any more, because he did not there register his name, therefore he said he could not proue it.
	The wife of Thomas Porter of Hychenden.
	The wife of William Tilseworth, now of Hawkewell. For not thinking Catholique-

Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	Anno 1521.
	ly, that is, after the tradition of Rome, of the Sacrament of the Altar.	Ex Registro Io. Longland, Lincoln.
Roger Benet forced by his oath to detect	The wife of Robert Stampe. For not accomplishing her penance enjoyned by Bishop Smith. Marian Randal. Iohn Butler. For hauing of him a certaine booke in English, containing a dialogue betweene a Jew and a Christian.	
	His owne wife deceased. Iohn Clerke of Denham. For communing with him against Images, pilgrimage, and the sacrament of the Altar.	Against the Sacrament of the Altar.
	Thomas Geffrey of Vxbridge, and his wife departed. For communing against the Sacrament of the Altar, worshipping of Saints, Pilgrimage, &c.	
Richard Vulford detected	Henry Vulman of Vxbridge. For speaking and teaching against the Sacrament of the Altar eleuen yeares agoe, and saying it was but a trifle. The mother of William King of Vxbridge. William King. Robert Carder the elder. Iohn Baker of Vxbridge.	
Iohn Scrivener the elder detected	Geldener the elder. His two daughters. For being present and hearkening vnto Richard Benet, reading the Epistle of S. James in English. Emme sister of Wil. Tilseworth Martyr. Iohn Lee Carpenter of Henley.	For reading the Scripture.
	Here is to be noted, that in the towne of Chesham were two men; one named Robert Hutton; the other Iohn Sparke. Of which two the one called the other heretique: the other called him againe thefe. Sparke, which called Hutton thefe, was condemned to pay for his slaunder ten shillings: but Hutton, which called the other heretique payed nothing. It happened that the wife of this Sparke not long after had certaine money stolne. For the which the said Sparke her husband sent for the counsell of two friers; who gaue him counsell to make two balls of clay, and to put them in the water, and in the same balls to inclose the names of them whom he suspected: and so doing, the said Sparke came to his money againe. And this was detected to Bishop Longland the same time by Thomas Clement. But of all this matter there was no inquisition made, nor interrogatories ministred, nor witnesse produced, nor any sentence giuen. Ex Regist. Longland, fol. 50.	Iohn Sparke. Witchcraft left of the Bishop Unpunished.
Iohn Grosar being put to his oath, detected	Thomas Tykill. Thomas Spencer and his wife. Iohn Knight. This Iohn Grosar was examined	

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For hauing the Scripture in English.

Accusers.

Parties accused, and Crimes objected.

mined whether he had a booke of the Gospels in English. Who confessed that he receiued such a booke of Thomas Tykill Morrow-Masse Priest in Milkstreet, and afterward lent the same book to Thomas Spencer; which Thomas Spencer with his wife vsed to reade vpon the same. After that it was lent to John Knight, who at length deliuered the booke to the Vicar of Rikemansworth.

Against the Sacrament of the Altar.

Iohn Funge forced by his oath to detect

Francis Funge and his brother, Tho. Clerke.

Francis Funge was examined for speaking these words to his brother John, which words he had learned of Thomas Clerke: If the sacrament of the Altar be very God and man, flesh and bloud, in forme of bread, as Priests say that it is; then haue we many Gods: and in heauen there is but one God. And if there were an hundred houseled in one parish, and as many in an other, then there must bee more than one God. I will not deme but it is a holy thing, but it is not the body of the Lord that suffered passion for vs: for hee was once in mans hands here, and ill entreated, and therefore hee will neuer come in sinfull mens hands againe.

Also for speaking these words; The Pope hath no authority to giue pardon, and to release any mans soule from sinne, and so from paine: it is nothing but blinding of the people to haue their money.

Also for these words or such like; If a man doe sow twentie quarters of corne, as wheate or barley, or other corne, hee ought to deduct his seed, and of the residue to tythe, or else hee hath wrong, &c.

Francis Funge and Alice his wife were put to their oath to detect

Thomas Clerke,

For speaking against the reall presence of Christ in the Sacrament, vnto Francis Funge, as before, &c.

Robert Raue of Dorney.

For saying these words; that the sacrament of the Altar is not that body which was borne of the blessed Virgin Mary.

Item, for speaking such words fourteene yeares past: that folkes were ill occupied that worshipped any things grauen with mans hands: for that which is grauen with mans hand is neither God nor our Lady, but made for a remembrance of saints. Nor ought we to worship any thing but God and our Lady, and not Images of Saints, which are but stockes and stones.

Accusers.

Parties accused, and Crimes objected.

Edmund Hill of Penne.

Henry Dein forced by his oath to detect

Robert Freeman, Parish-Priest Of Orton by Colebroke.

For hauing and reading vpon a suspected booke: which booke when hee perceiued to be seene in his hand, he closed it and carried it to his chamber.

I. Hill, forced by his oath, did detect

Thomas Grove and his wife, of Amersham.

Matild Philby, wife of Edward Philby of Chaldwey.

Ioane Gun of Chesham,

Because shee instructed and taught the said Hill, before his abjuration, in the Epistle of saint James, and other opinions.

William Atkins of great Missenden.

Richard Murden of Chesham.

Emme Murden his wife.

Will. Gudgame forced by his oath to detect

Ioane Gudgame his owne wife.

For being in the same opinion of the sacrament that he was of: who notwithstanding did sweare the same not to be true that her husband said.

Alice Nash, or Chapman, of Missenden.

Matilde Symonds, and Io. Symonds her husband, put to their oath, detected

One Haggar of London.

For speaking in their house, Anno 1520. these words, that there should bee a battell of priests, and all the priests should bee slaine: and that the Priests should a while rule; but they should all bee destroyed, because they hold against the law of the holy Church, and for making of false gods, and after that they should be ouerthrowne.

Item, another time hee sayd that men of the Church should be put downe, and the false gods that they make: and after that hee said they should know more, and then should bee a merrie world.

A Prophesie.

Tho. Clerke, forced by his oath, did dedetect

Christopher Tinker of Wicam.

The cause of this Tinkers trouble was, for that hee comming to this mans house, and complaining to him of the pouertie of the world, had these words: that there was neuer so misgouerned people, and that they bare themselues so bold vpon pardons and pilgrimages, that they cared not whatsoeuer they did: and so he departed.

And seuen dayes after that, this Tinker comming againe, asked him how his last communication with him did please him; and he said, Well.

Then the Tinker said hee knew more, and that he could tell him

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Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
	him more, and bad him that he should beleue in God in heauen; for there be many Gods in earth, and there is but one God; and that he was once here, and was ill dealt with, and would no more come hers till the day of dome. And that the sacrament of the Altar was a holy thing, but not the flesh and blood of Christ that was borne of the Virgin; and charged him not to tell this to his wife, and especially to his wiues brother, a Priest.
	Afterward, as the Priest was dying singing bread, being wet, which his sister had bought, the foresaid Thomas Clerke said, that if euery one of these were a god, then were there many gods. To whom the Priest answered, that till the holy words were spoken ouer it, it was of no power, and then it was very God, flesh and blood: saying moreouer, that it was not mete for any lay man to speake of such things.
	These words of the priest being after recited to the Tinker by the said Clerke; then said hee, let euery man say what they will; but you shall finde it as I shew you: & if you will take the labour to come to my house, I will shew you a further proofe of it, if you will take hed, &c.
	Thomas Afrike, alias Littlepage, and his wife.
	To these was obiected, that they had communication and conference with this Robert Pope, in the Gospell of S. Matthew, before the great abiuration, in the towne of Amersham.
	Tho. Scriuoner, father to Thomas Holmes wife.
	This Scriuener was detected for that the said Pope had of him a booke of the Epistles in English.
Rob. Pope, first of Amersham, after of Westenred, caused by his oath, did detect these following.	Benet Ward of Bekensfield, and his father Edmund Dormer.
	To Ward this was laid, that the foresaid Pope had receiued a booke of the ten Commandements.
	Hee had also the Gospels of Matthew and Marke.
	Of the same Ward hee learned his Christ-crosse row, fiue parts of the eight beatitudes.
	Thomas Harding and his wife.
	Iohn Scriuener and his wife.
	Tho. Man and his wife. Another Tho. Man and his wife. Thomas Bernard.
	These were detected for this, because they had communed and talked with the said Robert

Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
	Pope oftentimes in bookes of Scripture, and other matters of Religion, concerning Pilgrimage, adoration of Images, and the Sacrament of the Lords bodie.
	Thomas Groue.
	Thomas Holmes.
	Robert Raue.
	William Gudgame and his wife.
	Nash the elder, and his wife.
	William Gray of Esthenred, Milner.
	Edward Gray and his wife, of Esthenred.
	Margery Young, widow, of Esthenred.
	Isabel More, sister to the sayd Margery, of Esthenred.
	Richard Nobis, fowler, and his wife, of Esthenred.
	Richard Colins of Ginge, and his wife.
	This Colins was among them a great reader, and had a booke of Wickliffes Wicket, and a booke of Luke, and one of Paul, and a Glosse of the Apocalyps.
	William Colins his brother.
Robert Pope of Westenred, being before abiured, now againe put to his oath, detected these which follow:	Thomas Colins, the father of Richard and William.
	He had a booke of Paul, and a booke of small Epistles.
	Iohn Colins of Betterton.
	Robert Lyuord, of Steuenton.
	William Lyuord, of Steuenton.
	Father Amersham, of Steuenton.
	Smart of Steuenton, Milner.
	Thomas Hall of Hungerford.
	Iohn Eden of Hungerford.
	Iohn Ludlow of Hungerford.
	Thomas New, of Wantage, Thatcher.
	Ioane Tailor and her mother, of Bissam.
	Humfrey Shomaker, of Newbery.
	Iohn Semand, of Newbery, fishmonger.
	Robert Geydon and his wife, of Newbery, weauer.
	Iohn Edmunds of Burford.
	This Iohn Edmunds was charged for hauing a booke named W. Thorpe. Also for reading in an English booke after a mariage.
	Robert Burges and his wife, of Burford.
	Iohn Colyns of Burford.
	Iohn Colyns and his wife, of Asthall.
	Iohn Clerke of Clausield.
	This Clerke was heard say that all the world was as well hallowed

Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
	hallowed as the church or churchyard. And that it was as good to be buried in the field, as in the Church or churchyard.
	William Gun and his wife, of Witney, Tanner.
	Iohn Baker of Witney, weaver.
	Iohn Brabant the elder, of Stanlake.
	Iohn Brabant the younger, of Stanlake.
	Iohn Kember, of Hennybarkes.
	Walter Kember his brother, of Hennybarkes.
	Iohn Rabettes, of Chawley.
	Thomas Widmore of Hychenden.
	Iohn Phip. William Phip, For reading a certaine Treatise vpon the Pater-noster in English, which this John Phip did reade to him, and to his father.
The sonne detecting the father	This foresaid Robert Pope moreouer detected Edward Pope his owne father, of little Missenden, for hearing the Gospell of Matthew read vnto him, and for cõmuning vpon the same with this Robert Pope his sonne. Hee detected likewise Edward Pope his brother. Furthermore, he detected his owne wife, who had before abiured vnder Bishop Smith, to continue still in her opinions.
	Thomas Clerke the elder, of Hychenden.
	Laurence Herne of Hychenden.
For the Scripture in English.	William Haliday of Easthenred. This Haliday was detected for hauing in his custody a booke of the Acts of the Apostles in English, which the said Robert Pope brought vnto him at the taking of Roger Dodde.
	William Squire and his brother, of Schaw.
	Thomas Stephenton and Matilde his daughter, of Cherney.
For reading the Scripture in English.	Thomas Philip Poynter. Laurence Tailor of London. For that these two, being in the house of Richard Colins at Gynge, there did read in an English booke the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Romans; and Laurence did reade the first chapter of Saint Lukes Gospell.
Rob. Pope, before abjured, did detect these here following:	Andrew Mayfey, of Burton.
	The wife of Richard Colins, of Gynge.
	Iohn Harris and his wife. Alice Colins, wife of Richard Colins. These, being together at Upton in John Harris house, did talke of the Apocalyps, and of the Acts of the Apostles, and

Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
	therefore were suspected, and thus detected. Ex Regist. Longland. fol. 71.
	Item, because John Harris spake against pilgrimage, Images, and was heard to talke of seuen leane and seuen fat Oxen.
	Rob. Colins of Hertford-Wallis, Mason.
	Thomas Gray, of Westhendred, For receiuing certaine bookes of this Robert Pope.
	Margaret House, wife of Will. House of Eastginge. For keeping company, and receiuing the doctrine of Alice Colins.
	Iohn Nash of little Missenden.
	Henry Erkin and his mother, of little Missenden.
	Richard Dell of Missenden.
Robert Colins, being sworne vpon the Euangelists, did detect these persons:	Richard Colins of Gynge. First, for that this Richard Colins did reade vnto the said Robert Colins the ten commandements; and after taught him the Epistle of James, and another small Epistle of Peter, and after that, tooke him the Gospell of Saint John in English, and bad him reade therein himselfe. For reading the Scripture in English. Also, for teaching him not to worship Images, nor to set vp candles, nor to go on pilgrimage. Another crime against Richard Colins: because hee taught this Robert, that in all such things wherein he offended God, he should onely shriue himselfe to God; and in what things he offended man, he should shriue him to man. Also for teaching him, that the sacrament of the Altar is not verie God but a certaine figuratiue thing of Christ in bread: and that the priest hath no power to consecrate the body of Christ. Against the Sacrament of the Altar. Also, for that the said Richard did teach him in Wickliffes Wicket, how that a man may not make the body of our Lord which made vs: and how can we then make him againe? The Father is vnbegotten, and vnmade: the Sonne is only begotten, and not made; and how then can man make that which is vnmade, said he? And in the same book of Wickliffes Wicket follow the words of Christ thus speaking: If my words be heresie then am I an hereticke; and if my words be leasings, then am I a lyer, &c. Also another crime against Richard Colins: For hauing certaine English bookes; as Wickliffes Wicket, the Gospell of Saint

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Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
	saint John, the Epistles of saint Paul, Iames, and Peter in English, an exposition of the Apocalyps, a booke of our Ladies Pattens in English, a booke of Solomon in English, a booke called the Pricke of conscience.
For speaking against Idolatry.	Iohn Edmunds of Burford, Tailor. The crime against Iohn Edmunds; for having a certaine English booke of the Commandements.
	Iohn Harris. The crime against Joh. Harris, for communing with him of the first chapter of saint Johns Gospell: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God, &c. Also for communing of a chapter in Matthew, of the eight beatitudes. Item, for counselling him not to goe on pilgrimage to saints, because they were Idols. Thomas Hall.
The foresaid Rob. Colins being sworne vpon the Euangelists, did detect these persons:	Ro. Livord. W. Livord. Bruges, and Ioane his wife. Harris, and his wife. Rich. Colins. All these were detected, for that they being together in Bruges house at Burford, were reading together in the booke of the exposition of the Apocalyps, and communed concerning the matter of opening the booke with seuen clasps, &c.
	Iohn Ledisdall, or Edon, of Hungerford.
	Iohn Colins of Burford.
	Iohn Colins, and his wife, of Asthall.
	Iohn Clerke, of Clausield.
	The wife of Richard Colins, of Ginge.
	Thomas Colins and his wife, of Ginge. This Thomas Colins was charged for having a booke of Paul and Iames in English.
	William Colins.
	Robert Pope of Henred.
	Hakker of Colemanstreet in London.
	Stacy, Brickmaker, of Colemanstreet. For having the booke of the Apocalyps.
	Thomas Philip. Laurence Wharfar, of London. For reading the Epistle of Saint Peter in English, in the house of Robert Colins, at Asthall.
	Ioane Colins his owne sister, of Asthall.
	Thomas Colins his cousin, of Asthall.

Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
	Mistresse Bristow, of London.
	Iohn Colins, sonne of Richard Colins, of Ginge.
	Ioane Colins, daughter of Richard Colins, of Ginge.
	Henry Stacy, sonne of Stacy of Colemanstreet.
	Thomas Steventon, of Charney in Barkeshire.
	Iohn Brabant, in Stanlake.
	Iohn Baker, weaver of Witney.
	Richard Colins. The words of Richard Colins were these: That the Sacrament was not the true body of Christ in flesh and bloud; but yet it ought to be reuerenced, albeit not so as the true body of Christ.
He sommeaccuseth the father.	Thomas Colins, of Ginge, his owne naturall Father. The crime against Thomas Colins; for that eight yeres past this Thomas Colins his father had taught this John his sonne, in the presence of his mother, the ten commandements, and namely that hee should haue but one God, and should worship nothing but God alone; and that to worship saints, and go on pilgrimage was Idolatry. Also, that hee should not worship the Sacrament of the Altar as God, for that it was but a token of the Lords body. Which thing so much discontented this John Colins, that hee said hee would disclose his fathers errors and make him to be burned: but his mother entreated him not so to doe.
	Robert Colins of Asthall. The crime against Robert Colins; that this Robert read to him in a certaine thicke booke of Scripture in English.
Iohn Colins of Burford appeached to the Bishop these persons here named:	Iohn Edmunds and his wife. The crime laid to John Edmunds; For that he read to this John the ten Commandements, and told him that John Baptist said, that one should come after him, whose buckle of his shoe hee was not worthy to vndoe.
	Alice, wife of Gunne, of Witney.
	Iohn Hakker and his sonne, of London. This John Hakker of London, comming to Burford, brought a booke speaking of the ten plagues of Pharaoh. Also after that, another booke entreating of the seuen sacraments.
	Laurence Tailor of Shorditch.
	Thomas Philip of London.
	Philip, servant of Richard Colins.
	Waunsell, fishmonger, of the Vise.
	Ioane Robert.

Burges

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.
	Burges wife.
	Iohn Boyes, and his brother, a Monke of Burford.
	Thom. Baker, father to Gunnes wife of Whateley.
	Agnes daughter of Iohn Edmunds.
	The mother of Iohn Boyes, of Sedbery.
	Edward Red, Schoolemaſter of Burford.
	Robert Hicman of Lechelade.
	Elenor Hegges of Burford.
	This Elenor was charged, that ſhe ſhould burne the Sacrament in an Ouen.
	Iohn Through, of the Priory of Burford.
	The mother of Robert Burges wife.
Roger Dods of Burford, by his oath was compelled to utter theſe perſons here named.	Sir Iohn Drury, Vicar of Windriſh in Worceſter-ſhire.
	The crime againſt this Sir Iohn Drury was, for that when Roger Dods came firſt to him to be his ſeruant, he ſware him vpon a booke to keepe his counſels in all things: and after that he ſhewed him a certaine woman in his houſe, whom he ſaid to be his wife: counſelling moreouer the ſayd Roger Dods, vpon an embring day, to ſup with bread and cheeſe; ſaying, that which goeth into a mans body defileth not a mans ſoule; but that which goeth out of the body defileth both body and ſoule.
	Alſo that the ſaid vicar taught him the A, B, C, to the intent he ſhould haue vnderſtanding in the Apocalyps: wherein hee ſaid that hee ſhould perceiue all the falſehood of the world, and all the truth. He ſaid furthermore vnto him when he had been at the lady of Worceſter, at the blood of Hailes, which had coſt him eighteene pence, that he had done as an ill husband, that had ploughed his land, and ſowen it, but nothing to the purpoſe; for he had worſhipped mans handyworke, and caſt away his money, which had been better giuen to the poore: for hee ſhould worſhip but one God, and no handyworke of man.
	Item, when the people would offer candles, where he was Vicar, to Mary Magdalen, hee would take them away, and ſay they were fooles that brought them thither.
	Elizabeth More, of Eſthenred.
	Robert Pope, of Weſthenred.
	Henry Miller, or Tucke, by Ware.
	This Henry did ſhew to Roger Dods a certaine ſtorie of a woman in the Apocalyps, riding vpon a red beaſt. The ſaid Henry was twice abiured.
	Iohn Phip of Hychenden.
	For reading vnto the ſaid Roger Dods a certaine Goſpell in Engliſh.
	William Phip of Hychenden, and Henry his ſonne.
	This William had exhorted Roger Dods that hee ſhould worſhip no Images, nor commit Idolatry, but worſhip one God: and told the ſame Roger, that it was good for a man to be merry and wiſe, meaning that hee ſhould keepe cloſe that was told him, for elſe ſtraite puniſhment would follow.
	Roger Parker of Hychenden.
	This Parker ſaid to Iohn Phip for burning of his bookes, that he was foule to blame, for they were worth a hundred markes. To whom Iohn anſwered, that he had rather burne his bookes, than that his bookes ſhould burne him.
	The wife of Thomas Widemore, daughter of Roger Houſe, of Hychenden.
	Old Widemores wife, ſiſter to Iohn Phip of Hychenden.
The foreſaid Roger Dods of Burford, by his oath was compelled to utter theſe perſons here annexed:	Iohn Lediſdall of Hungerford.
	For reading of the Bible in Robert Burges houſe at Burford, vpon Holy-rood day, with Colins, Lyuord, Thomas Hall, and others.
	Robert Colins, and his wife.
	Iohn Colins, and his wife.
	For buying a Bible of Stacy for twenty ſhillings.
	The father of Robert Colins.
	This father Colins had beene of this doctrine from the yeare of our Lord 1480.
	Thomas Baker of Whateley, Robert Liuord, Iohn Sympſon of Steventon, Thomas Reiley of Burford, Iohn Clemſon, ſeruant to the Prior of Burford.
	Iohn Edmunds of Burford, Wil. Gun, of Witney.
	To theſe was layd, that they being in the houſe of Iohn Harris of Upton, at the mariage of Ioane the wife of Robert Burges, did reade in a booke called Nicodemus Goſpell, that made the cloath which our Lord was buried in (as the Regiſter ſaith) and in that booke is the ſtory of the deſtruction of Ieruſalem.

Iohn

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For reading the Bible in Engliſh.

Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
	Iohn Baker, Weaver, of Witney.
	The Bailife of Witney.
	Iohn Hakker. Iohn Brabant and his wife. Iohn Brabant his sonne, with his wife. Iohn Brabant the younger sonne, with his wife.
	Reginald Brabant, of Stanlake.
For reading the Scripture in English.	For reading in a certain English booke of Scripture, they being together in Iohn Brabants house of Stanlake.
	Henry Phip.
	The crime & detection against this Henry, was, for that he being asked of this Dods, Anno 1515. whether hee would goe to Wicombe or not; answered againe, that hee was cholen Rodman, that is, Keeper of the Rodloft, saying, that he must goe and find a candle before his Blocke Almighty.
BLOCKE ALMIGHTIE.	
	Oliver Smith of Newline, and his wife.
	William Hobbis.
	This William Hobbis was detected first by Radulph Hobbis his brother, to bishop Smith: but was deliuered through the suite of the Curate of West-Wickam.
	Philip Brabant, servant of Richard Colins.
Against the bodily presence of the Sacrament.	For saying that the sacrament of the Altar was made in the remembrance of Christs owne bodie, but it was not the body of Christ.
	The Sheepheards Kalender was also accused and detected.
Against the bodily presence.	Because the same Edmunds said that hee was perswaded by this booke, reading these words, that the sacrament was made in the remembrance of Christ.
	The booke of William Thorpe likewise was much complained of, both by this Iohn Edmunds and diuers other.
	Richard Colins of Ginges.
The booke called the King of Beame.	This Richard Colins, as hee was a great doer among these good men, so was he much complained vpon by diuers, and also by this Edmunds, for bringing with him a booke called the King of Beame, into their company, and did read thereof a great part vnto them, in this Edmunds house of Burford.
Iohn Edmunds, otherwise called Iohn Ogins, of Burford, did detect	Alice Colins, wife of Richard Colins.
	This Alice likewise was a fa-

Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
	mous woman among them, and had a good memory, and could recite much of the Scriptures, and other good bookes: And therefore when any Conuenticle of these men did meet at Burford, commonly she was sent for, to recite vnto them the declaration of the ten Commandements, and the Epistles of Peter, and Iames.
	Ioane Colins, daughter of Richard and of Alice Colins.
For hauing the ten commandements in English.	This Ioane also, following her fathers and mothers steps, was noted, for that shee had learned with her father and mother the ten Commandements, the seuen deadly sinnes, the seuen workes of mercy, the fiue wittes bodily and ghostly, the eight blessings, and fiue chapters of saint Iames Epistle.
	Agnes Edmunds his owne daughter.
The father accuseth his owne daughter.	This Agnes Edmunds was also detected by her father, that he brought her to the house of Rich. Colins to seruice, to the intent shee might be instructed there in Gods law; where shee had learned likewise the ten Commandements, the fiue wittes bodily and ghostly, and the seuen deadly sins.
	Alice Gunne.
	W. Russell, of Colemanstreet.
	One Mother Ioane.
	Father Iohn of Hungerford.
	Ioane Taylor, servant of Iohn Harris of Burford.
	Thomas Quicke, Weaver, of Reding.
	Philip Brabant, weaver.
	Iohn Barbar, Clerke of Amersham.
	Iohn Eding, of Hungerford.
	One Brabant, brother to Philip Brabant of Stanlake.
	Robert Butterfield.
	William Dorset.
Tho. White, and Thomas Clerke, did appeach.	The words of William Dorset were these; That pilgrimage was of none effect; and offering candles or other things to saints, stood in no stead, and was but cost lost.
Cost lost.	
	Also when his wife was going on pilgrimage, and he asked, whither? and she said, To our Lady of Wilesdon: Our Lady, said he, is in heauen.
For saying our Lady is not at Wilsdon, but in heauen.	
	Iohn Edmunds.
Iohn Baker, being urged vpon his oath, did disclose	This Iohn Edmunds was detected, because that he talking with the said Baker of Pilgrimage, had him goe offer his money to the Image of God. When

Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
	the other asked what that was: hee said that the Image of God was the poore people, blind, and lame: and said that hee offended Almightie God in going on pilgrimage.
Will. Phip, abjured by his oath, did accuse	Henry Phip his owne sonne. For communing with Roger Dods against pilgrimage and adoration of Images.
Henry Phip, being examined and abjured by the Bishop, was compelled to disclose	His owne words spoken to Roger Dods, saying to him, that hee must light a candle before his BLOCKE ALMIGHTIE, being then Rood-man.
	Roger Parker. William Phip his owne father. For talking together against pilgrimage and Idolatry.
Ioh. Brabant, the elder son of Iohn Brabant, did nominate	Iohn Hakker. Rob. Pope. For reading the holy Scripture in his fathers house, and for saying these words; Christ made his Maundie and said, Take this bread, eat it; this is my bodie: Take this wine, drinke it, this is my bloud: And priests say by these words, that the Sacrament of the Altar is the bodie of Christ.
	Iohn Brabant his father, and his mother. For being present when Hakker was reading the Scripture in their house.
	Philip Brabant his Vncle. The words of Philip Brabant were these; that it was deadly sinne to goe on pilgrimage.

Concerning this John Brabant, here is to be noted the forme and effect of the Bishops examination; asking and demanding thus of the said Brabant: An unquam audivit Iohannem Hakker legentem sacram Scripturam contra determinationem Ecclesiæ? That is, Whether hee euer heard John Hakker reade the holy Scripture against the determination of the Church? By the which words, if hee meane that it is against the determination of the Church to reade the holy Scripture, it may thereby appeare to be a blinde Church. And if they meane that the holy Scripture containeth any such thing in it which is against the determination of the Church, then it appeareth their Church to bee contrary vnto God, seeing it determineth one thing, and Gods Word another.

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Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
Iohn Baker did detect	Robert Pope. Richard Nobbis. Iohn Edmunds. For speaking against going on Pilgrimage, and Image-worship.
	Iohn a Weedon. When this John a Lee had told the said Weedon, how the Bishop had sayd in his Sermon these words; That all which were of the sect of heretiques beleeued that God was in heauen, but they beleeued not that the bodie of Christ on the Altar was God. To this hee answering againe, sayd; Yea, be bold in that word, deriding the Bishop in so saying.
Iohn a Lee denounced	William Dorset, of Kings Langley. For saying that images stood for nothing, and that pilgrimage serued to spend folkes money, and nothing else.
Ioane Steventon denounced	Alice Colins. For teaching the said Ioane Steuenton in Lent the ten commandements, thus beginning: I am thy Lord God which led thee out of the land of Egypt, and brought thee out of the house of thraldome: Thou shalt haue no alien Gods before me; neither make to thee any Image grauen with mans hands, that is in heauen aboue, neither in the earth beneath, &c. Item, for teaching her the first chapter of saint Johns Gospell: In the beginning was the Word, &c.
	Iohn Harris. For teaching her the first chapter of Peter.
Sir Iohn a Priest, and also Robert Robinson, detected	Master Cotismore of Brightwell. Also Mistresse Cotismore, otherwise called Mistris Dolie. For speaking these words to one Iohn Bainton her seruant; That if she went to her chamber and prayed there, she should haue as much merit as though shee went to Wallingham on pilgrimage. Item, when the said Sir John came to her after the death of Walter Cotismore his master, requiring her to send one John Stainer her seruant to our lady of Wallingham, for Walter Cotismore, which in his life time, being sicke, promised in his owne person to visit that place; shee would not consent thereto, nor let her seruant goe. Item for saying, that when women goe to offer to Images or Saints, they did it to shew their new gay geere: and that images were but Carpenters chips: and that folkes goe on pilgrimage more for the greene way, than for any deuotion.

The Image of God.

The father accuseth his owne sonne.

BLOCKE ALMIGHTIE.

Carpenters chips.

Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
	Thomas Vincent of London.
	To Thomas Vincent it was obiected, for giuing this Hakker a booke of Saint Matthew in English.
	Mistresse Cotismore, otherwise Doly.
	Richard Colins.
	For receiuing of the said Hakker a booke of the ten Commandements in English.
Iohn Hakker did detect	Good wife Bristow of Wood-street in London.
	William Gunne.
	For receiuing of Hakker a booke of the ten plagues sent of God to Pharao.
	The wife of Thomas Widmore of Chichenden.
	Elizabeth the daughter of this Hakker, and Robert her husband, otherwise called Fitton of Newbery.
	William Stokeley, of Henly.
	Iohn Simonds, and his wife, of great Marlow.
	Iohn Austy, of Henley.
	Thomas Austy, of Henley.
	Grinder, of Cookham.
	Iohn Heron.
	For hauing a booke of the exposition of the Gospels faire written in English.
Thomas Grove, and also Iohn of Reding, put to their oath, did detect	Richard Grace.
	For speaking these words following; That our blessed Lady was the Godmother to Saint Katharine: and therefore the Legend is not true, in saying that Christ did marry with S. Katharine, and bad Adrian put on his vestment, and say the seruice of matrimony: for so Christ should liue in adulterie, for marrying with his Godsister; which thing if he should doe, hee should bee thought not to doe well.
	Item, for saying by the picture of Saint Nicolas being newly painted, that he was not worthy to stand in the Rood loft, but that it better beseemed him to stand in the belfray, &c.

IN this Table aboue prefixed, thou hast, gentle Reader, to see and vnderstand; First, the number and names of these good men and women, troubled and molested by the Church of Rome, and all in one yeare: of whom few or none were learned, being simple labourers and Artificers, but as it pleased the Lord to worke in them knowledge and vnderstanding, by reading a few English bookes, such as they could get in corners. Secondly, what were their opinions wee haue also described. And thirdly, herein is to bee noted moreouer the blinde ignorance and vncurteous dealing of the Bishops against them; not onely in that they, by their violent oath, and captious interrogatories, constrained the children to accuse their parents, and parents the children, the husband the wife, and the wife the husband, &c. but especially in that most wrongfully they so afflicted them, without all good reason or cause, onely for the sincere verity of Gods Word, and reading of holy Scriptures.

Now it remaineth, that as you haue heard their opinions, (which principally in number were foure) so also wee declare their reasons and Scriptures whereupon they grounded; and after that consequently the order and manner of penance to them enioyned by the Bishop. And first against pilgrimage, and against worshipping of Images, they vsed this Text of the Apocalyps, 9. I saw horses in a vision, and the heads of them as the heads of Lyons; smoake, fire, and brimstone came out of their mouthes; with these three plagues, the third part of men were slaine of the smoake, and of the fire, and of the brimstone that came out of the mouthes of them. They that were not slaine of these three plagues, were such as worshipped not divels, and Images of gold and silver, of brasse, of tree, and of stone, &c. Ex Regist. Longland, fol. 72. Also they vsed and alledged the first Commandement, that there is but one God, and that they ought not to worship moe Gods than one.

The reasons and probations of their doctrine.

And as touching the Sacrament, and the right doctrine thereof, they had their instruction partly out of Wickliffes Wicket, partly out of the Sheepheards Kalender; where they read that the Sacrament was made in remembrance of Christ, and ought to be receiued in remembrance of his bodie, &c. Moreouer, they alledged and followed the words of Christ spoken at the supper, at what time hee sitting with his Disciples, and making with them his Maundy: tooke bread, and blessed, and brake, and gaue to his Disciples; and said, Eat yee; this (reaching out his arme, and shewing the bread in his hand, and then noting his owne naturall body, and touching the same, and not the bread consecrated) is my body which shall be betrayed for you: doe this in remembrance of mee. And likewise tooke the wine and bade them drinke; saying, This is my blood which is of the new Testament, &c.

Wickliffes Wicket. *The Sheepheards Kalender.* *Ex Regist. Ioh. Longland, Lincoln. Fol. 109.*

Item, that Christ our Saviour sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and there shall be vnto the day of doome. Wherefore they beleeued that in the sacrament of the Altar was not the very body of Christ.

Item (said one of them) men speake much of the sacrament of the Altar: but this will I bide by, that vpon Chare Thursday Christ brake bread vnto his Disciples, and bad them eat it; saying it was his flesh and blood. And then he went from them, and suffered passion; and then he rose from death to life, and ascended into heauen, and there sitteth on the right hand of the Father; and there he is to remaine vnto the day of doome, when hee shall iudge both quicke and dead; and therefore how he should be here in the former bread, he sayd he could not see.

Such reasons and allegations as these and other like, taken out of the Scripture, and out of the Sheepheards Kalender, Wickliffes Wicket, and out of other bookes they had amongst them. And although there was no learned man with them to ground them in their doctrine; yet they, conferring and communing together among themselues, did conuert one another, the Lords hand working with them maruellously: so that in short space the number of these Knowne or Iust fast men (as they were then termed) did exceedingly encrease; in such sort that the Bishop, seeing the matter almost past his

The Bishop complaineth to the King.

power, was driuen to make his complaint to the King, and required his aide for suppression of these men. Whereupon King Henry being then young, and vnexpert in the bloudie practises and blinde leadings of these Apostolicall prelates, incensed with his suggestions and cruell complaints, directed downe Letters to his Sheriffes, Bayliffes, Officers, and subiects, for the aide of the Bishop in this behalfe: the tenour of which Letters here ensueth:

The copy of the Kings Letter for the aid of Iohn Longland *Bishop of Lincolne, against the seruants of Christ, falsly then called Heretiques.*

The copy of the Kings letters.

HEnry the eighth, by the grace of God, King of England and of France, Lord of Ireland, Defender of the Faith: to all Maiors, Sherifes, Bayliffes, and Constables, and to all other our Officers, Ministers, and subiects, these our Letters hearing or seeing, and to every of them, greeting. Forasmuch as the right reuerend father in God, our trustie and right well beloued Counsellor, the Bishop of Lincolne hath now within his Dioceſſe no small number of Heretiques, as it is thought, to his no little discomfort and heauinesse: Wee therefore being in will and minde safely to prouide for the said right reuerend Father in God and his Officers, that they, ne none of them, shall bodily bee hurt or damaged by any of the said heretikes or their fautors, in the executing and ministring of Iustice vnto the said heretikes, according to the Lawes of holy Church; doe straitly charge and command you and every of you, as yee tender our high displeasure, to bee aiding, helping, and assisting to the said right reuerend Father in God, and his said Officers, in the executing of Iustice in the premisses, as they or any of them shall require you so to doe; not failing to accomplish our commandement and pleasure in the premisses, as yee intend to please us, and will answer to the contrarie at your uttermost perils. Given vnder our Signet at our Castle at Windsor, the twentieth day of October, the thirteenth yeare of Our raigne.

The Bishop, thus being armed no lesse with the authoritie of the Kings Letter, than incited with his owne fiercenesse, foreslacked no time, but, eftsoones to accomplish his moody violence vpon the poore flocke of Christ, called before him, sitting vpon his Tribunall seat, both these afore named persons, and all other in his dioceſſe, which were neuer so little noted or suspected to incline toward those opinions: of whom to such as had but newly beene taken, and had not before abjured, he enjoyned most strait and rigorous penance. The other in whom hee could finde any relapse, yea albeit they submitted themselues neuer so humbly to his fauourable courtesie; and though also at his request, and for hope of pardon, they had shewed themselues great detecters of their brethren, being moreouer of him led and flattered thereunto; yet notwithstanding, contrary to his faire words, and their expectation, hee spared not, but read sentence of relapse against them, committing them to the secular arme to bee burnt.

The cruell tyrannie of Bishop Longland.

And first as touching them who, being brought to abjuration, were put to their penance, long it were to recite the names of all. Certaine I thought to recite here in a Catalogue; First reciting the persons, afterward the rigorous penance to them enjoyned.

The names of them which were abjured in the Dioceſſe of Lincolne, the yeare of our Lord, 1521.

William Colins.	Iohn Steuenton.	Iohn Frier.	Benet Ward.
Iohn Colins.	Ioane Steuenton.	Richard Vulford.	Iohn Baker.
Ioane Colins.	Robert Bartlet.	Thomas Tredway.	Agnes Wellis.
Robert Colins.	Thomas Clerke.	William Gudgame.	Marian Morden.
Iohn Hacker.	Iohn Clerke.	Roger Heron.	Isabel Morwin.
Iohn Brabant the father.	Richard Bartlet.	Francis Funge.	Iohn Butler.
Iohn Brabant the sonne.	William Phip.	Robert Pope.	Iohn Butler the yonger.
Iohn Brabant the younger sonne.	Iohn Phip.	Roger Dods.	Richard Carder.
Iohn Edmonds.	Thomas Couper.	Iohn Harris.	Richard Bernard.
Edward Pope.	William Littlepage	Robert Bruges.	Ioane Bernard.
Henry Phip.	Iohn Littlepage.	Iohn Stampe.	Iohn Grace.
	Ioane Littlepage.	Ioane Stampe.	Iohn French.
	Iohn Say.	Richard White.	Iohn Edings.

The Townes, and Villages, and Countries where these foresaid persons did inhabit, are named chiefely to be these:

The names of the Towne where they dwelled.

Amersham.	Betterton.	Henley.	London.
Chesham.	Cherney.	Wickam.	Cheapside in London.
Hychenden.	Stanlake.	Westwickam.	Shoreditch by London.
Missenden the great.	Clousield.	Newbery.	Saint Gyles in London.
Missenden the lesse.	Walton.	Burford.	Essex.
Easthendred.	Narlow.	Witney.	Suffolke.
Westhendred.	Dorney.	Hungerford.	Norfolke.
Asthall.	Iuer.	Vpton.	Norwich.
Bekensfield.	Burton.	Windsor.	
Denham.	Vxbridge.	London.	
Gynge.	Owburne.	Colemanstreet in	

The bookes and opinions which these were charged withall, and for the which they were abjured, partly are before expressed, partly here follow in a briefe summarie to be seene.

A briefe summe of their opinions.

THe opinions of many of these persons were, That he or she neuer beleeued in the sacrament of

Ex Regist. Fol. 32. of the Altar, nor euer would, and that it was not as men did take it.

Ibid. For that he was knowne of his neighbours to be a good fellow, meaning that hee was a Knowne man.

Fol. 33. For saying, that he would giue fourty pence on condition that such a one knew so much as hee did know.

Fol. 34. Some, for saying that they of Amersham which had beene abjured before by Bishop Smith, were good men, and perfect Christians, and simple folke which could not answer for themselues, and therefore were oppressed by power of the Bishop.

Ibid. Some, for hiding other in their barnes.

Some, for reading the scriptures, or treatises of scripture, in English: some, for hearing the same read.

Some, for defending, some for marrying with them which had beene abjured.

Fol. 36. Some for saying that Matrimonie was not a sacrament.

Some, for saying that worshipping of Images was Mawmetry; some for calling Images Carpenters chips; some, for calling them stockes and stones; some, for calling them dead things.

Fol. 33. Some, for saying that money spent vpon pilgrimage serued but to maintaine theeues and harlots.

Some, for calling the Image in the Rood-loft Blocke almighty.

Fol. 37. Other, for saying that nothing grauen with mans hand was to be worshipped.

Fol. 40. Some, for calling them fooles which came from Walter John Shorne in pilgrimage.

Ibid. Another, for calling his Vicar a poll-shorne priest.

Ibid. Another, for calling a certaine blind chappell, being in ruine, an old faire milke house.

Fol. 4. Another, for saying, that he threshed God almighty out of the straw.

Fol. 34. Another, for saying that almes should not be giuen before it did sweat in a mans hand.

Fol. 35. Some for saying, that they which die passe strait either to heauen or hell.

Fol. 9. Isabel Bartlet was brought before the bishop and abjured, for lamenting her husband when the Bishops man came for him, and saying that he was an vndone man, and she a dead woman.

Fol. 45. For saying, that Christ, departing from his disciples into heauen, said, that once he was in sinners hands, and would come there no more.

Robert Raue, hearing a certaine bell in an vplandish steeple, said; Loe, younder is a faire bell, and it were to hang about any Cowes necke in this towne: and therefore, as for other such like matters more, he was brought coram nobis.

Item, for receiuing the sacrament at Easter, and doubting whether it was the very body of Christ, and not confessing their doubt to their ghostly Father.

Some, for saying that the Pope had no authority to giue pardon, or to release mans soule from sinne, and so from paine; and that it was nothing but blinding of the people, and to get their money.

The order of penance. The penance, to these parties enjoyned by this John Longland Bishop of Lincolne, was almost vniforme, and all after one condition; saue onely that they were seuerally committed and diuided into seuerall and diuers Monasteries, there to bee kept and found of almes all their life, except they were otherwise dispensed with by the Bishop: as for example, I haue here adioyned the bishops Letter for one of the said number, sent to the Abbey of Ensham, there to be kept in perpetuall penance. By which one an estimation may be taken of the rest, which were bestowed likewise sundrie into sundry Abbeyes, as to Osney, to Fridleswide, to Abingdon, to Tame, to Bisseter, to Dorchester, to Notley, to Alhridge, and diuers mo. The copy of the Bishops letter, sent to the Abbot of Ensham, here followeth vnder written.

The Bishops Letter to the Abbot of Ensham.

The copy of the Bishops letter to the Abbot of Ensham.

MY loving brother, I recommend mee heartily vnto you: and whereas I haue, according to the Law, put this bearer R. T. to perpetuall penance within your monasterie of Ensham, there to liue as a penitent, and not otherwise; I pray you, and nevertheless according vnto the law command you to receive him, and see you order him there according to his injunctions, which hee will shew you if you require the same. As for his lodging, hee will bring it with him: And his meat and drinke hee may haue, such as you give of your almes. And if hee can so order himselfe by his labour within your house in your businesse, whereby hee may deserve his meat and drinke; so may you order him as yee see convenient to his deserts, so that hee passe not the precinct of your Monasterie. And thus fare you heartily well: from my place, &c.

As touching the residue of the penance and punishment inflicted to these men, they doe little or nothing disagree, but had one order in them all. The manner and forme whereof in the said Bishops Register doth proceed in condition as followeth.

Penance enjoyned under paine of relapse, by Iohn Longland Bishop of Lincolne, the nineteenth day of December, Anno 1521.

Ex Registro, Fol. 90. Penance enjoyned to these Aburats vnder paine of relapse.

IN primis, that euery one of them shall vpon a market day, such as shall bee limited vnto them, in the market time, goe thrice about the market at Burford, and then to stand vp vpon the highest greece of the Crosse there, a quarter of an houre, with a fagot of wood euery one of them vpon his shoulder, and euery one of them once to beare a fagot of wood vpon their shoulders, before their procession vpon a Sunday, which shall bee limited vnto them at Burford, from the Quire dore going out, to the Quire dore going in, and all the high Masse time to hold the same fagot vpon their shoulders, kneeling vpon the greece before the high Altar there, and euery of them to do likewise in their owne parish Church, vpon such a Sunday as shall be limited vnto them: and once to beare a fagot at a generall procession at Vrbridge, when they shall bee assigned thereto: and once to beare a fagot at the burning of an heretique, when they shall bee monished thereto.

Also euery one of them to fast, bread and ale onely euery friday during their life; and euery euen of Corpus Christi, euery one of them to fast bread and water during their life, vnlesse sicknesse vnfeigned let the same.

Also, to say euery of them euery sunday and euery friday during their life, once our Lady Psalter, and if they forget it one day, to say as much another day for the same.

Also they nor none of them, shall not hide their marke vpon their cheeke, neither with hat, cap, hood, kerchiefe, napkin, or otherwise; nor shall suffer their beards to grow past fourteene dayes, nor euer haunt againe together with any suspect person or persons, vnlesse it bee in the open Market, Faire, Church, or common Inne or Alehouse, where other people may see their conuersation.

And all these iniunctions they and euery of them are to fulfill with their penances, and euery part of the same, vnder paine of relapse.

And thus haue you the names, with the causes and the penance of them which were at this present time abjured. By which word * abjured is meant that they

* Abjured, what it signifieth.

they were constrained by their oath, swearing vpon the Euangelists, and subscribing with their hand, and a crosse to the same, to say that they did vtterly and voluntarily renounce, detest, and forsake, and neuer should hold hereafter these or any other like opinions, contrary to the determination of the holy mother Church of Rome: and further, that they should detect vnto their Ordinary whomsoeuer they should see or suspect hereafter to teach, hold, or maintaine the same.

¶ Here follow the names of them which were condemned for relapse, and committed unto the secular power.

AMong these afore named persons which thus submitted themselues, and were put to penance, certaine there were, which because they had beene abiured before, as is aboue mentioned, vnder Bishop Smith, were now condemned for relapse, and had sentence read against them, and so were committed to the secular arme to bee burned: Whose names here follow.

Martyrs.

{Anno 1521.} Thomas Bernard. James Morden. } { Robert Rave. Iohn Scrivener.

Of these mention is made before, both touching their abiuration, and also their martyrdome. Vnto whom we may adioyne.

Ioane Norman. Thomas Holmes.

Tho. Holmes.

This Thomas Holmes, albeit hee had disclosed and detected many of his brethren, as in the Table aboue is expressed; thinking thereby to please the the bishop, and to saue himselfe, and was thought to be a feed man of the Bishop for the same: yet notwithstanding in the sayd bishops register appeareth the sentence of relapse and condemnation, written and drawne out against him, and most like it is that he was also adiudged and executed with the other.

Children compelled to set fire to their owne father.

¶ As touching the burning of John Scriuener, here is to be noted, that his children were compelled to set fire vnto their father, in like manner as Ioane Clerke also, daughter of William Tilsworth, was constrained to giue fire to the burning of her owne naturall father, as is aboue specified. The example of which cruelty, as it is contrarie both to God and nature, so it hath not beene seene nor heard of in the memory of the heathen.

A note of Tho. Dorman. Why Master Dorman, because hee was put to schoole by his vncle at Barchamsted to M. Reeue, being a protestant: therefore he for the same cause, in the first sentence of his preface saith, that hee was brought vp in Caluins Schools.

Where moreouer is to be noted, that at the burning of this John Scriuener one Thomas Dorman, mentioned before, was present, and bare a a fagot at Amersham: whose abiuration was afterward layd against him, at what time hee should depose for recouery of certaine lands from the Schoole of Barchamstead. This Tho. Dorman (as I am credibly enformed of certaine about Amersham) was vncle to this our Dorman, and found him at schoole at Barchamsted vnder master Reeue; which now so vncharitable abuseth his pen in writing against the contrary doctrine, and raileth so fiercely against the blood of Christs slaine seruants, miscalling them to be a dunghill of stinking martyrs.

Well, howsoeuer the sauour of these good Martyrs do sent in the nose of master Dorman, I doubt not but they giue a better odour and sweeter smell in the presence of the Lord: Pretiosa enim in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus; Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his Saints. And therefore howsoeuer it shall please master Dorman with reproachfull language to misse-tearme the good martyrs of Christ, or rather Christ in his martyrs; his vnseemely stage, more cart-like than clerk-like, is not greatly to bee weighed. For as the danger of his blasphemy hurteth not them which are gone; so the contumely and reproach thereof as well comprehendeth his owne kindred, friends, and country, as any other else; and especially redoundeth to himselfe, and woundeth his owne soule, and none else, vnto the great prouoking of Gods wrath against him, vnlesse he be blessed with better grace by time to repent.

Doctor Colet.

J. Colet Dean of Pauls.

MUch about this time, or not past two yeares before, died Doctor John Colet, of whom mention was made in the table aboue. To whose sermons these Knowne men, about Buckinghamshire, had a great minde to resort. After hee came from Italy and Paris, hee first began to reade the Epistles of Saint Paul openly in Oxford, in stead of Scotus and Thomas. From whence he was called by the King, and made Deane of Pauls: where he accustomed much to preach, not without great auditory, as well of the Kings Court, as of the citizens and other. His dyet was frugall, his life vpright, in discipline hee was seuere: insomuch that his Canons, because of their straiter rule, complained that they were made like Monkes. The honest and honourable state of Matrimony he euer preferred before the vnchaste singlenesse of Priests. At his dinner commonly was read either some chapter of saint Paul, or of Solomons Prouerbs. Hee neuer vsed to sup. And although the blindnesse of that time carried him away after the common error of popery, yet in ripenesse of iudgement he seemed something to incline from the vulgar trade of that age. The religious order of Monks and Friers he phantasied not; as neither hee could greatly fauour the barbarous diuinity of the schoole doctors, as of Scotus, but least of all of Thomas Aquine: Insomuch that when Erasmus, speaking in the praise of Thom. Aquine, did commend him, that he had read many old Authors, and had written many new works, as Catena Aurea, and such like to proue and to know his iudgement: Colet first supposing that Erasmus had spoken in iest, but after supposing that he meant good faith, bursteth out in great vehemencie, saying, What tell you me (quoth hee) of the commendation of that man, who except hee had beene of an arrogant and presumptuous spirit, would not define and discusse all things so boldly and rashly: and also, except he had been rather worldly minded than heauenly, would neuer haue so polluted Christs whole doctrine with mans prophane doctrine, in such sort as he hath done?

Paules Epistles first read openly in Oxford.

The commendation of Doctor Colet.

Colets iudgement of Thomas Aquine.

The Bishop of London at that time was Fitzjames, of age no lesse than fourscore. Who (bearing long grudge and displeasure against Colet) with other two Bishops, taking his part, like to himselfe, entred action of complaint against Colet to the Archbishop of Canterbury, being then William Warham. The matter of his complaint was diuided into three Articles: The first was for speaking against worshipping of Images; The second was about hospitality, for that the entreating vpon the place of the Gospell, Pasce, pasce, pasce, Fæd, fæd, fæd: when hee had expounded the two first, for feeding with example of life, and with doctrine; in the third, which the scholemen do expound for feeding with hospitality, he left out the outward feeding of the belly, and applied it another way. The third crime wherewith they charged him, was for speaking against such as vsed to preach onely by bosome sermons; declaring nothing else to the people, but what they bring in their papers with them. Which because the bishop of London vsed then much to doe for his age, hee tooke it as spoken against him, and therefore bare him this displeasure. The Archbishop more wisely weighing the matter, and being well acquainted with Colet, so tooke his part against his Accusers, that he at that time was rid out of trouble.

Doctor Colet accused.

The Bishop of London enemy to Doctor Colet.

The Archb. of Cant. a fauourer of Doctor Colet.

William

William Tindall, in his booke answering master Moze, addeth mozeouer, and testifieth, that the Bishop of London would haue made the said Colet, Deane of Pauls, an heretique, for translating the Pater-noster into English, had not the Bishop of Canterbury holpen the Deane.

But yet the malice of Fitzjames the Bishop so ceased not: who being thus repulsed by the Archbishop, practised by another traine how to accuse him vnto the King. The occasion thus fell. It happened the same time, that the King was in preparation of war against France: Whereupon the Bishop with his coadiutors, taking occasion vpon certaine words of Colet, wherein hee seemed to preferre peace before any kinde of warre, were it neuer so iust; accused him therefore in their sermons, and also before the King.

Iniqua pax iustissimo bello præferenda.

Furthermore, it so befell the same time, that vpon good Friday Doctor Colet, preaching before the King, entreated of the victory of Christ; exhorting all Christians to fight vnder the standard of Christ, against the Diuell: adding moreouer, what an hard thing it was to fight vnder Christs banner, and that all they which vpon priuate hatred or ambition took weapon against their enemy (one Christian to slay another) did not fight vnder the banner of Christ, but rather of Satan: and therefore concluding his matter, he exhorted that christian men in their wars would follow Christ their Prince and Captaine, in fighting against their enemies, rather than the example of Julius, or Alexander, &c. The King hearing Colet thus to speake, and fearing lest by his words the hearts of his souldiers might bee withdrawne from his warres, which he had then in hand, tooke him aside and talked with him in secret conference, walking in his garden. Bishop Fitzjames, Bricot, and Standish, who were his Enemies, thought now none other, but that Colet must needs be committed to the tower, and waited for his comming out. But the King with great gentlenesse entertaining Doctor Colet, and bidding him familiarly to put on his cap, in long courteous talke had with him in the garden, much commended him for his learning and integrity of life; agreeing with him in all points, but that onely hee required him (for that the rude souldiours should not rashly mistake that which he had said) more plainely to explaine his words and minde in that behalfe; which after hee did: and so after long communication and great promises, the King dismissed Colet with these words, saying, Let euery man haue his Doctour as him liketh, this shall be my Doctour; and so hee departed. Whereby none of his Aduersaries durst euer trouble him after that time.

Colet called before the King.

Doctor Colet commended of the King.

The foundation of the Schoole of Pauls.

Among many other memorable acts left behinde him, he erected a worthy foundation of the schoole of Pauls (I pray God the fruits of the schoole may answer the foundation) for the cherishing vp of youth in good letters, prouiding a sufficient stipend as well for the maister as for the Vsher: whom he willed rather to be appointed out of the number of married men, than of single Priests with their suspected chastity. The first moderator of this schoole, was Guil. Lilius, a man no lesse notable for his learning, than was Colet for his foundation. Ex Epist. Erasm. ad Iodoc. Ionam. This Colet died the yeare of our Lord 1519.

Guliel. Lilius Ex Epist. Erasm. ad Iodoc. Ionam.

Not long before the death of this Colet and Lily, liued Gulielmus Grocinus and Gulielmus Latimerus, both English men also, and famously learned. This Grocinus, as hee began to reade in his open lecture in the church of saint Paul, the booke of Dionysius Areopagita, commonly called Hierarchia Ecclesiastica (for the reading of the holy Scriptures in Pauls was not in vse) in the first entry of his Preface cried out with great vehemencie against them, whosoeuer they were, which either denied or stood in doubt of the authority of that booke: in the number of whom he noted Laurence Valla, and diuers other of like approued iudgement and learning. But afterward the same Grocine, when hee had continued a few weekes in his reading thereof, and did consider further in him, hee vtterly altered and recanted his former sentence, protesting openly, that the forenamed booke, in his iudgement, was neuer written by that Author whom we reade in the Acts of the Apostles to be called Dyonisius Areopagita. Ex Erasm. ad Parisiens.

Guliel. Grocinus.

Guliel. Latimerus.

The iudgement of Grocinus vpon Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Dyonis. Areop.

Dyonisius Areop.

The tractation of these two couples aboue rehearsed doth occasion me to adioyne also the remembrance of another couple of like learned men: the names of whom, not vnworthy to be remembred, were Thomas Linacre, and Richard Pace: which two followed much vpon the time of Colet and of William Lily. But of Richard Pace, which was Deane next after the aforesaid John Colet, more conuenient place shall serue vs hereafter to speake, comming to the story of Cardinall Woolsey.

Thomas Linacre. Rich. Pace.

Moreouer, to these two I thought it not out of season, to couple also some mention of Geffery Chaucer and John Gower. Which although being much discrepant from these in course of yeares, yet may seeme not vnworthy to bee matched with these forenamed persons, in commendation of their studie and learning. Albeit concerning the full certainty of the time and death of these two, wee cannot finde; yet it appeareth in the prologue of Gowers worke, entituled Confessio Amantis, that hee finished it in the sixteenth yeare of King Richard the second. And in the end of the eighth booke of his said Treatise he declareth that hee was both sicke and old when he wrote it: whereby it may appeare that he liued not long after. Notwithstanding, by certaine verses of the said Maister Gower, placed in the later end of Chaucers Workes both in Latine and English, it may seeme that hee was alius at the beginning of the reigne of King Henry the fourth, and also by a booke which he wrote to the same King Henry. By his sepulture within the Chappell of the church of S. Mary Oueries, which was then a monasterie, where he and his wife lie buried, it appeareth by his chaine and his garland of Laurell, that he was both a Knight, and flourishing then in Poetry. In the which place of his sepulture were made in his graue stone three bookes; the first bearing the title, Speculum meditantis: the second, Vox clamantis; the third, Confessio Amantis. Besides these, diuers Chronicles and other workes moe hee compiled.

Geffery Chaucer. Joh. Gower.

The bookes of John Gower.

Likewise as touching the time of Chaucer, by his owne words in the end of his first booke of Troylus and Cressida, it is manifest that hee and Gower were both of one time; although it seemeth that Gower was a great deale his antient: both notably learned, as the barbarous rudenesse of that time did giue, both great friends together, and both in like kinde of study together occupied; so endeauouring themselues, and employing their time, that they, excelling many other in study and exercise of good letters, did passe forth their liues here right worshipfully and godly, to the worthy fame and commendation of their name. Chaucers Workes be all printed in one volume, and therefore knowne to all men.

Chaucer and Gower commended for their studious exercise.

This I maruell to see the idle life of the priests and Clergy men of that time, seeing these lay persons shewed themselues in these kindes of liberall studies so industrious and fruitfully occupied: but much more I maruell to consider this, how that the Bishops, condemning and abolishing all manner of English bookes and treatises which might bring the people to any light of knowledge, did yet authorise the Workes of Chaucer to remaine still and to be occupied. Who, (no doubt) saw in Religion as much almost as euen we doe now, and otherwhile in his Works no lesse, and seemeth to be a right

Wicke-

Chaucer a right Wickleuian.

Chaucers Bookes.

When brought to truth by reading Chaucers Workes.

The plough-mans tale in Chaucer.

The corruption of the Church described.

Wickleuian, or else there was neuer any; and that all his workes almost, if they be throughly aduised, will testifie (albeit it be done in mirth, and couertly) and especially the later end of his third booke of the testament of loue: for there purely he toucheth the highest matter, that is, the Communion. Wherein, except a man bee altogether blinde, hee may espie him at the full. Although in the same booke (as in all other he vseth to doe) vnder shadowes couertly, as vnder a visour, he suborneth truth in such sort, as both priuily thee may profit the godly minded, and yet not be espied of the craftie aduersarie. And therefore the Bishops, belike, taking his Workes but for iests and toyes, in condemning other bookes, yet permitted his Bookes to be read.

So it pleased God to blinde then the eyes of them, for the more commodity if his people, to the intent that, through the reading of his treatises, some fruit might redound thereof to his Church, as no doubt it did to many. As also I am partly enformed, of certaine which knew the parties, which to them reported, that by reading of Chaucers Workes they were brought to the true knowledge of religion: And not vnlike to be true. For to omit other parts of his volume, whereof some are more fabulous than other, what tale can be more plainly told than the tale of the ploughman? or what finger canpoint out more directly the Pope with his Prelats to bee Antichrist, than doth the poore Pellican reasoning against the greedy Gryffon? Vnder which Hypotyposis, or poesie, who is so blinde that seeth not by the Pellican the doctrine of Christ, and of the Lollards to be defended against the Church of Rome? Or who is so impudent that can deny that to bee true which the Pellican there affirmeth in describing the presumptious pride of that pretensed Church? Againe, what egge can be more like, or figge, vnto an other, than the words, properties, and conditions of that rauening Gryph resembleth the true Image, that is the nature and qualities, of that which wee call the Church of Rome, in euery point and degree. And therefore no great maruell if that narration was exempted out of the copies of Chaucers Workes: which notwithstanding now is restored againe, and is extant for euery man to read that is disposed. This Geffery Chaucer, being borne (as is thought) in Oxfordshire, and dwelling in Woodstocke, lyeth buried in the Church of the Minster of Saint Peter at Westminster in an Ile on the South side of the said Church, not farre from the doore leading to the Cloister, and vpon his graue stone first were written these two old verses:

Galfridus Chaucer Vates, & fama poësis
Maternæ, hac sacra sum tumulatus humo.

Afterward, about the yeare of our Lord 1556. one Walter Brickham, bestowing more cost vpon his tombe, did adde thereunto these Verses following:

Qui fuit Anglorum Vates ter maximus olim,
Galfridus Chaucer conditur hoc tumulo.
Annum si quæras Domini, si tempora mortis,
Ecce notæ subsunt, quæ tibi cuncta notent.
25. Octob. Anno 1400.

¶ Here beginneth the Reformation of the Church of Christ in the time of Martin Luther.

ALthough it cannot be sufficiently expressed with tongue or pen of man, into what miserable ruine and desolation the Church of Christ was brought in those later dayes: yet partly, by the reading of these stories afore past, some intelligence maybee giuen to them which haue iudgement to marke, or eyes to see in what blindnesse and darkenesse the world was drowned during the space of these foure hundred yeares before and more. By the viewing and considering of which times and histories, thou mayst vnderstand (gentle Reader) how the Religion of Christ, which onely consisteth in spirit and verity, was wholly turned into outward obseruations, ceremonies, and idolatry. So many saints we had, so many gods, so many monasteries, so many pilgrimages. As many Churches, as many Reliques forged and feigned wee had. Againe, so many reliques, so many lying miracles wee beleeued. In stead of the onely liuing Lord, we worshipped dead stocks and stones. In place of Christ immortall, we adored mortall bread. In stead of his bloud we worshipped the bloud of duckes; how the people were led, so that the Priests were fed, no care was taken. In stead of Gods Word, mans word was set vp. In stead of Christs testament, the Popes testament, that is, the Canon Law. In stead of Paul, the Master of Sentences tooke place, and almost full possession. The Law of God was little read, the vse and end thereof was lesse knowne. And as the end of the Law was vnknowne, so the difference betweene the Gospell and the Law was not vnderstood, the benefit of Christ not considered, the effect of faith not expended. Through the ignorance whereof, it cannot bee told what infinite errors, sects, and religions crept into the Church, ouerwhelming the world, as with a flood of ignorance and seduction. And no maruell; for where the foundation is not well layd, what building can stand and prosper? The foundation of all our Christiantie is onely this; The promise of God in the bloud of Christ his sonne, giuing and promising life to all that beleeue in him: Giuing (saith the Scripture) vnto vs, and not bargaining or indenting with vs. And that freely (saith the Scripture) for Christs sake, and not conditionally for our merits sake.

The foundation of Christian Religion. Rom.6. Rom.4.

Furthermore, Freely (saith the Scripture) by grace, that the promise might be firme and sure, and not by the workes that we doe, which alwayes are doubtfull. By grace (saith the Scripture) through promise, to all and vpon all that beleeue and not by the Law, vpon them that doe deserue. For if it come by deseruing, then is it not of grace: If it be not of grace, then is it not of promise. And contrariwise if it be of grace and promise, then is it not of workes. saith Saint Paul. Vpon the foundation of Gods free promise and grace, first builded the Patriarks, Kings, and Prophets. Vpon this same foundation also Christ the Lord builded his Church. Vpon the which foundation the Apostles likewise builded the Church Apostolicall or Catholicall.

Rom.4. Rom.3. Rom.11. I Cor.5.

This Apostolicall and Catholike foundation so long as the Church did retaine, so long it continued sincere and sound: which endured a long season after the Apostles time. But after, in processe of yeares, through wealth and negligence crept into the Church, so soone as this foundation began to bee lost, came in new builders, which would build vpon a new foundation a new Church more glorious, which we call now the Church of Rome. Who being not contented with the old foundation, and the head corner stone, which the Lord by his word had layd; in place thereof they layd the ground-worke vpon the condition and strength of the Law and workes. Although it is not to be denied, but that the doctrine of Gods holy law, and of good workes according to the same, is a thing most necessarie to be learned and followed of all men: yet is it not that foundation whereupon our saluation consisteth; neither is that foundation able to beare vp the weight of the kingdome of heauen; but is rather the thing which is builded vpon the foundation; which foundation is Jesus Christ, according as we are taught of Saint Paul, saying; No man can lay any other foundation beside that which is layd, Christ Jesus, &c.

But this antient foundation, with the old antient

church

The doctrine of the Church corrupted.

church of Chriſt (as I ſaid) hath bene now of long time forſaken, and in ſtead thereof, a new church, with a new foundation, hath bene erected and framed, not vpon Gods promiſe, and his free grace in Chriſt Jeſus, nor vpon free iuſtification by Faith, but vpon merits and deſerts of mens working. And hereon haue they planted all theſe their new deuiſes, ſo infinite, that they cannot well be numbered; as Maſſes-Trecenaries, Dirges, Obſequies, mattens, and houres ſinging ſeruice, Vigiles, midnight-riſing, bare-foot going, fiſh-eating, lent-faſt, Ember-faſt, ſtations, rogations, Jubiles, aduocation of Saints, praying to Images, pilgrimage walking, workes of ſupererogation, application of merits, orders, rules, ſects of Religion, vowes of chaſtitie, wilfull pouerty, Pardons, Relations, Indulgences, penance, and ſatisfaction, with auricular confeſſion, founding of Abbeyes, building of chappels, giuing to churches: And who is able to recite all their laborious buildings, falſely framed vpon a wrong ground, and all for ignorance of the true foundation, which is the free iuſtification by faith in Chriſt Jeſus the Sonne of God?

The life and manners of the Church corrupted.

Moreouer note, that as this new found church of Rome was thus deformed in doctrine, ſo no leſſe was it corrupted in order of life and deepe hypocriſie, doing all things onely vnder pretenſes and diſſembled titles. So vnder the pretence of Peters chaire, they exerciſed a maieſtie aboue Emperours and Kings. Vnder the viſour of their vowed chaſtity reigned adultery; vnder the cloake of profeſſed pouerty, they poſſeſſed the goods of the temporalty; vnder the title of being dead vnto the world, they not onely reigned in the world, but alſo ruled the world, vnder the colour of the keyes of heauen to hang vnder their girdle, they brought all the States of the world vnder their girdle, and crept not onely into the purſes of men, but alſo into their conſciences: they heard their confeſſions; they knew their ſecrets; they diſpenſed as they were diſpoſed, and lowſed what them liſted: And finally when they had brought the whole world vnder their ſubiection; yet did their pride neither ceaſe to aſcend, neither could their auarice be euer ſatisfied. And if the example of Cardinall Wolſey and other Cardinals and Popes cannot ſatisfie thee, I beſeech thee (gentle Reader) turne ouer the foreſaid booke of the ploughmans tale in Chaucer aboue mentioned, where thou ſhalt vnderſtand much more of their demeanor than I haue here deſcribed.

Habentes ſpeciem pietatis, ſed vim ejus abnegantes. 2 Tim. 3.

The reformation of the Church neceſſary.

In theſe ſo blinde and miſerable corrupt dayes of darkneſſe and ignorance, thou ſeeſt good Reader (I doubt not) how neceſſarie it was, and high time that reformation of the Church ſhould come, which now moſt happily and graciouſly began to worke, through the mercifull and no leſſe needfull prouidence of Almightie God. Who although he ſuffered his Church to wander and ſtart aſide, through the ſeduction of pride and proſperitie, a long time, yet at length it pleaſed his goodneſſe to reſpect his people, and to reduce his Church into the priſtine foundation and frame againe, from whence it was pitiouſly decayed. Whereof I haue now conſequently to entreat; intending, by the grace of Chriſt, to declare how and by what meanes firſt this reformation of the Church began, and how it proceeded, encreaſing by little and little vnto this perfection which now we ſee, and more I truſt ſhall ſee.

The firſt beginning of reformation how and by what meanes.

And herein we haue firſt to behold the admirable worke of Gods wiſedome. For as the firſt decay and ruine of the Church, before began of rude ignorance, and lacke of knowledge in teachers; ſo, to reſtore the Church againe by doctrine and learning, it pleaſed God to open to man the art of printing, the time whereof was ſhortly after the burning of John Hus and Hierome. Printing, being opened, incontinently miniſtred vnto the Church the inſtruments and tooles of learning and knowledge, which were good bookes and authors which before lay hid and vnknowne. The Science of Printing being found, immediately followed the grace of God: which ſtirred vp good wits aptly to conceiue the light of knowledge and of iudgement: by which light darkneſſe began to bee eſpied, and ignorance to bee detected; truth from errour, religion from ſuperſtition, to bee diſcerned, as is aboue more largely diſcourſed, where was touched the inuenting of Printing.

Printing the fountaines of reformation.

Furthermore, after theſe wits ſtirred vp of God, followed other more, increaſing daily more and more in Science, in Tongues, and perfection of knowledge: who now were able not onely to diſcerne in matters of iudgement, but alſo were ſo armed and furniſhed with the helpe of good letters, that they did encounter alſo with the aduerſary, ſuſtaining the cauſe and defence of learning againſt barbarity; of verity againſt errour; of true religion againſt ſuperſtition. In number of whom, amongſt many other here vnnamed, were Picus, and Franciſcus Mirandula, Laur. Valla, Franc. Petrarcha, Doc, Weſalianus, Reuelinus, Grocinus, Coletus, Rhenamus, Eraſmus, &c. And here began the firſt puſh and aſſault to be giuen againſt the ignorant and barbarous faction of the Popes pretenſed Church. Who after that by their learned writings and laborious trauell, they had opened a window of light vnto the world, and had made (as it were) a way more readie for other to come after: Immediately, according to Gods gracious appointment, followed Martin Luther, with other after him; by whoſe miniſterie it pleaſed the Lord to worke a more full reformation of his Church, as by their acts and proceedings hereafter ſhall follow (Chriſt willing) more amply to be declared.

And now comming to the time and ſtory of Martin Luther, whom the Lord did ordaine and appoint to be the principall organe and miniſter vnder him, to reforme Religion, and to ſubuert the Sea of the Pope: firſt, before we enter into the tractation hereof, it ſhall not bee impertinent to the purpoſe, to inferre ſuch propheſies and forewarnings as were ſent before of God, by diuers and ſundry good men, long before the time of Luther, which foretold and propheſied of this reformation of the Church to come.

¶ Propheſies going before *Martin Luther*.

The propheſie of John Hus touching the reformation of the Church.

And firſt to begin with the propheſie of John Hus, and Hierome, it is both notable, and alſo before mentioned, what the ſaid John Hus at the time of his burning propheſied vnto his enemies, ſaying; That after an hundred yeares come and gone, they ſhould give account to God and to him.

¶ Where is to be noted, that counting from the yeare 1415. (in the which yeare John Hus was burned) or from the yeare 1416. (when Hierome did ſuffer) vnto the yeare 1516. (when Martin Luther began firſt to write) we ſhall finde the number of an hundred yeares expired.

Another propheſie of John Hus touching the reformation of the Church.

Likewiſe, to this may be adioyned the propheticall viſion or dreame, which chanced to the ſaid John Hus lying in the dungeon of the Friers in Conſtance, a little before he was burned: His dreame, as he himſelfe reporteth it in his Epiſtles writing to Maiſter John Chlum, and as I haue alſo before recorded the ſame, ſo will I now repeat the ſame againe in like effect of words, as he wrote it himſelfe in Latine; the effect of which Latine is this:

I pray you expound to mee the dreame which I had this night. I ſaw that in my Church of Bethlehem (whereof I was Parſon) they deſired and laboured to abolish all the Images of Chriſt, and did abolish them. I the next day following roſe vp, and ſaw many other Painters, which painted both the

the ſame, and many more Images, and more fairer, which I was glad to behold: whereupon the painters, with the great multitude of people, ſaid: Now let the Biſhops and Prieſts come, and put out theſe Images if they can. Which thing done, much people rejoyced in Bethlehem, and I with them: and riſing up I felt my ſelfe to laugh.

Ex Epiſt. 45. Ioh.Hus. This dreame Maſter Io. of Chium firſt expounded. Then he in the next Epiſtle after expounded it himſelfe to this effect: Stante Mandato Dei, &c. That is, the commandement of God ſtanding, that we muſt obſerue no dreames, yet notwithſtanding I truſt that the life of Chriſt was painted in Bethlehem by me, through his Word, in the hearts of men; the which preaching they went about in Bethlehem to deſtroy, firſt in commanding that no preaching ſhould bee, neither in the Church of Bethlehem, nor in the Chappels thereby: Secondly, that the Church of Bethlehem ſhould bee throwne downe to the ground. The ſame life of Chriſt ſhall be painted vp againe by moe Preachers much better than I, and after a much more better ſort, ſo that a great number of people ſhall rejoyce thereat: all ſuch as loue the life of Chriſt, and alſo I ſhall rejoyce my ſelfe, at what time I ſhall awake, that is, when I ſhall riſe againe from the dead.

Another propheſie of Ioh. Hus. Alſo in his forty eighth Epiſtle he ſeemeth to haue a like propheticall meaning, where hee ſaith; That he truſted that thoſe things, which he ſpake then within the houſe, ſhould afterward bee preached above on the houſe top, &c.

And becauſe we are here in hand with the propheſies of Iohn Hus, it is not to bee omitted what hee writeth in a certaine treatiſe, De Sacerdotum & monachorum carnalium abhominatione; thus propheſying of the reformation of the Church; The Church, hee ſaith, cannot bee reduced to his former dignitie, and reformed, before all things firſt bee made new, (the truth whereof appeareth by the Temple of Solomon) as well the Clergie and Prieſts, as alſo the people and laitie. Or elſe, except all ſuch as now bee addicted to avarice, from the leaſt to the moſt, bee firſt converted and renewed, as well the people as the Clerkes and Prieſts, things cannot bee reformed. Albeit, as my minde now giveth mee, I beleeve rather the firſt, that is, that then ſhall riſe a new people, formed after the new man, which is created after God. Of the which people, new Clerkes and Prieſts ſhall come forth and bee taken, which all ſhall hate covetouſneſſe and glorie of this life, labouring to an heavenly converſation. Notwithſtanding, all theſe things ſhall bee done and wrought in continuance and order of time, diſpenſed of God for the ſame purpoſe. And this God doth and will doe of his owne goodneſſe and mercie, and for the riches of his patience and ſufferance, giving time and ſpace of repentance to them that have long layne in their ſinnes, to amend and flie from the face of the Lords furie? untill at length all ſhall ſuffer together, and untill both the carnall people, and Prieſts, and Clerkes, in proceſſe and order of time, ſhall fall away and bee conſumed, as is the cloth conſumed and eaten of the moath, &c.

Another propheſie by Ioh. Hus.

Ioh.Hus,de Sacerd. & monachorum carnalium abhominatione, cap.73.

With this propheſie of John Hus aboue mentioned, ſpeaking of the hundreth yeares, accordeth alſo the teſtimonie of Hierome his fellow Martyr, in theſe words; And I cite you all (ſaid he) to anſwer before the moſt high and juſt Iudge, after an hundreth yeares.

A propheſie of reformation by Hieronym. Dragenſis.

Iohn Hus. *Hieronimus.*

Centum revolutis annis Deo reſpondebitis. *Poſt centum annos omnes vos cito.*

THis Hierome was burnt Anno 1416. and Luther began to write Anno 1516. which was a juſt hundred yeare after, according to the right account of Hieromes Propheſie.

Another propheſie of reformation by Iohn Hilton Monke of Thuringe. Philip Melanchthon in his Apologie, cap de Votis Monaſt. teſtifieth of one Iohn Hilton a Monke in Thuringe, who, for ſpeaking againſt certaine abuſes of the place and Order where hee liued, was caſt into priſon. At length being weake and feeble through impriſonment, hee ſent for the Warden of the Conent, deſiring and beſeeching him to haue ſome reſpect of his wofull ſtate and pitifull caſe. The Warden rebuking and accuſing him for that hee had done and ſpoken; hee anſwered againe and ſayd, That hee had ſpoken nothing which might bee prejudiciall or hurtfull to their Monkerie, or againſt their Religion: but there ſhould come one (and aſſigned the yeare, An. 1516.) who ſhould utterly ſubvert all Monkerie, and they ſhould never be able to reſiſt him, &c.

Ex Phil. Melanc. in Apologia, cap. de Monaſt.

Long it were to induce here all propheſies that bee read in hiſtories. Certaine I minde briefely to touch and paſſe over. And firſt to omit the revelations of Briget (whereunto I doe not much attribute) who propheſying of the deſtruction of Rome in her fourth booke, cap. 17. ſaith; That Rome ſhall bee ſcoured and purged with three things, with ſword, fire, and the plough: reſembling moreover the ſaid Church of Rome to a plant removed out of the old place into a new; Alſo to a body condemned by a Iudge to have the skinne fleyne off; the bloud to bee drawne from the fleſh; the fleſh to bee cut in pieces; and the bones thereof to bee broken; and all the marrow to bee ſqueeſed out from the ſame; ſo that no part thereof remaine whole and perfect, &c. But to theſe ſpeculations of Briget I giue no great reſpect, as neither I doe to the predictions of Katharine de Senis.

Ex revel. Briget. li. 4. ca. 17.

Briget propheteth of reformation.

And yet notwithſtanding, Antonius writing of the

ntoninus. art.3 hiſt. tul.23. ap.14.

arharina Se- ends prophecy- ig of reforma- on.

the ſame Katharine in his third part, Tit.23.ca.14. reciteth her words thus, prophecying of the reformation of the Church to Frier Reymund her ghoſtly father: By theſe tribulations (ſaith ſhee) God after a ſecret manner unknowne to man, ſhall purge his holy Church, and after thoſe things ſhall follow ſuch a reformation of the holy Church of God, and ſuch a renovation of the holy paſtors, that the only cogitation and remembrance thereof maketh my ſpirit to rejoyce in the Lord: and as I have oftentimes told you heretofore, the ſpouſe, which is now all deformed and ragged, ſhall be adorned and decked with moſt rich and precious ouches and brouches: and all the faithfull ſhall be glad and rejoyce to ſee themſelves ſo beautified with ſo holy paſtors. Yea, and alſo the Infidels, then allured by the ſweet ſavour of Chriſt, ſhall returne to the Catholique fold, and bee converted to the true Biſhop and ſheep-heard of their ſoules. Give thankes therefore to God; for after this ſtorme hee will give a great calme, &c.

Of the authority of this Propheteſſe I haue not to affirme or judge, but rather to heare what the Catholique Judges will ſay of this their owne Saint and Prophet. For if they doe not credit her ſpirit of propheſie, why then doe they authorize her for a pure ſaint among the ſiſters of deare Saint Dominick? If they warrant her propheſie, let them ſay then, when was this glorious reformation of the Church euer true or like to be true, if it be not true now in this meruailous alteration of the Church in theſe our later dayes? Or when was there any ſuch conuerſion of Chriſtian people in all countries euer heard of, ſince the Apoſtles time, as hath beene ſince the preaching of Martin Luther?

he propheſie of eronime Sauo- rola.

Of Hieronimus Sauonarola I wrote before, ſhewing that hee propheſied; That one ſhould paſſe over the Alpes like to Cyrus, who ſhould ſubvert and deſtroy all Italy. Which may well bee applied to Gods word, and the Goſpell of Chriſt, ſpreading now abroad ſince Luthers time.

he Propheſie Theodori- s.

Theodoricus, Biſhop of Croatia, liued neere about the time when Hus and Hierome were martyred. Who in the end of his propheticall verſes, which are extant in print, declareth; That the See of Rome, which is ſo horribly polluted with Simonie and avarice, ſhall fall, and no more ſhall oppreſſe men with tyrannie, as it hath done, and that it ſhall bee ſubverted by his owne ſubjects, and that the Church and true pietie ſhall flouriſh more againe then ever it did before.

he propheſie doctor Cle- ius.

Nouiomagus teſtifieth, that he, in the yeare of our Lord 1520. heard Oſtendorpius, a Canon of Daventry, ſay, that when he was a young man, Doctor Weſelus a Friſian, which was then an old man, told him, That hee ſhould live to ſee this new ſchoole divinitie of Scotus, Aquinas, and Bonaventure, to bee utterly forſaken and exploded of all true Chriſtians.

propheſie of e Popes head.

In a booke of Carollus Bovillus, mention is made of a certaine viſion which one Nicolas, an hermite of Heluetia, had; In which viſion hee ſaw the Popes head crowned with three ſwords proceeding from his face, and three ſwords comming toward it. This viſion is alſo impainted in the bookes of Martin Luther, with his preface before it.

e Flact. de ſtibus veri- tis.

Nicolas Medlerus, being of late Superintendent of Brunſwicke, affirmed and teſtified; That hee heard and knew a certaine Prieſt in his countrey, that told the Prieſts there, that they laid aſide Paul under their deskes and pewes: but the time would come, when as Paul ſhould come abroad, and drive them under the deskes and darke ſtalls, where they ſhould not appeare, &c.

Matthias Flacciꝰ, in the end of his booke entituled De Teſtibus Veritatis, ſpeaketh of one Michael Stifelius; which Michael, being an old man, told him that hee heard the Prieſts and Monkes ſay many times by old propheſies, that a violent reformation muſt needes come amongſt them: and alſo that the ſaid Michael heard Conradus Stifelius his father many times declare the ſame: who alſo, for the great hatred hee bare againſt this filthy ſect of Monkes and Prieſts, told to one Peter Piret a friend and neighbour of his, that hee ſhould live and ſee the day; and therefore deſired him, that when the day came, beſides thoſe Prieſts which hee ſhould kill for himſelfe, hee would kill one Prieſt for his ſake. Hæc eu Flaccio.

The Goſpell re- ſtoreth his re- formation with peace and gen- tleneſſe.

This Stifelius thought belike, that this reformation ſhould be wrought by outward violence, and force of ſword; but hee was therein deceiued; although the Aduerſarie vſeth all forcible meanes, and violent tyrannie, yet the proceeding of the Goſpell allwayes beginneth with peace and quietneſſe.

In the table of Amerſham men I ſignified a little before, how one Haggar of London, ſpeaking of this reformation to come, declared; That the Prieſts ſhould make battell, and haue the upper hand a while, but ſhortly they ſhould be vanquiſhed and overthrown for ever.

The fall of the popedome ſignified by the fall of the Angell from the Church top of the Popes caſtle.

In the time of Pope Alexander the ſixth, and about the yeare of our Lord 1500. as is before ſpecified, The high Angell which ſtood in the top of the Popes Church and Caſtle of S. Angell, was throwne downe with a terrible thunder, into the river of Tibris: whereby might ſeeme to be declared the ruine and fall of the popedome.

Ex Baleo Centur. 8.

To this may be adioyned that which in certaine Chronicles, and in John Bale, is recorded: which ſaith, that in the yeare of our Lord 1516. which was the ſame yeare when Martin Luther began, Pope Leo the tenth did create one and thirtie Cardinals: In the which yeare and day of their Creation, there fell a tempeſt of thunder and lightning in Rome, which ſo ſtrooke the Church where the Cardinals were made, that it removed the little childe Ieſus out of the lap of his mother, and the keyes out of Saint Peters hand. Which thing many then did interpret to ſignifie and foreſhew the ſubuerſion and alteration of the See of Rome.

Another ſignifi- cation of the Popes ſubuerſi- on.

Hitherto pertaineth alſo a ſtrange portent and a prodigious token from heauen, in the yeare of our Lord 1505. in the which yeare vnder the reigne of Maximilian Emperour, There appeared in Germanie, upon the veſtures of men, as well of Prieſts as Lay men, upon womens garments alſo, and upon their rockes as they were ſpinning, divers prints and tokens, of the nailes, of the ſponge, of the ſpeare, of the Lords coat, and of bloudie Croſſes, &c. All which were ſeene vpon their caps and gownes, as is moſt certainly teſtified and recorded by diuers, which both did ſee and alſo did write vpon the ſame. Of whom firſt was Maximilian the Emperour, who both had and ſhewed the ſame to Franciſcus Mirandula, which wrote thereupon a booke in Latine metre called Stauroſticon; wherein, for the more credit, theſe verſes bee contained.

Ex Ioan. Carione, Franc. Mirandula, & aliis.

Bloudy markes of the Lords paſſion ſeene vpon mens gar- ments.

Non ignota cano, Cæſar monſtravit, & ipſi
Vidimus: Innumeros prompſit Germania teſtes, &c.

The expoſition of this portent.

Of this alſo writeth Io. Carion, Funcius, P. Melanchthon, Flacciꝰ, with diuers other moe. These marks and tokens, as they were very ſtrange, ſo were they diuerſly expounded of many, ſome thinking that they portended affliction and perſecution of the Church to draw neere: ſome, that God by that token did admonith them, or foreſhewed vnto them the true doctrine of their juſtification, which only is to be ſought in the croſſe and paſſion of Chriſt, and no other thing. This I meruaile, that Chriſtians Maſſeus, and other of that profeſſion, doe leaue it out. Belike they ſaw ſomething in it that made not for their

their liking. For whether it signifieth persecution to come vpon the Germanes, they cannot be euill that suffer and beare the crosse with Christ: or whether it signifieth the true doctrine of Christ comming to the Germanes, it cannot otherwise be, but that the doctrine of the Bishop of Rome must needes bee wrong, which is contrary to this which God hath stirred vp in Germany.

By these and such like prophesies it is euident to vnderstand, the time not to be farre off, when God of his determinate prouidence was disposed to reforme and to restore his Church. And not onely by these prophesies the same might well appeare, but also, and much rather, by the hearts of the people at that time; whose mindes were so incensed and inflamed with hatred against the pompe and pride of Rome, both thorough all Nations, and especially the people of Germany, that it was easie to perceiue the time was nære at hand, when the pride of popish prelacie would haue a fall. Such disdaine there was, such contempt and derision began to rise on euery side then, against the Pope and the court of Rome, that it might soone appeare by the hearts of the people, that God was not disposed to haue it long to stand. For neither were their detestable doings so secret that men did not sée them; neither did any man behold them, hauing any sparkle of godlinesse, that could abide them. And thereupon grew these prouerbs to their derision, in euery countrey: As in Germany it hath béene a prouerbe amongst them:

Prouerbs against the corrupt See of Rome.

Was ist nu inder werlt fur ein wesen,
Wir moegen fur den pfaffen nicht genesen.

What is this, to see the world now round about,
That for these shaueling Priests no man that
once may rout?

Quàm primum clericus suscipit rasuram, statim intrat in eum diabolus.

That is:

So soone as a Clerke is shorne into his Order, by and by the Diuell entreth into him.

In nomine Domini incipit omne malum.

That is:

In the name of God beginneth all euill:
Alluding to the Popes Bulls, which commonly so begin.

Item, When Bulls come from Rome, binde well your purses.
The neerer Rome, the further from Christ.
Item, He that goeth once to Rome, seeth a wicked man.
Hee that goeth twice, learneth to know him.
Hee that goeth thrice, bringeth him home with him.
Item, the court of Rome never regardeth the sheepe without the wooll.

Ex Aven.

Once were wooden Chalices, and golden Priests:
Now wee have golden Chalices, and wooden Priests.
Once Christian men had blinde Churches, and light hearts;
Now they have blinde hearts, and light churches.
Item, many are worshipped for Saints in heaven, whose soules be burning in hell.

What should I speake of our English prouerbe, which so vilely esteemeth the filthy Friers, that it compareth them (sauing thy reuerence, good Reader) to a fart?

In France, Gallus Senonensis writeth foure hundred yeares agoe, that amongst them it was an old saying; Romæ solui Satanam in perniciem totius Ecclesiæ: That is, that Satan was let loose at Rome to destroy the whole church.

Thomas Becket himselfe in his time, writing to the College of Cardinalls, denieth it not, but to be a common word both thorough towne and city, Quod non sit justitia Romæ: That is, that there is no right at Rome.

To these may be adioyned also the A, B, C, which we finde, in the margent of a certaine old Register, to be attributed to William Thorpe, whose toyes wee haue comprehended in the booke before.

The A, B, C against the pride of the Clergie.

¶ A wake ye ghostly persons, awake, awake,
B oth Priest, Pope, Bishop, and Cardinall:
C onsider wisely, what wayes that ye take,
D angerously being like to haue a fall.
E uery where the mischiefe of you all,
F arre and neere, breaketh out very fast;
G od will needs be reuenged at the last.
¶ H ow long haue ye the world captived,
I n sore bondage of mens traditions?
K ings and Emperours ye haue deprived,
L ewdly usurping their chiefe possessions:
M uch miserie ye make in all Regions.
N ow your frauds be almost at their later cast,
O f God sore to be reuenged at the last.
¶ P oore people to oppresse ye haue no shame,
Q uaking for feare of your bloudy tyrannie.
R ightfull Iustice ye haue put out of frame,
S eeking the lust of your god the belli.
T herefore I dare you boldly certifie,
V ery little though you be thereof agast,
Y et God will be reuenged at the last.

By these and such like sayings, which may be collected innumerable, it may soon be séene, what hearts and iudgements the people had in those dayes, of the Romish clergie. Which thing, no doubt, was of God, as a secret prophesie, that shortly religion should be reformed: according as it came to passe about this present time, when Doctor Martin Luther first began to write, after that Picus Mirandula, and Laurentia Valla, and last of all, Erasmus Roterodamus, had somewhat broken the way before, and had shaken the Monkes houses. But Luther gaue the stroke, and pluckt downe the foundation, and all by opening one veine, long bid before, wherein lieth the touchstone of all truth and doctrine, as the onely principall origen of our saluation, which is our free iustifying by faith onely in Christ the Sonne of God. The laborious trauells, and the whole processe, and the constant preachings of this worthy man, because they are sufficiently declared in the history of Ioannes Sleidanus, I shall the lesse néed to stand long thereupon, but onely to runne ouer some principall matter of his life and acts, as they are briefly collected by Philip Melancthon.

Laurentius Valla. Picus Mirandula. Erasmus Roterodamus. Martin Luther. The article of our free iustification beateth downe all errors.

¶ The historie of Doctor Martin Luther, with his life and doctrine described.

The history of Martine Luther, with his life and Doctrine described.

MArtin Luther, after he was growne in yéres, being borne at Isleben in Saxony, Anno 1483. was set to the Vniuersity, first of Magdeburg, then of Erfort. In this Vniuersity of Erfort there was a certaine aged man in the Couent of the Augustines (who is thought to be Wesselus aboue mentioned) with whom Luther being then of the same order, a Frier Augustine, had conference vpon diuers things, especially touching the article of remission of sins; the which Article the said aged father opened vnto Luther after this sort; declaring, that wee must not generally beléeue only forgiuenesse of sins to be, or to belong to Peter, to Paul, to Dauid, or such good men alone; but that Gods expresse commandement

mandement is, that euery man should beléeue his sinnes particularly to bée forgiuen him in Christ: and further said, that this interpretation was confirmed by the testimony of Saint Bernard; and shewed him the place, in the sermon of the Annunciation, where it is thus set forth: But adde thou that thou beleevest this, that by him thy sinnes are forgiven thee. This is the testimony that the Holy Ghost giveth thee in thy heart, saying, Thy sinnes are forgiven thee. For this is the opinion of the Apostle, that man is freely justified by faith.

An excellent declaration of S. Bernard touching Faith.

By these words Luther was not onely strengthned, but was also instructed of thy full meaning of Saint Paul, who repeateth so many times this sentence; Wee are justified by faith. And having read the expositions of many vpon this place, hee then perceiued, as well by the purpose of the old man, as by the comfort he receiued in his spirit, the vanity of those interpretations, which he had read before, of the schoolemen. And so reading by little and little, with conferring the sayings and examples of the Prophets and Apostles, and continuall inuocation of God, and excitation of faith by force of prayer, he perceiued that doctrine most euidently. Then began he to read Saint Augustines bookes, where hée found many comfortable sentences: among other, in the exposition of the Psalmes, and especially in the book of the Spirit & Letter, which confirmed this doctrine of faith and consolation in his heart not a little. And yet hee layd not aside the Sententiaries, as Gabriel and Cameracensis. Also he read the bookes of Occam, whose subtilty he preferred aboue Thomas Aquine and Scotus. Hee read also and reuolued Gerson: but aboue all the rest, he perused all ouer Saint Augustines workes with attentiue cogitation. And thus continued hee his study at Erford the space of foure yeares in the Couent of the Augustines.

The profit of S. Austens bookes.

The institution of the Vniuersitie Wittenberg. Staupitius.

About this time one Staupitius, a famous man, ministring his helpe to further the erection of an Vniuersity in Wittenberg, and endeauouring to haue schooles of Diuinity founded in this new Vniuersity: when hee had considered the spirit and towardlinesse of Luther, he called him from Erford, to place him in Wittenberg, in the yeare 1508. and of his age twenty six. There his towardnesse appeared in the ordinary exercise both of his disputations in the schooles, and preaching in Churches: where many wise and learned men attentiuely heard Luther, namely Doctor Wellerstad.

The iudgement of Doctor Wellerstad by M. Luther.

This Wellerstad would often times say, that Luther was of such a maruellous spirit, and so ingenious, that hee gaue apparant signification, that hee would introduce a more compendious, easie, and familiar manner of teaching, and alter and abolish the order that then was vsed.

There first hee expounded the logick and philosophy of Aristotle, and in the meane while intermitted no whit his study in Theology. Three yeares after he went to Rome, about certaine contentions of the Monkes, and returning the same yeare, he was graded Doctor, at the expences of Elector Frederick Duke of Saxony, according to the solemne manner of schooles; for hee had heard him preach; well vnderstood the quietnesse of his spirit, diligently considered the vehemencie of his words, and had in singular admiration those profound matters which in his sermons he ripely and exactly explained. This degree Staupitius, against his will, inforced vpon him; saying merily vnto him, that God had many things to bring to passe in his church by him. And though these words were spoken merily, yet it came so to passe anon after; as many predictions or presages proue true before a change.

Luther sent to Rome. Fredericke Duke of Saxony. Luther commenceth Doctor.

D. Martin Luther begunneth to reade the Epistle to the Romans.

After this, he began to expound the Epistle to the Romans, and consequently the Psalmes: where hee shewed the difference betwixt the Law and the Gospell. He also confounded the errour that reigned then in schooles and sermons, teaching that men may merit remission of sinnes by their proper workes, and that they be iust before God by outward discipline, as the Pharisees taught. Luther diligently reduced the minds of men to the Sonne of God. And as Iohn Baptist demonstrated the Lambe of God which tooke away the sinnes of the world; Euen so Luther shining in the church as a bright starre after a long cloudy and obscure sky, expressly shewed, that sinnes are freely remitted for the loue of the Sonne of God, and that we ought faithfully to embrace this bountifull gift.

Luther taught Iesus Christ.

These happy beginnings of so good matters got him great authority, especially seeing his life also was correspondent to his profession. The consideration whereof allured to him meruailously the hearts of his auditors, and also many notable personages.

All this while Luther yet altered nothing in the ceremonies, but precisely obserued his rule among his fellowes; hee medled in no doubtfull opinions, but taught this only doctrine, as most principall of all others to all men, opening and declaring the doctrine of repentance, of remission of sinnes, of faith, of true comfort in times of aduersity. Euery man receiued good taste of this sweet doctrine, and the learned conceiued high pleasure to behold Iesus Christ, the Prophets, and Apostles to come forth into light, out of darkenesse, whereby they began to vnderstand the difference betwixt the Law, and the Gospell; betwixt the promises of the Law, and the promise of the Gospell: betwixt spirituall Iustice, and ciuile things: which certainely could not haue bene found in Thomas Aquine, Scotus, and such like schoole Clerks.

Erasmus openeth the way before Luther.

It hapned moreouer about this time, that many were prouoked by Erasmus learned Workes, to study the Greeke and Latine tongues; who perceiuing a more gentle and ready order of teaching then before, began to haue in contempt the Monks barbarous and sophisticall doctrine: and especially such as were of a liberall nature and good disposition. Luther began to study the Greeke and Hebrew tongue, to this end, that after he had learned the phrase and property of the tongues, and drawne the doctrine of the very fountaines, he might giue more sound iudgement.

Ex Christian. Massæo, l. 20. Chron.

As Luther was thus occupied in Germany, which was the yeare of our Lord 1516. Leo the tenth of that name succeeding after Iulius the second, was Pope of Rome. Who vnder pretence of warre against the Turke, sent a Iubilee with his pardons abroad thorough all Christian Realmes and Dominions, whereby hee gathered together innumerable riches and treasure. The gatherers and collectours whereof perswaded the people, that whosoeuer would giue ten shillings, should at his pleasure deliuer one soule from the paines of purgatory. For this they held as a generall rule, that God would doe whatsoeuer they would haue him, according to the saying; Quicquid solueritis super terram, erit solutum in cælis, &c. Whatsoeuer you shall loose vpon earth, the same shall be loosed in heaven. But if it were but one sot lesse than ten shillings, they preached that it would profit them nothing. Ex Christia. Massæo, lib. 20. Chro.

Ten shilling pardons.

This filthy kind of the Popes merchandise, as it spread thorow all quarters of Christian regions, so it came also to Germany, through the meanes of a certain Dominicke Frier named Tecellius, who most impudently caused the Popes Indulgences or pardons to be carried and sold about the Countrey. Whereupon Luther, much moued with the blasphemous sermons of this shamelesse Frier, and hauing his heart earnestly bent with ardent desire to maintaine true religion, published certaine propositions concerning Indulgences, which are to bee read in the first tome of his Workes, and set them

Tecellius preacher of the Popes pardons.

Luthers propositions of pardons.

openly on the temple that ioyneth to the Castle of Wittenberg, the morrow after the feast of all Saints, the yeare 1517.

The first occasion why Luther wrote against Pardons.

This beggerly frier, hoping to obtaine the Popes blessing, assembled certaine Monkes, and sophisticall Diuines of his Couent, and forthwith commanded them to write something against Luther. And whilst he would not himselfe seeme to be dumbe, hee began not onely to inueigh in his sermons, but to thunder against Luther; crying, Luther is an heretike, and worthy to be persecuted with fire. And besides this, he burned openly Luthers propositions, and the sermon which he wrote of Indulgences. This rage and furnish fury of this Frier inforced Luther to treat more amply of the cause, and to maintaine his matter.

The slander of Eccellius the Frier.

And thus rose the beginnings of this controuersie; wherein Luther, neither suspecting, ne dreaming of any change that might happen in the Ceremonies, did not utterly reiect the Indulgences, but required a moderation in them: and therefore they falsely accuse him, which blaze, that he began with plausible matter, whereby hee might get praise, to the end that in processe of time hee might change the state of the common-weale, and purchase authority either for himselfe or other.

And certes, he was not suborned or stirred vp by them of the Court, (as the Duke of Brunswicke wrote) insomuch that the Duke Fredericke was sore offended that such contention and controuersie should arise, hauing regard to the sequel thereof.

The praise of Fredericke duke of Saxony.

And as this good Duke Fredericke was one, of all the princes of our time, that loued best quietnes and common tranquility, neither was auaricious, but willingly bent to referre all his counsells to the common vtility of all the world (as it is easie to be coniectured diuers wayes) so he neither encouraged nor supported Luther, but often represented semblance of heauinesse and sorrow which hee bare in his heart, fearing greater dissensions. But being a wise Prince, and following the counsell of Gods rule, and well deliberating thereupon, hee thought with himselfe, that the glory of God was to be preferred aboue all things. Neither was he ignorant what blasphemy it was, horribly condemned of God, obstinately to repugne the truth. Wherefore he did as a godly Prince should doe; he obeyed God, committing himselfe to his holy grace, and omnipotent protection. And although Maximilianus the Emperour, Carolus king of Spaine, and Pope Iulius had giuen commandement to the said Duke Fredericke, that hee should inhibit Luther from all place and liberty of preaching; yet the Duke, considering with himselfe the preaching and writing of Luther, & weighing diligently the testimonies and places of the scripture which he alleged, would not withstand the thing which he iudged sincere. And yet neither did he this, trusting to his owne iudgement, but was very anxious and inquisitiue to heare the iudgement of other, which were both aged and learned. In the number of whom was Erasmus, whom the Duke desired to declare to him his opinion touching the matter of Martin Luther; saying and protesting, that hee would rather the ground should open and swallow him, then he would beare with any opinions which hee knew to be contrary to manifest truth: and therefore hee desired him to declare his iudgement in the matter to him, freely and friendly.

The iudgement of Erasmus touching Luther.

Monkes bellies and the Popes crowne not to be touched.

Erasmus, thus being entreated of the Duke, began thus iestingly and merily to answer the Dukes request; saying, that in Luther were two great faults: first, that hee would touch the bellies of Monkes; the second, that he would touch the popes Crowne; which two matters in no case are to bee dealt withall. Then, opening his minde plainely to the duke, thus he said, that Luther did well in detecting errors, and that reformation was to be wished, and very necessary in the church: and added moreouer, that the effect of his doctrine was true: but onely that he wished in him a more temperate moderation and manner of writing and handling. Whereupon Duke Fredericke shortly after wrote to Luther seriously, exhorting him to temper the vehemency of his stile. This was at the city of Colen, shortly after the coronation of the new Emperour, where also Huttenus, Aloisius, Marlianus, Ludouicus Vives, Halonius, with other learned men, were assembled together, waiting vpon the Emperour.

Ex Chr. cas. Peucer. lib. 4.

Furthermore, the same Erasmus, the yeare next following that, wrote vp to the archbishop of Mentz a certaine Epistle touching the cause of Luther. In which Epistle thus he signifieth to the Bishop; That many things were in the bookes of Luther condemned of Monkes and Diuines, for hereticall, which in the bookes of Bernard and Austen are read for sound and godly.

Ex Epist. Erasm. ad Moguntinensem

The Church burthened.

Also, That the world is burthened with mens institutions, with schoole doctrines and opinions, and with the tyrannie of begging Friers: which friers, when they are but the Popes seruants and underlings, yet they have so growne in power and multitude, that they are now terrible both to the Pope himselfe, and to all princes. Who so long as the Pope maketh with them, so long they make him more than a god: but if hee make any thing against their purpose or commodity, then they weigh his authority no more than a dreame or phantasie.

Once (said he) it was counted an heresie when a man repugned against the Gospell, or Articles of the faith: Now hee that dissenteth from Thomas of Aquine is an heretique; whatsoeuer doth not like them, whatsoeuer they understand not, that is heresie. To speake Greeke is heresie, or to speake more finely than they doe, that is with them heresie. And thus much by the way concerning the iudgement of Erasmus.

Now to returne, and to entreat something orderly of the acts and conflicts of Luther with his aduersaries. After that Tecellius the foresaid Frier, with his fellow Monkes and frierly fellowes, had cried out with open mouth against Luther, in maintaining the Popes Indulgences; and that Luther againe in defence of his cause had set vp propositions against the open abuses of the same, maruell it was to see how soone these propositions were sparkled abroad in sundry and farre places, and how greedily they were catched vp in the hands of diuers both farre and neere. And thus the contention of this matter encreasing betweene them, Luther was compelled to write thereof more largely and fully than otherwise he thought, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1517.

Ex Paralip. Abbat. Vrsperg.

Yet all this while Luther neuer thought of any alteration to come of any Ceremony, much lesse such a reformation of doctrine and ceremonies as afterward did follow. But onely hearing that hee was accused to the Bishop of Rome, hee did write humbly vnto him: in the beginning of which Writing he declareth the vnordinate outrage of those his pardon-mongers, which so excellently did pill and poll the simple people, to the great slander of the Church, and shame to his Holinesse: and so proceeding, in the end of the said his writing thus he submitteth himselfe:

The submission of Luther to the Pope.

Wherefore (saith hee) most holy Father, I offer my selfe prostrate vnder the feet of your Holinesse, with all that I am, and that I have. Saue mee, kill mee, call mee, recall me, approue mee, reprove mee, as you shall please. Your voyce, the voyce of Christ in you speaking, I will acknowledge. If I have deserved death, I shall bee contented to die: For the earth is the Lords, and all the fulnesse thereof, who is to bee blessed for ever, Amen. This

Psalme 24.

was

was in the yeare of our Lord 1518.

The raging dialogue of Sylueſter Prierus. against Luther. The answer of Luther against Sylueſter.

After that Martin Luther, prouoked thus by Mecellius, had declared his minde in writing, lowly and humbly, and had ſet vp certaine propoſitions to be diſputed, not long after, among other Monkes and Friers, ſtepped vp one Silueſter de Prierio, a Dominicke Frier, who firſt began to publiſh abroad a certaine impudent and railing Dialogue againſt him. Vnto whom Luther anſwered againe, firſt alledging the place of the Apoſtle, 1. Theſſ. 5. That wee muſt prove all things. Alſo the place, Gal. 2. That if an Angell from heaven doe bring any other Goſpell than that wee have received, hee ought to be accurſed.

Item, hee alledged the place of Auſten vnto Hierome, where the ſaid Auſten ſaith, That he was wont to give this honour onely to the bookes of Canonicall Scripture, that whoſoever were the Writers thereof, he beleeveth them utterly not to have erred. But as touching all other mens writings, were they never ſo holy men, or learned, hee doth not beleeve them therefore, becauſe they ſo ſay, but in that reſpect as they doe agree with the Canonicall Scripture, which cannot erre.

Clem. de e Pœn. & emiſſ. C. Abuſionibus.

Item, he alledged the place of the Canon Law; Clem. de Pœnit. & remiſ. C. Abuſionibus. Wherein hee proued, That theſe pardon-ſellers, in their ſetting forth of the Popes Indulgences, ought to goe no further by the Law, than is enjoyned them within the letters of their Commiſſion.

x Parali po- nenis Abba. rſperg.

And in the later part of his anſwer, thus Luther writeth to the Reader; Let opinions (ſaith he) remaine opinions, ſo they bee not yokes to the Chriſtians. Let us not make mens opinions equall with the Articles of faith, and to the decrees of Chriſt and Paul. Moreover, I am aſhamed (quoth hee) to heare the common ſaying of theſe divine Schoole Doctors, who holding one thing in the Schooles, and thinking otherwiſe in their owne judgement, thus are wont ſecretly among themſelves, and with their privy friends talking together, to ſay; Thus doe wee hold, and thus would wee ſay being in the Schooles: but yet (be it ſpoken here amongſt us) it cannot bee ſo proved by the holy Scriptures, &c. Ex Paralip. Abb. Vſperg.

ckius writeth gainſt Luther. . Andreas anſwereth for Luther.

Next after this Silueſter, ſtept forth Eckius, and impugned the concluſions of Luther. Againſt whom encountred D. Andreas Bedenſtein, Archdeacon of Wittenberg, making his Apologie in defence of Luther.

Then was Martin Luther cited the ſeuenth of Auguſt, by one Hieronymus Biſhop of Aſcalon, to appeare at Rome. About which time, Thomas Caietanus, Cardinall, the Popes Legat, was then lieger at the Citie of Auguſta, who before had bene ſent downe in commiſſion, with certaine mandates of Pope Leo, vnto that City. The Vniuerſity of Wittenberg vnderſtanding of Luthers citation, eft ſoones directed vp their letters, with their publique ſeale, to the Pope in Luthers behalfe. Alſo another letter they ſent to Carolus Militius the Popes Chamberlaine, being a Germane borne. Furthermore, good Fredericke ceaſed not for his part to ſollicite the matter with his letters and earneſt ſuit with Cardinall Caietanus, that the cauſe of Luther might be fréd from Rome, and remoued to Auguſta, in the hearing of the Cardinall. Caietanus, at the ſuit of the Duke, wrote vnto the Pope: from whom hée receiued this anſwer againe the three and twentieth of the foreſaid moneth of Auguſt, That hee had cited Luther to appeare perſonally before him at Rome, by Hieronymus Biſhop of Aſcalon, Auditor of the Chamber: which Biſhop diligently had done that was commanded him; but Luther, abuſing and contemning the gentleneſſe offered, did not onely refuſe to come, but alſo became more bold and ſtubborne continuing, or rather encreaſing in his former hereſie, as by his writings did appeare. Wherefore hee would, that the Cardinall ſhould cite and call up the ſaid Luther, to appeare at the Citie of Auguſta before him; adioyning withall, the aid of the princes of Germany, and of the Emperour, if need required: ſo that when the ſaid Luther ſhould appeare, hee ſhould lay hand upon him, and commit him to ſafe cuſtody, and after hee ſhould be brought up to Rome: and if hee perceived him to come to any knowledge or amendment of his fault, hee ſhould releaſe him and reſtore him to the Church againe, or elſe hee ſhould bee interdict, with all other his adherents, abetters, and maintainers, of whatſoever ſtate or condition they were, whether they were Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earles, Barons, &c. Againſt all which perſons and degrees hee willed him to extend the ſame curſe and malediction (only the perſon of the Emperour excepted) interdicting, by the cenſure of the Church, all ſuch Lands, Lordſhips, Townes, Tenements, and Villages, as ſhould miniſter any harbour to the ſaid Luther, and were not obedient vnto the See of Rome. Contrariwiſe, to all ſuch as ſhewed themſelves obedient, hee ſhould promiſe full remiſſion of all their ſinnes.

Likewiſe the Pope directeth other letters alſo the ſame time to Duke Fredericke, complaining with many grieuous words againſt Luther.

The Cardinall thus being charged with iniunctions from Rome, according to his Commiſſion, ſendeth with all ſpéd for Luther to appeare at Auguſta before him.

Luther obedient to the See of Rome.

About the beginning of October, Martin Luther yéelding his obedience to the Church of Rome, came to Auguſta at the Cardinals ſending, (at the charges of the noble Prince Elector, and alſo with his letters of commendation) where hée remained three dayes before hee came to his ſpeech: for ſo it was prouided by his friends, that hee ſhould not enter talke with the Cardinall, before a ſufficient Warrant or ſafe conduct was obtained of the Emperor Maximilian. Which being obtained, eftſoones hee entred, offering himſelfe to the ſpeech of the Cardinall, and was there receiued of the Cardinall very gently: who, according to the Popes commandement, propounded vnto Martin Luther three things; or as Sleiden ſaith, but two; to wit:

Luther appeareth before Cardinal Caietanus.

Three things put to Luther by the Pope.

1. That hee ſhould repent and revoke his errours.

2. That he ſhould promiſe, from that time forward to refraine from the ſame.

3. That hee ſhould refraine from all things that might by any meanes trouble the Church.

When Martin Luther required to be informed, wherein hee had erred, the legat brought forth the Extranagants of Clement, which beginneth: Vnigenitus, &c, becauſe that he, contrary to that Canon, had held and taught in his fifty eighth propoſition, That the merits of Chriſt are not the treaſure of Indulgences or pardons. Secondly, the Cardinall, contrary to the ſeuenth propoſition of Luther, affirmed, that faith is not neceſſary to him that receiueth the Sacrament.

Furthermore, another day, in the preſence of foure of the Emperours Councell, hauing there a Notary, and witneſſes preſent, Luther proteſted for himſelfe, and perſonally, in this manner following.

Proteſtation of M. Luther. before the Cardinall.

Inprimis, I Martin Luther, a Frier Auguſtine, proteſt, That I doe reverence and follow the Church of Rome in all my ſayings and doings, preſent, paſt, and to come; and if any thing hath beene, or ſhall bee ſaid by mee to the contrary, I count it, and will that it bee counted and taken as though it had never been ſpoken. But becauſe the Cardinall hath acquired at the commandement of the Pope, three things of me to be obſerved:

1. That I ſhould returne againe to the knowledge of my ſelfe.

2. That I should beware of falling into the same againe hereafter.

3. That I should promise to abstaine from all things which might disquiet the Church of God.

The answer of Luther with his propositions to the Cardinall.

I protest here this day, That whatsoever I have said seemeth unto mee to bee sound, true, and Catholique; yet for the further proofe thereof, I doe offer my selfe personally, either here or elsewhere, publiquely to give a reason of my sayings. And if this please not the Legat, I am readie also in writing to answer his objections, if hee have any against mee: and touching these things, to heare the sentence and judgement of the Universities of the Empire, Basil, Friburge and Louvane. Hereof when they had received an answer in writing, they departed.

After this, Luther by and by prepareth an answer to the Legat, teaching, that the merits of Christ are not committed unto men: that the Popes voyce is to be heard when he speaketh agreeable to the Scriptures: that the Pope may erre; that he ought to be reprehended, Act. 15. Moreover he shewed, the in the matter of faith, not only the generall Councell, but also every faithfull Christian is above the Pope, if he leane to better authority and reason: that the Extrauagant containeth untruths: that it is an infallible verity, that none is just: that it is necessary, for him that commeth to the receiving of the Sacrament, to beleeue: that faith in the absolution and remission of sinnes is necessary: that he ought not, nor might not decline from the verity of the Scripture: that he sought nothing but the light of the truth, &c.

But the Cardinall would heare no scriptures, he disputed without scriptures; he deuised glosses and expositions of his owne head: and by distinctions, (wherwith the diuinity of the Thomists is full) like a very Proteus he auoided all things. After this, Luther being commanded to come no more in the presence of the legat, except he would recant, notwithstanding abode there still, and would not depart. Then the Cardinall sent for Ioannes Stupitius, Vicar of the Augustines, and moued him earnestly to bring Luther to recant of his owne accord. Luther tarried the next day also, and nothing was said unto him. The third day moreover he tarried, and deliuered vp his minde in writing: in which, first, hee thanked him for his courtesie and great kindenesse, which hee perceived by the words of Stupitius, toward him; and therefore was the more ready to gratifie him in whatsoever kinde of office hee could doe him service: confessing moreover, that where hee had beene somewhat sharpe and eagre against the Popes dignity, that was not so much of his owne minde, as it was to bee ascribed to the importunitie of certaine which gave him occasion. Notwithstanding, as hee acknowledged his excesse therein, so hee was readie to shew more moderation in that behalfe hereafter, and also promised to make amends for the same unto the Bishop, and that in the pulpit, if hee pleased. And as touching the matter of pardons, hee promised also to proceed no further in any mention thereof, so that his Adversaries likewise were bound to keepe silence. But whereas he was prest to retract his sentence before defended; forasmuch as hee had said nothing but with a good conscience, and which was agreeable to the firme testimonies of the Scripture: therefore hee humbly desired the determination thereof to bee referred to the Bishop of Rome: for nothing could be more gratefull to him, than to heare the voyce of the Church speaking, &c.

Proteus was a monster noted in Poets, which could change himselfe into all formes and likenesses.

Luthers answer to the Cardinal.

¶ Who doth not see, by this so humble and honest submission of Luther, but that if the Bishop of Rome would haue been answered with any reason, or contented with sufficient meane, hee had neuer beene touched any further of Luther? But the secret purpose of God had a further worke herein to do: for the time now was come, when God thought good that pride should haue a fall. Thus while the unmeasurable desire of that Bishop sought more than enough, (like to Esops Dog, coueting both to haue flesh and shadow) not onely he missed that he gaped for, but also lost that which he had.

Pride will haue a fall.

Aesops Dog, couet, all lose.

But to the purpose of our matter againe: this writing Luther deliuered to the Cardinall, the third day after he was commanded out of his sight. Which letter or writing the Cardinall did little regard. When Luther saw that he would giue no answer nor countenance to the letter: yet notwithstanding he remained after that the fourth day, and nothing was answered: the fifth day likewise was passed with like silence, and nothing done. At the length, by the counsell of his friends, and especially because the Cardinall had said before, that he had a commandement to imprison Luther and John Stupitius the Vicar; after that he had made and set vp his appeale where it might be seene and read, he departed, thinking that he had shewed such dangerous obedience long enough. Luther, a beholder and a doer of these things, recordeth the same, and sheweth the cause why hee submitted himselfe to the Church of Rome: declaring also, that euen those things which are most truly spoken, yet ought to be maintained and defended with humility and feare. Some things he suppresseth and concealeth, which he supposeth the Reader to vnderstand, not without griefe and sorrow. At length he protesteth, that he reuerenceth and followeth the Church of Rome in all things, and that hee setteth himselfe onely against those, which, vnder the name of the Church of Rome, go about to set forth and commend Babylon vnto vs.

Luther obedient to the Church of Rome.

Thus haue you heard, how that Luther, being rejected from the speech and sight of Cajetanus the Cardinall, after six dayes waiting, departed, by the aduice of his friends, and returned into Wittenberg; leauing a letter in writing to be giuen to the Cardinall: wherein he declared sufficiently, first his obedience in his comming, the reasons of his Doctrine, his submission reasonable to the see of Rome, his long waiting after hee was repelled from the Cardinals speech, the charges of the Duke, and finally, the cause of his departing. Besides this letter to the Cardinall, he left also an appelation to the Bishop of Rome, from the Cardinall, which he caused to be affixed before his departure.

Another Letter of Luther to the Legat.

Luther appeleth from the Cardinall to the Pope.

After that Luther was thus departed and returned againe into his Countrey, Cajetanus writeth to Duke Fredericke a sharpe and a biting letter: in which first he signifieth vnto him his gentle entertainment and good will shewed to reduce Luther from his errour. Secondly he complaineth of the sudden departing of him, and of Stupitius. Thirdly, he declareth the pernitious danger of Luthers doctrine against the Church of Rome. Fourthly, he exhorteth the Duke, that as hee tendereth his owne honour and safety, and regardeth the fauour of the high Bishop, he will send him vp to Rome, or expel him out of his dominions, forsomuch as such a pestilence breeding, as that was, could not, neither ought by any meanes long so to be suffered.

The letters of Cajetanus to Duke Frederick.

The Dukes answer to the Cardinall for Luther.

To this letter of the Cardinall the Duke answereth againe at large, purging both Luther and himselfe; Luther, in that he following his conscience, grounded vpon the Word of God, would not reuoke that for an errour, which could be proued no errour: and himselfe he excuseth thus; that where it is required of him to banish him his Countrey, or to send him vp to Rome, it would be little honestie for him so to do, and lesse conscience, vnlesse hee knew just cause why he should so do: Which if the Cardinall would or could declare unto him, there should lack nothing in him which were the part of a Christian prince to do. And therfore he desired him to be a meanes vnto the Bishop of Rome, that innocency

nocency and truth be not oppressed before the crime or error be lawfully convicted.

This done, the Duke sendeth the letter of the Cardinall vnto Martin Luther. Who answered againe to the Prince; shewing first how hee came obediently vnto Caietanus with the Emperours Warrant; and what talke there was betweene them: how Caietanus pressed him, against his conscience and manifest truth, to reuoke these errors. First, that the merits of Christs passion were not the treasure of the Popes pardons. Secondly, that faith was necessary in receiuing the Sacraments. Albeit in the first he was content to yeeld to the cardinall; In the second, because it touched a great part of our saluation, he could not with a safe conscience relent, but desired to be taught by the scripture: or at least, that the matter might be brought into open disputation in some free place of Germany, where the truth might be discussed and iudged of learned men. The Cardinall not pleased with this, in great anger cast out many menacing words, neither would admit him any more to his presence or speech: whereas he yet notwithstanding perfitting in his obedience to the Church of Rome, gaue attendance, waiting vpon the Cardinalls pleasure a sufficient time.

At last, when no answer would come; after hee had waited the space of fiue or six dayes, to his great detriment, and greater danger, by the perswasion of his friends he departed. Whereat if the Cardinall were displeased, hee had most cause to blame himselfe. And now whereas the Cardinall threatneth me (saith he) not to let the Action fall, but that the processe thereof shall be pursued at Rome, vnlesse I either come and present my selfe, or else be banished your dominions; I am not so much grieued for myne owne cause, as that you should sustaine for my matter any danger or perill. And therefore seeing there is no place nor country which can keepe me from the malice of my aduersaries, I am willing to depart hence, and to forsake my countrey, whithersoeuer it shall please the Lord to lead me: thanking God, which hath counted mee worthy to suffer thus much for the glory of Christs name.

Here (no doubt) was the cause of Luther in great danger, being now brought to this strait, that both Luther was ready to fly the countrey, and the Duke againe was as much afraid to keepe him; had not the meruailous prouidence of God (who had this matter in guiding) here prouided a remedy where the power of man did faile; by stirring vp the whole Vniuersity of Wittenberg; who, seeing the cause of truth thus to decline, with a full and a generall consent addressed their letters vnto the Prince, in defence of Luther and of his cause; making their humble suite vnto him, that he of his princely honour would not suffer innocency, and the simplicity of truth, so clere as is the Scripture, to be foiled and oppressed by mere violence of certaine malignant flatterers about the Pope; but that the error first may be shewed and conuicted, before the party bee pronounced guilty.

By the occasion of these letters, the Duke began more seriously in his minde to consider the cause of Luther, and to read his Workes, and also to hearken to his Sermons. Whereby (through Gods holy working) he grew to knowledge and strength, perceiuing in Luthers quarell more than hee did before. This was about the beginning of December, Anno 1518.

As this past on, Pope Leo playing the Lyon at Rome, in the meane time, in the moneth of November, to stablish his seat against this defection which he feared to come, had sent forth new Indulgences into Germany, and all quarters abroad, with a new Edict, wherein he declared this to be the Catholique doctrine of the holy mother Church of Rome, Prince of all other Churches, that Bishops of Rome, which are successors of Peter, and Vicars of Christ, haue this power and authority giuen to release and dispence, also to grant Indulgences auailable both for the liuing and for the dead, lying in the paines of Purgatory: and this doctrine he charged to be receiued of all faithfull Christian men, vnder paine of the great curse, and vtter separation from all holy Church.

This popish decree and Indulgence, as a new merchandise or ale-stake to get money, being set vp in all quarters of Christendome for the holy fathers aduantage, came also to be receiued in Germany about the moneth of December. Luther in the meane time, hearing how they were about in Rome to proceed and pronounce against him, prouided a certaine Appellation conceiued in due forme of law, wherein he appealeth from the Pope to the generall Councell.

The Popes ale stake to picke mens purses.

Luther appealeth from the Pope, to a generall councell.

When Pope Leo perceiued, that neither his pardons would prosper to his minde, nor that Luther could be brought to Rome; to allay how to come to his purpose by crafty allurements, he sent his chamberlaine Carolus Miltitius, aboue mentioned (which was a Germane) into Saxony to Duke Frederick, with a golden rose, after the vsuall ceremony accustomed euery yeere to be presented to him, with secret letters also to certaine noblemen of the Dukes counsell, to sollicite the popes cause, and to remoue the Dukes minde, if it might be, from Luther.

Miltitius the Popes chamberlaine sent to Duke Frederick.

But before Miltitius approched into Germany, Maximilian the Emperor deceased in the moneth of January, Anno 1519. At what time two there were which stood for the election, to wit, Francis the French King, and Charles King of Spaine, which was also Duke of Austria, and Duke of Burgondy. To make this matter short, through the meanes of Fredericke Prince Elector (who hauing the offer of the preferment, refused the same) the election fell to Carolus, called Carolus the fifth, surnamed Prudence: Which was about the end of August.

The death of Maximilian the Emperor.

Charles the fifth elected Emperour, by the means of Duke Frederick.

In the moneth of June before there was a publike disputation ordained at Lypsia, which is a city in Misnia, vnder the dominion of George Duke of Saxony, vncle to Duke Fredericke. This disputation first began through the occasion of Ioannes Eckius a Frier, and Andreas Carolostadius, doctor of Wittenberg. This Eckius had impugned certaine propositions or conclusions of Martin Luther, which he had written the yeere before touching the Popes pardons. Against him Carolostadius wrote in defence of Luther. Eckius againe to answer Carolostadius, set forth an Apologie. Which Apology Carolostadius againe confuted by writing. Vpon this began the disputation, with safe-conduct granted by Duke George, to all and singular persons that would resort to the same. To this disputation came also Martin Luther, with Philip Melanchon, who not past a yere before was newly come to Wittenberg; Luther not thinking then to dispute any matter, because of his Appellation aboue mentioned, but onely to heare what there was said and done.

The disputation at Lypsia.

Eckius against Carolostadius.

Luther commeth to the disputation.

Melanchon newly come to Wittenberg.

First, before the entry into the disputation it was agreed, that the Acts should be penned by Notaries, and after diuulged abroad. But Eckius afterward went back from that; pretending, that the penning of the Notaries should be an hinderance and a stay vnto them, whereby the heat of them in their reasoning should the more languish, and their vehemencie rebate. But Carolostadius without Notaries would not dispute. The sum of their disputations was reduced to certaine conclusions. Amongst which, first came in question to dispute of free-will, which the Greekes call αὐθαίρετον: That is, whether a man haue of himselfe any election or purpose to do that which is good or (to vse the termes of the schole)

The question of free will.

whether a man of congruence may deserue grace, doing that which in him doth lie? Herein when the question was to bee discussed, what the will of man may doe of it selfe, without grace: they through heat of contention (as the manner is) fell into other by-matters and ambages little or nothing appertaining to that which Carolostadius proposed. Eckius affirmed, that the pure strength to doe good is not in mans will, but is giuen of God to man, to take interest and increase of man againe, which first he seemed to deny. Then being asked of Carolostadius, whether the whole and full good worke that is in man proceedeth of God: to this hee answered, the whole good worke, but not wholly: granting, that the will is moued of God; but to consent, to bee in mans power. Against this reasoned Carolostadius, alledging certaine places of Austen, and namely of saint Paul, which saith, That God worketh in us both to will and to performe. And this sentence of Carolostadius seemed to ouercome. Eckius for his assertion inferred certaine escripts out of Bernard, which seemed little to the purpose. And thus was a whole weeke lost about this contentious and sophisticall altercation betweene Eckius and Carolostadius.

God giueth his grace to vsury.
Totum. Totaliter.
Phil. 2.

Luther (as was said) came, not thinking at all to dispute; but hauing true libertie granted by the Duke, and vnder the Popes authority, was prouoked, and forced against his will to dispute with Eckius. The matter of their controuersie was about the authority of the Bishop of Rome. Here is first to be admonished, that Luther before had set forth in writing this doctrine: That they which do attribute the preheminence to the Church of Rome haue no foundation for them but out of the Popes decrees, set forth not much past 400. yeares heretofore: which decrees be affirmed to be contrary to all antient histories, aboue a thousand yeares past, contrary also to the holy Scriptures, and vnto the Nicene Councell.

Luther disputeth with Eckius.
Luthers assertion against the popes supremacy.
The assertion of Eckius for the supremacie.

Against this assertion Eckius set vp a contrary conclusion; saying, That they, which hold that the supremacie and preheminence of the Church of Rome aboue all other Churches was not before the time of Pope Siluester the first, do erre, forasmuch as they, which succeeded in the See and faith of Peter, were alwayes receiued for the successors of Peter, and Vicars of Christ in earth.

This being the last of all the other Themes of Eckius, yet thought he chiefly to begin with this against Luther, to bring him into more displeasure with the Bishop of Rome: wherein Luther himselfe much refused to dispute, alledging that matter to bee more odious than necessary for that present time, and that also, for the Bishop of Romes sake, he had much rather keep silence in the same. Whereunto if he must needs be urged, hee would the fault should be vnderstood of all men to bee where it was, namely in his aduersaries which prouoked him thereunto, and not in himselfe. Eckius againe, clearing himselfe, translateth all the fault vnto Luther, which first in his treatise De Indulgentiis Papæ defended, that before pope Siluesters time the Church of Rome had no place of maiority or preheminence aboue other churches: and also before the Cardinall Caietanus affirmed, that Pope Pelagianus wrested many places of the Scripture out of their proper sence, vnto his owne affection and purpose. Wherefore the fault hereof (said hee) to him rather is to bee imputed, which ministred the first occasion.

Disputation betweene Luther and Eckius, about the Popes supremacy.

Thus Luther being egged and constrained to dispute, whether he would or no, the question began to be propounded touching the supremacie of the Bishop of Rome; which supremacie Eckius did contend to be founded and grounded vpon Gods law. Walter Luther on the other side denied not the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome aboue other Churches, neither denied the same moreouer to bee vniuersall ouer all Churches; but onely hee affirmed it not to bee instituted by Gods law. Vpon this question the disputation did continue the space of fiue dayes. During all which season, Eckius very vnhonestly and vncourteously demeaned himselfe, studying by all meanes how to bring his aduersarie into the hatred of the Auditors, and into danger of the Pope. The reasons of Eckius were these: Forsomuch as the Church, being a civill body, cannot bee without an head, therefore as it standeth with Gods law, that other civile regiments should not bee destitute of their head; so is it by Gods Law requisite, that the Pope should bee the head of the vniuersall Church of Christ. To this Martin Luther answered, That hee confesseth and granteth the Church not to bee headlesse, so long as Christ is alive, who is the onely head of the Church; neither doth the Church require any other head beside him, forsomuch as it is a spirituall Kingdome, and not earthly: And hee alledged for him the place of Coloss. 1. Eckius againe produced certaine places out of Hierome and Cyprian, which made very little to proue the primacie of the Pope to hold by Gods law. As touching the testimony of Bernard, neither was the authority of that Author of any great force in this case, neither was the place alledged so greatly to the purpose.

Ex parolipomenis Abbatis Vrsperg.
The reasons of Eckius for the supremacy.
Hieronim. Cyprian.
Bernard.

Then came hee to the place of Saint Matthew, Tu es Petrus, &c. Thou art Peter, and upon this Rocke will I build my Church, &c. To this was answered, That this was a confession of Faith; and that Peter there representeth the person of the whole universall Church, as Austen doth expound it. Also that Christ in that place meaneth himselfe to bee the rocke, as is manifest to collect both by his words and order of the sentence, and many other conjectures. Likewise to the place of Saint John, Pasce oues meas, Feed my sheepe, (Which words Eckius alledged to bee spoken properly and peculiarly to Peter alone) Martin answered, That after these words spoken, equall authoritie was giuen to all the Apostles, where Christ saith unto them; Receive yee the holy-Ghost: whose sinnes soever yee remit, they are remitted, &c. By these words (saith hee) Christ, assigning to them their office, doth teach what is to feed, and what hee ought to bee that feedeth. After this, Eckius came to the authority of the Councell of Constance; alledging this amongst other Articles: De necessitate salutis est credere Roman. pontificem Oecumenicum esse: That is, That it standeth upon necessitie of our salvation, to beleeve the Bishop of Rome to bee supreame head of the Church: alledging moreouer, that in the same councell it was debated and discussed, that the generall Councell could not erre. Whereunto Martin Luther againe did answer discreetly, saying, That all the Articles which Iohn Hus did hold in that Councell were not condemned for hereticall, with much other matter more. Againe, of what authority that Councell of Constance is to be esteemed, that hee left to other mens judgements. This is most certaine (said hee) that no Councell hath such authority to make new Articles of Faith. Here Martin Luther began to bee cried out of by Eckius and his complices, for diminishing the authority of generall councels. Although indeed he ment nothing lesse; but ever laboured to confirme the authority of the same. Yet was hee called heretique and schismatique, and one of the Bohemes faction, with many other termes moe of reprochfull contumely. Eckius then granted the authority of the Apostles to be equall: and yet not to follow thereby, the authority of all Bishops therefore to be equall; For betweene Apostleship and Ministerie (said hee) there is great difference. To conclude, Eckius in no case could abide that any

Luther answereth to the place of saint Matthew.
Mat. 16.
The answer of Luther to the place of Saint John.
Ioh. 21.
Pasce oues meas.
The authority of the councell of Constance.

any creature should decline from any word or sentence of the Popes decrees, or the constitutions of the forefathers. To this againe Luther answered, grounding himselfe upon the place ad Gal. 2. where Saint Paul, speaking of the principall Apostles, saith; And of them which seemed to be great, what they were before it maketh no matter to mee, for God accepteth no Mans person: nevertheless, that they were of some reputation did availe nothing at all, &c. Eckius to this said, That as touching the authority of the Apostles, they were all chosen of Christ, but were ordained Bishops of Saint Peter. And whereas Luther brought in the constitution of the decree, which saith; Ne Romanus pontifex universalis Episcopus nominetur, &c. Yea, let not the Bishop of Rome bee called universall Bishop, &c. To this Eckius answered on this sort: That the Bishop of Rome ought not to bee called universall Bishop; yet hee may bee called (saith he) Bishop of the universall Church. And thus much touching the question of the Popes supremacie.

Gal. 2.

Here is good doctrine of Eckius, I trow.

The question of purgatory.

From this matter they entred next to purgatory, wherein Eckius kept no order; for when they should have disputed what power the Pope hath in purgatory, Eckius turneth the scope of the question, and proveth that there is purgatory; and alledgeth for him the place of Maccabees. Luther, leaning upon the judgement of Hierome, affirmeth the booke of Maccabees not to be Canonicall. Eckius againe replieth, the booke of Maccabees to bee of no lesse authority than the Gospels. Also hee alledged the place, 1. Corinth. 3. Hee shall bee saved, yet so as it were by fire. Moreover, hee inferred the place of Matthew 5. Agree thou with thine adversarie while thou art in the way with him, lest hee commit thee to Prison, from whence thou shalt not escape til thou hast payed the uttermost farthing, &c. To this he added also the place of the Psalmes, Wee have passed through the fire and water, &c. How these places be wrested to purgatory let the reader discerne and judge. Then was inferred the question of indulgences, whereof Eckius seemed to make but a toy, and a matter of nothing, and so passed it over.

2. Mac. 12.

1. Cor. 3. Mat. 5.

Psal. 65.

The question of Indulgences.

The question of penance.

At last they came to the question of penance: touching which matter, the reasons of Eckius digressed much from the purpose, which went about to prove, that there be some manner of paines of satisfaction: which thing Luther did never deny: but that for every particular offence such particular penance is exacted of Gods justice upon the repentant sinner, as is in mans power to remit or release as pleaseth him; such penance, neither Luther, nor any true Christian did admit.

And thus have yee the chiefe effect of this disputation betweene Luther and Eckius at Lypsia, which was in the moneth of July, Anno 1519.

When Ulderic Zuinglius came to Zurick.

About the beginning of the same yeare 1519. Uldericke Zuinglius came first to Zuricke, and there began to teach. Who in the sixteenth article, in his booke of Articles, recordeth, that Luther and he both at one time, one not knowing nor hearing of another, began to write against the Popes pardons and Indulgences. Albeit, if the time be rightly counted, I suppose wee shall finde that Luther began a yeare or two before Zuinglius. Notwithstanding, this doth Sleidan testifie, that in this present yeare, when Sampson a Franciscan came with the Popes pardons to Zurick, Ulderick Zuinglius did withstand him, and declared his chaffer and pardons to be but a vaine seducing of the people, to invaeigle way their money. Ex Sleid. lib. 1.

Luther and Zuinglius began both at one time to write against the Pope.

Luthers bookes condemned at Louvaine and Colen.

The next yeare ensuing, which was 1520. the Friers and Doctors of Louvaine, and also of Colen, condemned the bookes of Luther as hereticall. Against whom Luther again effectuously defended himselfe, and charged them with obstinate violence and malitious impietie. After this, within few dayes flashed out from Rome the thunderbolt of Pope Leo against the said Luther, notwithstanding he so humbly and obediently before had reverenced both the person of the Pope, and agnised the authority of his see, and also had dedicated unto him the booke intituled, De Christiana libertate: that is, of Christian liberty. In which booke these two points principally he discusseth and proveth.

Pope Leos Bull against Luther.

Lutherus de libertate Christiana.

1 That a Christian man is free and lord of all things, and subject to none.

2 That a Christian man is a diligent underling and servant of all men, and to every man subject.

Moreover, in the same yeare he set out a defence of all his Articles, which the Popes Bull had before condemned.

Another booke also hee wrote to the Nobility of Germany, in the which booke he impugneth and shaketh the three principall walls of the Papists: the first whereof is this:

Lutherus ad Nobilitatem Germaniæ.

Three walls of bulwarks of the Papists.

1 Whereas the Papists say, that no temporall or prophane Magistrate hath any power upon the Spiritualty, but these have power over the other.

2 Where any place of Scripture, being in controversie, is to be decided, they say, No man may expound the Scripture, or bee Iudge thereof, but onely the Pope.

3 When any Councell is brought against them, they say, That no man hath authoritie to call a Councell but onely the Pope.

The booke of Luther to the nobility with the matter therein contained.

Moreover, in the foresaid booke divers other matters he handleth and discourseth: That the pope can stop no free Councell; also what things ought to be handled in Councels. That the pride of the Pope is not to be suffered. What money goeth out of Germany yearely to the pope, amounting to the summe of three millions of Florences. The true meaning of this verse he expoundeth: Tu supplex ora: tu protege, tuque labora. Wherein the three estates, with their offices and duties are described: to wit, the Minister, the Magistrate, and the Subjects. Furthermore, in the said booke he proveth and discusseth, that the Emperor is not under the Pope, but contrariwise, that the donation of Constantine is not true, but forged: that priests may have wives, that the voyces of the people ought not to be separate from the election of ecclesiasticall persons: that interdicting and suspending of matrimony at certaine times is brought in of avarice: what is the right use of excommunication: that there ought to be fewer holy-dayes: that libertie ought not to be restrained in meats: that wilfull poverty and begging ought to be abolished: what dammage and inconvenience have growne by the Councell of Constance: and what misfortunes Sigismund the Emperor sustained, for not keeping faith and promise with John Hus and Hierome: that heretickes should be convinced not by fire and fagot, but by evidence of Scripture, and Gods Word: how schooles and Universities ought to be reformed: what is to be said and judged of the popes Decretals, that the first teaching of children ought to begin with the Gospell. Item, he writeth in the same booke against excessive apparell among the Germanes. Also against their excesse in spices, &c.

In this yeare moreover followed not long after the coronation of the new Emperor Carolus quintus, which was in the moneth of October, at Aquisgrave.

Charles the Emperor crowned.

After which coronation, being solemnised about the moneth of November, Pope Leo sent againe to Duke Fredericke two Cardinals his legats, of whom the one was Hieronimus Leander, who after a few words of high commendation first premised to the Duke, touching his noble progeny, and other his famous vertues, they made two requests unto him

him in the Popes name; first, that he would cause all bookes of Luther to be burned. Secondly, that hee would either see the said Luther there to be executed, or else would make him sure, and send him vp to Rome vnto the Popes presence.

Duke Fredericks answer to the Popes legats, for Luther.

These two requests seemed very strange vnto the duke, who, answering againe to the Cardinals, said that he being long absent from thence, about other publique affaires, could not tell what there was done, neither did he communicate with the doings of Luther. Notwithstanding this he heard, that Eckius was a great perturber not onely of Luther, but of diuers other learned and good men of his Vniuersity. As for himselfe, he was alwayes ready to do his duty; first, in sending Luther to Cajetanus the Cardinall, at the City of August, and afterward, at the Popes Commandement, would haue sent him away out of his dominion, had not Weltitius, the popes owne chamberlaine, giuen contrary counsell to retaine him still in his owne countrey, fearing lest that in other countreys he might do more harme, where he was lesse knowne: and so now also was as ready to do his duty, whereseuer right and equity did so require. But for somuch as in this cause he seeth much hatred and violence shewed on the one part, and no error yet conuicted on the other part, but that it had rather the approbation of diuers well learned and sound men of iudgement; and forsomuch as also the cause of Luther was not yet heard before the Emperor, therefore he desired the said legats to be a mean to the Popes holinesse that certaine learned persons of grauity and vpright iudgement might be assigned to haue the hearing and determination of this matter, and that his error might first be knowne, before he were made an heretique, or his bookes burned. Which being done, when he should see his error by manifest and sound, testimonies of Scriptures reuinced, Luther should finde no fauor at his hands; otherwise he trusted that the Popes holinesse would exact no such thing of him, which he might not with equity and honor of his place and estate, reasonably performe, &c.

The Popes legats burne the bookes of Luther.

Luther burneth the Popes Decrees and bulls at Wittengberg.

Then the Cardinalls, declaring to the Duke againe, that they could no otherwise do, but, according to the forme of their prescript commission, they must proceed, tooke the bookes of Luther, and shortly after set fire vpon them, and openly burnt them. Luther hearing this, in like manner called all the multitude of Students and learned men in Wittenberg, and there taking the Popes decrees, and the Bull lately sent downe against him, openly and solemnly, accompanied with a great number of people following him, set them likewise on fire, and burnt them, which was the tenth of December.

A little before these things thus passed betweene the Pope and Martin Luther, the Emperor had commanded and ordained a sitting or assembly of the States of all the Empire to be holden at the City of Wormes, against the sixth day of January next ensuing. In the which assembly, through the meanes of Duke Fredericke, the Emperor gaue forth, That he would haue the cause of Luther there brought before him, and so it was. For at what time the assembly was commenced in the City of Wormes, the day and moneth aforesaid, which was the sixth of January: afterward vpon the sixth day of March following, the Emperor, through the instigation of Duke Fredericke, directed his letters vnto Luther; signifying, that for so much as he had set forth certaine bookes, he therefore, by the aduice of his peeres and princes about him, had ordained to haue the cause brought before him in his owne hearing, and therefore he granted him licence to come and returne home againe. And that hee might safely and quietly so doe, and be thereof assured, he promised vnto him by publique faith and credit, in the name of the whole Empire, his passport and safe-conduct; as by the instrument which he sent vnto him, he might more fully be ascertained. Wherefore without all doubt or distrust he willed him either to make his repaire vnto him, and to be there present the one and twentieth day after the receit thereof: and because he should not misdoubt any fraud or injury herein, he assured vnto him his warrant and promise.

The Emperors letter with his safe conduct sent to master Luther.

M. Luther accursed at Rome by the Pope.

Martin Luther being thus prouided for his safe conduct by the Emperor, after he had beene first accursed at Rome vpon Maundy Thursday, by the Popes censure, shortly after Easter speedeth his journey toward the Emperor, at Wormes. Where the said Luther appearing before the Emperor and all the States of Germanie, how constantly he stucke to the truth, and defended himselfe, and answered his aduersaries, and what aduersaries he had, here followeth in full history, with the acts and doings which there happened, according as in our former edition partly was before described.

¶ *The acts and doings of Martin Luther before the Emperour at the Citie of Wormes.*

{Anno 1521.}

IN the yeare of our saluation 1521, about seuenteene dayes after Easter, Martin Luther entred into Wormes, being sent for by the Emperour Charles the fifth of that name, &c. who, the first yeare of his Empire made an assembly of Princes in the foresaid City. And whereas master Luther had published three yeares before certaine propositions, to be disputed in the towne of Wittenberg in Saxony, against the tyranny of the Pope (which notwithstanding were torne in pieces, condemned and burned by the Papists, and yet by no manifest Scriptures nor probable reason conuinced) the matter began to grow to a tumult and vproar; and yet Luther maintained all this while openly his cause against the Clergy. Whereupon it seemed good to certaine, that Luther should be called, assigning vnto him an herauld of armes, with a letter of safe-conduct by the Emperor and Princes. Being sent for, he came, and was brought to the Knights of the Rhodes place, where he was lodged, well entertained, and visited of many Earles, Barons, Knights of the Order, Gentlemen, Priests, and the Commenalty, who frequented his lodging vntill night.

Luther is sent for to Wormes.

To conclude, he came, contrary to the expectation of many, as well aduersaries as other. For albeit he was sent for by the Emperors messenger, and had letters of safe conduct; yet for that a few dayes before his accesse his bookes were condemned by publique proclamations, it was much doubted of by many, that hee would not come: and the rather, for that his friends deliberated together in a village nigh hand, called Oppenhime (where Luther was first aduertised of these occurrents) and many perswaded him not to aduenture himselfe to such a present danger, considering how these beginnings answered not the faith of promise made. Who when he had heard their whole perswasion & aduise, he answered in this wise: As touching me, since I am sent for, I am resolued and certainely determined to enter Wormes, in the name of our Lord Iesus Christ; yea, although I knew there were so many diuels to resist me, as there are tiles to couer the houses in Wormes.

Constancy in Luther.

The fourth day after his repaire, a gentleman named Vlricke of Pappenhim, lieutenant generall of the men at armes of the Empire, was commanded by the Emperor before dinner to repaire to Luther, and enioyne him at foure of the clocke in the afternoone to appeare before the Imperiall Maiesty, the Princes Electors, Dukes, and other estates of the Empire, to vnderstand the cause of his sending

ding for: Whereunto hee willingly agreed, as his dutie was.

And after foure a clocke, Ulricke of Pappenhim, and Caspar Sturm the Emperours Herauld (who conducted master Luther from Wittenberg to Wormes) came for Luther, and accompanied him through the Garden of the Knights of the Rhodes place, to the Earle Palatines pallace: and lest the people that thronged in should molest him, hee was led by secret staires to the place where hee was appointed to haue audience. Yet many, who perceiued the pretence, violently rushed in, and were resisted, albeit in vaine: many ascended the galleries, because they desired to behold Luther.

Luther is brought before the Emperour. Iohn Eckius propoundeth against M. Luther.

Thus standing before the Emperour, the electors, Dukes, Earles, and all the Estates of the Empire assembled there, he was first aduertised by Ulricke of Pappenhim to keepe silence, vntill such time as he was required to speake. Then Iohn Eckius aboue mentioned, who then was the Bishop of Triers generall Officiall, with a loud and intelligible voyce, first in Latine, then in Dutch, according to the Emperours commandement, said and propoued this sentence in manner as ensueth, or like in effect:

Martin Luther, the sacred and invincible Imperiall majestie hath enjoyned, by the consent of all the Estates of the holy Empire, that thou shouldest bee appealed before the throne of his majestie, to the end I might demand of thee these two points.

First, whether thou confesse these bookes here (for hee shewed a heape of Luthers bookes written in the Latine and Dutch tongues) and which are in all places dispersed, entituled with thy name, bee thine, and thou doest affirme them to bee thine, or not?

Secondly, whether thou wilt recant and revoke them, and all that is contained in them, or rather meanest to stand to that thou hast written?

Hieronime Schurffe.

Then, before Luther prepared to answer, Master Jerome Scurffus, a lawyer of Wittenberg, required that the titles of the bookes should be read. Forthwith the foresaid Eckius named certaine of the bookes, and those principally which were imprinted at Basil; among the which hee nominated his Commentaries vpon the Psalter, his booke of good Workes, his Commentary vpon the Lords prayer, and diuers other which were not contentious.

M. Luthers answer.

After this, Luther answered thus in Latine and in Dutch.

Two things are proponed vnto mee by the Imperiall Majestie: First, whether I will avouch for mine all those bookes that beare my name. Secondly, whether I will maintaine or reuoke any thing that hitherto I have deuised and published. Whereunto I will answer as briefly as I can.

Luther refuseth to reuoke his bookes.

In the first, I can doe none other than recognise those bookes to bee mine, which lastly were named, and certainely I will never recant any clause thereof. In the second, to declare whether I will wholly defend, or call backe any thing comprised in them: forasmuch as there bee questions of faith and the salvation of the soule (and this concerneth the Word of God, which is the greatest and most excellent matter that can be in heaven or earth, and the which wee ought duely evermore to reverence) this might bee accounted in mee a rashnesse of judgement, and even a most dangerous attempt, if I should pronounce any thing before I were better advised; considering I might recite something lesse than the matter importeth, and more than the truth requireth; if I did not premeditate that which I would speake. The which two things well considered, doth set before mine eyes this sentence of our Lord Iesus Christ: Wherein it is said, Whosoever shall deny mee before men, I will deny him before my Father. I require then for this cause, and humbly beseech the Imperiall Majestie to grant mee liberty and leisure to deliberate; so that I may satisfie the interrogation made vnto me; without prejudice of the word of God, and perill of mine own soule.

Luther desireth respit to answer.

Whereupon the princes began to deliberate. This done, Eckius the prolocutor pronounced what was their resolution, saying; Albeit, Master Luther, thou hast sufficiently understood by the Emperours commandement, the cause of thy appearance here, and therefore doest not deserve to have any further respit given thee to determine; yet the Emperours majestie, of his meere clemencie, granteth thee one day to meditate for thy answer, so that to morrow at this instant houre thou shalt repaire to exhibit thine opinion, not in writing, but to pronounce the same with lively voyce.

This done, Luther was led to his lodging by the Herauld. But herein I may not be obliuious, that in the way going to the Emperour, and when hee was in the assembly of princes, hee was exhorted of other to be couragious, and manly to demeane himselfe, and not to feare them that can kill the body, but not the soule; but rather to dread him that is able to send both body and soule to euerlasting fire.

Luther is exhorted to be constant.

Furthermore, hee was encouraged with this sentence: When thou art before Kings, thinke not what thou shalt speake; for it shall be given to thee in that houre. Matth. 10.

The next day, after foure a clocke, the Herauld came and brought Luther from his lodging, to the Emperours court, where he abode till six a clocke, for that the princes were occupied in graue consultations; abiding there, and being enuironed with a great number of people, and almost smothered for the preasse that was there. Then after, when the Princes were set, and Luther entred, Eckius the Officiall began to speake in this manner:

Eckius against propoundeth against Luther.

Yesterday at this houre the Emperours majestie assigned thee to be here, master Luther, for that thou diddest affirme those bookes that wee named yesterday to bee thine. Further, to the interrogation by us made, whether thou wouldest approve all that is contained in them, or abolish and make void any part thereof, thou diddest require time of deliberation, which was granted, and is now expired; albeit thou oughtest not to have opportunity granted to deliberate, considering it was not unknowne to thee wherefore wee cited thee. And as concerning the matter of faith, every man ought to be so prepared, that at all times, whensoever hee shall bee required, hee may give certaine and constant reason thereof; and thou especially, being counted a man of such learning, and so long time exercised in Theologie. Then goe to, answer even now to the Emperours demand, whose bounty thou hast proved in giving thee leisure to deliberate. Wilt thou now maintaine all thy bookes which thou hast acknowledged, or revoke any part of them, and submit thy selfe.

The Official made this interrogation in Latine and in Dutch. Martin Luther answered in Latine and in Dutch in this wise, modestly and lowly, and yet not without some stoutnesse of stomacke, and Christian constancy; so as his aduersaries would gladly haue had his courage more humbled and abased, but yet more earnestly desired his recantation; whereof they were in some good hope, when they heard him desire respite of time to make his answer.

His answer was this:

M. Luther answereth for himselfe.

MOst magnificent Emperour, and you most noble Princes, and my most gentle Lords, I appeare before you here at the houre prescribed vnto me yesterday, yeelding the obedience which I owe, humbly

humbly beseeching, for Gods mercy, your most renowned Majesty, and your Graces and Honors, that ye will minister to mee this courtesie, to attend this cause benignly, which is the cause (as I trust) of Justice and verity. And if by ignorance I haue not giuen vnto euery one of you your iust titles, or if I haue not obserued the ceremonies and countenance of the Court, offending against them; it may please you to pardon mee of your benignities, as one that onely hath frequented cloysters, and not courtly ciuilities. And first, as touching my selfe, I can affirme or promise no other thing but onely this; that I haue taught hitherto, in simplicity of minde, that which I haue thought to tend to Gods glory, and to the saluation of mens soules.

Luther giueth account of his faith before the Emperour.

Now as concerning the two Articles obiected by your most excellent Majesty, Whether I would acknowledge those bookes which were named, and be published in my name; and whether I would maintaine and not reuoke them: I haue giuen resolute answer to the first, in the which I persist, and shall perseuere for euermore, that these bookes be mine, & published by me in my name; vnlesse it hath since hapned, that by some fraudulent misdealing of mine enemies, there bee any thing foisted into them, or corruptly corrected. For I will acknowledge nothing but that I haue written, and that which I haue written I will not deny.

Now to answer to the second Article, I beseech your most excellent Majesty, and your graces, to vouchsafe to giue eare. All my bookes are not of one sort. There be some in which I haue so simply and soundly declared and opened the Religion of Christian faith, and of good workes, that my very enemies are compelled to confesse them to be profitable and worthy to be read of all Christians. And truly the Popes Bull (how cruell and tyrannous soeuer it be) iudgeth certaine of my bookes inculpable: albeit the same, with seuere sentence, thundreth against me, and with monstrous cruelty condemneth my bookes: which bookes if I should reuoke, I might worthily be thought to neglect and transgresse the office of a true Christian, and to bee one alone that repugneth the publique confession of all people. There is another sort of my bookes which containeth inuectiues against the papacie, and others of the popes retinue, which haue with their pestiferous doctrine, and pernitious examples, corrupted the whole state of our Christianitie. Neither can any deny or dissemble this (whereunto vniuersall experience and common complaint of all beare witnesse) that the consciences of all faithfull men be most miserably intrapped, vexed, and cruelly tormented by the Popes lawes and doctrines of men. Also that the goods and substance of Christian people are deuoured, especially in this noble and famous Countrey of Germany, and yet without order, and in most detestable manner are suffered still to be deuoured, without all measure, by incredible tyrannie: notwithstanding that they themselues haue ordained to the contrary in their owne proper lawes, as in the Distin. 9. & 25. quæst. 1, & 2 where they themselues haue decreed, that all such lawes of Popes which be repugnant to the doctrine of the Gospell, and the opinions of the antient Fathers, are to bee iudged erroneous, and reproued.

He diuideth his workes into 3 parts.

The Pope proceedeth contrary to his own doctrine.

If then I should reuoke these, I can do none other but adde more force to their tyranny, and open not onely windowes but wide gates to their impiety, which is like to extend more wide, and more licentiously than euer it durst heretofore. And by the testimony of this my retraction, their insolent kingdome shall bee made more licentious, and lesse subject to punishment, intollerable to the common people, and also more confirmed and established, especially if this be buted, that I Luther haue done this by the authority of your most excellent Majestie and the sacred Roman Empire. O Lord, what a couer or shadow shall I bee then to cloake their naughtinesse and tyranny!

The rest, or third sort of my bookes, are such as I haue written against certaine priuate and singular persons, to wit, against such as with tooth and naile labour to maintaine the Romish tyranny, and to deface the true doctrine & religion which I haue taught and professed. As touching these, I plainely confesse, I haue beene more vehement than my religion and profession required. For I make my selfe no Saint, and I dispute not of my life, but of the doctrine of Christ.

And these I cannot without prejudice call backe. For by this recantation it will come to passe, that tyranny and impiety shall reigne, supported by my meanes, and so shall they exercise cruelty against Gods people more violently and ragingly than before.

Neuertheless, for that I am a man, and not God, I can none otherwise enterprise to defend my bookes, than did my very Lord Jesus Christ defend his doctrine. Who being examined of his learning before Annas, and hauing receiued a buffet of the minister, said, If I haue spoken evill, beare witnes of the evill.

He requireth to be instructed if he haue erred.

Iohn 18.

If the Lord (who was perfect and could not erre) refused not to haue testimony giuen against his doctrine, yea of a most vile seruant; how much the more than I, that am but vile corruption, and can of my selfe do nothing but erre, ought earnestly to see and require if any will beare witnesse against my doctrine.

Therefore I require, for Gods mercy, your most excellent Majesty, your Graces and right honorable Lordships, or whatsoeuer he be of high or low degree, here to lay in his testimony, to conuict my errors, and confute mee by the Scriptures, either out of the Prophets, or the Apostles, and I will be most ready, if I be so instructed, to reuoke any manner of error: yea, and will bee the first that shall consume mine owne bookes and burne them.

Dissentions & diuisions. follow the doctrine of Christ not for any cause in the doctrine, but in the aduersary.

I suppose hereby it may appeare, that I haue perpended and well weighed before the perils and dangers, the diuisions and dissentions which haue risen throughout the whole world by reason of my doctrine, whereof I was vehemently and sharpely yesterday admonished. Concerning which diuisions of mens mindes what other men do judge I know not; as touching my selfe, I conceiue no greater delectation in any thing, than when I behold discords and dissentions stirred vp for the Word of God: For such is the course and proceeding of the Gospell: Jesus Christ saith, I came not to send peace but a sword; I came to set a man at variance with his Father.

Matth. 10.

And further, wee must thinke, that our God is marualious and terrible in his counsels; lest perhaps that which wee endeauor with earnest studie to atchieue and bring to passe (if we begin first with condemning of his word) the same rebound againe to an huge sea of euill: and lest the new reigne of this yong and bounteous prince Charles (in whom, next after God, wee all conceiue singular hope) bee be lamentable, vnfortunate, and miserably begun.

I could exemplifie this with authorities of the Scriptures more effectually, as by Pharaoh, the King of Babylon, and the Kings of Israel, who then most obscured the bright sun of their glory, and procured their owne ruine, when by sage counsels: they attempted to pacifie and establish their gouernments and Realmes, and not by Gods counsels: for it is hee that intrappeth the wylie in their wylinesse, and subuerteth mountaines before they bee aware. Wherefore it is good, and Gods worke, to dread the Lord.

Mans counsels without Gods word and his feare, is vnfortunate.

I speake not this, supposing that so politique and prudent heads haue need of my doctrine or admonition,

nition, but because I would not omit to profit my Countrey, and offer my duty or seruice, that may tend to the aduancement of the same. And thus I humbly commend mee to your most excellent Maiestie, and your honorable Lordships; beseeching you that I may not incurre your displeasures, neither bee contemned of you through the pursuit of my aduersaries. I haue spoken.

ther prouoked ayne to sub- it himselfe.

These words pronounced, then Eckius, the Emperors prolocutor, with a sterne countenance began, and said, that Luther had not answered to any purpose; neither behoued it him to call in question things in time past concluded and defined by generall Councels: and therefore they required of him a plaine and direct answer, whether he would reuoke or no?

thers abso- e answer.

Then Luther: Considering (said hee) your soueraigne Maiestie, and your honors, require a plaine answer; this I say and professe as resolutely as I may, without doubting or sophistication, that if I bee not conuinced by testimonies of the Scriptures, and by probable reasons (for I beléeue not the pope, neither his generall Councells, which haue erred many times, and haue beene contrary to themselues) my conscience is so bound and captiued in these Scriptures and Word of God which I haue alledged, that I will not nor may not reuoke any manner of thing; considering it is not godly or lawfull to do any thing against conscience. Hereupon I stand and rest: I haue not what else to say. God haue mercy vpon mee.

The Princes consulted together upon this answer giuen by Luther: And when they had diligently examined the same, the prolocutor began to repel him thus:

kius againe n lieth.

Martin (said hee) thou hast more immodestly answered than beseemed thy person, and also little to the purpose. Thou diuidest thy bookes in three sorts, in such order as all that thou hast said maketh nothing to the interrogation proponed: and therefore if thou hadst reuoked those wherein the greatest part of thine errors is contained, the Emperors Maiestie, and the noble clemency of other would haue suffered the rest that bee sound to sustaine no iniurie. But thou doest reuiue and bringest to light againe all that the generall Councell of Constance hath condemned, the which was assembled of all the nation of Germany, and now doest require to bee conuinced with Scriptures; wherein thou errest greatly. For what auaileth it to renew disputation of things so long time past condemned by the church and Councels, vnlesse it should be necessary to giue a reason to euery man of euery thing that is concluded? Now where it is so, that this should be permitted to euery one that gainstandeth the determination of the church and Councels, and that he may once get this aduantage, to bee convinced by the Scriptures, wee shall haue nothing certaine and established in Christendome.

he papists ad only vpon ur Church d Councels

And this is the cause wherefore the Emperors Maiestie requireth of thee a simple answer, either negatiue or affirmatiue, whether thou mindest to defend all thy works, as Christian, or no.

Then Luther, turning to the Emperor and the Nobles, besought them not to force or compell him to yéeld against his conscience, confirmed with the holy Scriptures, without manifest arguments alledged to the contrary by his aduersaries.

I haue declared and rendred (said hee) myne answer simply and directly, neither haue I any more to say, vnlesse myne aduersaries, with true and sufficient probations grounded upon the Scripture, can reduce and resolue my minde, and refell mine errors which they lay to my charge. I am tied (as I said) by the Scriptures, neither may I, or can with a safe conscience assent unto them. For as touching generall Councells, with whose authoritie onely they presse mee, I am able to prove, that they haue both erred, and haue defined many times things contrarie to themselues; and therefore the authoritie of them, hee said, not to bee sufficient, for the which hee should call back those things, the verity whereof standeth so firme and manifest in the holy Scripture, that neither of him it ought to bee required, neither could he so do without impietie.

Generall Councels haue erred and haue beene contrary to themselues.

Whereunto the Officiall again answered, denying that any man could proue the Councels to haue erred. But Luther alledged that he could, and promised to proue it; and now night approaching, the Lords rose and departed. And after Luther had taken his leaue of the Emperour, diuers Spaniards scorned and scoffed the good man in the way going toward his lodging, hollowing and whooping after him a long while.

Upon the Friday following, when the princes Electors, Dukes, and other Estates were assembled, the Emperour sent to the whole body of the Councell a certaine letter containing in effect as followeth.

¶ The Emperours Letter.

The Emperors letter against Luther.

OVr predecessors, who truly were Christian Princes, were obedient to the Romish Church, which Martin Luther presently impugneth. And therefore in as much as hee is not determined to call backe his errors in any one point, wee cannot, without great infamie and staine of honour, degenerate from the examples of our elders, but will maintaine the antient Faith, and give aid to the See of Rome. And further, wee bee resolved to pursue Martin Luther and his adherents, by excommunications, and by other meanes that may bee deuised, to extinguish his doctrine. Nevertheless wee will not violate our faith, which wee have promised him, but meane to give order for his safe returne to the place whence hee came.

Consultation upon the Emperors letter.

THe Princes Electors, Dukes, and other estates of the Empire sate and consulted about this sentence, on Friday all the afternoone, and Saturday the whole day, so that Luther yet had no answer of the Emperor.

Great resort to Martin Luther.

During this time, diuers Princes, Earles, Barons, knights of the Order, Gentlemen, Priests, Monkes, with other the laity and common sort visited him. All these were present at all houres in the Emperors Court, and could not bee satisfied with the sight of him. Also there were bills set vp, some against Luther, and some, as it seemed, with him. Notwithstanding many supposed, and especially such as well conceiued the matter, that this was subtilly done by his enemies, that thereby occasion might be offered to infringe the safe conduct giuen him. The which the Romane Embassadors with all diligence endeauoured to bring to passe.

The Monday following, before supper, the archbishop of Triers aduertised Luther, that on Wednesday next hee should appeare before him, at nine of the clocke before dinner, and assigned him the place. On Saint Georges day, a certaine Chapleine of the Archbishop of Triers about supper time came to Luther, by the commandement of the Bishop, signifying, that at that houre and place prescribed, he must the morrow after haue accesse to his master.

Luther appeareth before the Archbishop of Triers.

The morrow after Saint Georges day, Luther obeying the Archbishops commandement, entred his palace, being accompanied thither with his sayd Chapleine, and one of the Emperors heraulds, and such as came in his company out of Saxony to Wormes, with other his chiefe friends: whereas Doctor Vrus, the Marquesse of Bades Chapleine, began to declare and protest in the presence of the Arch-

Archbishop of Triers, Joachin Marquesse of Brandeburg, George Duke of Sarony, the Bishops of Ausburg and Brandeburg, the Earle George, John Bocke of Strausburg, Herdehey-mer and Peutiger, Doctors, that Luther was not called to be conferred with, or to disputation, but onely that the Princes had procured licence of the Emperors Majesty, through Christian charity, to haue liberty granted vnto them to exhort Luther benignely and brotherly.

Doctor Veus his oration to M. Luther.

For the authority of Councels.

He said further, that albeit the Councels had or-dained diuers things, yet they had not determined contrary matters. And albeit they had greatly er-red, yet their authority was not therefore abased, or at the least not so erred, that it was lawfull for euerie man to impugne their opinions: inferring moreouer many things of Zacheus and the Centu-rion: Also of the Traditions, and of Constitu-tions, and of ceremonies ordained of men, affirming that all these were established to represse vices, ac-cording to the qualitie of times; and that the church could not be destitute of humane constituti-ons. It is true (said he) that by the fruits the tree may be knowne; yet of these lawes and decrees of men many good fruits haue proceeded: and S. Mar-tin, S. Nicolas, and many other Saints haue bene present at the Councels.

This he spake of Luthers words, who denied any good fruits to come of their lawes.

Moreouer, that Luthers books would breed great tumult, and incredible troubles; and that he abused the common sort with his book of Christian liberty, encouraging them to shake off their yoke, and to confirme in them a disobedience: that the world now was at another stay, than when the beleeuers were all of one heart and soule, and therefore it was requisite and behouefull to haue Lawes. It was to be considered, (said he) albeit he had written many good things, and (no doubt) of a good mind, as De triplice Iustitia, and other matters, yet how the Deuill now by crafty meanes goeth about to bring to passe, that all his Workes for euer should be condemned. For by these bookes which he wrote last, men (said he) would judge and esteeme him, as the tree is knowne, not by the blossome, but by the fruit.

Psalme 90.

Here he added something of the noone diuell, and of the spirit comming in the darke, and of the flying arrow. All his oration was exhortatory, full of Rhethoricall places of honesty, of vtility of lawes, of the dangers of conscience, and of the common and particular wealth; repeating oft this sentence in the proeme, middle, and epilogue of his oration; that this admonition was giuen him of a singular good will, and great clemency. In the shutting vp of his oration he added menacings; saying, that if he would abide in his purposed intent, the Empe-rour would proceed further, and banish him from the Empire; perswading him deliberately to pon-der, and to aduise these and other things.

M. Luther answereth to Veus.

Martin Luther answered: Most noble princes, and my most gracious Lords, I render most hum-ble thankes for your benignities and singular good wills, whence proceedeth this admonition: For I know my selfe to be base, as by no meanes I can deserue to be admonished of so mighty Estates.

The Councell of Constance condemned the word of God.

Then he frankly pronounced, that he had not re-proued all Councels, but onely the Counsel of Constance; and for this principall cause, for that the same had condemned the Word of God, which appeared in the condemnation of this Article pro-poned by John Hus: The Church of Christ is the communion of the Predestinate. It is euident (said he) that the Councell of Constance abolished this Article, and consequently the Article of our Faith; I beleeve the holy Church universall: and said, that he was ready to spend life and blood, so he were not compelled to reuoke the manifest word of God; for in defence thereof we ought rather to obey God than men: And that in this he could not auoyd the scandall or offence of faith; for there be two man-ner of offences, to wit, of charity, and of faith. The slander of charity consisteth in manners and in life: the offences of faith and doctrine consist in the Word of God; and as touching this last, he could escape it no manner of wayes; for it lay not in his power to make Christ not to bee a stone of offence. If Christs sheepe were fed with pure pasture of the Gospell; if the faith of Christ were sincerely preached; and if there were good Ecclesiasticall Magistrates who duely would execute their Office; we should not need (saith hee) to charge the Church with mens traditions. Further, hee knew well wee ought to obey the Magistrates and higher powers, how vnjustly and peruersely soeuer they liued: Wee ought also to bee obedient to their lawes and judge-ments: all which hee had taught (said hee) in all his Workes; adding further, that hee was readie to obey them in all points, so that they inforced him not to denie the Word of God.

Scandall of faith and cha-rity.

These words finished, Luther was bid stand aside, and the Princes consulted what answer they might giue him. This done, they called him into a par-lour, whereas the foresaid Doctor Vœus repeated his former matters, admonishing Luther to sub-mit his writings to the Emperour, and to the prin-ces judgement.

The princes consulted about Martin Luth

Luther answered humbly and modestly, that he could not, neither would permit that men should say hee would shun the judgement of the Emperor, princes, and superiour powers of the Empire. So far was it off, that he would refuse to stand to their triall, that he was contented to suffer his writings to bee discussed, considered, and judged of the sim-plest, so that it were done with the authority of the Word of God, and the holy Scripture: and that the Word of God made so much for him, and was so manifest unto him, that hee could not giue place, whilest they could confound his doctrine by the Word of God. This lesson (said hee) hee learned of Saint Augustine; who writeth, That hee gave this honour onely to those Bookes which are called Canonicall, that hee beleeved the same onely to bee true. As touching other Doctors, albeit in holinesse and excellencie of learning they passed, yet hee would not credit them further than they agreed with the touchstone of Gods Word. Further (said hee) Saint Paul giueth vs a lesson, writing to the Thessalonians; Prove all things, follow that is good. And to the Galathians; Though an Angell should descend from Heaven, if hee Preach any other doctrine, let him bee accursed, and therefore not to bee beleeved.

The word of God only tru

I Thes. 5. Galath. 5.

Finally, hee meekely besought them not to binde his conscience, captiued in the bands of the Word of God and holy Scripture, to deny the same excel-lent Word. And thus he commended his cause and himselfe to them, and specially to the Emperours Majesty, requiring their fauour, that hee might not bee compelled to doe any thing, in this matter, against his conscience: in all other causes he would submit himselfe with all kinde of obedience and due subjection.

As Luther had thus ended his talke, Joachimus Elector, Marques of Brandeburg, demanded if his meaning was thus, that hee would not beeld, vn-tille hee were conuinced by the Scripture? Yea truly, right noble Lord (quoth Luther) or else by antient and euident reasons. And so the assembly brake, and the Princes repaired to the Empercurs Court.

After their departure, the Archbishop of Triers, accompanied with a few of his familiars, namely John Eckius his officiall, and Cochleus, comman-ded Luther to repaire into his Parlour. With Lu-ther was Hieronymus Scurffius, and Nicholas Amsdorff, for his assistance. Then the Official be-gan to frame an argument, like a Sophist and

Cano-

Canonist, defending the Popes cause: that for the most part at all times holie Scriptures haue engendred errours, as the errour of Heluidus the heretike, out of that place in the Gospell, where is expressed: Ioseph knew not his wife till shee was delivered of her first childe. Further he went about to ouerthrow this proposition, that the Catholike church is the communion of Saints.

Martin Luther and Pierome Scurffe reproued (but modestly) these follies, and other vaine and ridiculous matters, which Eckius brought forth as things not seruing to the purpose. Sometime Cochleus would come in with his fiue egges, and laboured to perswade Luther to desist from his purpose, and vtterly to refraine thencefoorth to write or teach, and so they departed.

About euening the Archbishop of Triers aduertised Luther by Ambsdorffe, that the Emperours promise made vnto him was prolonged two dayes, and in the meane season hee would conferre with him the next day, and for that cause he would send Peutinger, and the doctor of Bade which was Vœus, the morrow after to him, and he himselfe would also talke with him.

The friday after, which was Saint Markes day, Peutinger, and the doctor of Bade trauelled in the forenoone to perswade Luther, simply and absolutely to submit the judgement of his writings to the emperour and empire. Hee answered, he would do it, and submit any thing they would haue him, so they grounded vpon authoritie of holy Scripture: otherwise he would not consent to do any thing: For God said by his Prophet (saith hee) Trust yee not in Princes, nor in the children of men, in whom there is no health. Also, Cursed be he that trusteth in man. And seeing that they did vrge him more vehemently, he answered: What ought to yeld no more to the judgement of men, then the word of God doth suffer. So they departed, and prayed him to aduise for better answer, and sayd, they would returne after dinner.

And after dinner they returned, exhorting him as before, but in vaine. They prayed him, that at the least he would submit his writing to the judgement of the next generall councell. Luther agreed thereunto, but with this condition, that they themselues should present the articles collected out of his books to be submitted to the councell in such sort, as notwithstanding the sentence awarded by the councell, should be authorised by the Scripture, and confirmed with the testimonies of the same.

They then leauing Luther, departed, and reported to the Archbishop of Triers, that he had promised to submit his writings in certaine articles to the next councell, and in the meane space he would keepe silence; which Luther neuer thought: who neither with admonitions, nor yet menaces could bee induced to denie or submit his bookes to the judgements of men (he had so fortified his cause with cleare and manifest authorities of the Scripture) vnlesse they could proue by sacred Scripture, and apparant reasons to the contrarie.

It chanced then by the speciall grace of God, that the Archbishop of Triers sent for Luther, thinking presently to heare him, And when he perceiued otherwise then Peutinger, and the doctor of Bade had told him, he said that he would for no good, but that he had heard himselfe speake: for else he was euen now going to the Emperour, to declare what the doctors had reported.

Then the Archbishop entreated Luther, and conferred with him very gently, first remouing such as were present, as well of the one side as of the other. In this conference Luther concealed nothing from the Archbishop; affirming that it was dangerous to submit a matter of so great importance to them, who, after they had called him vnder safe conduct, attempting him with new commandements, had condemned his opinion, and approued the Popes Bull.

Moreouer the Archbishop, bidding a friend of his draw nigh, required Luther to declare what remedy might be ministred to helpe this. Luther answered: That there was no better remedie than such as Gamaliel alledged in the fifth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, as witnesseth Saint Luke saying; If this counsell or this worke proceed of men, it shall come to nought: but if it be of God, yee cannot destroy it. And so he desired that the Emperour might be aduertised to write the same to the Pope, that he knew certainly if this his enterprise proceeded not of God, it would be abolished within three, yea within two yeares. Luthers prophecie out of Gamaliel. Acts 5.

The Archbishop enquired of him what he would do, if certaine articles were taken out of his books, to be submitted to the generall councell. Luther answered, so that they be not those, which the councell of Constance condemned. The Archbishop said, I feare they will bee the very same: but what then? Luther replied, I will not, nor I cannot hold my peace of such, for I am sure by their decrees the word of God was condemned: therefore I will rather lose head and life, then abandon the manifest word of my Lord God. Luthers constancie.

Then the Archbishop, seeing Luther would in no wise giue ouer the word of God to the iudgement of men, gently bad Luther farewell; who at that instant prayed the Archbishop to intreat the Emperours maiestie to grant him gratious leaue to depart. He answered he would take order for him, and spedily aduertise him of the Emperours pleasure.

Within a small while after, Iohn Eckius the Archbishops officiall, in the presence of the Emperours secretarie, who had bin Maximilians chancellor, said vnto Luther in his lodging, by the commandement of the Emperour: that since he had bin admonished diuerslie of the imperiall Maiestie, the Electors, Princes and Estates of the empire, and that notwithstanding he would not returne to vnitie and concord, it remained that the Emperour, as aduocate of the catholike faith, should proceed further: and that it was the Emperours ordinance that he should within one and twenty dayes return boldly vnder safe conduct, and be safely garded to the place whence he came; so that in the meane while he stirred no commotion amongst the people in his journey, either in conference or by preaching. Luther sent home from the councell.

Luther hearing this, answered very modestly, and Christianly, Euen as it hath pleased God, so is it come to passe, the name of the Lord be blessed. He said further, he thanked most humbly the Emperors maiestie, and all the Princes and Estates of the empire, that they had giuen to him benigne and gratious audience, and granted him safe conduct to come and returne. Finally he said, he desired none other of them, than a reformation according to the sacred word of God, and consonancie of holy Scriptures, which effectually in his heart he desired: otherwise he was prest to suffer all chances for the imperiall maiestie, as life, and death, goods, fame, and reproch; reseruing nothing to himselfe, but the onely word of God, which he would constantly confesse to the latter end; humbly recommending him to the Emperors Maiesty, and to all the Princes and other Estates of the sacred empire.

The morrow after, which was the 26 day of Aprill, after he had taken his leaue of such as supported him, and other his benevolent friends that oftentimes visited him, and had broken his fast, at ten of the clocke he departed from Wormes, hauing space of time limited vnto him (as is said) for 21 dayes, and no more. The Emperours herauld Caspar Sturme followed and ouertook him at Oppenhime, being commanded by the Emperour to conduct him safely home. Luthers departure from Wormes.

¶ *The vsuall prayer of Martin Luther.*

COnfirme (ô God) in us that thou hast wrought, and perfect the worke that thou hast begun in us, to thy glory: So be it.

Ex histor. Philip. Melanct. Ex Sleidano. Ex Paral. Abb. Vrsperg. Et ex Casp. Peucero.

Luther in his iourney writeth to the emperour and nobles of Germany.

MArtin Luther thus being dismissed of the Emperour, according to the promise of his safe conduct made (as you haue heard) departed from Wormes towards his Countrey the xv and twentieth of Aprill, accompanied with the Emperours Herauld and the rest of his company, hauing onely one and twenty dayes to him granted for his returne, and no more. In the which meane space of his returne he writeth to the Emperour, and to other Nobles of the Empire, repeating briefely to them the whole action and order of things there done, desiring of them their lawfull good will and fauour, which as he hath alwayes stood in need of, so now hee most earnestly craueth, especially in this, that his cause, which is not his, but the cause of the whole Church vniuersall, may be heard with indifference and equitie, and may be decided by the rule and authority of holy Scripture: signifying moreouer, that whensoeuer they shall please to send for him, he shall be ready at their commandement, at any time or place, vpon their promise of safetie, &c.

The doctors of Paris condemn the bookes of Luther.

During the time of these doings, the doctors and Schoolemen of Paris were not behinde with their parts, but to shew their cunning condemned the bookes of Luther, extracting out of the same, especially out of his booke De Captivitate Babylonica, certaine Articles as touching the Sacraments, Lawes, and Decrees of the Church, equality of workes, vowes, contrition, absolution, satisfaction, purgatory, freewill, priuiledges of the holy Church, Councels, punishment of Heretiques, Philosophy, Schoole diuinity, and other more. Vnto whom Philip Melanchon maketh answer, and also Luther himselfe, albeit pleasantly and jestingly.

Philip Melanchon answereth the Parisians.

It was not long after this, but Charles the new Emperour, to purchase fauour with the Pope) because he was not yet confirmed in his empire) prouideth and directeth out a solemne writ of outlawrie against Luther; and all them that take his part; commanding the said Luther, whersoeuer he might be gotten, to be apprehended, and his bookes burned. By which decree, proclaimed against Luther, the Emperour procured no small thanks with the Pope; insomuch that the Pope, ceasing to take part with the French King, ioyned himselfe wholly to the Emperour. In the meane time Duke Fredericke, to giue some place for the time to the Emperours proclamation, conueyed Luther a little out of sight secretly, by the helpe of certaine Noblemen whom he well knew to be faithfull and trusty vnto him in that behalfe. There Luther, being close and out of company, wrote diuers epistles, and certaine bookes also unto his friends; among which he dedicated one to his company of Augustine Friers, entituled, De abroganda Missa: Which Friers the same time, being encouraged by him, began first to lay downe their priuate Masses. Duke Frederick, fearing lest that would breed some great stirre or tumult, caused the censure and iudgement of the whole Vniuersity of Wittenberg to be asked in the matter; committing the doing therof to foure; Iustus Ionas, Philip Melancth. Nic. Amsdorffius, Ioh. Dulcius.

Luther outlawed by the Emperor.

Martin Luther kept aside for a while.

Luthers booke De abroganda Missa, ad Augustinenses.

The Masse layd downe first at Wittenberg.

The mindes of the whole Vniuersity being searched, it was shewed to the Duke, that hee should do well and godly, by the whole aduice of the Learned there, to command the vse of the Masse to bee abrogate through his dominion: and though it could not bee done without tumult, yet that was no let why the course of true doctrine should be stayed for the multitude, which commonly ouercommeth the better part. Neither ought such disturbance to be imputed to the doctrine taught, but to the aduersaries, which willingly and wickedly kicke against the truth, whereof Christ also giueth vs forewarning before. For feare of such tumults therefore we ought not to surcease from that which wee know is to be done, but constantly must go forward in defence of Gods truth, howsoeuer the world doth esteeme vs, or rage against it. Thus shewed they their iudgement to duke Fredericke.

The iudgement of the Vniuersity of Wittenberg against the Masse.

It happened moreouer about the same yeare and time, that King Henry also, pretending an occasion to impugne the booke De Captivitate Babylonica, wrote against Luther. In which booke,

Anno 1521.

1. He reproueth Luthers opinion about the popes pardons.

2. He defendeth the supremacie of the bishop of Rome.

3. He laboureth to refell all his doctrine of the Sacraments of the Church.

This booke albeit it carried the Kings name in the title, yet it was another that ministred the motion, another that framed the stile. But whosoeuer had the labour of this booke, the King had the thank & also the reward. For consequently vpon the same, the Bishop of Rome gaue to the said King Henry, for the stile against Luther, the stile and title of Defender of the Christian Faith, and to his successors forever.

King Henry writeth against Martin Luth.

King Henry made defender of the faith by the Pope.

Shortly after this, within the compasse of the same yeare, Pope Leo, after he had warred against the French-men, and had gotten from them, thorow the Emperours aid, the cities of Parma, Placentia, and Millan, he sitting at supper, and reioycing at these great gifts that God had bestowed vpon him: first, That he, being banished out of his Countrey, was restored to Florence againe with glory. Secondly, That he had deserued to bee called Apostolique. Thirdly, That he had driuen the French-men out of Italy: After he had spoken these words, he was stricken with sudden feuer, and died shortly after, being of the age of fourtie seuen yeares: albeit some suspect that he dyed of poyson. Successour to whom was Pope Adrian the sixth, schoolemaster sometime to Charles the Emperour, who liued not much aboue one yeare and a halfe in his Papacie. During whose small time these three especiall things were incident; A great pestilence in Rome, wherein aboue an hundred thousand were consumed. The losse of Rhodes by the Turke. And thirdly, the capitall warre which the said Pope Adrian, with the Emperour, and the Venetians, and the King of England, did hold against Francis the the French King.

The death of Leo in the midst of his triumph.

Pope Adrian the sixth.

A great pestilence in Rome.

This Pope Adrian was a German borne, brought vp at Louaine; and as in learning he exceeded the common sort of Popes, so in moderation of life and manners he seemed not altogether so intemperate as some other Popes haue been. And yet like a right Pope, nothing degenerating from his See, he was a mortall enemie against Martin Luther and his partakers. In his time, shortly after the Councell of Wormes was broken vp, another meeting or assembly was appointed by the Emperour at Norenberg, of the Princes, Nobles, and States of Germany, Anno 1522.

Adrian a German Pope, not vnlearned.

Pope Adrian great enemy Luther.

A Diet of the Princes kept at Norenberg.

Vnto this assembly the said Adrian sent his Letters in manner of a breefe, with an instruction also vnto his Legat Cheregatus, to informe him how to proceed, and what causes to alledge against Luther, before the Princes there assembled. His Letter with the instruction sent, because they are so hypocritically shadowed ouer with a faire shew and colour of painted zeale and religion, and beare resemblance of great truth and care of the Church.

Painted pieces ought to be examined.

able

able to deceiue the outward eares of them, which are not in wardly in true religion instructed: I thought therfore to giue to the Reader a sight therof, to the intent that, by the experience of them, he may learne hereafter in cases like to be prudent and circumspect in not beleeuing ouer rashly the smooth talk or pretensed perswasions of men, especially in Church matters, vnlesse they carrie with them the simplicitie of plaine truth, going not vpon termes, but grounded vpon the word and reuealed will of God, with particular demonstrations proouing that by the Scripture, which they pretend to perswade. First the letter of this Pope, conceiued and directed against Luther, procedeth in this effect.

¶ *Pope Adrian the sixth, to the renowned Princes of Germanie, and to the Peeres of the Romane Empire, greeting, and Apostolicke benediction.*

The example of the Apostles letter sent to the princes of Germany.

RIght honourable brethren, and deare children, greeting and Apostolike benediction. After that wee were first promoted (through Gods Diuine prouidence) to the office of the sea Apostolike, he which hath so aduanced us is our witnesse, how wee, both day and night reuolving in our minds, did cogitate nothing more, then how to satisfie the parts of a good pastour, in attending the health and cure of the flocke, both universally and singularly committed unto us: so that there is no one particular sheepe thorow the whole universall flocke so infected, so sicke, or so farre gone astray, whom our desire is not to recouer, to seeke out, and to reduce into the Lords fold againe. And chiefly, from the first beginning of our pastorall function, our care hath alwaies beene, as well by our messengers, as our daily letters, how to reclaime the minds of Christian Princes from these intestine warres and dissentions among themselues to peace and concord; or at least, if they would needs fight, that they would convert their strength and armor against the common enemies of our faith. And to declare this not onely in word, but rather in deed, God doth know with what charges and expences wee have burdened our selues, to extend our subsidie and reliefe to the souldiers of Rhodes for defence of themselues and of the Christian faith, against the Turkish tyrannie, by whom they were besieged.

These pastors are any thing like the Shepherd, if it be by the wolf.

And now to bend our care from these forreine matters, and to consider our inward troubles at home; wee heare, to the great griefe of our heart, that Martin Luther a new raiser up of old and damnable heresies; first after the fatherly aduertisements of the sea Apostolike; then after the sentence also of condemnation awarded against him, and that by the assent and consent of the best learned, and of sundry Vniversities also; and lastly after the imperiall decree of our welbeloued sonne Charles, elect Emperour of the Romanes, and Catholike King of Spaine, being diuulged thorow the whole nation of Germanie, yet hath neither beene by order restrained, nor of himselfe hath refrained from his madnesse begun, but daily more and more, forgetting and contemning all Christian charitie and godlinesse, ceaseth not to disturbe and replenish the world with new Bookes, fraught full of errours, heresies, contumelies, and sedition (whether upon his owne head, or by the helpe of other) and to infect the Countrey of Germanie, and other regions about, with this Pestilence, and endeauoureth still to corrupt simple soules, and manners of men, with the poyson of his pestiferous tongue: and (which is worst of all) hath for his fautors and supporters, not of the vulgar sort onely, but also diuers personages of the Nobilitie: insomuch, that they have begunne also to inuade the goods of

Luther a new raiser vp of the old doctrine of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles.

seems without truth.

still called good and good still.

Priests (which perhaps is the chiefe ground of this stirre begun) contrarie to their obedience which they owe to Ecclesiasticall and Temporall persons, and now also at last have growne unto ciuill Warre and dissention among themselues: which thing how unfortunately it falleth out now, at this present season, especially amongst us Christians, you may soone repute with your selues and consider. For although the Apostle hath told us before, **that heresies must needs bee, that they which bee tried, may bee made manifest, &c.** yet was there never time either so unconvenient to raise up heresies, or so necessarie for the repressing thereof, when any such are raised, as now. For whereas the Diuell, the perpetuall enemie of mankinde, roaring in the shape of a Lion, by the power of the Turkes doth continually invade the flocke of Christ, how can wee then resist the violent invasions of him oppressing us without, so long as wee nourish at home the same Diuell, under the colour of a wilie Dragon, sowing such heresies, discords, and seditions among our selves? And albeit it were in our power easily to vanquish these forreine adversaries, yet were that but labor lost, serving to no profit, to subdue our enemies without, and at home with heresies and schismes to be divided.

1. Cor. 11.

Who soweth these heresies, but he which will not let the Scriptures take place?

Wee remember before the time of our papacie, when wee were in Spaine, many things wee heard then of Luther, and of his perverse Doctrine. Which rumors and tidings, although of themselves they were grievous to bee heard, yet more grievous they were for this, because they proceeded out of that Countrey, where wee our selfe, after the flesh, tooke our first beginning: but yet this comfort wee had, supposing that either for the iniquitie, or else for the foolishnesse thereof being so manifest, this doctrine would not long hold: reputing thus with our selfe, that such pestiferous (a) Plants, translated from other Countries into Germanie, would never grow up to any proofe in that ground, which was ever wont to bee a weeder out of all heresies and infidelitie. But now since this evill Tree (whether by Gods judgement correcting the sinnes of the people, or by the negligence of such as first should have resisted such beginnings) hath so inlarged and spread his branches so farre: you therefore, both Princes, and People of Germanie, must this consider and provide, lest you, which at the first springing up of this evill, might peradventure be excused as no doers thereof, now, through this your over much sufferance, might be found unexcusable and seeme to consent to that which you doe not resist.

(a) He meaneth the doctrine of John Hus translated into Germany.

Here wee omit and passe over, what enormitie, and more than enormitie, that is, that such a great and so devout a nation should by one Frier (who relinquishing the Catholike faith and Christian Religion, which hee before professed, plaieth the Apostata, and hath lied to God) bee now seduced from that way, which first (b) Christ our redeemer and his blessed Apostles have opened vnto us; which so many martyrs, so many holy fathers, so many great learned men, and also your own fore-elders & old ancestors have alwaies hitherto walked in: as though only Luther had all wit and cunning as though he onely now first had received the holy ghost (as the heretike Montanus used to boast of himselfe) or as though the church (from which Christ our Saviour promised himselfe never to depart) hath erred hitherto alwaies in darke shadowes of ignorance and perdition, till now it should bee illuminate with new resplendent beames of Luther. All which things there is no doubt, but to such as have

(b) Christ and his Apostles taught us, that wee are saued by faith onely in the sonne of God; the same doth Luther preach and the Pope denieth. Holy Martyrs and fathers in the old time ministred the communion in both kinds to the people, & taught that faith was necessary in receiuing the Sacraments: the same doth Luther affirme, & the pope denieth: the old way of the fathers was this, that they never had any aduocats and mediatours but Christ alone, and that they never sold the merits of Christs passion for money: in the same way doth Luther now walke, whereas the Pope now hath

devised a new way to walke in for money, with an hundred other new devices, new sects, and new Ordinances which the old fathers never knew.

(c) The doctrine of Luther hath beene preached in Germany above these fortie yeares, and yet is there never a Prince, nor Magistrate, nor Citizen in Germany, God be praised, which by the Doctrine of Luther is worse by one halfe penny: whereas by the Pope, good reckoning hath beene made, that Germany hath beene worse by three millions of Florens by the yeare. Out of the territorie of the Bishop of Mentz amounteth to the Pope, for the Archbishops pale, twentie six thousand Florens. In the Councell of Basil it was openly declared, that nine millions of gold were gathered in the time of Pope Martin, and transflated to Rome. Now let the princes of Germanie consider this.

(d) The preaching of Christian liberty of the soule breaketh no civill order touching the outward obedience of the body. But the Pope would have the soules of men in his bondage, and therefore hee cannot abide this inward liberty of the spirit to be touched, for that were against the Popes purse and profit, which were an hereticke intollerable.

(e) This is no good consequence. Luther burned the Popes stinking decretals: ergo he will not sticke also to burne the bookes of the Civill Law.

(f) The persecuting Pagans in the old time did object to the old fathers of the primitive Church, the blasphemies of Thiestes supper, and of the incest of Oedipus, the worshipping of an Asses head. In much like sort doth the Pope here lay unto Luther, ryots, rebellions, and all mischiefes he can devise, not because they bee true, but because hee would have the world so to beleeve.

(g) Obedience to God, and to Saint Peter, and to his vicar, do not well match together by the Scripture; for the obedience to the Creator is one, and the obedience to the Creature is another.

judgement will seeme ridiculous, but yet may be pernicious to simple and ignorant mindes: and to other, which being wearie of all good order doe gape still for new changes, may breed matter and occasion of such mischiefes, as partly your selves have experience alreadie. And therefore do you not consider (o Princes & people of Germany) that these be but prefaces and preambles to those evils and mischiefes which Luther, with the sect of his Lutherans, do intend and purpose hereafter? (c) Do you not see plainly, and perceive with your eyes, that this defending of the verity of the Gospell, first begun by the Lutherans to be pretended, is now manifest to bee but an invention to spoyle your goods, which they have long intended? Or doe you thinke that these sonnes of iniquity do tend to any other thing, than under the name of liberty, to supplant obedience, and so to open a generall (d) licence to every man, to doe what him listeth? And suppose you, that they will any thing regard your commandements, or esteeme (e) your lawes, which so contemptuously vilipend the holy Canons and Decrees of the fathers, yea and the most holy Councels also, (to whose authority the Emperours lawes have alwayes given roome and place) and not onely vilipend them, but also with a diabolicall audacitie have not feared to rend them in pieces and set them on a light fire? They which refuse to render due obedience to Priests, to Bishops, yea to the high Bishop of all, and which dayly before your owne faces make their booties of Church goods, and of things consecrated to God; thinke yee that they will refraine their sacrilegious hands from the spoyle of lay mens goods? yea, that they will not pluck from you whatsoever they can rap or reave? Finally to conclude, (f) how can you hope that they will more spare you, or hold their murthering hands from your throats, which have been so bold to vex, to kill, to slay the Lords Anointed, which are not to be touched? Nay thinke you not contrarie, but this miserable calamitie will at length redound upon your goods, your houses, wives, children, dominions, possessions, and these your temples, which you hallow and reverence, except you provide some speedie remedie against the same.

Wherefore wee exhort your fraternities, nobilities, and devotions of all and singular in the Lord, and beseech you for Christian charitie and Religion (for which religion your forefathers oft times have given their bloud to uphold and encrease the same) and notwithstanding require you also in vertue of that obedience (g) which all Christians owe to God and blessed Saint Peter and to his Vicar here in earth, that setting aside all other quarrels and dissentions among your selves, you conferre your helping hands everie man to quench this publique fire, and endeavor and studie, the best way yee can, how to reduce the said Martine Luther, and all other fautors of these tumults and errors, to better conformity and trade both of life and faith. And if they will bee infected shall refuse to heare your admonitions, yet provide that the other part, which yet remaineth sound, by the same contagion bee not corrupted. Hee, to whom all secrets of men are open, doth know how wee both for our nature, and also for our pastorall office, whereto wee are called, are much more prone to remit, than to revenge. But when this pestiferous canker cannot with supple and gentle medicines bee cured, more sharpe salves must be proved, and fiery searings. The putrified members must bee cut off from the body, lest the sound parts also bee infected. So God did cast downe into hell the schismaticall brethren, (a) Dathan and Abiron. And him that would not obey the authority of the Priest God commanded to bee punished with death. So Peter, Prince of the Apostles, denounced sudden death to Ananias and Saphyra, which lied unto God. So the old and godly Emperours commanded (b) Iovinianus and Priscilianus, as heretiques, to bee beheaded. So Saint Hierome wisheth Vigilantius, as an heretique, to be given to the destruction of the flesh, that the Spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord. So also did our predecessors in the Councell of (c) Constance condemne to death Iohn Hus and his fellow Hierome, which now appeareth to revive againe in Luther. The worthie (d) acts and examples of which forefathers if you in these doings (seeing otherwise yee cannot) shall imitate; wee do not doubt but Gods mercifull clemencie shall eftsoones relieve his Church; which, being now sore vexed of Infidels, hath her eyes chiefely and principally directed upon you as being the most puissant and most populous Nation that wee have in Christendome.

Wherefore upon the blessing of Almightie God, and of blessed Saint Peter, which here wee send unto you, take courage unto you, as well against the false Dragon, as the strong Lyon, that both these, that is, as well the inward heresies, as the forreine Enemies by you being overcome, you may purchase to your honours an immortall victory, both here and in the world to come. This wee give you to understand, that whatsoever the Lord hath given us to aid you withall, either in money or authority, wee will not faile to support you therewith, yea and to bestow our life also in this holy quarrell, and for the health of our sheepe to us committed. Other things as touching the matter of Luther wee have committed to this Cheregatus our Legat, whom wee have directed purposely for the same unto your assembly, whom we wish you to credit, as being our trusty Legat.

Datum Rom. apud S. Petrum. sub annulo piscatoris die 25. Novemb. An. 1522. Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

(a) Let the Pope follow the Word of God, as Moses did, and be sent of God expressely, as Moses was; and then let Luther be punished as Dathan and Abiron were.

Againe, if the Pope be the successor of Peter, and have his authority; why then doth not the Pope, bearing the keyes of Peter, exercise the power of his spirit upon Luther his great enemie, as Peter did upon Ananias and Saphira.

(b) If Iovinianus, Priscilanus, and Vigilantius were proved heretikes; they were proved not onely by Canons and Councels, but by Scripture; so was Luther never.

(c) Your fathers in the Councell of Constance did kill the Prophets of God, and you make up their graves. But thankes bee unto God, which hath given such light unto the world, to understand your cruell impietie in killing Iohn Hus, which you thought should never bee espied.

(d) You have well imitated your forefathers alreadie, in burning so many Lutherans, and yet how have you prospered against the Turkish Infidels the space of these fourtie yeares?

The false dragon resembled the pope, and strong Lyon the Turke.

The false dragon here seeth that it is time to resist him.

¶ By this Letter above prefixed, thou hast, gentle Reader, to note and understand, what either wilie perswasions, or strength of authority could devise against Luther, here not to have lacked. If plausible termes or glosing sentences, or outward facing and bracing could have served, where no ground of Scripture is brought, this might seeme apparantly a pithy Epistle. But if a man should require

require the particulars or the specialities of this doctrine which he here reprehendeth, to bee examined and tried by Gods Word, there is no substance in it, but onely words of office, which mayseeme well to serue for waste paper. And yet I thought to exhibit the said letter vnto thee, to the intent that the more thou seest mans strength with all his policie bent against Luther, the more thou mayest consider the almightie power of God, in defending the cause of this poore man, against so mightie enemies.

Now heare further what instructions the said Pope Adrian sent to his Legat Cheregatus, how and by what reasons to moue and inflame the Princes of Germany to the destruction of Luther and his cause, and yet was not able to bring it to passe.

Instructions given by Pope Adrian to Cheregatus his Legat, touching his proceedings in the Dyet of Norenberg, how and by what perswasions to incense the Princes against Luther.

Instructions of the pope against Luther.

IN primis you shall declare to them the great griefe of our heart for the prospering of Luthers sect, to see the innumerable soules, redeemed with Christs bloud, and committed to our pastorall gouernment, to be turned away from the true faith and religion, into perdition by this occasion; and that especially in the nation of Germany, being our native Countrey; which hath euer borne heretofore, till these few yeares past, most faithfull and deuout in religion: and therefore our desire to be the greater that this pestilence should bee stopped betime, lest the same happen to that Countrey of Germany, which happened of late to Bohemia. And as for our part, there shall bee no lacke to helpe forward what wee may: As likewise wee desire them to endeauour themselues to the vttermost of their power, whom these causes ought to moue which here wee direct vnto you, to be declared to them.

The first cause for mouing against Luther.

(e) The honour of God consisteth principally in honouring Iesus the son of God, who the Father hath sent. Now examine (good reader) whether more extolleth the honour of Christ, the doctrine of Luther, or the doctrin of the Pope. Luther sendeth us onely to Christ; the Pope sendeth us to other patrons and helpers. Luthers doctrine tendeth wholly to the glory of Christ; The popes doctrine, if it bee wel weighed, tendeth to the glory of man. Luther cleaveth only to scripture, the pope leaneth to the Canons and Councels of men.

(e) First, the honour of God, which before all other things ought to be preferred: whose honour by these heresies is greatly defaced, and his worship not only diminished, but rather wholly corrupted. Also the charity toward our neighbour, by which charity euery man is bound to reduce his neighbour out of error; otherwise God will require at their hands all such as by their negligence do perish.

The second cause.

The second cause, to moue them against Luther, is the infamie of their nation; which being counted before time alwayes most Christian, now by these Sectaries of Luther is euill spoken of in all other quarters.

The third cause.

The third cause is the respect of their owne honour, which notoriously will be disdained, if they, which most excell in nobility and authority among the Germans, shall not bend all their power to expell these heresies; First, for that they shall appeare to be degenerate from their progenitors, who, being present at the condemnation of John Hus and other Heretiques, are said some of them with their owne hands to haue led John Hus to the fire. Secondly, for that they, or the greater part of them, approued with their authority the Imperiall Edict set forth of late in condemnation of Martin Luther. (a) Now except they shall follow the execution of the same, they shall be noted inconstant, or may bee thought to fauour the same; seeing it is manifest, that they may easily exterminate him if they were disposed.

(a) This edict of the Emperour above touched was deuised and set out, not knowing to diuers of the Princes there and seemeth chiefly to be brought about by the Pope and his flatterers about him. Looke more hereof in the storie of Sleidan. lib 3.

The fourth cause.

The fourth cause is the iniury wrought by Luther to them, their parents, and progenitors, forasmuch as their fathers, progenitors, and themselues also haue alwayes holden the same faith which the Catholique Church of Rome hath appointed: contrary to the which faith Luther with his Sectaries now doth hold, saying that many things are not to be beleeued which their foresaid ancestors haue holden to be of faith. It is manifest therefore, that they be condemned of Luther for infidels and heretiques, and so consequently, by Luthers doctrine, all their forefathers and progenitors, which haue deceased in this our faith, be in hell; for error in faith importeth damnation.

The fifth reason or cause.

The fifth cause to moue them is, that they should well aduise and consider the end whereunto all these Lutherans doe tend: which (b) is, that vnder the shadow of Euangelicall liberty, they may abolish all superiority and power. For although at the first beginning they pretended onely to annull and represse our power ecclesiasticall, as being falsely and tyrannously vsurped against the Gospell: yet forasmuch as libertie is their onely foundation and pretence; by the which liberty the secular power and magistrates cannot binde men by any commandements, bee they neuer so iust or so reasonable, (c) to obey them vnder paine of mortall sinne: it is manifest that their scope is to inforce and wringe, as much or more, the secular state also, although couertly they pretend to salue it: to the end, that when the secular Princes shall beleeue this their working not to be directed against them, but only against the vsurped domination of the Church and Churchmen; then the laity (which commonly hath been alwayes against men of the church) holding with them shall suffer the churchmen to be deuoured. Which done, no doubt but (d) they will afterward practise the like vpon the secular princes and potestates, which now they attempt against our ecclesiasticall iurisdiction.

(b) The doctrin of Luther tendeth against the vsurped power of the see of Rome; *Ergo* the doctrine of Luther dissolveth all obedience due to Magistrates. This consequence is to bee denied; for the power of Magistrates is of God; and he that resisteth them resisteth God. So is not the vsurped power of the pope.

(c) If the pope doth say, that no precepts of Magistrates doe oblige vnder paine of mortall sin, hee saith not true; if he say that Luther so teacheth, he belieth Luther; who teacheth all men to be subiect vnto Magistrates, no man more.

(d) Whoso considereth the Doctrine of Luther, *De libertate Christiana*, shall finde this to bee a false slander. For how is it like that hee meaneth any rebellion, who, describing a Christian, calleth him a seruant and an vnderling to all men.

The sixth cause.

The sixth cause to moue and perswade them against Luther, is this, for them to consider the fruits which follow of that sect: as slanders, offences, disturbance, robberies, murthers, (e) seditions, dissentions, which this sect hath, and daily doth stir vp throw whole Germanie: Also blasphemies, slanderous words,

(e) The cause, why the pope doth charge the Lutherans with sedition, did rise vpon this; because one Franciscus Sickyngus a valiant man and a great fauourer of Luther, did war against the Arch-

thop of Triers, for with-holding two certain persons frō judgement, which should have appeared, and by his meanes did not.

(*f*) As for slanderous words and bitter taunts, with what face can the Pope charge Luther, being himself so impudent and bitter, as in this his present letter is manifest to bee seene? wherin he sheweth himselfe in his own colours what he is.

Ierem. 48.

The seuenth cause or reason.

(*g*) If the doings & properties of Mahumet bee rightly considered, none should be found so aptly to resemble him, as the Pope himself. He declineth from the word of God, and setteth up another law: so doth the pope. He killeth and slaieth the contrary part: so doth the Pope: He holdeth salvation by workes of the law, so doth the Pope: and if Mahumet give libertie of flesh, so doth not Luther, but the Pope both taketh it, and also dispenseth with the same. Mahumet would not have his religion reasoned upon; no more will the Pope. Briefely, as the sect of Mahumet is divided into many sundry sorts of religion, and of religious men; so hath the sect of the pope his friers, Monkes, Nunnes, Hermits, & other swarmes of an infinite varietie.

1 Tim. 5.

scoffings, (*f*) iests, and bitter taunts, which are euer in their mouthes; against which vnlesse that they shall find a present remedie, it is to be feared lest the desolation of Gods wrath will fall vpon Germany, being so diuided; or rather vpon the Princes of Germany, who, hauing the sword giuen of God into their hands for the suppression of malefactors, suffer such enormities among their subiects. Cursed is hee (saith the Prophet) which doth the worke of the Lord negligently, and holdeth backe his sword from the bloud of wicked doers.

The seuenth reason is, that the Princes should consider how Luther vseth the same way of seducing the people of Christ, as hath the venemous viper (*g*) Mahumet practised in deceiuing so many thousands of soules, in permitting to them the libertie of those things which flesh desireth, and afterward in exempting them from such things as be more sharpe in the Law; but that Luther a little more temperately handleth the matter, whereby hee may deceiue more effectually: For Mahumet giueth licence to haue many wiues, and to diuorce and marry other at their pleasure. This Luther, to draw vnto him the fauour of Nunnes, Monkes, and priests, such as bee lasciuious in flesh, preacheth that vowes of perpetuall continencie bee vnlawfull, and much lesse to bee obligatory: and therefore permitteth vnto them that they may marry; forgetting by the way what the Apostle writeth of young widowes, saying; That when they waxe wanton against Christ, then will they marrie, having condemnation because they have made voyd their first faith.

These and other such like reasons being opened and layed before them, you shall then in our name exhort the foresaid princes, prelates, and people, to awake and imploy their diligence how to gainstand; first, the iniurie of these Lutherans toward God, and toward his holy religion; Secondly, their villany toward the whole nation of the Germans, and their Princes, and especially the shamefull contumely towards their fathers and elders, whom in effect they condemne to hell. In consideration whereof you shall call vpon them to remember themselues, and to proceed effectually to the execution of the Apostolicall sentence, and of the Emperours Edict: giuing pardon to them that will amend and acknowledge their fault: the other, which obstinately persist in their errour, punishing with the rod of district seuerity, according to the decrees of the Canons and Lawes of the Church, that by their example such as stand may remain in faith, and they which are fallen may be reduced.

And if any shall obiect againe, that Luther was condemned by the Apostolike See before hee was heard, and that his cause ought first to haue beene heard and iudged before hee was conuicted: you shall answer, that those * things which pertaine to faith are to be beleeued for their owne authority, and not to be proued. Take away (saith Ambrose) arguments where faith is sought: there the Fishers, not the Philosophers, must bee beleeued. Truth it is, and we grant no lesse, but that lawfull defence and hearing ought not to be denied in such cases, where question is of the fact, whether it were done or not, as whither he spake, preached, writ, or not? But where the matter is of Gods Law, or in cause of the Sacraments, there must we alwayes stand to the authority of holy fathers and of the church. Now all things almost, wherein Luther dissenteth from other, are reproued before by diuers Councels: neither ought those things to bee called into question, which haue beene defined before by generall Councels, and the vniuersall Church, but ought to be receiued by faith. For else he doth injury to the Synod of the Church, who so bringeth againe into controuersie things once rightly discussed and setled. Otherwise what certaintie can there be amongst men, or what end shall there be of contending and disputing, if it shall be lawfull for euery lewd and presumptuous person to decline from the things which haue beene receiued and ratified by the consent, not of one, nor of a few, but of so many ages, so many wise heads, and of the Catholike Church, which God neuer permitteth to erre in matters vnto faith appertaining? And how can it otherwise be chosen, but that all must be full of disturbance, offences, and confusion, vnles the things which haue beene once, yea many times by right iudgement constituted, be obserued of all men as inuiolable? Wherefore seeing Luther and his fellowes doe condemne the Councels of holy fathers, doe burne the holy Canons, doe confound all things at their pleasure, and doe disquiet the whole world, what remaineth, but that they are to be reiected and exploded, as enemies and perturbers of the publique peace?

* Here the Pope agreeth rightly with Mahumet for he will not haue his Religion reasoned vpon; no more will the Pope haue his.

Grant this to the Pope, & he may play the Lord of misrule, and do what he listeth.

Further, this you shall say vnto them, that wee confesse our selues, and denie not, but that God suffereth this persecution to be inflicted vpon his Church, for the sinnes of men, especially of priests and Prelats of the Clergie. For certaine it is, That the hand of the Lord is not shortned, that hee cannot saue; but our sinnes have divided betweene God and us, and therefore hee hideth his face from us, that he will not heare us. The Scripture testifieth, That the sinnes of the people doe issue out from the sinnes of the Priests. And therefore (saith Saint Chrysostome) Christ, going about to cure the sicke citie of Hierusalem, first entred into the temple, to correct the sinnes of the Priests; like a good Physition, which first beginneth to cure the disease from the very root. Wee know that in this (*h*) holy See there haue beene many abominable things of long time wrought and practised: as abuses in matters spirituall, and also excesses in life and manners, and all things turned cleane contrary. And no marueil if the sickenesse (*i*) first beginning at the head, that is, at the high bishops, haue descended afterward to inferiour Prelats. All we (that is, Prelats of the church) haue declined euery one after his owne way; Neither hath there beene one that hath done good, no not one. Wherefore need it is that all we giue glory to God, and that wee humble our soules to him, considering euery one of vs from whence hee hath fallen; and that euery one doe iudge himselfe

Esay 59.

(*h*) And how then can this bee called an holy See, where so many abhominable impieties, and manifold excesses, both in spirituall matters and also in externall life, are seene & practised; such ambition in the Prelats, such pride in the Pope, such auarice in the court: and finally, where such corruption is of all things, as you your selves do here confesse, and cannot denie?

Caiaphas his selfe could not propesie more truly.

(*i*) True it is, that the sickenesse hath begun in the

head, that is, at the very triple crown: and therefore the sickness being great & having need of a sharpe Physician God hath sent Luther unto the pope (as Erasmus writeth of him) as a meet Physician to cure his disease: yet he refuseth to be healed.

selfe before he be judged of God in the rod of his fury. For the redresse whereof you shall insinuate unto them, and promise in our behalfe, that in us shall bee lacking no diligence of a better reformation, first beginning with our owne court; that like as this contagion first from thence descended into all the inferiour parts; so reformation and amendment of all that is amisse, from the same place againe, shall take his beginning. Whereunto they shall find us so much the more ready, for that wee see the whole world so desirous of the same. We our selues (as you know) never sought this dignity, but rather coueted, if wee otherwise might, to lead a priuate life, and in a quiet state to serue God: And also would vtterly haue refused the same, had not the feare of God, and the manner of our election, and misdoubting of some schisme to follow after, urged us to take it. And thus tooke wee the burthen vpon us, not for any ambition of dignity, or to inrich our friends and kinsfolks, but onely to be obedient to the will of God, and for reformation of the catholicke Church, and for relefe of the poore, and especially for the aduancement of learning and learned men, with such other things moe, as appertaineth to the charge of a good Bishop and lawfull heire of Saint Peter. And though all errors, corruptions and abuses be not straight-wayes amended by us, men ought not thereat to marueil. The sore is great and farre growne, and is not single, but of manifold maladies together compacted, and therefore to the curing thereof wee must proceed by little and litte, first beginning to cure the greater and the most dangerous, lest while wee intend to amend all, we destroy all. All sudden mutations (saith Aristotle) in a Common-wealth are perilous: and hee that wringeth too hard strayneth out Blood: Proverbes 30.

And whereas in your last letters you write, that the princes complaine, how this sea hath beene and is preiudiciall to their ordinances and agreements; hereunto you shall thus answer: That such excesses, which haue beene done before our time, ought not to be imputed to us, who alwayes haue misliked these derogations; and therefore bid them so assure themselues, that though they had required no such matter, we of our owne accord would haue refrained the same; partly for that it is good, right and reason, that euery one haue that which is due vnto him: and partly also that the said noble nation of Germany shall haue by us no hinderance, but furtherance rather, so much as in us shall lye to doe for them.

And as touching the processes, which they desired to haue remoued away a Rota, and to be referred downe to the parties, you shall signifie vnto them that wee will gratifie them herein as much as honestly we may. But because our auditors are now presently absent from the citie, by reason of the plague, wee cannot be informed as yet touching the quality of those processes. Assoone as they shall returne (which wee hope will be shortly) wee shall doe in the princes fauour, what reasonably we may.

Further, whereas we vnderstand, that there bee many fresh flourishing wits in Germany, and many well learned men whith are not seene vnto, but bee reiected and vnlooked to, while in the meane time, through the Apostolicall prouisions, dignities, and promotions are bestowed vpon tapsters, and dancers and vnfit persons; we will therefore that you inquire out what those learned men are, and what be their names, to the intent that, when any such vacation of benefices in Germany doth fall, we of our owne voluntary motion may prouide for them accordingly. For why, wee consider how much it is against Gods glory, and against the health and the edification of soules, that benefices and dignities of the Church haue now so long time beene bestowed vpon vnworthy and vnable persons.

As touching the subsidy for the Vngarians, wee send no other information to you, but that which wee gaue you at your departure; saue onely that wee will you to extend your diligence therein, as wee also will doe the like, in soliciting the matter with the princes and cities of Italy, that euery one may helpe after his ability. Ex Orth. Gratian.

These popish suggestions, and instructions of the pope himselfe against Luther I thought, Christian reader, to set before thine eyes, to the intent thou mayest see here (as in a patterne, and goe no further) all the crimes, obiections, exclamations, suspitions, accusations, slanders, offensions, contumelies, rebukes, vntruths, cauillations, rayings, whatsoeuer they haue deuised, or can deuise inuent, articulate, denounce, inferre, or surmise against Luther and his teaching. They cry, heresie, heresie: but they proue no heresie. They cry, councels, councels; and yet none transgresseth councells more then themselues. If councels goe alwayes with scripture, then Luther goeth with them: If councels doe iarre sometime from the Scripture, what heresie is in Luther in standing with Scripture against those councels? And yet neither hath he hitherto spoken against any councels, saue only the councell of Constance. They inflame kings and princes against Luther, and yet they haue no cause wherefore. They accuse him for teaching liberty. If they meane the liberty of the flesh, they accuse him falsely: if they meane the liberty of the spirit, they teach wickedly, which teach contrary: and yet when they haue all said, none liue so licentiously as themselues. They pretend the zeale of the Church, but vnder that Church lieth their owne priuat welfare, and belly cheere. They charge Luther with disobedience, and none are so disobedient to magistrates and ciuill lawes, as they. They lay to his charge oppression and spoyling of lay mens goods: and who spoyleth the lay mens liuings so much as the pope? For probation whereof, let the popes accounts be cast, what he raketh out of euery Christian realme. Briefly, turne onely the names of the persons, and in stead of Luthers name place the name of the pope, and the effect of this letter aboue prefixed shall agree vpon none more aptly, then vpon the pope himselfe, and his owne sectaries. Now to proceed further in the processe of this foresaid matter, let vs see what the princes againe for their parts, answer to these foresaid suggestions and instructions of pope Adrian, sent vnto them in the diet of Norenberg, in the cause of Luther: the answer of whom here followeth vnder written.

Luther cryed out of, without any iust cause.

Liberty of flesh. Liberty of spirit.

Turne only the names of the persons, and all the accusations of the papists against the Lutherans agree chiefly vnto themselues.

The answer of the noble and reuerend princes, and states of the sacred Romane Empire, exhibited to the Popes Embassadour.

The answer of the princes of Germany, to the Popes letters and instructions.

THe noble and renowned prince Lord Ferdinandus, lieutenant to the Emperous maiesty, with other reuerend peeres in Christ, and mighty princes electors, and other states and orders of this present assembly of the Romane empire in Norenberg conuented, haue gratefully receiued, and diligently perused the letters sent in forme of a briefe, with the instructions also of the most holy father in Christ and Lord, Lord Adrian the high bishop of the holy and vniuersall Church of Rome, presented vnto them in the cause of Luthers faction.

Pope Adrian a Germane borne.

By the which foresaid letters and writings wherein first they vnderstand his holinesse to haue beene borne and to haue had his native origine and parentage out of this noble nation of Germany, they

doe not a little reioyce. Of whose egregious vertues and ornaments both of minde and body they haue heard great fame and commendation, euen from his tender yeares: by reason whereof they are so much the more ioyous of his aduancement and preferment, by such consent of election, to the high top of the Apostolicall dignity, and yéeld to God most hearty thankes for the same: praying also, from the bottome of their hearts, for his excellent clemencie, and perpetuall glory of his name, and for health of soules, and incolumnity of the vniuersall Church, that God will giue his holinesse long continuance of felicity: hauing no misdoubt, but that, by such a full and consenting election of such a Pastor of the vniuersall Catholique Church, great profit and commodity will ensue. Which thing to hope and looke for, his Holinesse openeth to them an euident declaration in his owne letters, testifying and protesting what a care it is to him both day and night, how to discharge his pastorall function, in studying for the health of the flocke to him committed: and especially in conuerting the minds of Christian Princes from warre to peace. Declaring moreouer, what subsidie and reliefe his Holinesse hath sent to the Souldiers of Rhodes, &c. All which things they perpending with themselues conceiue exceeding hope and comfort in their minds, thus reputing and trusting that this concord of Christian Princes will be a great helpe and stay to the better quieting of things now out of frame; without which neither the State of the Common-wealth, nor of Christian Religion, can be rightly redressed, and much lesse the tyranny of the barbarous Turke repressed.

Wherefore the excellent Prince Lord lieutenant to the Emperours Maiesty, with the other Princes Electors, and Orders of this present assembly, most heartily do pray, that his Holinesse will persist in this his purpose and diligence, as he hath vertuously begun, leauing no stone vnremoued, how the disagreeing hearts of Christian Princes may be reduced to quiet and peace; or if that will not be, yet at least some truce and intermission of domesticall dissentions may be obtained for the necessity of the time now present, whereby all Christians may ioyn their powers together, with the helpe of God, to goe against the Turke, and to deliuer the people of Christ from his barbarous tyranny and bondage. Whereunto both the noble Prince Lord lieutenant, and other princes of Germany, will put to their helping hands, to the best of their abilitie.

And whereas by the letters of his holinesse, with his instruction also exhibited vnto them by his Legat, they vnderstand that his holinesse is afflicted with great sorrow for the prospering of Luthers sect, whereby innumerable soules, committed to his charge, are in danger of perdition, and therefore his Holinesse vehemently desireth some speedy remedie against the same to be prouided, with an explication of certaine necessarie reasons and causes, whereby to moue the Germane Princes thereunto, and that they will tender the execution of the Apostolique sentence, and also of the Emperors Edict set forth touching the suppressing of Luther. To these the Lord Lieutenant and other Princes and States do answer, that it is to them no lesse griefe and sorrow than to his Holinesse; and also they doe lament as much for these impieties and perils of soules, and inconueniences which grow in the Religion of Christ, either by the sect of Luther, or any otherwise. Further, what helpe or councell shall lie in them for the extirping of errors and decay of soules health, what their moderation can doe they are willing and readie to performe; considering how they stand bound and subiect as well to the Popes Holinesse, as also to the Emperours Maiestie. But why the sentence of the Apostolique See, and the Emperours Edict against Luther, hath not beene put in execution hitherto, there hath been (said they) causes great and vrgent, which haue led them thereto: as first in weighing and considering with themselues, that great euils and inconueniences would thereupon ensue. For the greatest part of the people of Germany haue alwayes had this perswasion, and now by reading of Luthers bookes are more therein confirmed, that great grieuances and inconueniences haue come to this nation of Germany, by the court of Rome; and therefore if they should haue proceeded with any rigor in executing the Popes sentence, and the Emperours Edict, the multitude would conceiue & suspect in their mindes, this to bee done for subuerting the verity of the Gospell, and for supporting and confirming the former abuses and grieuances, whereupon great warres and tumults (no doubt) would haue ensued: which thing of the Princes and States there hath beene well perceiued by many arguments. For the auoyding whereof they thought to vse more gentle remedies, seruing more opportunely for the time.

Againe, whereas the reuerend Lord Legat (said they) in the name of the Popes Holinesse, hath been instructed, to declare vnto them, that God suffereth this persecution to rise in the church for the sinnes of men, and that his Holinesse doth promise therefore to begin the reformation with his owne court, that as the corruption first sprang from thence to the inferiour parts, so the redresse of all againe should first begin with the same: Also, whereas his Holinesse, of a good and fatherly heart, doth testifie in his Letters, that hee himselfe did alwayes mislike that the Court of Rome should intermeddle so much, and derogate from the concordates of the Princes, and that his Holinesse doth fully purpose in that behalfe, during his papacie, neuer to practise the like, but so to endeauour, that euery one, and especially the nation of the Germanes, may haue their proper due and right, granting especially to the said nation his peculiar fauour: who seeth not by these premisses, but that this most holy Bishop omitteth nothing which a good Father, or a deuout pastor may or ought to doe to his sheepe? Or who will not be moued hereby to a louing reuerence, and to amendment of his defaults; namely, seeing his holinesse so intendeth to accomplish the same indeed, which in word hee promiseth, according as hee hath begun?

And thus vndoubtedly both the noble Lord Lieutenant, and all other Princes and States of the Empire, well hope that hee will, and pray most heartily that hee may doe, to the glory of our eternall God, to the health of soules, and to the tranquillity of the publike state. For vnlesse such abuses and grieuances, with certaine other articles also, which the secular princes (assigned purposely for the same) shall draw out in writing, shall be faithfully reformed, there is no true peace and concord betweene the ecclesiasticall and secular Estates, nor any true extirpation of this tumult and errors in Germany, that can be hoped. For partly by long warres, partly by reason of other grieuances and hinderances, this nation of Germany hath beene so wasted and consumed in money, that vnneth it is able to sustaine it selfe in priuate affaires, and necessary vpholding of Iustice within it selfe; much lesse then to minister aid & succour to the Kingdome of Hungary, and to the Croatians, against the Turke. And whereas all the States of the sacred Romane Empire doe not doubt, but the Popes Holines doth right well vnderstand, how the Germane Princes did grant and condescend for the money of Annates to be leuied to the See of Rome for terme of certaine yeares, vpon condition that the said money should bee conuerted to maintaine warre against the Turkish Infidels, and for defence of the Catholike faith: and whereas the terme of these yeares is now expired long since, when as the said Annats should

Causes why the Princes haue not proceeded by the Popes sentence against Luther.

Grieuances receiued by the Court of Rome.

The Pope answered with his owne words.

Can any good thing come out of Rome.

The pope much grieued for the prospering of Luther.

Grieuances of the Germanes complained of to the Pope. Vide infra.

Annates falsly pretended of the Pope, to maintaine war against the Turke.

should be gathered, and yet that money hath not been so bestowed to that vse, whereto it was first granted. Wherefore if any such necessity should now come, that any publique helpes, or contributions against the Turke, should be demanded of the German people, they would answer againe, Why is not that money of Annats, reserued many yeares before to that vse, now bestowed and applied; and so would they refuse to receiue any more such burthens for that cause to be layd vpon them?

Annates is a meane portion of money meant to be payd to the Court of Rome, out of the one halfe fruits of benefices Ecclesiasticall.

Wherefore the sayd Lord Lieutenant, and other Princes and degrees of the Empire, make earnest petition, that the popes holines will with a fatherly consideration expend the premisses, and surcease hereafter to require such Annates, which are accustomed after the death of Bishops and other prelats, or ecclesiasticall persons, to be payed to the court of Rome, and suffer them to remaine to the chamber of the Empire, whereby Iustice and peace may be more commodiously administred, the tranquillity of the publique state of Germany maintained, and also by the same due helpes may bee ordained and disposed to other Christian potentates in Germany, against the Turke, which otherwise without the same is not to be hoped for.

Item, whereas the popes holinesse desireth to be informed, what way were best to take in resisting these errors of the Lutherans; to this the Lord Lieutenant, with other Princes and Nobles, do answer, that whatsoeuer helpe or counsell they can deuise, with willing hearts they will be readie thereunto. Seeing therefore the State, as well ecclesiasticall as temporall, is farre out of frame, and haue so much corrupted their wayes; and seeing not onely of Luthers part, and of his sect, but also by diuers other occasions besides, so many errors, abuses, and corruptions haue crept in; much requisite and necessary it is, that some effectuall remedie be prouided, as well for redresse of the Church, as also for repressing the Turkes tyrannie. Now what more present or effectuall remedie can be had, the Lord Lieutenant, and other Estates and Princes do not see, than this, that the popes holinesse, by the consent of the Emperours Maiesty, do summon a free Christian Councell in some conuenient place of Germany, as at Strausborough, or at Mentz, or at Colen, or at Wetz, and that with as much speed as conueniently may be, so that the congregating of the said councell be not deferred aboue one yeare: in the which councell it may be lawfull for euerie person that there shall haue interest, either temporall or ecclesiasticall, freely to speake and consult, to the glory God, and health of soules, and the publike wealth of Christendome, without impeachment or restraint, whatsoeuer oath or other bond to the contrary notwithstanding: yea, and it shall be euerie good mans part there to speake, not onely freely, but to speake that which is true, to the purpose, and to edifying, and not to pleasing or flattering, but simply and uprighly to declare his iudgement, without all fraud or guile. And as touching by what wayes these errors and tumults of the Germane people may best be stayed and pacified in the meane time, vntill the Councell be set, the foresaid Lord Lieutenant, with the other Princes, thereupon haue consulted and deliberated; that forasmuch as Luther, and certaine of his fellowes, be within the territory and dominion of the noble duke Fredericke, the said Lord Lieutenant and other States of the Empire shall shall so labour the matter with the aforenamed Prince, duke of Saxony, that Luther and his followers, shall not write, set forth, or print any thing during the said meane space; neither do they doubt but that the said noble Prince of Saxony, for his Christian pietie, and obedience to the Roman Empire, as becommeth a Prince of such excellent vertue, will effectually condescend to the same.

Bridle of reformation.

Generall Councell in Germanie required.

In the mean time before the Councell.

Waiting and looking for a new Emperour.

Item, the said Lord Lieutenant and princes shall labour so with the preachers of Germany, that they shall not in their sermons teach or blow into the peoples eares such matter whereby the multitude may be moued to rebellion or vprore, or to be induced into error; and that they shall preach and teach nothing but the true, pure, sincere, and holy Gospell, and approued Scripture, godly, mildely, and Christianly, according to the doctrine and exposition of the scripture, being approued and receiued of Christs Church, abstaining from all such things which are better vnknowne than learned of the people, and which to be subtilly searched, or deepely discussed, is not expedient. Also, that they shall moue no contention of disputation among the vulgar sort: but whatsoeuer hangeth in controuersie, the same they shall reserue to the determination of the Councell to come.

The office of preaching temperate.

Item, the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates within their dioceste, shall assigne godly and learned men, hauing good iudgement in the Scripture, which shall diligently and faithfully attend vpon such preachers; and if they shall perceiue the said preachers either to haue erred, or to haue vttered any thing vnconueniently, they shall godly, mildely, and modestly aduertise and informe them thereof, in such sort as no man shall iustly complaine the truth of the Gospell to be impeached. But if the preachers, continuing still in their stubbornenesse, shall refuse to be admonished, and will not desist from their lewdnesse, then shall they bee restrained and punished by the Ordinaries of the place, with punishment for the same conuenient.

Preachers limited within certaine bounds.

Furthermore, the said Princes and Nobles shall prouide and vndertake, so much as shall be possible, that, from henceforth during the foresaid time, no new booke shall be imprinted, especially none of these famous libels, neither shall they priuily or apertly be sold. Also order shall be taken amongst all potestates, that if any shall set out, sell, or imprint any new worke, it shall first be seene and perused of certaine godly, learned, and discreet men appointed for the same: so that if it be not admitted and approued by them, it shall not be permitted to bee published in print, or to come abroad. Thus by these means they hope well, that the tumults, errours, and offensions among the people, shall cease; especially if the popes holinesse himselfe shall begin with an orderly and due reformation, in the foresaid grieuances aboue mentioned, and will procure such a free and Christian Councell as hath beene sayd, and so shall the people be well contented and satisfied. Or if the tumult shall not so fully be calmed as they desire, yet the greater part thus will be quieted: for all such as be honest and good men, no doubt, will be in great expectation of that generall councell, so shortly and now readie at hand to come.

Against selling and printing of famous libels.

Famous libels be such bookes as raile against the fame of any person, shewing no name of the author thereof.

Finally, as concerning Priests which contract matrimony, and religious men leauing their Cloisters, whereof intimation was also made by the Apostolicall Legat, the foresaid princes do consider, that forsomuch as in the Ciuill law there is no penalty for them ordained, they shall be referred to the Canonicall constitutions, to be punished thereafter accordingly; that is, by the losse of their benefices and priuiledges, or other condigne censures: and that the said Ordinaries shall in no case be stopped or inhibited by the secular powers, from the correction of such: but that they shall adde their help and fauour to the maintenance of ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, and shall direct out their publique edicts and precepts, that none shall impeach or prohibit the said Ordinaries in their Ecclesiasticall castigation, vpon such transgressors to be administred.

For priests or religious men that marry.

To conclude, the redoubted Prince Lord Lieutenant, and other Princes, Estates, and Orders of the publique Empire, vehemently and most heartily do pray and beseech, that the Popes Holinesse, and the reuerend Lord his Legate will accept and take

take all the premisses to be no otherwise spoken and meant, then of a good, free, sincere, and a Christian mind. Neither is there any thing that all the foresaid princes, estates, and nobles doe more wish and desire, then the furtherance and prosperous estate of the holy catholicke Church of Rome, and of his holinesse. To whose wishes, desires, and obedience they offer and commend themselues most readie and obsequious, as faithfull children. Ex Orth. Gratian.

Thus hast thou, louing reader, the full discourse both of the popes letter, and of his legats instructions, with the answer also of the states of Germany to the said letter and instructions, to them exhibited in the diet of Norenberge. In the which diet what was concluded, and what order and consultation was taken, first touching the grieuances of Germany, which they exhibited to the pope, then concerning a generall councell to be called in Germany, also for printing and preaching, and for priests marriage, hath beene likewise declared, &c.

Ex Ioan. Sleidano.

The occasion of this matter, moued against priests marriage, came first by the ministers of Straulbrough, which about this time began to take wiues, and therefore were cited by the bishop of Straulbrough to appeare before him at a certaine day, as violaters of the lawes of holy church, the holy fathers, the bishops of Rome, and of the Emperours majestie, to the prejudice both of their owne order of priesthood, and majestie of Almightie God: but they referred their cause to the hearing of the magistrats of the same Citty; who, being suiters for them vnto the bishops, laboured to haue the matter either released, or at least to be delayed for a time.

Ministers of Straulbrough troubled for their wiues.

Long it were to recite all the circumstances following vpon this diet or assembly of Norenberge, how their decree was receiued of some, of some neglected, of diuers diuerslie wrested and expounded. Luther writing his letters vpon the same decree, to the princes, thus made his exposition of the meaning thereof: that whereas the preachers were commanded to preach the pure Gospell, after the doctrine of the Church receiued; he expounded the meaning thereof to bee, not after the doctrine of Thomas Aquine, or Scotus, or such other late schoolwriters, but after the doctrine of Hilarie, Cyprian, and Austen, and other ancient doctors, and yet the doctrine of the said ancestors no farther to be receiued, but as it should agree with the Scripture.

Luther expoundeth the Decree of Norenberge.

Secondly, as concerning new bookes not to be sold nor printed; he expounded the meaning thereof to extend no further, but that the text of the Bible and bookes of the holy Scripture might be printed notwithstanding, and published to all men.

And as for the prohibition of priests marriage, he writeth to the princes, and desireth them to beare with the weakenesse of men; declaring that branch of their decree to be very hard, which though it stand with the popes law yet it accordeth not with the Gospell, neither conduceth to good manners, nor to honestie of life, &c.

An hundred grieuances of the Germans against the pope.

Furthermore, whereas in the same session of Norenberge, mention was made before of certaine grieuances collected to the number of an hundred, and exhibited to the bishop of Rome, it were tedious likewise to insert them all: yet to giue some taste of a few I iudge it not vnprofitable; to the intent that the world may see and iudge, not onely what abuses and corruptions, most monstrous and incredible, lay hid vnder the glorious title of the holy Church of Rome: but also may vnderstand, with what hypocrisie and impudencie the pope taketh vpon him so grieuously to complaine vpon Martin Luther, and other: when in all the vniuersall Church of Christ, there is none so much to be blamed all manner of waies, as he himselfe, according as by these haincus complaints of the Germane princes, here following, against the popes intolerable oppressions and grieuances, may right well appeare. Which grieuances being collected by the princes of Germany at Norenberge, to the number of an hundred, I wish might be fully and at large set forth to the studious Reader, whereby might appeare the subtile sleights and intolerable frauds of that pretensed Church. But forsomuch as it were too long to comprehend the whole, I haue thought good to exhibit some part thereof for example, as giuing onely a certaine taste, whereby thou mayest more easily conceiue, what to thinke and esteeme of all the residue, which both to mee would bee tedious to write, and perhaps more grieuous to thee, to heare.

Certaine grievances or oppressions of Germanie, against the court of Rome, collected and exhibited by the Princes, at the councell of Norenberg, to the number of an hundred, wherof certain specialties here follow.

Forbidding marriage of diuers degrees not forbidden by Gods law.

AMongst other burthens and grieuances, this is not least to be regarded, that many things are prohibited by mens constitutions, and many things erected, which are not prohibited or commanded by any precept of God: as the innumerable obstacles of matrimony inuented and brought in, whereby men were forbid to marry in cases of kindred, which stand vpon diuers degrees: as vpon affinitie, publike honestie, spirituall kindred, kindred by law, and kindred in bloud, &c. and likewise in forbidding the vse of meats, which God hath created for mans necessitie, and taught by the Apostle indifferently to be receiued with thanksgiuing. By these, and many other such humane constitutions, men are yoked in bondage, vntill by money they obtaine some dispensation of those lawes, at their hands which made them: so that money shall make that lawfull for rich men, which is clerely prohibited vnto the poore. By these snares of mens lawes and constitutions, not onely great sums of mony are gathered out of Germany, and carried ouer the Alpes, but also great iniquitie is sprung vp among Christians: many offences and priuie hatreds doe rise, by reason that poore men do see themselues intangled with these snares, for no other cause, but for that they do not possesse the thornes of the Gospell; for so Christ doth often call riches.

Forbidding meats, not bidden by law.

Times forbidden.

THe like practise also is to bee seene in the times restrained from marriage by the heads of the Church of Rome, from the Septuagesima Sunday, some what before Lent: when as notwithstanding both the clergie and the seculars in the meane time will liue licentiously, and that openly in the face of all the world. But this interdict proceedeth to this effect: if a man shall presume so to do vpon his own liberty, without compounding. But otherwise if there be any hope of mony, then that, which was before vnlawfull, is now made lawfull for euery man to do freely. And this is also another drawing net, whereby great summes of mony are dragged out of the Germans purses. Whereupon also hangeth another grieuance as great as this; that in suing out a dispensation, the state of the poore and of the rich is not indifferently weighed: For where the rich escapeth many times for little or nought, and goeth cleere away, the poore man shall be sure to pay for the shot.

Times of marriage restrained by and after the Lord for more.

A complaint for selling remission of sins for money.

BVt especially the burthen and grieuance of the Popes indulgences and pardons bee most importable:

portable: when as the bishop of Rome, vnder pretence of building some church in Rome, or to war against the Turke, doe make out their indulgences with their buls: perswading and promising to the simple people strange and wonderfull benefits of remission à pœna & culpa, that is, from all their sinnes, and punishment due for the same, and that not in this life onely, but also after this life, to them that bee dead burning in the fire of purgatory. Through the hope and occasion whereof, true pietie is almost extinct in all Germany, while euery euill disposed person promiseth to himselfe, for a little money, licence and impunity to doe what him listeth: wherevpon followeth fornication, incest, adultery, perjury, homicide, robbing, and spoiling, rapine, vsurie, with a whole cloud of all mischiefes, &c.

A complaint against the immunities of clergie men.

ITem, whosoeuer he be that hath receiued any Ecclesiasticall orders great or small, thereby he doth contend to be freed from all punishment of the secular Magistrate, how great offence soeuer hee doe: neither doth he vnaduisedly presume thereupon, but is maintained in that libertie to sinne, by the principall Estates of the Clergie. For it hath often beene seene, that whereas by the Canonicall Lawes Priests are forbidden to marry, afterward they diligently labour and go about day and night to attempt and try the chastity of matrons, virgins, and of the wiues, daughters, and sisters of the lay men: and through their continuall instance and labour, partly with gifts and rewards, and flattering words, partly by their secret confessions (as they call them) as it hath been found by experience, they bring to passe that many virgins and matrons, which otherwise would be honest, haue beene ouercome and moued to sinne and wickednesse: and it happeneth oftentimes, that they doe detaine and keepe away the wiues and daughters from their husbands and fathers, threatening them with fire and sword that doe require them againe. Thus through their raging lust they heape and gather together innumerable mischiefes and offences. It is to bee marualled at, how licentiously without punishment they dayly offend in robberies, murther, accusing of innocents, burning, rapine, theft, and counterfeiting of false coyne, besides a thousand other kinds of mischiefes, contrary and against all Lawes both of God and man, not without great offence of others; trusting onely vpon the freedome and libertie of sinne, which they vsurpe vnto themselues by the priuiledge of their Canons. For when as they once perceiue that it is lawfull for them to doe what they list without controllement, then they do not onely contemne the Ciuill Magistrates, but also their Bishops and superiors, whatsoeuer they either command or forbid them to do.

The licentious life of Priests.

And moreouer, to the intent they may be the more maintained in their mischiefe and wickednesse, contrary to all reason and equity, it is partly forbidden the Archbishops and Bishops to condemne these malefactors openly, except they be first degraded, which must bee done with sumptuousnesse and pompe: whereby it happeneth very seldome, that those annointed naughtie packes doe receiue condigne punishment. Besides that, the Bishops are so bound by their Chapters, that they dare not punish any person which hath taken orders, by the Canonicall Lawes, bee the punishment neuer so light or small. By reason whereof, the matter so falleth out, that through this vnequall partiality betweene the Laitie and the Clergie, great hatred, discord, and dissention is sprung and risen. It is also not a little to bee feared, that if the Clergie, which are the cause of this grieuance, and of other mischiefes (which dayly they doe proceed to perpetrate) haue not like lawes, equall Iudges, and like punishment, their offensiue life will moue and stirre some by great tumults and sedition amongst the common people, not onely against the Clergie themselues, but also against the superiors and magistrates, for that they leaue so notorious offences vnpunished.

Wherefore necessity and iustice doth require, that the said prejudiciall priuiledges of the Clergy should be abrogate and taken away, and in their place it be prouided, ordained, and decreed, that the Clergy, of what order or degree soeuer they be, shall haue like lawes, like iudgement, and punishment, as the laitie haue: so that they shall pretend no prerogatiue or freedome in like offence, more than the lay men: but that euery one of the Clergie offending, vnder the Iudge where the offence is committed, shall bee punished for his fact, according to the measure and quality of his offence, in such like manner as other malefactors are, with the punishment appointed by the common lawes of the Empire: which thing (without doubt) will please the true ministers of the church, such as are honest and learned, and they will not thinke their power and authority thereby in any case diminished. By this means it shall be brought to passe, that such as are of the Clergie onely by name, and otherwise naughty wicked men, through the obedience due vnto their magistrates, shall bee compelled to liue more honestly; and all sedition and priuy hatred betweens them and the Laity shall bee put away; and finally thereby, the laity shall bee the more moued and stirred to loue and reuerence such of the Clergy as bee of a sound life.

Priests ought to be subiect to the same punishments as are the Lay people.

¶ Complaint of Excommunion abused.

ITem, at Rome and in other places many Christians are excommunicate by the Archbishops, Bishops, or by their ecclesiasticall Iudges, for prophane causes, through the desire and coueteousnesse of money and lucre. The consciences of men, which are weake in faith, thereby are burdened and brought vnto desperation: and finally, for mony and lucre, a matter of no importance is made to tend to the destruction both of body and soule; contrary both to the law of God & man; forsomuch as no man ought to bee excommunicate but onely for heresie, or for some hainous fact perpetrate, nor to bee counted as separate from the Christian Catholique Church, as the Scriptures do witnesse. Therefore the Princes, Nobles, States, and laity of the sacred Empire, desire and require the Popes Holinesse, that as a faithfull, Christian, & louing father, he will remoue the said burthen of excommunication, vsed both in the See of Rome, and also in the Sees of all other Archbishops and Ecclesiasticall Iudges: and finally decree, that no man shall hereafter bee excommunicate, but onely for a manifest conuict crime of heresie. For it is too wicked a thing, that faithfull Christians, for euery light offence touching any temporall goods or gaine, or for any other worldly matter, but only for obstinacie of heresie, or some great enormity, should bee excluded from Almighty God, and the Catholique congregation.

Excommunication abused in the Church of Rome.

¶ The Church burthened with number of Holy-dayes.

MOreouer, the common people are not a little oppressed with the great number of Holy-dayes, for that there are now so many holy-dayes, that the husbandmen haue scarcely time to gather the fruits of the earth, which they haue brought forth with so great labour and trauell, being often in danger of haile, raine, and other stormes: Which fruits notwithstanding, if they were not letted with so many Holy-dayes, they would gather and bring home without any losse. Besides that, vpon these holy

The number of holy-dayes to be diminished.

Holy-dayes innumerable offences are committed and done, rather than God honoured or worshipped. Which thing is so manifest, that it needeth no witnesse. For that cause the Estates of the sacred empire thinke it best, and most profitable for the Christian Common-wealth, that this great number of Holy-dayes should bee diminished, which ought rather to bee celebrate in spirit and verity, than with the externall worship, and be better kept with abstinence from sinne.

¶ Suspending and hallowing of Church-yards gainfull to the Pope, and chargeable to the people.

Hallowing of Churchyards abused for money.

FUrthermore, if it happen that two or more doe fight without any weapon in a Churchyard, onely with their fists, or by the haire, that there bee neuer so little bloud shed, by and by the clergy haue recourse to interdictment, and doe not suffer any more Christian burials there to bee done, before that all the citizens with great pompe and expenses doe cause it to bee consecrated and hallowed againe, with no lesse charge than when at the first, of a prophane place, it was hallowed for buriall: all which things doe redound to the charges and costs of the Laity. And though the Churches or Chappels bee neuer so little which are so hallowed, yet the suffragans do burthen and oppresse the simple poore householders, bee they neuer so bare or needie, with superfluous expences, and require moreouer gifts of the people, which is not for their ease to giue.

Baptising of bells.

Also the suffragans haue inuented, that no other, but onely themselues, may baptize bells for the lay people. Whereby the simple people, vpon the affirmation of the Suffragans, doe beleeue, that such bells so baptized will driue away euill spirits: and tempests: whereupon a great number of godfathers are appointed, especially such as are rich, which at the time of the baptising holding the rope wherewithall the bell is tyed, the Suffragan speaking before them, as is accustomed in the baptising of yong children, they all together do answer, and giue the name to the bell. The bell hauing a new garment put vpon it, as is accustomed to bee done vnto the Christians, after this they goe vnto sumptuous banquets, whereunto also the Gossips are bidden, that thereby they might giue the greater reward, and the Suffragans, with their chapleins and other ministers, are sumptuously fed. Yet doth not this suffice, but that the Suffragan also must haue a reward, which they doe call a small gift or present: whereby it happeneth oftentimes, that euen in small villages a hundred florens are consumed and spent in such Christenings. Which is not onely superstitious, but also contrary vnto Christian Religion, a seducing of the simple people, and meere extortion. Notwithstanding the Bishops, to inrich their Suffragans, do suffer these things, and other far worse: wherefore such wicked and vnlawfull things ought to be abolished.

Bells weare coats.

A question whether these godsips that christen bells may marry together by the Canon law.

Spoyling of the people by baptising of bells.

¶ Complaint against Officials and other Ecclesiasticall Iudges.

Against Officials.

THe Officials also of Archbishops for the most part are vnlearned and vnable men, besides that, men of euil conditions, taking thought for no thing but onely for money. Also how corruptly they liue, and continue in notorious crimes and transgressions, it is dayly seene. Whereby the Laitie, whom they ought to correct and punish for their offences, and instruct in christian godlinesse, are not in any point by them amended, but rather by them encouraged and confirmed in their offences. Besides this, the laity are miserably robbed and spoyled of their goods by these light and vile Officials: in whose consciences there is no sparke of christian pittie and godlinesse, but onely a wicked desire, and couetousnesse. Which thing the Archbishops and Bishops, if they were indeed such as they are called, that is to say, the pastors and shepheards of Christ, without doubt they would no longer suffer or commit Christs flocke to wicked and offensiue pastors to be fed and nourished.

¶ How the ecclesiasticall Iudges do annexe certaine speciall causes, being lay matters, vnto their owne jurisdiction, and will by no meanes release the same.

Lay matters brought into spirituall Co for money.

WHensoeuer any causes are pleaded in iudgement before an ecclesiasticall Judge, either for rauishing of virgins, or for children vnlawfully borne out of wedlocke, or for seruants wages, or any other matters concerning widdowes, the ecclesiasticall Iudges being called vpon by the superiors of the laity which do contend, they will neither defer that iudgement, nor by any meanes will be intreated to remit them to their ordinary jurisdiction.

¶ The gaine that riseth to the Clergie by false slanders and rumors.

Scolding matters brought to the spirituall court for gain and lucre.

IT happeneth oftentimes, that men and women, through sinister and false reports and slanders, are brought before the Officiall or ecclesiasticall Judge, as men guilty, and shall not bee declared innocent before they haue cleered themselues by an oath. Which purgation so made, they are restored againe to their former estimation. And albeit that the damages and costs ought to be repayed againe vnto such as be so falsely accused, yet notwithstanding the innocents themselues are forced to pay two gildernes and a quarter for their letters of absolution. And this is the cause why that the Officialls and other ecclesiasticall Iudges do so greedily follow the action of such vnlawfull, false, and slanderous accusations, challenging the hearing thereof onely vnto themselues: which thing (no doubt) redoundeth to the great and most singular hurt and detriment of all men. For oftentimes it happeneth, that women falling together in contention, through anger, hatred, or some other affection, doe speake euill or slander one another, and outrage so much, that the one oftentimes accuseth the other, either of adulterie or witchery. Which thing being brought before the officiall, shee, which through her anger had so slandered the other, is forced by an oath to excuse and purge herselfe, that whatsoeuer injurious or slanderous word shee had spoken, came not of any deliberate purpose or intent, but through wrath and displeasure. In like manner the other, which is accused either of adultery or sorcery, is commanded by an oath to declare her innocencie, that shee is not guilty of those facts. So that it is euident vnto all men, that in such cases, whether they bee guilty or not guilty, they must sweare, if they will keepe their good name and fame. Whereby not onely the vnlawfull lucre of gaine and money is sought, but also wilfull perjurie forced, and the secular power and Judges letted from the punishment thereof, so that contrary to all reason offences do remaine vnpunished.

¶ Complaint against spirituall Iudges, taking secular causes from the Civill Magistrate.

The meeting temporall cau vnto the spiri all Court for gaine of mon

ALbeit there bee many causes so indifferent to both Jurisdictions, that they may bee pleaded and punished as well by the Ciuill Magistrate, as

Eccles.

Eccleſiaſticall Iudge; notwithſtanding it hapneth oftentimes, that when as the Civill Magiſtrates would exercise their office and iuriſdiction in this behalfe, they are forbidden and letted by the Eccleſiaſticall Iudges, under paine of excommunication. Which thing, if it ſhould long continue and be ſuffered, the Eccleſiaſticall Iudges would ſhortly take away all manner of cauſes from the Civill Magiſtrate and his iuriſdiction: which is intolerable and derogatory both unto the Emperors Maieſtie and other States of the Empire. And albeit that by the Common Lawes, manifeſt periuries, adulteries, witchcrafts, and ſuch other like may indifferently be puniſhed by Eccleſiaſticall or civill Iudges for the time being, ſo that prevention in this behalfe taketh place; notwithſtanding the Eccleſiaſticall Iudges goe about to uſurpe unto themſelves and their iuriſdiction all ſuch manner of cauſes: which burthen and grievance the civill iuriſdiction and power ought not to ſuffer.

¶ A complaint againſt Eccleſiaſticall Iudges, intermedling with caſes of the ſecular Court, but will not ſuffer their caſes once to be touched of the other.

The Clergie may deale in civill cauſes, but the civill Magiſtrate muſt not deale in theirs.

MOreover, the Eccleſiaſticall Iudges ſay, that in ſuch caſes it is lawfull for them to take prophane matters into their hands, if the civill Magiſtrate be found negligent in executing of Iuſtice: but contrariwiſe, they will not ſuffer that the like order ſhould be kept with them, neither will they permit that in eccleſiaſticall matters any man may complaine unto the civill Magiſtrate for lacke of Iuſtice, and require the adminiſtration of Iuſtice at his hand. Albeit, they doe define all lawes generally common, and determine how the Canon Lawes may help and aſſiſt the Civill, and contrariwiſe the Civill Lawes the Canon.

¶ Complaint againſt certaine miſorders of Cathedrall Churches, for uſing double puniſhment for one offence, againſt the Law.

Certain orders of Cathedrall Churches reprooueable.

FOraſmuch as it is forbidden both by Gods Law and mans, that any man ſhould be beaten with two rods, that is to ſay, to be puniſhed with two kindes of tormentes; worthily therefore doe all wiſe men deteſt and abhorre the odious ſtatutes of diuers Cathedrall Churches, whereby murtherers, both men and women, and other, as well light as grieuous offendors, have beene hitherto vexed and tormented: for hitherto it hath beene accuſtomed, that ſuch as were guilty of murther and ſuch other crimes, (which they call caſes reſerved unto the Biſhops) after they had made their auricular confeſſion, were compelled (to their great ignominy and ſhame) to doe penance in the ſight of all the people: which penance were not ſo much to be diſallowed, bearing ſome ſemblance of the inſtitution of the primitive Church, if ſo be it theſe buſie Officialls (being contented therewith) would not extort more, and greater ſummes of money than were right and lawfull, and ſo puniſh thoſe offendors with double puniſhment; wherewithall it is to be marvelled how many are offended and grieved. How wicked a thing this is, and how far it differeth from Chriſts inſtitution, we will refer it to every good conſcience to iudge.

¶ Complaint of Officialls for maintaining unlawfull uſuries.

Officialls taking penſions of Prieſts for keeping Concubines.

FUrthermore, the Officialls, being allured through the greedy and inſatiable deſire of money, doe not onely not forbid unlawfull uſuries and gaines of money, but alſo ſuffer and maintaine the ſame. Moreover, they taking a yerely ſtipend and penſion doe ſuffer the Clergie and other religious perſons unlawfully to dwell with their Concubines and Harlots, and to beget children by them. Both which things how great perill, offence, and detriment they doe bring both unto body and ſoule, every man may plainly ſee (ſo that it neede not to be rehearſed) except he will make himſelfe as blinde as a Mole.

¶ Complaint of Officialls, permitting unlawfull cohabitation with other, when the husband or wife are long abſent.

FUrthermore, where it ſo hapneth (as it doth oftentimes) that either the good man, or the good wife, by meanes of warre, or ſome other vow, hath taken in hand ſome long iourney, and ſo tarryeth longer than ſerveth the appetite of the other, the Officiall, taking a reward of the other, giveth Licence to the party to dwell with any other perſon; not having firſt regard or making inquiſition whether the husband or wife, being abſent, be in health or dead. And becauſe theſe their doings ſhould not be evill ſpoken of, they name it a toleration of ſufferance, not without great offence to all men, and to the great contempt of holy matrimony.

¶ Complaint of Canons in Cathedrall Churches, which have their Biſhop ſworne unto them before he be choſen.

The practice in Chapters of Cathedrall Churches to make the Biſhops ſweare unto them.

THis is alſo unlawfull and plainly wicked, that the Canons of Cathedrall Churches, in whoſe hand the principall part of Eccleſiaſticall Iudgements, Synods, and cenſures doe conſiſt, and the Canons of other Collegiat Churches, which have power and authority to chooſe their ſuperiour and Biſhop, will chooſe none to their Biſhop, except he bind himſelfe firſt with an oath, and plainly ſweare, yea, and oftentimes is bound by bond and inſtruments, ſealed with their ſeals to them and their Eccleſiaſticall Iudges, that in no matter, be it never ſo grievous, intolerable, or diſhoneſt, he ſhall be againſt them: and if it happen at any time that they doe offend, they may doe it alſo without puniſhment for him.

¶ Complaint againſt incorporations or improperations, and other pilling of the people by Churchmen.

The inconvenience of impropriations.

MAny parith Churches are ſubiect unto Monaſteries, and to the Parſons of other Churches, by meanes of incorporations (as they call them) or otherwiſe, which they are bound alſo, according to the Canon Lawes, to foreſee and looke unto by themſelves, when as they doe put them forth unto others to be governed, reſerving for the moſt part unto themſelves the whole ſtipend of the benefits and tythes: and moreover aggravate and charge the ſame with ſo great penſions, that the hireling Prieſts, and other Miniſters of the Church, cannot have thereupon a decent and competent living. Whereby it commeth to paſſe, that theſe hireling Prieſts (for that they muſt needs have whereupon to live) doe with unlawfull exactions miſerably ſpoyle and devoure the poore ſheepe committed unto them, and conſume all their ſubſtance. For when as the Sacraments of the Altar and of Baptiſme are to be adminiſtred, or when the firſt, the ſeventh, the thirtieth, and yeare day muſt be kept, when auricular confeſſion commeth to be heard, the dead to be buried, or any other ceremony whatſoever about the funerall, is to be done, they will not doe it

freely, but extort and exact ſo much money, as the miſerable communalty is ſcarce able to diſburſe; and daily they doe increaſe and augment theſe their exactions, driving the ſimple poore people to the payment thereof, by threatning them with excommunication, or by other wayes compelling them to be at charge: which otherwiſe through poverty are not able to maintaine obſequies, peare mindes, and ſuch other like ceremonies, as to the funeralls of the dead be appertaining.

¶ Buying and ſelling of buriálls complained of.

Gaine gotten by ſelling burials.

IT is ordained by the Popes Canons, That buriall in the Church ſhould be denied only unto them which being knowne to be manifeſt and notorious offendors, have departed this life without receiving of the Sacrament. But the Clergie, not regarding thoſe Decrees, will not ſuffer ſuch as by chance are drowned, killed, ſlaine with falls or fire, or otherwiſe by chance have ended their lives (albeit it be not evident that they were in deadly ſin) to be buried in the Churches, untill ſuch time as the wives, children, or friends of thoſe men ſo dead, doe with great ſummes of money purchaſe and buy the buriall of them in the Church-yard.

¶ Chaſte and continent Prieſts compelled to pay tribute for Concubines.

Concubines permitted for money and chaſte Prieſts compelled to pay tribute for concubines.

ALſo in many places the Biſhops and their Officialls doe not onely ſuffer Prieſts to have Concubines, ſo that they pay certaine ſummes of money, but alſo compell continent and chaſte prieſts, which live without Concubines, to pay tribute for Concubines; affirming, that the Biſhop hath need of money: which being payed, it ſhall be lawfull for them either to live chaſte, or keepe Concubines. How wicked a thing this is, every man doth well underſtand and know.

THeſe, with many other burthens and grievances more, to the number of an hundred, the ſecular States of Germany delivered to the Popes Legat; having (as they ſaid) many more, and more grievous grievances beſides theſe, which had likewiſe much need of redreſſe: but becauſe they would not exceede the limits of reaſonable brevity, they would content themſelves (they ſaid) with theſe aforeſaid hundred, reſerving the reſt to a more apt and more convenient opportunity; ſtedfaſtly truſting and hoping, that when thoſe hundred grievances, already by them declared, ſhould be abolished, the other would alſo decay and fall with them. Of the which foreſaid grievances and complaints, here is moreover to be noted, that a great part was offered up before to the Emperor at the Councell of Wormes: but becauſe no redreſſe thereof did follow, therefore the ſecular States of Germany thought good to exhibite the ſame now againe, with divers more annexed thereunto, to Cheregatus the Popes Legat, in this preſent aſſembly of Noremberg, deſiring him to preſent the ſame to Pope Adrian. This was about the yeare of our Lord, 1523. Which being done, the aſſembly of Noremberg brake up for a time, and was prorogued to the next yeare following.

The diet of Norenberg began, an. 1522. and brake up, Anno 1523.

The death of Pope Adrian. Pope Clement the ſeventh.

In this meane time Pope Adrian died. After him ſucceeded Pope Clement the ſeventh: Who the next yeare following, which was Anno 1524. ſent downe his Legate, Cardinall Campeius unto the Councell of the Germane Princes, aſſembled againe at Noremberg, about the moneth of March, with Letters alſo to Duke Fredericke, full of many faire petitions and ſharp complaints, &c. But as touching the grievances above mentioned, no word nor meſſage at all was ſent, neither by Campeius, nor by any other. Thus, where any thing was to be complained of againſt Luther, either for ſuppreſſion of the liberty of the Goſpell, or for upholding of the Popes dignity, the Pope was ever ready with all diligence to call upon the Princes: but where any redreſſe was to be required for the publique wealth of Chriſtian people, or touching the neceſſary reformation of the Church, herein the Pope neither giveth eare nor anſwer.

Cardinall Campeius the Popes Legate ſent into Germany.

The Pope onely ſeeketh his owne dignity, but publique reformation he never tendreth.

And thus having diſcourſed ſuch matters occurrent betweene the Pope and Princes of Germany at the Synod of Noremberg, let us now proceed, returning againe to the ſtory of Luther: of whom yee heard before, how he was kept ſecret and ſolitary for a time, by the advice and conveyance of certaine Nobles in Saxony, becauſe of the Emperors Edict above mentioned. In the meane time, while Luther had thus abſented himſelfe out of Wittenberg, Andreas Caroloſtadius, proceeding more roughly and eagerly in cauſes of Religion, had ſtirred up the people to throw downe Images in the Temples, beſides other things more. For the which cauſe Luther, returning againe into the city, greatly miſliked the order of their doings, and reproved the raſhneſſe of Caroloſtadius; declaring that their proceedings herein were not orderly, but that Pictures and Images ought firſt to be throwne out of the hearts and conſciences of men; and that the people ought firſt to be taught, that we are ſaved before God, and pleaſe him onely by faith; and that Images ſerve to no purpoſe: this done, and the people well inſtructed, there was no danger in Images, but they would fall of their owne accord. Not that hee repugned to the contrary (he ſaid) as though hee would maintaine Images to ſtand or to be ſuffered: but that this ought to be done by the Magiſtrate, and not by force, upon every private mans head, without order and authority, Ex Ioan. Sleid. lib. 3.

Caroloſtadius caſteth downe Images in Wittenberg.

Luther miſliketh caſting out of Images by ſtrong hand.

Furthermore, Luther writing of Caroloſtadius, affirmed, that he alſo joyned with the ſentence of them, which began then to ſpread about certains parts of Saxony, ſaying, that they were taught of God that all wickedneſſe being utterly ſuppreſſed, and all the wicked doers ſlaine, a new full perfection of all things muſt be ſet up, and the innocent onely to enjoy all things, &c.

Ex Ioan. Sleid. lib. 3.

The cauſe why Luther ſo ſtood againſt that violent throwing downe of Images, and againſt Caroloſtadius, ſeemeth partly to riſe of this, by reaſon that Pope Adrian, in his letters ſent to the Princes and States of Germany, doth grievouſly complaine, and charge the ſect of Luther for ſedition and tumults, and rebellion againſt Magiſtrates, as ſubverters and deſtroyers of all order and obedience; as appeareth by the words of the Popes letter before expreſſed: therefore Martin Luther, to ſtop the mouth of ſuch ſlanderers, and to prevent ſuch miſſer ſuſpitions, was inforced to take this way which he did; that is, to proceed as much as he might by order and authority.

Wherein are to be noted by the way two ſpeciall points, touching the doctrine and doings of Martin Luther; eſpecially for all ſuch who in theſe our dayes, now abuſing the name and authority of Luther, thinke themſelves to be good Lutheranes, if they ſuffer Images ſtill to remaine in Temples, and admit ſuch things in the Church, which themſelves doe wiſh to be away. The firſt is, the manner how, and after what ſort Luther did ſuffer ſuch Images to ſtand. For although hee aſſented not, that the vulgar and private multitude tumultuouſly by violence ſhould rap them downe; yet that is no argument now for the Magiſtrate to let them ſtand. And though he allowed not the Miniſters to ſtirre up the people by forcible meanes to promote Religion; yet that argueth not thoſe Magiſtrates to be good Lutherans, which may and ſhould remove them, and will not.

The cauſes diſcuſſed why Luther permitted Images to ſtand.

Two things to be noted in Luther for bearing with Images.

The ſecond point to be noted, is to conſider the cauſe

cause why that Luther did so stand with standing of Images; which cause was time, and not his owne judgement. For albeit in judgement hee wished them away, yet time so serued not thereunto then, as it serueth now. For then the doctrine of Luther first beginning to spring, and being but in the blade, was not yet knowne whereto it tended, nor to what it would grow, but rather was suspected to tend to disobedience and sedition; and therefore the Pope hearing of the doings of Carolostadius in Wittenberg, and of other like, toke his ground thereby to charge the sect of Luther with sedition, uproares, and dissolute liberty of life. And this was the cause why Luther compelled then by necessity of time, to save his doctrine from slander of sedition and tumult being laid to him by the Pope (as yee haue heard) was so much offended with Carolostadius and other, for their violence used against Images. For otherwise had it not beene for the Popes accusations, there is no doubt but Luther would haue born as well contented with abolishing of Images and other Monuments of Popery, as he was at the same time contented to write to the Friers Augustines for abrogating of priuate Masses. And therefore, as Luther in this doing is to be excused, the circumstances considered: so the like excuse, perhaps, will not serue the ouermuch curious imitation of certaine Lutheranes in this present age now; which, considering onely the fact of Luther, doe not marke the purpose of Luther, neither doe expend the circumstances and time of his doings: being not much unlike to the ridiculous imitators of King Alexander the Great, which thought it not sufficient to follow him in his vertues, but they would also counterfeit him in his stooping, and all other gestures besides: but to these liuing now in the Church, in another age than Luther did, it may seeme (after my mind) sufficient to follow the same way after Luther, or to walke with Luther to the kingdome of Christ, though they iumpe not also in euery foot-step of his, and keepe euen the same pace, and turnings in all points, as hee did.

Lutherani. Lutherans of this age. How Luther is to be followed.

And contrariwise, of the other sort much lesse are they to be commended, which running as much on the contrary string, are so precise, that because of one small blemish, or for a little stooping of Luther in the Sacrament, therefore they giue cleane ouer the reading of Luther, and fall almost in vtter contempt of his bookes. Whereby is declared, not so much the nicenesse and curiousnesse of these our dayes; as the hinderance that commeth thereby to the Church is greatly to be lamented. For albeit the Church of Christ (praised be the Lord) is not unprouided of sufficient plenty of worthy and learned writers, able to instruct in matters of doctrine; yet in the chiefe points of our consolation, where the glory of Christ, and the power of his passion, and strength of faith is to be opened, to our conscience, and where the soule, wrastling for death and life, standeth in need of serious consolation, the same may be said of Martin Luther, among all the other variety of writers, that Saint Cyprian was wont to say of Tertullian, Da Magistrum, Giue mee my Master. And albeit that Luther went a little awry, and dissented from Zuinglius in this one matter of the Sacrament: yet in all other points of doctrines they did accord, as appeared in the Synode holden at Marpurge, by Prince Philip Lantgraue of Hesse, which was in the yeere of our Lord, 1529. where both Luther and Zuinglius were present, and conferring together, agreed in these Articles:

Luther not to be condemned for one little blemish.

Commendation of Martin Luthers doctrine.

Cyprian so much delighted in reading of Tertullian, that whensoeuer he called for his booke, he bad reach him his Master.

1 On the vnity and trinity of God. 2. In the Incarnation of the Word. 3. In the Passion and Resurrection of Christ. 4. In the Article of Originall sinne. 5. In the Article of faith in Christ Iesus. 6. That this faith commeth not of merits, but by the gift of God. 7. That this faith is our righteousnesse. 8. Touching the externe word. 9. Likewise they agreed in the Articles of Baptisme. 10, Of good works 11. Of confession. 12. Of Magistrates. 13. Of mens traditions. 14. Of Baptisme of Infants. 15. Lastly, concerning the Doctrine of the Lords Supper, this they did believe and hold, first, that both the kindes thereof are to be ministred to the people according to Christs institution: and that the Masse is no such worke for the which a man may obtaine grace both for the quicke, and the dead. Item, that the Sacrament (which they call of the Altar) is a true Sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord. Item, that the spirituall manducation of his body and blood is necessary for euery Christian man. And furthermore, that the use of the Sacrament tendeth to the same effect as doth the Word, given and ordained of Almighty God, that thereby infirme consciences may be stirred to beliefe, by the Holy Ghost, &c. Ex Paral. Abbat. Vrsp.

The consent between Luther and Zuinglius in cases of doctrine.

In all these summes of doctrine aboue recited, Luther and Zuinglius did consent and agree. Neither were their opinions so different in the matter of the Lords Supper, but that in the principall points they accorded. For if the question be asked of them both, what is the materiall substance of the Sacrament, which our outward senses doe behold and feele; they will both confesse bread, and not the accidents onely of bread. Further, if the question be asked whether Christ be there present; they will both confesse his true presence to be there; onely in the manner of presence they differ. Againe, aske whether the materiall substance, laid before our eyes in the Sacrament, is to be worshipped: they will both deny it, and iudge it Idolatry. And likewise for transubstantiation, and for the sacrifice of the Masse, they both doe abhorre, and do deny the same: as also the communion to be in both kinds administred they doe both assent and grant.

Luther and Zuinglius agree in the presence: only in the manner of the presence they differ.

Onely their difference is in this, concerning the sense and meaning of the words of Christ, Hoc est corpus meum; This is my body, &c. Which words Luther expoundeth to be taken nakedly and simply as the letter standeth, without trope or figure; and therefore holdeth the body and blood of Christ truly to be in the bread and wine, and so also to be received with the mouth. Ulricus Zuinglius, with Ioannes Oecolampadius, and other more, doe interpret these words otherwise; as to be taken not literally, but to haue a spirituall meaning, and to be expounded by a trope or figure, so that the sense of these words, This is my body, is thus to be expounded: this signifieth my body and blood. Ex Ioan. Sleid. lib. 5. With Luther consented the Saxons. With the other side of Zuinglius, went the Helvetians. And as time did grow, so the division of these opinions increased in sides, and spread in farther Realmes and countries: the one part being called of Luther Lutherans; the other having the name of Sacramentaries. Notwithstanding, in this one unity of opinion, both the Lutherans and Sacramentaries doe accord and agree, that the bread and wine there present, is not transubstantiate into the body and blood of Christ (as is said) but is a true Sacrament of the body and blood.

How and where in Luther and Zuinglius dissent in doctrine of the Lords Supper. Luthers opinion in the Sacrament. Zuinglius opinion of the Sacrament.

Ex Ioan. Sleid. lib. 5.

Lutherances. Sacramentaries.

Ex paralip. Abb. Vrsp.

But hereof sufficient, touching this division betweene the Lutherans and Zuinglians. In which division if there haue beene any defect in Martin Luther: yet is that no cause why either the Papists may greatly triumph, or why the Protestants should despise Luther. For neither is the doctrine of Luther touching the Sacrament so grosse, that it maketh much with the Papists; nor yet so discrepant from us, that therefore hee ought to be exploded. And though a full reconciliation of this difference cannot well be made (as some haue gone about to doe) yet let us giue to Luther a moderate interpretation: and if we will not make things better, yet let us not make them worse then they be, and

Lutherians and Zuinglians differ more in charity than in doctrine.

let us beare, if not with the manner, yet at least with the time of his teaching; and finally, let it not be noted in us, that we should seeme to differ in charity more (as Bucer said) than we doe in doctrine. But of this hereafter more (Christ willing) when we come to the history of John Frith.

A notable miracle of God to overthrow the Pope by a poore Frier.

They which write the life of Saints, use to describe and extoll their holy life and godly vertues, and also to set forth such miracles as be wrought in them by God. Whereof there lacketh no plenty in Martin Luther, but rather time lacketh to us, and opportunity to tarry upon them, having such haste to other things. Otherwise what a miracle might this seeme to be, for one man, and a poore Frier, creeping out of a blind cloyster, to be set up against the Pope, the universall Bishop, and Gods mighty vicar in earth; to withstand all his Cardinals, yea, and to sustaine the malice and hatred almost of the whole world being set against him; and to worke that against the said Pope, Cardinals, and Church of Rome, which no King nor Emperor could ever doe, yea, durst never attempt, nor all the learned men before him could ever compasse. Which miraculous worke of God I recount nothing inferior to the miracle of David overthrowing great Goliah. Wherefore if miracles do make a Saint (after the Popes definition) what lacketh in Martin Luther, but age and time only, to make him a Saint? who standing openly against the Pope, Cardinals, and Prelates of the Church, in number so many, in power so terrible, in practice so crafty, having Emperors, and all the Kings of the earth against him; who teaching and preaching Christ the space of nine & twenty yeres, could without touch of all his enemies, so quietly in his owne country where hee was borne, die and sleepe in peace. In the which Martin Luther, first to stand against the Pope was a great miracle; to prevaile against the Pope, a greater; so to die untouched may seeme greatest of all, especially having so many enemies as he had. Againe, neither is it any thing lesse miraculous, to consider what manifold dangers he escaped besides: as when a certaine Jew was appointed to come to destroy him by poyson; yet was it so the will of God, that Luther had warning thereof before, and the face of the Jew sent to him by picture, whereby he knew him, and avoyded the perill.

Three miracles noted in Martin Luther.

Martin Luther miraculously preserved.

Another time, as hee was sitting in a certaine place upon his stoole, a great stone there was in the vault over his head where he did sit; which being staid miraculously so long as he was sitting, as soone as he was up, immediatly fell upon the place where he sate, able to have crushed him all in pieces, if it had light upon him.

Martin Luther vehement and mighty in prayer.

And what should I speake of his prayers, which were so ardent unto Christ, that (as Melanthon writeth) they which stood under his window where he stood praying might see his teares falling and dropping downe. Againe, with such power he prayed, that he (as himselfe confesseth) had obtained of the Lord, that so long as he lived, the Pope should not prevaile in his country: after his death (said he) let them pray who could.

A miraculous worke of the Lord in delivering a young man out of the Divels danger by Christian prayer.

And as touching the marvellous workes of the Lord, wrought here by men, if it be true which is credibly reported by the learned, what miracle can be more miraculous, than that which is declared of a young man about Wittenberg, who, being kept bare and needy by his father, was tempted by way of sorcery to bargaine with a Divell, or a Familiar (as they call him) to yeeld himselfe body and soule into the Divels power, upon condition to have his will satisfied with money. So that upon the same an obligation was made by the young man, written with his owne blood, and given to the Divell; this case you see how horrible it was, and how damnable: now heare what followed. Upon the sudden wealth and alteration of this young man, the matter first being noted, began afterward more and more to be suspected, and at length, after long and great admiration, was brought unto Martin Luther to be examined. The young man, whether for shame or feare, long denied to confesse, and would be knowne of nothing: yet God so wrought, being stronger than the Divell, that he uttered unto Luther the whole substance of the cause, as well touching the money as the obligation. Luther understanding the matter, and pitying the lamentable state of the man, willed the whole congregation to pray; and he himselfe ceased not with his prayers to labour; so that the Divell was compelled at the last to throw in his obligation at the window, and bad him take it againe unto him. Which narration, if it be so true, as certainly it is of him reported, I see not the contrary, but that this may well seeme comparable with the greatest miracle in Christs Church that was since the Apostles time.

Furthermore, as hee was mighty in his prayers, so in his sermons, God gave him such a grace, that when hee preached, they which heard him, thought every one his owne temptation severally to be noted and touched. Whereof, when signification was given unto him by his friends, and hee demanded how that could be; mine owne manifold temptations (said he) and experiences are the cause thereof. For this thou must understand (good Reader) that Luther from his tender yeares was much beaten and exercised with spirituall conflicts, as Melanthon in describing his life doth testifie. Also Hieron. Wellerus, scholler and disciple of the said Martin Luther, recordeth, that he oftentimes heard Luther his Master thus report of himselfe; That he had beene assaulted and vexed with all kindes of temptations, saving onely one, which was with covetousnesse. With this vice he was never (said he) in all his life troubled, nor once tempted.

Ex Phil. Melanth. in orat. funebri.

Ex Hieron. Wellero.

Luther never in all his life tempted with covetousnesse.

And hitherto concerning the life of Martin Luther, who lived to the yeere of his age, sixty three; continued writing and preaching about 29. yeeres. As touching the order of his death, the words of Melanthon be these:

Martin Luther how long hee lived and taught.

In the yeere of our Lord, 1546. and the seventeenth of February, Doctor Martin Luther sickned a little before supper of his accustomed malady, to wit, of the oppression of humors in the orifice or opening of his stomacke; whereof I remember I have seene him oft diseased in this place. This sickenesse tooke him after supper; with the which he vehemently contending, required secesse into a by-chamber, and there he rested on his bed two houres, all which time his paines increased. And as Doctor Jonas was lying in his Chamber, Luther awaked, and prayed him to rise, and to call up Ambrose his childrens Schoolemaster, to make fire in another chamber. Into the which, when hee was newly entred, Albert Earle of Mansfield, with his wife, and divers others (whose names in these letters for haste were not expressed) at that instant came into his chamber. Finally, feeling his fatall houre to approach, before nine of the clock in the morning, the eighteenth day of February, he commended himselfe to God with this devout prayer.

The sickenesse of Luther.

The quiet death of Luther.

¶ *The Prayer of* Luther *at his death.*

The Prayer of Luther at his death.

MY Heavenly Father, eternall and mercifull God, thou hast manifested unto me thy deare sonne, our Lord Iesus Christ; I have taught him, I have knowne him, I love him as my life, my health, and my redemption: whom the wicked have persecuted, maligned, and with injury afflicted. Draw my soule to thee.

After this, hee said as insueth, thrice:

I commend my spirit into thy hands, thou hast redeemed mee, O God of truth. God so loved the world,

world, that he gave his only Sonne, that all those that beleeve in him should have life everlasting: Iohn 3.

Having repeated oftentimes his prayers, hee was called to God, unto whom so faithfully he commended his spirit, to enjoy, no doubt, the blessed society of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles in the Kingdome of God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost. Let us now love the memory of this man, and the doctrine that he hath taught. Let us learne to be modest and meeke: let us consider the wretched calamities, and marvellous changes that shall follow this mishap and dolefull chance. I beseech thee, O Sonne of God, crucified for us, and resuscitated Emmanuel, governe, conserve, and defend thy Church. Hæc Melanchton.

The death of Duke Frederick.

Fredericus Prince Elector died long before Luther, in the yeare of our Lord 1525, leaving no issue behinde him, for that he lived a single life, and was never married: wherefore after him succeeded John Frederick duke of Saxony.

Mention was made a little before of the ministers of Strausburg, which because of their marriage were in trouble, and cited by the Bishop to appeare before him, & there to be judged, without the precinct of the city of Strausburgh: whereas there had beene a contrary order taken before betweene the Bishop and the city, that the Bishop should execute no judgement upon any, but under some of the Magistrates of the said city of Strausburgh. Whereupon the Senate & the Citizens taking into their hands the cause of these married Ministers, in defence of their own right and liberties, wrote (as is said) to their Bishop of Strausburgh, and caused the judgement thereof a while to be stayed. By reason whereof the matter was brought at length before Cardinall Campeius, Legate, sent by Pope Clement to the assembly of Norenberg, Anno 1524.

Discordance betweene the Senate of Strausburgh and Cardinall Campeius, about married ministers.

Gurnerus a frier an accuser of married ministers.

The Senate of Strausburgh urge themselves to Cardinall Campeius.

The chiefe doer in this matter was one Thomas Gurnerus a Franciscan Frier, who had commenced a grievous complaint against the Senate and city of Strausburgh, before the foresaid Cardinall Campeius. Wherefore the Senate, to purge themselves, sent their Embassadours, thus clearing their cause, and answering to their accusation; That they neither had beene, nor would be any let to the Bishop, but had signified to him before by their letters, that whatsoever he could lay against those married Priests, consonant to the law of God, they would be no stay, but rather a furtherance unto him to proceed in his action. But the Senate herein was not a little grieved, that the Bishop, contrary to the order and compact which was taken betweene him and them, did call the said Ministers out of the Liberties of their city: for so it was betweene them agreed, that no Ecclesiasticall person should be adjudged but under some Judge of their owne City.

The Bishop of Strausburgh breaketh the agreement made and the liberties of the city.

But now contrary to their said agreement, the Bishop called those ministers out of their liberties; and so the Ministers, claming the right and privilege of the city, were condemned, their cause being neither heard nor knowne. And now if the Senate should shew themselves any thing more sharp or rigorous unto those ministers, claiming the right of the city; the people, no doubt, would not take it well, but haply would rise up in some commotion against them in the quarrel & defence of their franchises and liberties.

And where it is objected, that they receive Priests and men of the Clergy into the freedome and protection of their city: to this they answered, that they did nothing herein, but that which was correspondent to the ancient usage, and manner of the city before: and moreover, that it was the Bishops owne request and desire made unto them so to do.

To this the Cardinall againe, advising well the letters of the Bishop, and the whole order of the matter which was sent unto him, declared, that he right well understood by the letters sent, that the Ministers indeed (as the Embassadours said) were called out from the freedome and liberties of the City, and yet no order of law was broken therein; forasmuch as the Bishop (said he) had there no lesse power and authority, than if he were his own Vicar delegate, and therefore he desired them, that they would assist the Bishop in punishing the foresaid Ministers, &c.

The answer of Campeius to the Embassadors.

The Popes Prelates be lawfull, and can breake no order whatsoever they do.

After much other talke, and reasoning on both parts, wherein the Embassadors argued in defence of their freedome, that the judgement should not be transferred out of the city: among other communication, they inferred moreover, and declared, how in the city of Strausburg were many, yea the most part of the Clergy, which lived vitiously and wickedly with their strumpets and harlots, whom they kept in their houses, to the great offence of the people, shame to Christs Church, & pernicious example of other; and yet the Bishop would never once stirre to see any punishing or correction thereof. Wherefore if the Senate (said the Embassadors) should permit the Bishop to extend his cruelty and extremity against these married Ministers, for not observing the Bishop of Romes law, and leave the other notorious whoremasters, which breake the law of God, to escape unpunished, doubtlesse it would redound to their great danger and perill, not only before God, but also among the Commons of their city, ready to rise upon them.

The Embassadors reply against the Cardinall.

Holy matrymony punished, wicked whoredome escaped.

To this Campeius answered, what composition or bargaine was betwixt the Bishop and them, hee knew not, but surely the act of the one was manifest, & needed no great triall in law of proving and confessing, and therefore they were sequestred and abandoned from the communion of the Church, ipso facto. As for the other sort of them, which keep harlots and Concubines, although (said he) it be not well done, yet doth it not excuse the enormity of their marriage. Neither was he ignorant, but that it was the manner of the Bishops of Germany, for money to winke at Priests lemans, and the same also was evil done indeed: and further, that the time should come when they shall be called to an account for the same: but yet nevertheless it is not sufferable that Priests therfore should have wives. And if comparison should be made (said he) much greater offence it were, a priest to have a wife, than to have and keepe at home many harlots. His reason was this; for they that keepe harlots (said he) as it is naught that they doe, so do they acknowledge their sinne: the other perswade themselves that they doe well, and so continue still without repentance, or conscience of their fact. All men (said he) cannot be chaste, as Iohn Baptist was; yet can it not be proved by any example, to be lawfull for priests, professing chastity, to leave their single life, and to marry: no not the Grækes themselves, which in rites be differing from us, do give this liberty to their own priests to marry: wherefore he prayed them to give their aide to the Bishop in this behalfe.

Campeius answered.

Ipso facto, that is, upon the very doing of the act, without any further iudgement or triall by the Law.

A fit reason for a carnall Cardinall: better it is to have many concubines than one wife.

Touching the Greek Church the Cardinall speaketh untruly.

Whereunto the Embassadors replied again, saying, that if he would first punish the whoremasters, then might the Senate assist him the better in correcting the other: but the Cardinall was still instant upon them, that first they should assist their Bishop, and then if the Bishop would not punish whoredome, he would come thither himselfe and see them punished accordingly.

The Embassadors reply.

This Cardinall Campeius, how he was sent by Pope Clement the sixth to the second assembly or Dyet of Norenberg, Anno 1524. and what was there done by the said Cardinall, is before signified. After this Councell of Norenberg, immediately followed another sitting at Ratisbone, where were present Ferdinandus, Campeius, the Cardinall of

The assembly or Dyet at Ratisbone.

Salisburg, the two dukes of Bavaria, the Bishops of Trent and Ratisbone; also the Legates of the Bishops, Bambergh, Spires, Strausburgh, Ausburgh, Constance, Basill, Frising, Passame, and Wirtime. By whom in the said assembly it was concluded;

That forsomuch as the Emperour, at the request of Pope Leo, had condemned by his publik Edict set forth at Wormes the doctrine of Luther for erroneous and wicked; and also it was agreed upon in both the assemblies of Norenbergh, that the said Edict should be obeyed of all men; they likewise, at the request of Cardinall Campeius, doe will and command the foresaid Edict to be observed through all their fines and precincts: That the Gospell, and all other holy Scriptures, should be taught in Churches according to the interpretation of the ancient forefathers: That all they which revive any old heresies, before condemned, or teach any new thing contumelious, either against Christ, his blessed Mother, and holy Saints, or which may breed any occasion of sedition, are to be punished according to the tenor of the Edict aboveside: That none be admitted to preach without the license of his Ordinary. That they, which be already admitted, shall be examined how, and what they preach: That the lawes which Campeius is about to set forth for reformation of manners, shall be observed: That in the Sacraments, in the Masse, and all other things, there shall be no innovation, but all things to stand as in foretime they did, That all they which approach to the Lords Supper without confession and absolution, or doe eate flesh on dayes forbidden, or which doe runne out of their order; also Priests, Deacons, and sub-Deacons, that be married, shall be punished: That nothing shall be printed without consent of the Magistrate: That no booke of Luther, or any Lutherian, shall bee printed or sould: That they of their Iurisdiction, which study in the Vniversity of Wittenberg, shall every one repaire home within three moneths after the publishing hereof, or else turne to some other place free from the infection of Luther, under paine of confiscating all their goods, and losing their inheritance. That no Benefice, nor other office of teaching, be given to any Student of that Vniversity. Item, that certaine inquisitors, fit for the same, be appointed to enquire and examine the premisses. Item, lest it may bee said that this faction of Luther taketh his origine of the corrupt life of Priests, the said Campeius, with other his assistants in the said Convocation of Ratisbone, chargeth and commandeth, that Priests live honestly, goe in decent apparell, play not the Merchants, haunt not the Tavernes, be not covetous, nor take money for their ministration; such as keepe Concubines to be removed; the number also of holy dayes to be diminished, &c.

Popish Decrees made at the Councell of Ratisbone.

Campeius mist of his purpose in Germany.

These things would Campeius have had inacted in a full Councell, and with the consents of all the Empire: but when hee could not bring that to passe, by reason that the mindes of divers were gone from the Pope; hee was faine therefore to get the same ratified in this particular Conventicle, with the assents of these Bishops above rehearsed.

These things thus hitherto discoursed, which fully may be seene in the Commentaries of Iohn Sleidan, it remaineth, next after the story of Martin Luther, somewhat to adjoyne likewise touching the history of Zuinglius, and of the Helvetians. But before I come to the explication of this story, it shall not be inconvenient, first to give some little touch of the townes, called Pages, of these Helvetians, and of their league and confederation first begun amongst them.

The History of the Helvetians or Suitzers, how they first recovered their liberty, and after were joyned in league together.

How the Helvetians came free, and joyned together in league.

THe Helvetians, whom otherwise we call Suitzers, are divided principally into thirténe pages. The names of whom are Tigurini, Bernates, Lucernates, Urani, Suicenses, Unterwaldi, Tugiani, Glareanti, Basilienses, Solodurti, Friburgii, Scafusiani, Apecellenses. Furthermore, to these be added seven other pages, albeit not with such a full bond, as the other be, together conjoyned; which be these: Rheti, Lepontii, Seduni, Veragri, Sangalli, Mullusiani, Rotulenses. Of these 13 confederate pages above recited, these 3 were the first, to wit, Urania, Suicenses, and Silvanti, or (as some call them) Unterwaldi, which joyned themselves together.

Ex Chron. Helvetic. Ex Sebast. Munst. Cosmog. Lib. 3. Ex Com. Ioan. Sleid. lib. 3.

If credit should be given to old narrations, these three pages or vallies * first suffered great servitude and thraldome under cruell Rulers or Governors: insomuch that the Governour of Sylvania, (a) required of one of the inhabitants a yoke of his Oxen; which when the townesmen denied to give him, the Ruler sent his servant by force to take his Oxen from him. This when the servant was about to do, commeth the poore mans son, and cutteth off one of his fingers, and upon the same avoided. The Governour hearing this, taketh the poore man and putteth out his eyes.

* Note, that the Pages in Suitzerland are for the most part situate in Vallies.

(a) Extortion in Rulers.

Another time in the said Sylvania, as the good man of the house was absent abroad, the governour which had then the rule of the towne, entring into the house, commanded the wife to prepare for him a bath, & to let him have his pleasure of her. Whereunto she being unwilling deferred the bath as long as she might, till the returne of her husband. To whom then the making her complaint so moved his minde, that he, with his axe or hatchet that he had in his hand, slew upon the adulterous Ruler and slew him.

Example of true chast a Matron.

Adultery hath punished.

Another example of like violence is reported of the Ruler of Suicia, and Sylvania; who, surprised with like pride and disdaine against the poore underlings, caused his cap to be hanged up upon a pole charging and commanding by his servant all that passed by to do obeysance to his cap. Which when one named William Tell refused to do, the tyrant caused his sonne to be tyed, with an apple set upon his head, and the father with a crosse-bow, or a like instrument, to shoot at the apple. After long refusing, when the woefull father could not otherwise chuse, being by force constrained, but must levell at the apple; as God would, he mist the childe, and strook the marke. This Tell, being thus compelled by the tyrant to shoot at his sonne, had brought with him two shafts; thinking that if he had strook the childe with the one, the other he would have let drive at the tyrant. Which being understood, hee was apprehended and led to the Rulers house: but by the way escaping out of the boat betweene Urania and Brun, and passing thorow the mountaines with as much speed as he might, he lay in the way secretly as the ruler should passe, where he discharged his arrow at the tyrant and slew him.

Example of singular tyranny

William Tell.

Pride and tyranny well rewarded.

And thus were these cruell governors utterly expelled out of these three vallies or pages aforesaid; and after that, such order was taken by the Emperour Henricus the seventh, and also by the Emperor Lodovicus duke of Bavaria, that henceforth no Judge should be set over them but only of their owne company, and towne dwellers. Ex Seb. Munster. Cosmog. lib. 3.

Ex Seb. Munster. Cosmog. l.

It followed after this, in the yeare of our Lord 1315, that great contention and war fell betweene Frederick duke of Austria, and Ludovicke Duke of

of Bauaria, striving and fighting the space of eight yeares together about the Empire. With Ludouicus held the three pages aforesaid; who had diuers conflicts with Lupoldus, brother to the aforenamed Frederick Duke of Austria, fighting in his Brothers quarrell. As Lupoldus had reared a mighty army of twenty thousand footmen and horsemen, and was come to Egre, so to passe ouer the mountaines to subdue the pages; he began to take aduice of his Councell, by what way or passage best hee might direct his journey towards the Suitzers. Whereupon, as they were busie in consulting, there stood a fole by, named Kune de Stocken, which hearing their aduice thought also to shoot his bolt withall, and told them that their counsell did not like him: For all you (quoth he) consult how we should enter into yonder countrey; but none of you giueth any counsell how to come out again after we be entred. And in conclusion, as the fole said, so they found it true. For when Lupoldus with his hoste had entred into the streights and valleyes betweene the rocks and mountaines, the Suitzers with their neighbours of Urania, and Sylvania, lying in priuie wait, had them at such aduantage, and with tumbling downe stones from the rocks, and sudden comming upon their backes in blind lanes, did so incumber them, that neither they had conuenient standing to fight, nor roome almost to fly away. By reason whereof a great part of Lupoldus Armie there, being inclosed about the place called Morgarten, lost their liues, and many in the flight were slaine. Lupoldus with them that remained, retyred and escaped to Turgoia. This battell was fought Anno 1315, the fiftenth day of November.

A fooles bolt sometimes hits the marke.

After this, the Burgers of these three Villages, being continually vexed by Fredericke Duke of Austria, for that they would not acknowledge him for Emperour, assembled themselues in the towne of Urania, Anno 1316, and there entred a mutuall league and bond of perpetuall society and conjunction, joyning and swearing themselues, as in one body of a Common-wealth, and publique administration together. After that came to them Lucernates, then Tugiani, after them the Tigurines, next to them followed Bernates, the last almost of all were the Basilians, then followed after the other seuen pages abode recited.

The first league betweene the three pages.

And thus haue yee the names, the freedome, and consideration of these Suitzers, or cantons, or pages of Helvetia, with the occasions and circumstances thereof, briefly expressed; Now to the purpose of our story intended, which is to declare the successe of Christs Gospell and true Religion receiued among these Helvetians: also touching the life and doctrine of Zuinglius, and order of his death, as here ensueth.

The Acts and life of Zuinglius: *and of receiuing the Gospell in Suitzerland.*

Vldricus Zuinglius.

IN the tractation of Luthers story, mention was made before of Vldricus Zuinglius, who first abiding at Glarona, in a place called then our Lords Ermitage, from thence remoued to Zuricke about the yeare of our Lord 1519, and there began to teach, dwelling in the Minster among the Canons or Priests of that close; using with them the same Rites and Ceremonies, during the space of two or three yeares, where hee continued reading and explaining the Scriptures unto the people with great trauell, and no lesse dexterity. And because Pope Leo the same yeare had renewed his pardons againe throw all Countries (as is abode declared) Zuinglius zealously withstood the same, detecting the abuses thereof by the Scriptures, and of other corruptions reigning then in the Church, and so continued by the space of two yeares, and more, till at length Hugo Bishop of Constance (to whose Iurisdiction Zurick then also did belong) hearing thereof, wrote his letter to the Senate of the said Citie of Zuricke, complaining grieuously of Zuinglius; who also wrote another letter to the Colledge of Canons, where Zuinglius was the same time dwelling, complaining likewise of such new Teachers which troubled the Church, and exhorted them earnestly to beware and to take diligent heed to themselues. And forasmuch as both the Pope and the Emperours Majesty had condemned all such new doctrine by their decrees and Edicts, he willed them therefore to admit no such new innouations of Doctrine, without the common consent of them to whom the same did appertaine. Zuinglius hearing thereof referreth his cause to the iudgement and hearing of the Senate, not refusing to render to them account of his faith. And for so much as the Bishops letter was read openly in the Colledge, Zuinglius directeth another letter to the Bishop againe, declaring, that the said letter proceeded not from the Bishop; and that hee was not ignorant, who were the authors thereof; desiring him not to follow their sinister counsels: for that truth (said he) is a thing inuincible, and cannot be resisted. after the same tenor certain other of the Citie likewise wrote unto the Bishop, desiring him that he would attempt nothing that should bee preiudiciall to the libertie and free course of the Gospell: requiring moreouer, that he would forbeare no longer the filthy and infamous life of Priests, but that he would permit them to haue their lawfull wiues, &c. This was in the yeare of our Lord 1522.

{Anno 1521.} The Bishop of Constance complaineth against Zuinglius.

Besides this Zuinglius wrote also another letter to the whole Nation of the Helvetians, admonishing them in no case to hinder the passage of sincere doctrine, nor to inferre any molestation to Priests that were married. For as for the vow and coaction of their single life, it came (saith he) of the Deuill, and a deuillish thing it is. And therefore whereas the said Helvetians had such a rite and custome in their townes and pages, that when they received any new Priest into their Churches, they used to premonish him before to take his concubine, lest he should attempt any misuse with their wiues and daughters: he exhorted them that they would no lesse grant unto them to take their wiues in honest matrimony, than to take concubines and harlots, against the precept of God.

Zuinglius writeth to the Helvetians.

Priests marriage.

An old use of the Helvetians to forewarne their Priests to take Concubines.

Thus as Zuinglius continued certaine yeares, labouring in the Word of the Lord, offence began to rise at this new doctrine, and diuers stept up, namely the Dominicke Friers on the contrary side, to preach and inueigh against him. But he, keeping himselfe euer within the Scriptures, protested that he would make good by the Word of God that which he had taught. Upon this, the Magistrates and Senate of Zurick sent forth their commandement to all Priests and Ministers within their Dominion, for repaire to the City of Zuricke against the nine and twentieth day of January next ensuing (this was Anno 1523) there euery one to speake freely, and to be heard quietly touching these controuersies of Religion, what could be said: directing also their letters to the Bishop of Constance, That he would either make his repaire thither himselfe, or else send his Deputy. When the day appointed came, the Bishops Vicegerent, which was Ioannes Faber, was also present. The Consull first declaring the cause of this their frequencie and assembly (which was for the dissention newly risen about matters of Religion) required, that if any there had to obiect or inferre against the doctrine of Zuinglius, he should freely and quietly declare and utter his mind.

Zuinglius reuiled by Aduersaries.

Disputation at Zuricke about Religion.

Joan. Faber Stapulensis against Zuinglius. *Ex Ioan. Sleid. lib. 3.*

Zuinglius had disposed his matter before, and contriued all his doctrine in a certaine order of

Zuinglius reading the Scriptures at Zurick. Zuinglius against the Popes pardons.

places,

Sixty seven articles of Zuinglius.

places, to the number of sixty seven articles: which articles he had published also abroad before, to the end that they which were disposed might resort thither better prepared to the disputation. When the Consul had finished that which hee would say, and had exhorted other to begin: then Faber, first entring the matter, began to declare the cause of his sending thither, and afterward would perswade, that this was no place convenient, nor time fit for discussing of such matters by disputation; but rather that the cognition and tractation thereof belonged to a generall Councell, which, he said, was already appointed, and now neer at hand. Notwithstanding Zuinglius still continued urging and requiring him, that if he had there any thing to say or to dispute, he would openly and freely utter his mind. To this he answered againe, that he would confute his doctrine by writing. This done, with a few other words on both sides had to and fro, when no man would appeare there to offer any disputation, the assembly brake, and was discharged. Whereupon the Senate of Zurick incontinent caused to be proclaimed through all their dominion and territory, that the traditions of men should be displaced and abandoned, and the Gospel of Christ purely taught out of the old and new Testament, Anno 1523. *Ex Ioan. Sleid. lib. 2.*

John Faber refuseth disputation.

The assembly of Zurick brake up without disputation.

The Gospell publikely received in Zuricke.

Traditions of men abolished.

When the Gospell thus began to take place, and to flourish in Zuricke and certaine other places of Helvetia, the yeare next following, Anno 1524. another assembly of the Helvetians was convened at Lucerna, where this decree was made on the contrary part: That no man should deride or contemne the Word of God, which had beene taught now above a thousand and foure hundred yeares heretofore: nor the Masse to bee scorned, wherein the Bodie of Christ is consecrated, to the honour of God, and to the comfort both of the quicke and the dead.

Constitutions made in the Councell of Lucerna.

That they, who are able to receive the Lords Body at Easter, shall confesse their sins in Lent to the Priest, and doe all other things, as the use and manner of the Church requireth.

That the rites and customes of holy Church bee kept.

That every one obey his owne proper Pastor and Curate, and receive the Sacraments of him, after the manner of holy Church, and pay him his yearely duties.

That honour be given to Priests.

Item, to abstaine from flesh-eating on fasting-dayes, and in Lent to abstaine from Egges and Cheese.

That no opinion of Luther bee taught privily or apertly, contrarie to the received determination of holy Church; and that in Tavernes and at Table no mention bee made of Luther, or any new Doctrine.

That images and pictures of Saints in every place be kept inviolat.

That Priests and Ministers of the Church bee not compelled to render account of their doctrine, but only to the Magistrate.

That due aid and supportation be provided for them, if any commotion doe happen.

That no person deride the reliques of the holy Spirit, or of our Lady, or of Saint Anthony.

Finally, That all the Lawes and Decrees set forth by the Bishop of Constance, be observed.

These Constitutions whosoever shall transgresse, let them bee presented to the Magistrate, and Overseers be set over them that shall so transgresse.

The letter of the Helvetians to the Tigurines.

After these things concluded thus at Lucerna, the Cantons of Helvetia together direct their publicke letter to the Tigurines or men of Zuricke; wherein they may much lament and complaine of this new broched doctrine which hath set al men together by the eares, through the occasion of certain rash and new fangled heads which have greatly disturbed both the state of the Church, and of the Common-wealth, and have scattered the seeds of discord, whereas before time all things were well in quiet. And although this sore, said they, ought to have been looked to betime, so that they should not have suffered the glory of almighty God, and of the blessed Virgin, and other Saints so to be dishonored, but rather should have bestowed their goods and lives to maintaine the same; yet notwithstanding they required them now to look unto the matter, which otherwise would bring to them destruction both of body and soule: as for example, they might see the doctrine of Luther, what fruit it brought. The rude and vulgar people now (said they) could not be holden in, but would burst forth to all licence and rebellion, as hath appeared by sufficient proofes of late: and like is to be feared also among themselves, and all by the occasion of Zuinglius, and of Leo Iuda, which so tooke upon them to expound the Word of God, after their owne interpretation, opening thereby whole doores and windowes to discord and dissention. Albeit of their doctrine they were not certaine what they did teach; yet what inconvenience followed upon their doctrine, they had too much experience. For now all fasting was laid downe, and all dayes are alike to eat both flesh and egges, as well one as another: Priests and religious persons both men and women brake their vowes, ran out of their order, and fell to marrying; Gods service was decayed, singing in the Church left, and prayer ceased; Priests grew in contempt, religious men were thrust out of their Cloisters; Confession and Penance was neglected; so that men would not sticke to presume to receive at the holy Altar, without any confession made to the Priest before. The holy Masse was derided and scorned; our blessed Lady, and other Saints blasphemed; images pluckt downe and broken in peces, neither was there any honour given to the Sacrament. To make short, men now were growne unto such a licence and liberty, that unneth the holy Host could be safe within the Priests hands, &c.

Zuinglius and Leo Iuda, were Preachers at this time in Zuricke.

The disorder of all which things as it is of no small importance, so it was, said they, to them so grievous and lamentable, that they thought it their part to suffer the same no longer. Neither was this the first time (they said) of this their complaining, when in their former assembly they sent unto them before the like admonition, writing to them by certaine of the Clergie, and craving their aid in the same. Which seeing it is so, they did now again earnestly call upon them touching the premisses, desiring them to surcease from such doings, and to take a better way, continuing in the religion of their old ancestours which were before them. And if there were any such thing, wherein they were grieved and offended against the Bishop of Rome, the cardinals, bishops, or other prelates, either for their ambition in heaping, exchanging, and selling the dignities of the Church, or for their oppression in pilling mens purses with their indulgences, or else for their usurped jurisdiction and power which they extend too farre, and corruptly apply it to matters externe and politicall, which only ought to serve in such cases as bee spirituall: if these and such other abuses were the causes, wherewith they were so grievously offended, they promised that, for the correction and reformation thereof, they would also themselves joyn their diligence and good will therto, forsomuch as themselves also did not a little mislike therewith, and therefore would confer their counsels together with them, how and by what way such grievances might best be removed.

To this effect were the letters of the Helvetians written to the Senate and Citizens of Zuricke. Whereunto the Tigurines made their answer againe,

gaine the one and twentieth day of March, the same yeare, in manner as here followeth.

¶ An answer againe of the Tigurines to the Letter aforesaid.

(a) The letter of the Tigurines, answering againe the letter of the Helvetians.

(a) First, declaring, how their Ministers had laboured and travelled among them, teaching and preaching the Word of God unto them the space now of five yeares. Whose doctrine at the first seemed to them very strange and novel, because they never heard the same before. But after that they understood and perceived the (b) scope of that doctrine onely to tend to this, to set forth Christ Jesus unto us, to be the pillar and refuge of all our salvation, which gave his life and blood for our redemption, and which onely delivered us also sinfull misers from eternall death, and is the onely Advocate of mankinde before God; they could no otherwise doe, but with ardent affection receive so wholesome and joyfull message.

(b) If the scope of doctrine be well marked betweene the Papists and the Protestants, it will not be hard for any man to judge which is the true doctrine.

For the whole end and scope of the Popes doctrine tendeth to set up the honour and wealth of man, as may appeare by the doctrine of supremacy, of confession, of the Masse, of the Sacrament of the Altar, &c. All which doe tend to the magnifying of Priests; like as purgatory, obsequies, pardons, and such other serve for their profit. Contrariwise, the teaching of the Protestants, as well touching justification, originall sinne, as also the Sacraments and invocation, and all other such like, tend onely to the setting up of Christ alone, and casting downe of man.

The holy Apostles and faithfull Christians, after they had received the Gospel of Christ, did not fall out by and by in debate and variance, but lovingly agreed and consented together: and so they trusted (said they) that they should doe, if they would likewise receive the Word of God, setting aside mens doctrines and traditions dissonant from the same.

Whatsoever Luther or any other man doth teach, whether it be right or wrong, it is not for the names of the persons, why the doctrine which they teach, should be either evill or well judged upon, but onely for that it agreeth with, or disagreeth from the Word of God: for that were but to goe by affection, and were prejudiciall to the authority of the Word of God, which ought to rule man, and not to be measured by man.

No injury to Saints, if Christ only be worshipped.

And if Christ only be worshipped, and men taught solely to repose their confidence in him; yet neither doth the blessed Virgin, nor any Saint else, receive any injury thereby, who being here in earth received their salvation onely by the name of him.

Who be they that wrest the Scriptures.

And whereas they charge their Ministers with wresting the Scripture after their owne interpretation, God had stirred up such light now in the hearts of men, that the most part of their City have the Bible in their hand, and diligently peruse the same: so that their Preachers cannot so winde the Scriptures away, but they shall quickely be perceived. Wherefore there is no danger why they should feare any sects or factions in them; but rather such sects are to be objected to those, who for their gaine and dignity, wrest the Word of God after their owne affections and appetites.

Error many times objected where none can be proved.

And whereas they, and other have accused them of error, yet was there never man that could prove any error in them: Although divers Bishops of Constance, of Basil, of Curiake, with divers Universities besides: also they themselves have beene sundry times desired so to doe; yet to this present day neither they, nor ever any other so did, neither were they, nor any of all the foresaid Bishops, at their last assembly, being requested to come, so gentle to repaire unto them, save only the Schathusians and Sangallians. In the which foresaid assembly of theirs all such as were then present, considering throughly the whole case of the matter, condescended together with them.

And if the Bishops haply will object againe, and say, that the Word of God ought not so to be handled of Vulgar people; they answered the same not to stand with equity and reason. For albeit it did belong to the Bishops office, to provide that the sheep should not goe astray, and most convenient it were that by them they should be reduced into the way againe; yet because they will not see to their charge, but leave it undone, referring all things to the Fathers and to Councels: therefore right and reason it is, that they themselves should heare and learne not what man doth determine, but what Christ himselfe doth command in the Scripture. Neither have their Ministers given any occasion of this division; but rather it is to be imputed to such, which for their owne private lucre and preferments, contrary to the Word of the Lord, doe seduce the people into error, and grievously offending God do provoke him to plague them with manifold calamities. Who, if they would renounce the greedinesse of their owne gaine, and would follow the pure doctrine of his Word, seeking not the will of man, but what is the will of God, no doubt but they should soone fall to agreement.

Bishops neither will feed the flocke, nor yet suffer them to feed themselves.

(a) As for the eating of flesh and Egges, although it be free to all men, and forbidden to none by Christ; yet they have set forth a law to restrain rash intemperance, and uncharitable offension of other. And as touching Matrimony, God is himselfe the author thereof, who hath left it free for all men. Also Paul willeth a Minister of the Church to be the husband of one wife.

(a) It was the Popes Law then, that in Lent no man should eat flesh nor Egges, nor any other white meat; wherein it may seeme to be verified which Saint *Paul* doth prophecie, 1 *Tim.* 4. In the later dayes certaine shall depart from the faith, hearkening to the doctrine of Divels, forbidding to marry and to eat, &c.

And seeing that Bishops for money permit their Priests to have Concubines, which is contrary both to Gods Law, and to good example; why then might not they as well obey God in permitting lawfull matrimony which he hath ordained, as to resist God in forbidding the same? The like is to be said also of women vowing chastity; of whom this they judge and suppose, that such kinde of vowes and coacted chastity are not available nor allowed before God: and seeing that chastity is not all mens gift, better it were to marry (after their judgements) than filthily to live in single life.

Priests marriage.

Vowes of chastity not agreeing to Gods Law.

As for Monasteries, and other houses of Canons, they were first given for relefe onely of the poore and needy; whereas now they who inhabit them are wealthy, and able to live of their owne patrimony; in such sort, as many times some one of them hath so much, as well might suffice a great number. Wherefore it seemeth to them not unconvenient, that those goods should be converted againe to the use of the poore: Yet nevertheless they have used therein such moderation, that they have permitted the Inhabitants of those Monasteries to enjoy the possessions of their goods, during the terme of their naturall life, lest any should have cause of just complaint.

Monasteries first given to the poore, but now serve to feed the rich.

Goods of Monasteries converted to the relefe of the poore.

Ornaments of Churches serve nothing to Gods service; but this is well agreeing to the will and service of God, that the poore should be succoured. So Christ commanded the young man in the Gospell, that was rich, not to hang up his riches in the Temple, but to sell them, and distribute them to the needy.

Ornaments of Churches better bestowed upon the poore.

The Order of Priesthood they doe not contemne; such Priests as will truely discharge their duty, and teach soundly, they doe magnifie. As for the other rabble, which serve to no publique commodity, but rather damnifie the common-wealth, if the number of them were diminished by little and little, and their livings put to better use, they doubted not but it were a service well done to God. Now whether the singing & prayers of such Priests be available before God it may be doubted, forasmuch as many of them understand not what they say, or

Good Priests not to be contemned, the rabble of them to be diminished.

Confession to the Priest. Confession to Christ.

or sing, but onely for hire of wages doe the same.

As for secret confession, wherein men doe detect their sins in the Priests eare, of what vertue this confession is to be estéemed, they leave it in suspence. But that confession, whereby repenting sinners doe flie to Christ, our onely intercessor, they recount not onely to be profitable, but also necessary to all troubled consciences. As for satisfaction, which Priests doe use, they reckon it but a practice to get money, and the same to be not onely erroneous, but also full of impiety. True penance and satisfaction is for a man to amend his life.

The order of Monkery.

The orders of Monkery come onely by the invention of man, and not by the institution of God.

The use of Sacraments.

And as touching the Sacraments, such as be of the Lords institution, them they doe not despise, but receive with all reverence, neither doe suffer the same to be despised of any person, nor to be abused otherwise than becommeth, but to be used rightly according to the prescript rule of Gods Word. And so with the like reverence they use the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, according as the word prescribeth, not, as many doe abuse it, to make of it an oblation and a sacrifice.

False tale carriers.

And if the messengers sent to them of the Clergie, in their letters mentioned, can justly charge them with any hindrance, or any error, they will be ready either to purge themselves, or to satisfie the offence. And if they cannot, then reason would that these messengers of the Clergie should hereafter looke better to their owne doings, and to their doctrine, and to cease from such untrue slanders and contumelies.

Finally, whereas they understand by their letters how desirous they are to have the Popes oppressions, and exactions, and usurped power abolished, they are right glad thereof and joyfull; supposing that the same can by no meanes be brought to passe, except the Word of God onely and simply be received. For otherwise, so long as mens lawes and constitutions shall stand in force, there will be no place nor hope of reformation. For by the preaching of Gods Word, their estimation and dignity must needs decay: and that they well perceive, and therefore by all meanes doe provide how to stop the course of the Word: and because they see themselves too weake to bring their purpose about, they flie to the aid of Kings and Princes. For the necessary remedy whereof, if they shall thinke good to joyne their consent, there shall nothing be lacking in their behalfe, what they are able either in counsel or goods to doe in the matter; declaring moreover, that this should have beene séene to long before. Which being so, they prayed and desired them to accept in good part, and diligently to expound that which they did write. As for their owne part, they required nothing else more, than peace both betweene them and all men. Neither was it ever their intent to stir any thing that should be prejudiciall against their league and band agreed upon betweene them. But in this cause which concerneth their eternall salvation, they can do no otherwise but as they have done, unlesse their error by learning might be proved and declared unto them.

The onely way of true reformation is, that the Word of God onely be received.

The Pope cannot abide the preaching of the Word, and why.

Wherefore, as they did before, so now they desire againe, that if they thinke this their doctrine to be repugnant to the holy Scripture, they will gently shew and teach them their error, and that before the end of the moneth of May next ensuing: for so long they will abide waiting for an answer, as well from them, as from the Bishop of Constance, and also from the University of Basil. And thus much containeth the answer of the Tigurines unto the letter of their other colleagues of Helvetia.

The Tigurines will be judged by the Scriptures.

In the meane time, as this passed on, and the moneth of May above mentioned, was now come, the Bishop of Constance, with the advice of his counsell about him, did answer the Tigurines as he was requested of them to doe, in a certaine booke first written, and afterward printed: wherein he declareth what Images and Pictures those were, which the prophane Jewes and Gentiles in the old time did adore, and what Images these be which the Church hath from time to time received and admitted; and what difference there is betweene those Idols of the Jewes and gentiles, and these Images of the Christians. The conclusion hereof was this; that whereas the Scripture speaketh against Images, and willeth them not to be suffered, that is to be understood of such Images and Idols, as the Jewes and Idolatrous Gentiles did use: yet nevertheless, such Images and Pictures, as the Church hath received, are to be used and retained.

A Popish distinction betweene the Images of the Gentiles, and Images of the Christians. *Ex Ioan. Sleid. lib. 4.*

From this he entereth next into the discourse of the Masse, where hee proveth by divers and sundry testimonies, both of the Popes Canons and Counsels, the Masse to be a sacrifice and oblation.

The Booke of the Bishop of Constance, written to the Senate of Zuricke in defence of the Masse and Images.

This booke being thus compiled and written, hee sent it unto the Senate of Zuricke, about the beginning of June, willing and exhorting them by no manner of meanes to suffer their Images, or the Masse to be abrogated; and shortly after he published the said booke in print, and sent it to the Priests and Canons of the Minster of Zuricke, requiring them to follow the custome of the Church received, and not to suffer themselves otherwise to be perswaded by any man.

The answer of the Tigurines to the Bishops booke.

The Senate againe, answering to the Bishops booke, about the midst of August did write unto him: first declaring that they had reade over and over againe his book with all diligence: The which booke, forasmuch as the Bishop had divulged abroad in print, they were thereof right glad, because the whole world thereby might judge betweene them the better. After this, they explained unto him the judgement and doctrine of their ministers and preachers; and finally, by the authority and testimonies of the Scripture convinced his opinion, and proved the doctrine of his booke to be false. But before they sent their answer to him, about the thirteenth day of June, they commanded all the Images, as well within the City as through their dominions, to be taken downe and burned quietly, and without any tumult. A few moneths after an order was taken in the said City of Zuricke, betweene the Canons of the Church and City, for disposing the lands and possessions of the College.

Images abolished within all the dominions of Zuricke.

It would grow to a long discourse, to comprehend all things by order of circumstance, that happened among the Helvetians upon this new alteration of Religion; but briefly, to contract, and to run over the chiefe specialties of the matter, here is first to be noted, that of the Helvetians, which were confederate together in the thirteene pages, chiefly, six there were which most disdained and maligned this Religion of the Tigurines: to wit, Lucernates, Uranj, Suitenses, Unterbaldi, Tugiani, Friburgenses; these in no case could be reconciled. The rest shewed themselves more favourable. But the other, which were their enemies, conceived great grudge; and raised many slanderous reports and false rumors against them, and laid divers things to their charge: as first, for refusing to joyne their consent to the publique league of the other pages with Frances the French King: then for dissenting from them in Religion: and thirdly, for refusing to stand to the Popish decree made the yere before at Ratisbone, by Ferdinandus, and other Bishops above mentioned. They laid moreover to their accusation, for ayding the Uualstetenses their neighbors, against Ferdinandus their Prince: which was false. Also for joyning league secretly with other cities, without their knowledge; which was likewise false. Item, that they should intend some secret conspiracy against them, and invade them with warre:

Certaine pages or townes of the Suitzers complained against the Tigurines. Falle matter of accusation laid against the Tigurines by the other pages.

which

The Bishop of Constance answereth the Tigurines by writing.

What slanderous tongues can doe.

which was as untrue as the reſt. Many other quarrels beſides they pretended againſt the Tigurines, which were all falſe and cavelling ſlanders: as that they ſhould teach and preach, that Mary the mother of Chriſt had more ſonnes; and that James the yonger, the Apoſtle, did die for us, and not Chriſt himſelfe. Againſt theſe and ſuch other untruths, being meere matters of cavillation and ſlander, the Tigurines did fully and amply purge and acquit themſelves by writing, and did expoſtulate vehemently with them, not onely for theſe falſe and wrongfull ſuſpitions of their parts undeſerved, but alſo for other manifold injuries received and borne at their hands: among which other wrongs and injuries, this was one; that the Burghmaſter of Turegia had apprehended a certaine Preacher, named Johannes Drlinus, and led him home as priſoner unto his houſe; being taken within the precinct and limits of the City of Zuricke, contrary to law and order.

The Tigurines anſwer againe to the complaint of the pages.

John Drlinus a Preacher apprehended for Religion.

Finally, after much diſcourſing, wherein they in a long letter declared their diligence and fidelity at all times, in keeping their league, and maintaining the liberty and dignity of their countrey; as touching the cauſe of Religion, if that were all the matter of their offence, they offered themſelves willing to heare, and more glad to amend, if any could prove any error in them by the Scripture. Otherwiſe if none ſo could, or would prove wherein they did erre by the Word of God, they could not, they ſaid, alter any thing in the ſtate of that Religion wherein their conſciences were already ſtaid by the Word of God and ſetled, whatſoever perill or danger ſhould happen to them for the ſame.

Although here was no cauſe why theſe pages or Cantons, which were ſo confederate together in the league of peace, ſhould diſagree amongſt themſelves: yet herein we may ſee the courſe and trade of the world, that when difference of Religion beginneth a little to breake the knot of amity, by and by how friends be turned to foes, what ſuſpitions doe ariſe, what quarrels and grudges do follow, how nothing there liketh men, but every thing is taken in the worſt part; ſmall motes are made mountaines, vertues made vices, and one vice made a thouſand, and all for lacke onely of a little good will betwixt party and party. For as love and charity commonly among men, either covereth or ſeeth not the faults of their friends, ſo hatred and diſdaine, taking all things to blame, can find nothing in their foes that they can like. And thus did it happen betweene theſe good men of Zuricke, and theſe other Suitzers above mentioned.

What love and hatred doth among men.

Theſe letters of the Tigurines to the other cantons were written upon the occaſion of their apprehending the Preacher, Ioannes Oxlinus above named, the fourth day of January, Anno 1525. And in the moneth of Aprill next following, the Magiſtrates and Senat of the ſaid City of Zuricke commanded the Maſſe, with all his ceremonies and appurtenances thereto belonging, to be put downe, as well within the City, as without throughout all their juriſdiction: and in ſtead thereof was placed the Lords Supper, the reading of the Prophets, Prayer, and preaching. Alſo a Law was made againſt whoredome, and adultery, and judges ordained to heare the cauſes of matrimony: Anno 1525. Ex Comment. Sleid. lib. 4.

The Maſſe with all his ceremonies put downe in Zuricke.

A law in Zuricke made againſt adultery.

All this while the Goſpel was not as yet received in any other page of Helvetia, but only in Zuricke. Wherefore the other twelve pages or townes appointed among themſelves concerning a meeting or a diſputation to be had at Baden: where were preſent among other Divines, Joannes Faber, Eckius, and Myconius above mentioned. The Biſhops alſo of Lucerna, Baſil, Curiake, and Lauſanna ſent thither their Legates. The concluſions there propounded were theſe.

Diſputation at Baden in Helvetia.

That the true body and blood of Chriſt is in the Sacrament.

That the Maſſe is a ſacrifice for the quicke and dead.

That the bleſſed Virgine, and other Saints, are to be invocated as mediators, and interceſſors.

That Images ought not to be aboliſhed.

That there is a Purgatory.

Theames or propoſitions propounded in the diſputation at Baden.

Which concluſions or aſſertions, Eckius tooke upon him ſtoutly to defend. Againſt him reaſoned Oecolampadius (who was then chiefe Preacher at Baſil) with certaine other more. Zuinglius at that time was not there preſent, but by writing confuted the doctrine of Eckius; declaring withall the cauſes of his abſence: which were for that he durſt not, for feare of his life, commit himſelfe unto the hands of the Lucernates, Urani, Suitii, Unterwaldii, and Tugiani, his enemies: and that he refuſed not to diſpute, but the place onely of the diſputation; excuſing moreover that he was not permitted of the Senate to come: nevertheleſſe, if they would aſſigne the place of diſputation either at Zuricke, or at Berna, or at Sangallum, thither hee would not refuſe to come. Briefly, the concluſion of the diſputation was this, that all ſhould remaine in that Religion which hitherto they had kept, and ſhould follow the authority of the Councell, neither ſhould admit any other new doctrine within their dominions, &c. This was in the moneth of June, the ſaid yeere above mentioned.

Eckius defended. Oecolampadius againſt Eckius. Zuinglius excuſeth himſelfe for not coming to the diſputation.

As the time proceeded, and diſſention about Religion increaſed, it followed the next yeere after, Anno 1527. in the moneth of December, that the Senat and people of Berne (whoſe power amongſt all the Suitzers chiefly excelleth) conſidering how neither they could have the acts of the diſputation of Baden communicated unto them, and that the variance about Religion ſtill more and more increaſed, aſſigned another diſputation within their owne City, and ſending forth writings thereof called unto the ſame all the Biſhops bordering neere about them, as the Biſhops of Conſtance, Baſil, Sedune, Lauſanna; warning them both to come themſelves, and to bring their Divines with them, or elſe to loſe all ſuch poſſeſſions, which they had lying within the bounds of their precinct. After this they appointed out certaine Eccleſiaſticall perſons of their juriſdiction to diſpute, preſcribing and determining the whole diſputation to be decided onely by the authority of the old and new Teſtament. To all that would come thither they granted ſafe conduct. Alſo they appointed, that all things there ſhould be done modeſtly, without injury and brawling words, and that every one ſhould have leave to ſpeake his minde freely, and with ſuch deliberation, that every mans ſaying might be received by the notary, and penned: with this proviſo made before, that whatſoever there ſhould be agreed upon, the ſame ſhould be ratified, and obſerved through all their dominions: and to the intent men might come thither better prepared before, they propounded in publique writing ten concluſions in the ſaid diſputation to be defended of their Miniſters by the Scriptures, which Miniſters, were Franciſcus Colbus, and Bertholdus Halletus. The theames or concluſions were theſe.

Diſputation at Berne in Helvetia.

Godly lawes of diſputation.

Theames to be diſputed.

1 That the true Church, whereof Chriſt is the head, riſeth out of Gods Word, and perſiſteth in the ſame, and heareth the voyce of no other.

2 That the ſame Church maketh no laws without the Word of God.

3 That traditions, ordained in the name of the Church, doe not bind, but ſo farre forth as they be conſonant to Gods Word.

4 That Chriſt onely hath made ſatisfaction for the ſinnes of the World: and therefore if any

man

man say that there is any other way of salvation, or meane to put away sinne, the same denieth Christ.

5 That the body and blood of Christ cannot be received really and corporally, by the testimony of the Scripture.

6 That the use of Masse, wherein Christ is present and offered up to his heavenly Father, for the quicke and the dead, is against the Scripture, and contumelious to the Sacrifice which Christ made for us.

7 That Christ onely is to be invocated, as the Mediator and Advocate of mankinde to God the Father.

8 That there is no place to be found in the holy Scripture, wherein soules are purged after this life: and therefore all those prayers and ceremonies, yerely dirriges and obites, which are bestowed upon the dead; also lamps, tapers, and such other things profit nothing at all.

9 That to set up any Picture or Image to be worshipped, is repugnant to the holy Scripture; and therefore, if any such be erected in Churches for that intent, the same ought to be taken downe.

10 That matrimony is prohibited to no state or order of men, but for eschewing of fornication generally is commanded and permitted to all men by the Word of God. And forasmuch as all fornicators are excluded, by the testimony of Scripture, from the communion of the Church, therefore this unchaste and filthy single life of Priests is most of all unconvenient for the order of Priesthood.

The letters and answer of the Suitzers to the Senate and people of Berne.

When the Senat and people of Berne had sent abroad their letters with these themes and conclusions to all the Helvetians, exhorting them both to send their learned men, and to suffer all other to passe safely through their Countries: the Lucernates, Uranites, Suitzians, Unterwaldians, Tugianes, Glareans, Soloturnians, and they of Friburge answered againe by contrary letters, exhorting and requiring them in any case to desist from their purposed enterprise: putting them in remembrance of their league and composition made, and also of the disputation of Baden above mentioned, of the which disputation they were themselves (they said) the first beginners and authors: saying moreover, that it was not lawfull for any nation or province to alter the state of Religion, but the same to belong to a generall Councell: wherefore they desired them that they would not attempt any such wicked act, but continue in the Religion which their parents and elders had observed: and in fine, thus in the end of their letters they concluded, that they would neither send, nor suffer any of their learned men to come, nor yet grant safe conduct to any others to passe through their countrey. To this and such like effect tended the letters of these Suitzers above named.

Ex Com. Ioan. Sleid. lib. 6.

All which notwithstanding, the Lords of Berne proceeding in their intended purpose, upon the day prescribed (which was the seventy of January) began their disputation. Of all the Bishops before signified (which were assigned to come) there was not one present. Nevertheless the city of Basil, Zuricke, and Schafuse, and Abbecella, Sangallium, Mullusia, with the neighbours of Rhetia, also they of Strausburgh, Ulmes, Ausburge, Lindaue, Constance, and Isne, sent thither their Embassadours.

The disputation begins. The part defendant. The part opponent. The Popes doctrine cannot abide the triall of the Scripture.

The Doctors above mentioned, of the city of Berne, began the disputation. Whereat the same time were present Zuinglius, Decolampadius, Bucerus, Capito, Blaurerus, with other more; all which defended the affirmative of the conclusions propounded. On the contrary side, of them which were the opponents, the Chiefetaine was Conradus Tregerus a Frier Augustine: who to prove his assertion, when he was driven to shift out of the Scripture to seeke help of other Doctors, and the moderators of the disputation would not permit the same (being contrary to the order before appointed) hee departed out of the place, and would dispute no more.

Reformation of Religion in Berne. Masses and Images put downe at Berne.

The disputation endured nineteene dayes; in the end whereof it was agreed by the assent of the most part, that the conclusions there disputed, were consonant to the truth of Gods Word, and should be ratified not onely in the city of Berne, but also proclaimed by the Magistrates in sundry other Cities neere adioyning: Furthermore, That Masses, Altars, and Images in all places should be abolished.

The Popes Clergie cannot abide to be restrained from fornication and adultery.

At the City of Constance, certaine things began to be altered a little before. Where also, among other things, Lawes were made against fornication and adultery, and all suspect or unhonest company; whereat the Canons (as they are called) of the Church taking great griefe and displeasure, departed the City. In the said City was then Teacher, Ambrosius Blaurerus, a learned man, and borne of a noble stocke, who had beene a Monke a little before, professed in the Monastery of Alperspacke, in the Dutchie of Wittenberg, belonging to the dominion of Ferdinandus. Which Blaurerus, by reading of Luthers workes, and having a good wit, had changed a little before his religion, & also his coat, returning againe home unto his friends; and when his Abbat would have had him againe, and wrote earnestly to the Senate of Constance for him, hee declared the whole case of the matter in writing, propounding withall, certaine conditions, whereupon he was content (as he said) to returne. But the conditions were such, that the Abbat was rather willing and contented, that he should remaine still at Constance, and so he did.

Ambrose Blaurerus Preacher at Constance.

Reformation of Religion at Constance.

After this disputation thus concluded at Berne, (as hath beene said) the Images and Altars, with Ceremonies and Masses, were abolished at Constance.

Reformation of Religion at Genua.

They of Genua also, for their parts were not behind, following likewise the example of the City of Berne, in extirping Images and Ceremonies. By reason whereof the Bishop and Clergie there left and departed the City in no small anger.

The Lanegknights of Berne and Zuricke forsake their league with the French King.

The Bernates, after they had redressed with them the state of religion, they renounced the league made before with the French king, refusing and forsaking his warly stipend, whereby they were bound at his call to feed his warres; following therein the example of the Tigurines, which before had done the like, and were contented only with their yerely pension that the King payeth to every page of the Helvetians, to keepe peace.

(a) Victory of the Gospell An. 1528.

(a) The day and yeer when this reformation with them began, from popery to true Christianity, they caused in a pillar to be engraven with golden letters, for a perpetuall memory to all posterity to come. This was Anno 1528.

Reformation of Religion in Strausburgh.

After that the rumor of this disputation and alteration of Berne, was noysed in other Cities and places abroad, first the Ministers of Strausburgh, encouraged by this occasion, began likewise to affirme and teach, that the Masse was wicked, and a great blasphemy against Gods holy name, and therefore was to be abrogated, and in stead thereof the right use of the Lords Supper to be restored again. Which, unlesse they could prove by the manifest testimonies of the Scripture to be true, they would refuse no manner of punishment. On the contrary part, the Bishop of Romes Clergy did hold and maintaine that the Masse was good and holy, whereupon kindled great contention on both sides: which when the Senate and Magistrates of the City would have brought to a disputation, and could not, because the Priests would not condescend to any reasoning; therefore seeing they so accused the other

The bishop of Strausburgh to the Senate.

The Senate of Strausburgh priuately to the bishop.

The bishop of Strausburgh complaineth to the councell of Spires.

The message from the counc. of Spires to the city of Strausburgh.

The Bishops of Hildesseme & Strausburgh trauell to keep the citie Strausburgh in their religion.

the, and yet would come to no triall of their cause, the said Magistrates commanded them to silence. The bishop in the meane while ceased not with his letters and messengers daily to call upon the Senate, desiring the Senate to persevere in the ancient religion of their elders, and to give no eare to those new teachers, declaring what danger and perill it would bring upon them.

The Senate againe desired him, as they had done oftentimes before, that such things, which appertained to the true honour and worship of God, might be set forward, and all other things, which tended to the contrary, might be removed and taken away. for that properly belonged to his office to see to: But the bishop, still dubbing them off with delayes, pretended to call an assembly for the same, appointing also day and place for the hearing and discussing of those controversies, where indeed nothing was performed at all: but with his letters he did often solicitate them to surcease their enterprise, sometimes by way of intreating, sometimes with menacing words terrifying them; and at last, seeing he could nothing by that way prevaile, he turned his suite to the assembly of the Empire, which was then at Spires collected, intreating them to set in a foot, and to help what they could with their authority.

They, ready to satisfie the bishops request, sent a solemne Embassie to the Senate and citizens of Strausburge, about December the yere abode said, requiring them not to put down the Masse; for neither it was, said they, in the power of the Emperor, nor of any other estate, to alter the ancient religion received from their forefathers, but either by a generall, or by a provinciall councell: which councell if they supposed to be far off, at least that they would take a pause till the next sitting of the Empire, which should be with spèd: where their requests being propounded and heard, they should have such reasonable answer, as should not miscontent them: For it was (said they) against all law and reason, for a private Magistrate to infringe and dissolve those things, which by generall consent of the whole world have been agreed upon: and therfore good reason required, ỹ they should obtain so much at their hands: for els if they should obstinately proceed in this their attempt, so with force and violence to work as they began; it might fortune, the Emperor their supreme magistrate under God, and also Ferdinandus his deputy, would not take it well, and so should be compelled to seek such remedy therein, as they would be sorry to use. Wherefore their request was, and advice also, that they should weigh the matter diligently with themselves and follow good counsell: who in so doing should not onely glad the Emperour, but also worke that which should redound chiefly to their own commendation and safety.

Besides the messengers thus sent from the councell of Spires, the bishop also of Hildesseme had been with them a little before, exhorting them in the Emperors name after like manner. Neither did the Bishop of Strausburgh also cease with his messengers and letters daily to labour his friends there, and especially such of the senators as he had to him bound by any fealty, or otherwise by any gifts or friendship, that, so much as in them did lie, they should uphold the masse, and gainestand the contrary proceeding of the other.

The Senate of Strausburgh in the meane time, seeing the matter did so long hang in controversie the space now of two yeares, and the preachers daily and instantly call ng upon them for a reformation, and suite also being made to them of the citizens, assembled their great and full councell to the number of 300. (as in great matters of importance they are accustomed to do) and there with themselves debated the case, declaring on the one side if they abolished the masse what danger they should incurre by the Emperor; On the other side, if they did not, how much they should offend God; and therefore, giving them respite to consult, at the next meeting required them to declare their advice and sentence in the matter. When the day came that every man should say his minde; so it fell out, that the voices and indgements of them which went against the masse, prevailed. Whereupon immediately a decree was made the twentieth of Februarij, Anno 1529. that the masse should be suspended and layed downe, till the time that the adversary part could prove by good Scripture, the masse to be a service available and acceptable before God.

Reformation of religion at Strausburgh.

The masse overthrowne at Strausburgh.

This decree being established by the consent of the whole city, the Senate ex[illegible]mes commanded the same to be proclaimed, and to take full place and effect aswell within the city, as also without, so far as their limits and dominion did extend; and afterward by letters certified their bishop touching the doing thereof. Who hearing these newes, as heavy to his heart as lead, did signifie to them again, how he received their letters, and how he understood by them the effect and summe of their doings: all which he was enforced to digest with such patience as he could, though they went sore against his stomach, seeing for the present time he could no otherwise chuse: hereafter would serve, he said, he would see thereunto, according as his charge and office should require.

The Bishops patience perforce.

Thus how the masse was overthrowne in Zuricke, in Berne, and Geneva, and in Strausburgh, you have heard. Now what followed in Basil, remaineth likewise to understand. In this city of Basil was Oecolampadius preacher (as is above signified) by whose diligent labour and travaile the Gospell began there to take such fruit, that great dissention there also arose among the citizens about religion, and especially about the masse. Whereupon the Senate of Basil appointed, That after an open disputation it should be determined by voices, what were to be done therein. This notwithstanding the papists, still continuing in their former purpose, began more stoutly to inveigh against the other part; and because they were so suffered by the magistrate without punishment, it was therefore doubted by the commons, that they had some priby maintainers among the Senators. Whereupon certain of the citizens were appointed, in the name of the whole commons to sue to the senators, and to put them in remembrance of their promise. Whose suite and request was this, That those Senators, which were the aiders and supporters of the Papists, might be displaced, for that it did aswell tend to the contempt of their former decree made, as also to the publike disturbance of the city. But when this could not be obtained of the Senate, the Commons upon the eight day of Februarij, the yere above said, assembled themselves in the gray Friers Church, and there, considering with themselves upon the matter, repaired againe with their suite unto the Senate, but not in such humble wise as before: And therewithall gathered themselves in the publike places of the City, to fortifie the same, albeit as yet without armour. The same evening the Senate sent them word, That at their request they granted, that those Senators, although remaining still in office, yet should not sit in counsell what time any matter of religion should come in talke.

Reformation begunneth at Basil. Ioannes Oecolampad.

The popish senators displaced at Basil.

By this answer the Commons, gathering that the whole state was governed by a few, took thereat grief and displeasure, protesting openly, that they would take counsell by themselves hereafter; what they had to do, not onely in cases of religion, but also in other matters of civill government

Religion in Basil defended by the commons.

and forthwith toke them to armour, kéeping the towers and gates, and other conuenient places of the citie with watch and ward, in as forcible wise, as if the enemy had béen at hand.

The next day the Senat, requiring respite to deliberate, was contented to commit the matter to them, whom the commons before had sent as suters vnto them. Which offer ẏ citizens did not refuse, but with this condition, that these Senators, which were guilty, should in ẏ mean season follow their plea, as private persons, vpon their own priuate costs and charges: the other, which defended the publike cause for the behoofe of the posterity, should be maintained by the publike charges of the citie. This the Senate was glad to grant vnto, with some other like matters of lighter weight, to appease their rage.

It hapned the very same day, that certain of the citizens, such as were appointed to go about the citie for the viewing of things, came into the high church, where one of them thrusting at a certaine image with his staffe, eftsones it fell downe and brake. By the occasion whereof, other images also in like sort were serued after the same deuotion. But when the priests came running to them, which séemed to be greatly offended therewith; they, because they would not passe their commission, staid their hands and departed.

Gods handy worke in throwing down images in Basil.

It followed vpon this, that when word hereof was brought to the citizens which stood in ẏ market place, the matter being made worse vnto them than it was, they incontinent discharged out 300. armed men, to rescue their fellowes in the church, supposing them to be in danger. Who coming to the church, and not finding their fellows there, and all things quiet, saue onely a few images broken

Images throwne down at Basil.

downe; they likewise, lest they should haue lost all their labor, threw down all the other idols and images which they found there standing; and so passing through all other churches in the citie, did there also the like: and when certaine of the Senate came forth to appease the tumult, the citizens said, That which you haue stood about these 3 yéars, consulting and aduising whether it were best to be done or not, that shall we dispatch in one houre, that from henceforth neuer more contention shall grow betwéen us for images; and so the Senat permitted them frée leaue without any more resistance: and

Twelue senators displaced at Basil.

12 senators were displaced from their order, albeit without note of reproach or dishonesty. Also a decrée the same time was made, that aswell within

Masse put down at Basil.

the citie of Basil, as without, throughout all their iurisdiction, the masse with all idols should be abandoned: and further, that in all such matters and cases as concerned the glory of God, and the affaires of the publike wealth, besides the number of the other senators, 260 of the burgers or citizens should be appointed out of euery ward in the citie to sit with them in counsell. These decrées being established, after they had kept watch and ward about the citie three dayes and three nights, euery one returned againe to his house quiet and ioyfull, without any blood or stroke giuen, or anger wreaked, but only vpon the images.

On the third day which was Ashwednesday, (as the popes ceremoniall church doth call it) all the wooden images were distributed among the poore of the citie, to serue them for firewood. But when

Ex Farrag. Epist. Eras.

they could not well agrée in diuiding the prey, but fell to brawling among themselues, it was agréed that the said images should be burnt all together: so that in nine great heapes all the stocks and idols there the same day were burnt to ashes before the great church doore. And thus by Gods ordinance it came to passe, that the same day wherein the popes priests are wont to shew forth all their mourning, and do marke mens foreheads with ashes, in remembrance that they be but ashes, was to ẏ whole citie festiuall and ioyfull, for turning their images to ashes, and so is obserued and celebrated euery yéere still vnto this present day, with all mirth, playes and pastimes, in remembrance of the same ashes, which day may there be called aright Ashwednesday of Gods own making. The men of Zurick, of Bern, and of Soloodure, hearing what businesse was at Basil, sent their embassadors to be a mean betwéen them; but before the embassadors came, all was ceased and at quiet.

Ashwednesday at Basil, and of all parts a true Ashwednesday Gods own king.

All this mean space the emperor and the French king were together occupied in warres and strife. Which as it turned to the great dammage and detriment of the French king, who in the said warres was taken prisoner by the emperor; so it happened commodious and opportune for the succesſe of the Gospell: for els it is to be thought that these Heluetians and other Germanes should not haue had that leisure and rest to reform religion, and to link themselues in league together, as they did. But thus almighty God of his secret wisdome disposeth times and occasions to serue his will and purpose in all things. Albeit Ferdinandus the Emperors brother, and deputy in Germany, remitted no time nor diligence to do what he could in resisting the procéedings of the Protestants, as appeared both by the decrée set forth at Ratisbone, and also at Spires, in the which councell of Spires Ferdinandus at the same time, which was the yeere of our Lord, 1529. had decreed against the protestants in effect as followeth.

Gods prouidence to be noted for the succesſe of the Gospell.

The decree made at Spires by Ferdinand.

First, that the edict of the Emperor made at Wormes should stand in force through all Germany, till the time of ẏ generall councell, which should shortly follow. Also, that they which already had altered their religion, and now could not reuoke the same againe for feare of sedition, should stay themselues, and attempt no more innouations hereafter, till time of the generall councell.

Item, that the doctrine of them which hold the Lords Supper otherwise than ẏ church doth teach, should not be receiued, nor the masse should be altered: and there, wheras the doctrine of religion was altered, should be no impediment to the contrary, but that they which were disposed to come to masse might safely therein vse their deuotion; against Anabaptists likewise; and that all minsters of the church should be inioyned to vse no other interpretation of holy Scripture, but according to the exposition of the church doctors; other matters that were disputable not to be touched. Moreouer, that all persons and states should kéep peace, so that for religion neither the one part should inferre molestation to the other, nor receiue any confederates vnder their protection and safegard. All which decrées they which should transgresse, to be outlawed and exiled.

Vnto this sitting at Spires, First the Embassadors of Strausburge were not admitted, but repelled by Ferdinandus, because they had reiected the Masse: And therefore the said City of Strausburge denied to pay any contribution against the Turk, except they with other Germanes might be likewise admitted vnto their Councels. The other Princes which were receiued and not repelled, as the Duke of Saxonie, George of Brandenbourgh, Ernestus, and Franciscus, Earles of Lunebourgh, Lantgrave Anhaldius, did vtterly gainestand the Decrée, and shewed their cause, in a large Protestation written, why they so did: Which done, all such Cities, which subscribed and consented to the said protestation of the Princes, eftsones conioyned themselues in a common league with them, whereupon they had their name, called thereof Protestants. The names of the Cities were these: Argentina, or Strausburge, Norimberge, Vlmes, Constance, Ruteling, Winssemium, Meminge, Lindauia Campodunum, Hailbrunum,

The decree of Spires rehearsed by protestants.

The name protestants how it first began.

Hailbrunum, Isna, Wisseburgum, Norlinge, Sangallum.

Quinque pag. The popish pages in Helvetia confederate with Ferdinandus.

Furthermore, as touching the Helvetians (from whence we have somewhat digressed) how the city of Berne and Zurich had consented and ioyned together in reformation of true religion, you heard before. Wherefore the other pages in Helvetia, which were of contrary profession, in like manner confederated themselves in league with Ferdinandus: the number and names of which pages especially were five, to wit, Lucernates, Vrani, Suitenses, Vntervaldii, and Tugiani, which was in the yeare abovesaid; to the intent, that they conioyning their power together, might over-run the religion of Christ, and the professors of the same. Who also, for hatred and despite, hanged up the armes of the foresaid cities of Zuricke and of Berne upon the gallowes, beside many other iniuries and grievances, which they wrought against them. For the which cause the said cities of Berne and Zurich raised their power, intending to set upon the foresaid Switzers, as upon their capitall enemies. But as they were in the field, ready to encounter one army against the other, through the meanes of the city of Strausburg and other intercessours, they were parted for that time, and so returned.

The councell of Ausburge. The confession of the protestants at Ausburge.

As touching the councell of Ausburge, which followed the next yeare after the assembly of Spires, an. 1530. how the princes and Protestants of Germany in the same councell exhibited their confession, and what labour was sought to confute it, and how constantly Duke Fredericke persisted in defence of his conscience against the threatening words, and replications of the Emperour; also in what danger the said Princes had been, had not the Lantgrave privily by night slipt out of the city, pertaineth not to this place presently to discourse.

To return therefore unto Zuinglius and the Helvettians, of whom we have here presently to intreat, you heard before how the tumult and commotion betweene the two cities of Zuricke and Berne, and the other five cities of the Cantons, was pacified by the meanes of intercession, which peace so continued the space of two yeares. After that the old wound waxing raw againe, began to burst out, and gather to an head: which was by reason of certain iniuries, and opprobrious words and contumelies, which the reformed cities had received of the other; wherefore the Tigurines and the Bernates, stopping all passages and straits, would permit no corn nor victuall to passe unto them. This was in the yeare of our Lord, 1531.

Clars between the gospellers and the five popish townes of Switzerland.

And when great trouble was like to bee thereby, the French King, with certaine other townships of Switzerland, as the Glarians, Friburgians, Solothurnians, and other comming betweene them, laboured to set them at agreement, drawing out certaine conditions of peace betweene them: which conditions were these. That all contumelies, and iniuries past should be forgotten. That hereafter neither part should molest the other. That they, which were banished for religion, should againe be restored. That the five pages might remaine without disturbance in their religion, so that none should be restrained amongst them from the reading of the old and new Testament. That no kinde of disquietnes should be procured against them of Bern and Zuricke: and that either part should conferre mutuall helps together, one to succour the other, as in times past. But the five pagemen would not observe these covenants made, neither would their malicious hearts be brought to any conformity. Wherefore the Bernates and Tigurines, shewing and declaring first their cause in publike writting, to purge and excuse the necessity of their warre, being pressed with so many wrongs, and in manner constrained to take the sword in hand, did, as before beset the high ways and passages, that no furniture of victuall or other forrage could come to the other pages. By reason whereof when they of the five townes began to be pinched with want and penury, they armed themselves secretly, and set forward in warlike array towards the borders of Zuricke, whereas then was lying a garrison of the Zuricke men, to the number of a thousand and more. Whereupon word was sent incontinent to the city of Zurick, to succour their men with speed; but their enemies approched so fast, that they could hardly come to rescue them. For when they were come to the top of the hill, whereby they must needs passe, they saw their fellowes being in great distresse in the valley under them: whereupon they, incouraging themselves, made downe the hill with more haste than order, striving who might go fastest: but the nature of the hill was such, that there could but one goe down at once. By reason whereof, forasmuch as they could not keep their rankes to ioyne all together, it followed that they, being but few in number, were discomfited and overmatched of the multitude, which was the eleventh day of October, the yeare abovesaid. Among the number of them that were slain, was also Vldricus Zuinglius, the blessed servant and saint of God. Also the Abbot of Capella, and Commendator Kunacensis, with thirteen other learned and worthy men, were slaine, being as is thought, falsly betrayed, and brought into the hands of their enemies.

The Tigurines overmatched and overcome.

Vldricus Zuinglius slaine.

As touching the cause which moved Zuinglius to go out with his citizens to the warr, it is sufficiently declared and excused, both by Io. Sleid. & especially by Oecolamp. in his epist. (ap Mart. Frechtū. & Som. epist. L. 4.) where first is to be understood, that it is an old received maner among ẏ Zurickmen, that when they go forth in warfare, the chief minister of the church goes with them. Zuinglius also of himself being a man (saith Sleid.) of a stout & bold courage, considering if he should remain at home, when warr should be attempted against his citizens, and if he, which in his Sermons did so incourage other, should now faint so cowardly, and tarry behinde at home when time of danger came, what shame and disdain might worthily rise to him thereby, thought not to refuse to take such part as his brethren did.

Ex Ioan. Sleid. lib. 8. Ex Epist. Ioan. Oecolampad. lib. 4

Zuinglius excused for his going out to warre.

Oecolampad. moreover addeth, that he went not out as a captain of ẏ field, but as a good citizen with his citizens, and a good shepheard ready to die with his flock. And which of them all, saith he, that most cry out against Zuinglius, can shew any such noble heart in him, to do the like? Againe, neither did he go out of his own accord, but rather desired not to go; foreseeing belike, what danger thereof would ensue. But the Senate being importune upon him, would have no nay, urging and inforcing him most instantly to goe: among whom were thought to have been some false betrayers, saying & objecting to him, that he was a dastard, if he refused to accompany his brethren, aswell in time of danger as in peace. Moreover the said Zuinglius, among other secular arts, had also some skil in such matters of warfare. Hæc Oecolampad. When he was slain, great cruelty was shewed upon the dead corps; such was their hatred toward him, that their malice could not be satisfied, unlesse also they should burn his body being dead. Ex com. Ioan. Sleid. lib. 8.

Conditions of peace drawn, but not kept. The Tigurins provoked and compelled to warre against their enemies.

Zuinglius his dead body burned.

Ex Oswaldo Miconio de vita & obitu Zuinglii.

The heart of Zuinglius found whole in the ashes.

The report goeth, that after his body was cut first in 4. pieces, & then consumed with fire, 3. daies after his death his friends came to see whether any part of him was remaining, where they found his heart in the ashes whole & unburned; in much like manner as was also the heart of Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, which in the ashes also was found and taken up unconsumed, as it is credibly reported.

The cruell handling of the Abbot Capellen.

Furthermore, such was then ẏ rage of these five pages against the foresaid Abbot Capellensis, that they took him being slaine, and putting out both his eyes, clothed him in a monks coule, and set him in

the pulpit to preach, railing and iesting vpon him in most despitefull manner. Ex Epist. Oecolamp. ad Wolfgangum Capitonem. lib. 4. Vlderike Zuinglius was when he died of the age of foure and forty yeeres, younger than Martin Luther by foure yeeres.

The Bernates, who were purposed the same time to atchieue warre against the Unterwaldians bordering neere vnto them, when they heard of this discomfiture of the Tigurines, to comfort them again, desired them to be of good cheere and courage, promising that they would not faile but come, and reuenge their quarrell. Againe, when the Tigurines had assembled their power together, which was the eight day after the battell, and had receiued aid from the Schaffusians, Pullusians, Sangalles, and from Basill (the Bernates at this time were nothing hasty) out of the whole number they chose out certaine ensignes, which setting forth in the night, lay in the hill beside Mecinge, intending when the moone was up to take the towne of Tugie, lying neere at hand, vpon the sudden. Which when their enemies had perceiued, which were encamped not far from them, with all speed and most secret manner they came vpon them being at rest, the foure and twentieth day of October, and to put them in more feare, made a wonderfull clamorous outcry: so it fell out in conclusion, that many on both parties were slaine. And albeit the five Pagemen had the vpper hand, yet would they of Zurick nothing relent in their religion. At the last, through mediation, a peace was concluded, and thus the matter agreed: that the Tigurines, Bernates, and Basilians should forsake the league which they had lately made with the city of Strausburge, and the Lantgrave: likewise should the five pagemen giue ouer their league and composition made with Ferdinandus: and hereof obligations were made and sealed in the latter end of November.

Another skirmish betweene the Tigurines and the five pagemen in Suitzerland.

Peace concluded betweene the protestants and the papists in Suitzerland

Oecolampadius the Preacher of the city of Strausburge, aboue recorded, hearing of the death of Zuinglius his deare friend, tok thereat inward griefe and sorrow; insomuch that it is thought to haue increased his disease, and so he also departed this life, the same yeere and moneth of November aboue mentioned, being of the age of nine and forty yeeres, elder than Martin Luther by one yeere. Although this Oecolampadius then died, yet his learned and famous commentaries vpon the Prophets, with other worthy workes which he left behinde him, liue still and shall neuer die.

The death of Oecolampadius. an. 1531.

The commentaries of Oecolampadius vpon the Prophets.

The next yeere following, which was an. 1532. in the moneth of August, died also the worthy and memorable prince Iohn Frederick Duke of Saxonie, who for testimony of Christ and of his Gospell sustained such trials, so many brunts, and so vehement conflicts with the Emperor, and that especially at the councell assembled at Ausburge; that vnlesse the almighty hand of the Lord had sustained him, it had not been possible for him, or any prince, to haue indured so constant and vnremoueable against so many perswasions and assaults, as he did to the end. After him succeeded Iohn Fredericke his sonne, &c.

The death of Iohn Fredericke duke of Saxony.

And thus haue you the history of Zuinglius, and of the church of Suitzerland, with their proceedings and troubles from the first beginning of their reformation of religion, set forth and described. Whereunto we will adde one certaine epistle of the said Zuinglius, taken out of his other epistles, and so therewith close up his story. Which epistle I thought here to record, especially for that in the same, among other matters, profitably is expounded for true meaning of the Apostle, writing to the Corinthians concerning how to iudge the Lords body, to the intent that the simple thereby may the better be informed. The words of his letter be these, as follow.

Huldricus Zuinglius N. fratri in Domino.

Gratiam & pacem in Domin. Accipe igitur charis. frater, &c.

In English thus.

A letter of Vlrichus Zuinglius.

Vnto your questions propounded to me in your former letters (welbeloued brother) I haue sent you here mine answer. First, I am also in the same mind with you, that the Lords Supper is a very thankesgiving: for so the Apostle himselfe meaneth, saying, Ye shall shew forth the Lords death. Where the word of shewing forth signifieth as much as praising, or thanksgiving. Wherefore seeing it is an Eucharist, or a thanksgiving, in my iudgement no other thing ought to be obtruded to mens consciences, but onely with due reuerence to giue thankes. Nevertheless, yet this is not to be neglected, that every man do proue and examine himselfe; for so we ought to search and aske our owne consciences, what faith we haue in Christ Iesus, which if it be found and sincere, we may approach without stay to this thanksgiving. For he that hath no faith, and yet faineth or pretendeth to haue, eateth his owne iudgement; for hee lieth to the Holy Ghost. And whereas you suppose, that Paul in this place doth not reprove them which sit at the table eating of meats offered to Idols, I dissent from you therein. For Paul a little before writeth vehemently against those arrogant persons, which, bragging vpon their knowledge, thought they might lawfully eat of such meats offered to Idols, sitting and eating at the Lords table: **You cannot** (saith he) **be partakers both of the Lords table, and the table of diuels, &c.** Wherefore Saint Pauls meaning is, that every one should trie and examine himselfe what faith he hath. Whereupon it followeth, that hee which hath a right faith must haue no part nor fellowship with those things which bee given to Idols: for hee is now a member of another body, that is of Christ: so that hee cannot ioyne himselfe now to be one body with Idolaters. And therefore those be they which doe not iudge or discerne the Lords body, that make no difference betweene the Church of Christ, and the Church of Idolaters. For they which sit at the Lords table, eating of Idoll meats, do make no difference at all betweene the Lords Supper and the supper of the diuels; which be they whom Paul saith not to iudge the body of our Lord, that is, which make no disrepance nor give any more regard to Christs Church, than to the Church of diuels. Whereas if we would iudge our selues, that is, if we would throughly search and examine our owne consciences as we should, in comming to the table of the Lord, we finding any faith in us would never goe to the table, or make thereof the feast of diuels: wherefore your iudgement herein is not amisse in expounding the word of iudging in Saint Paul, to signifie as much as considering, perpending and inquiring.

The place of S. Paul of iudging the Lords body, pounded.

Who be they which iudge not the Lords body.

To your second question I answer, that Iesus took bread, and brake, &c. Also he took the cup, &c. *Ista verba sunt peculiariter agentis, non hospitaliter inuitantis*; that is, These words declare the action of one which properly doth a thing, and not the hospitality of one which inuiteth another to eat. Touching your third question out of the sixth chapter of Iohn: doth this offend you? herein I do fully agree with you.

Iesus took bread.

As for this word Ostren, which is your fourth question, I understand thereby the time of the great feast or solemnity, which we keep in remembrance of the great deliverance of Gods people from the thraldome now of Satan, before from the thraldome of Pharao. Neither is it greatly materiall with what word we expresse the thing, so the thing it selfe be one, and the analogie and consonancy of the

The word Easter.

the Scripture be kept: for both the Scripture calleth Christ the Lambe, and Saint Paul calleth him our Easter or Passeover. Now your word, wanderfest, well pleaseth mee, for the Passeover, or Pesah.

The descending of Christ into Hell.

To your fifth interrogation, of Christs descending into hell, I suppose this particle was inserted into the Creed by the sentence of the Fathers, to declare how the fathers, which died in the faith, were redeemed by the death of Christ. For Christ led away captivity, wherewith they were holden, with him up into heaven: so that his going downe into hell *non sic intelligatur, quasi circumscriptive, sed potentionaliter*; That is, be not so understood, as circumscriptively, which is, when a thing is present by circumscription of any one place, but by power, which is by the operation of his spirit, which is not comprehended in any certainty of place, but without prescription of certaine place is diffused every where: so that the article of Christs descending into hell importeth as much, as that his death redeemed them which were in hell. Whereunto S. Peter also seemeth to have respect, where he saith, (a) The Gospell also was preached to them which were dead; that is, That they also did feele the good tidings of the Gospell, their redemption by the Sonne of God: and that they which rose againe with Christ in the Spirit, be now with him in heaven, who nevertheless in flesh shall be judged, what time the Sonne of God and of man shall come to judge both the quicke and the dead. Returne to the places of Peter, the one in his first Epistle, the other in the later: and so be you contented with this present answer rashed up in haste. Fare ye heartily well. And comfort my William, the good aged father, by the grace of God which is in you. Commend me to Iohn Eggenberge. From Zuricke the first day of September, an. 1527.

Circumscriptive, potentionaliter. Vt mors illius eos qui erant apud inferos redimeret.

(a) 1 Pet. 3.

FRom the first beginning of this whole booke and history hitherto, good reader, thou hast heard of many and sundry troubles, and much businesse in the church of Christ, concerning the reformation of diverse abuses and great errours crept into the same, namely in the church of Rome, as appeareth by the doings of them, in diverse and sundry places, whereof mention hath bẽn made heretofore in this said history. For what godly man hath there bẽn, within the space of these five hundred yéres, either vertuously disposed, or excellently learned, which hath not disproved the misordered doings and corrupt examples of the sée and bishop of Rome from time to time, unto the coming of this Luther? wherein this appeareth to me, and may also appeare no lesse to all godly disposed men to be noted, not without great admiration, that séeing this aforesaid Romish bishop hath had great enemies and gainesayers continually from time to time, both speaking and working, preaching and writing against him, yet notwithstanding never any could prevaile before the coming of this man. The cause whereof although it be secretly known unto God, and unknowne unto men, yet so farre as men by conjectures may suppose, it may thus not unlikely be thought: That whereas other men before him, speaking against the pomp, pride, whoredome and avarice of the Bishop of Rome, charged him onely or most specially with examples and manners of life; Luther went further with him, charging him not with life, but with his learning; not with his doings, but with his doctrine; not picking at the rine, but plucking up the root; not séeking the man, but shaking his seat; yea, and charging him with plaine heresie, as prejudiciall and resisting plainly against the blood of Christ, contrary to the true sense and direct understanding of the sacred testament of Gods holy word. For whereas the foundation of our faith, grounded upon the holy Scripture, teacheth and leadeth us to be justified onely by the worthinesse of Christ, and the onely price of his blood; the Pope proceeding with a contrary doctrine teacheth us otherwise to séeke our salvation, not by Christ alone, but by the way of mens meriting and deserving by workes. Whereupon rose divers sorts of orders and religious sects amongst men, some professing one thing and some another, and every man séeking his own, righteousnesse, but few séeking the righteousnesse of him which is set up of God to be our righteousnesse, redemption, and justification.

The corruption of the See of Rome continually cryed out against.

The Pope charged with heresie by Luther. The foundation of the popes doctrine contrary to christian faith.

Martin Luther therefore, urging and reducing things to the foundation and touchstone of the Scripture, opened the eyes of many, which before were drowned in darknesse. Whereupon it cannot be expressed what joy, comfort, and consolation came to the hearts of men, some lying in darknesse and ignorance, some wallowing in sin, some being in | despaire, some macerating themselves by workes, and some presuming upon their own righteousnesse, to behold that glorious benefit of the great liberty and free justification set up in Christ Jesus. And briefly to speake, the more glorious the benefit of this doctrine appeared to the world after long ignorance, the greater persecution followed upon the same. And where the elect of God toke most occasion of comfort and of salvation, thereof the adversaries toke most matter of veration and disturbance, as commonly we sée the true word of God to bring with it ever dissention and perturbation; and therefore truly it was said of Christ, That he came not to send peace on earth, but the sword. And this was the cause why that, after the doctrine and preaching of Luther, so great troubles and persecutions followed in all quarters of the world: whereby arose great disquietnesse amongst the prelates, and many lawes and decrées were made to overthrow the same, by cruell handling of many good and Christian men. Thus while authority, armed with lawes and rigor, did strive against simple verity, lamentable it was to heare how many poore men were troubled, and went to wracke, some tost from place to place, some exiled out of the land for feare, some caused to abiure, some driven to caves in woods, some wracked with torment, and some pursued to death with fagot and fire. Of whom we have now (Christ willing) in this history following to intreat, first beginning with certaine that suffered in Germany, and then to returne to our own Stories, and Martyrs here in England.

Justification by faith renued by Luther.

Mat. 10. Great persecution after the doctrine of Luthes.

Henry Voes and Iohn Esch
Friers Augustines.

IN the yére of our Lord 1523. two young men were burnt at Bruels, the one named Henry Voes, being of the age of foure and twenty yéres, and the other John Esch, which before had bẽne of the order of the Augustine Friers. They were degraded the first day of July, and spoiled of their Friers wæd, at the suit of Egmondanus the Popes Inquisitour, and the Divines of Lovane; for that they would not retract and deny their doctrine of the Gospell, which the Papists call Lutheranisme. Their examiners were Hochestratus and other, who demanded of them, what they did beléeve? They said, the Bookes of the old Testament and the new, wherein were contained the Articles of the Créd. Then were they asked whether they beléeved the decrées of the councels and of the Fathers? They said, such as were agréeing to the Scripture they beléeved. After this they proceeded further, asking whether they thought it any deadly sinne to transgresse the

Two Friers burned at Bruels.

Egmondanus & Hochestratus doctors of Lovane persecutors.

decrées of the fathers, and of the bishop of Rome: That (said they) is to be attributed onely to the precepts of God, to binde the conscience of man, or to lose it. Wherein when they constantly persisted and would not turne, they were condemned and iudged to be burned. Then they began to giue thanks to God their heauenly father, which had deliuered them through his great goodnesse from that false and abhominable priesthood, and made them priests of his holy order, receiuing them unto him as a sacrifice of swéet odour. Then there was a bill written, which was deliuered unto them to read openly before the people, to declare what faith and doctrine they held. The greatest errour that they were accused of was, That men ought to trust only in God, forasmuch as men are liers and deceitfull in all their words and déeds, and therefore there ought no trust or affiance to be put in them.

Their examination.

The cause of their accusation and martyrdome.

As they were led unto the place of execution, which was the first day of July, they went ioyfully and merrily, making continuall protestation that they died for the glory of God, and the doctrine of the Gospell, as true Christians, beléeuing and following the holy Church of the Sonne of God; saying also that it was the day which they had long desired. After they were come to the place where they should be burned, and were dispoiled of their garments, they tarried a great space in their shirts, and ioyfully embraced the stake that they should be bound to, patiently and ioyfully enduring whatsoeuer was done unto them, praising God with Te Deum laudamus, and singing Psalms and rehearsing the Créed, in testimony of their faith. A certaine

The burning of Henry Voes and Iohn Esch, Friers Augustines.

Doctor, beholding their lollity and mirth, said unto Henry, that he should take héed so lolishly to glorifie himself. To whom he answered, God forbid that I should glory in any thing, but onely in the crosse of my Lord Iesus Christ. Another counselled him to haue God before his eyes: unto whom he answered, I trust that I carry him truly in my heart. One of them séeing that fire was kindled at his fét, said, Ye thinke ye do straw roses under my fét. Finally, the smoake and the flame mounting up to their faces, choaked them.

Behold how constantly and ioyfully these martyrs take their death. Against all reason that the clergie should be exempted from the ciuil Magistrate.

Henry being demanded amongst other things, whether Luther had seduced him or no: yea said he, euen as Christ seduced his Apostles. He said also, that it was contrary to Gods law, that the clergie should be exempted from the power and iurisdiction of the magistrat ordained of God: for such as were ordained in office by the Bishops, haue no power but onely to preach the word of God, and to feed their flocke therewithall. After their death, their monastery was dissolued at Antwerpe. The President whereof, by the Papists called Iacobus Lutherianus, after diuers and sundry troubles and afflictions was forced to recant at Bruxels; but afterward, his mind being renewed by the holy Ghost, embracing that again which before he had renounced, he fled unto Luther. Ex 6. Tomo M. Lutheri, fol. 397.

Iacobus Lutherianus.

Henry Sutphen, Monk, put to death in Diethmar.

Henry Sutphen.

THe next yéere after the burning of those two Christian martyrs at Bruxels above mentioned, with like tyranny also was martyred and burned without all order of iudgment or iust condemnation, about the city of Diethmar, in the borders of Germany, one Henry of Sutphen, monk, Anno 1524. of whom mention is partly touched in the Commentaries of Iohn Sleidan, Lib. 4. but his history is more amply described of Luther, of Paulus Eberus in his Catend. of Ludou. Rabus Crispinus, and other. This Sutphen had béene before with Martin Luther, and afterward comming to Antwerpe, was from thence excluded for the Gospell, and so came to Bréme, not to the end there to preach, but for that he was minded to go to Wittenberge, being driuen from Antwerpe, as is above said. Who being at Bréme, was there required by certaine godly citizens of Bréme to make one or two briefe exhortations upon the Gospell. Whereunto, through the earnest loue and zeale that was in him, he was easily allured and perswaded. He made his first sermon unto the people the Sunday before Saint Martins day. When the people heard him preach the word of God so sincerely, they desired him againe the second time, and were so in loue with his doctrine, that the whole parish required him to tarry amongst them to preach the Gospell; which thing, for feare of danger, for a time he refused. When the religious rout had understanding hereof, especially the canons, Monks, and priests, they went about with all endeauor to oppresse him, and thrust both him out of the city, and also the Gospell of Christ (for that was their chiefe séeking:) whereupon they went unto ỹ Senate, desiring that such an heretike might be banished the town, which in his doctrine preached against the catholike church. Upon the complaint of the canons, the Senat sent for the wardens and head men of the parish where Henry had preached; who being come together, the Senate declared unto them the complaint of the Canons and all the other religious men. Whereunto the citizens of Bréme, taking their preachers part, answered, that they knew none other, but that they had hired a learned and honest man to preach unto them, which should teach them sincerely and truly the word of God. Notwithstanding if the Chapter house or any other man could bring testimonial or witnes, that the preacher had taught any thing which either sauoured of heresie, or were repugnant to the word of God, they were ready, they said, with the Chapterhouse to persecute him: for God forbid that they should maintaine an heretike. But if contrary wise the Canons of the Chapterhouse, and the other religious men will not declare and

Henry Sutphen preached at Bréme.

Monkes and priests conspire against Henry.

The citizens of Bréme excuse their preacher.

and shew that the preacher, whom they had hired, had taught any errour or heresie, but were set only of malice by violence to drive him away, they might not (said they) by any meanes suffer the same. Wherupon they desired the Senate, with all humble obedience, that they would not require it of them, but grant them equity and iustice, saying, that they were minded to assist their preacher alwates, and to plead his cause.

The monks & priests complaine against the preacher to the Archbishop of Breme.

This answer the Senate commanded to bee declared to the chapterhouse. When as the religious sort understood that they could prevail little or nothing with their words, bursting out into a fury, they began to threaten, and therewithall went straight unto the archbishop, to certifie him how that the citizens of Breme were become heretiks and would no longer obey their religious sort, with many other like things in their complaint, so that it was to be feared, lest the whole city shortly should be seduced.

The Preacher cited to appear before the archbishop.

When the bishop heard tell of these things, straitways he sent two which were of his counsell unto Breme, requiring that Henry should bee sent unto him without delay. When they were demanded why they should have him sent, they answered, because he preached against the holy church. Being again demanded in what points or articles, they had nothing to say. One of these counsellers was the bishops Suffragane, a naughty pernitious hypocrite, that sought by all means possible to carry away the said Henry captive. Finally, they received this answer of the Senators, that forasmuch as the preacher, being hired of the church-wardens, had not hitherto bin convict for any heretike, and that no man had declared any erroneous or heretical article that he had taught, they said they could by no meanes obtaine of the citizens that hee should bee carried away: wherefore they earnestly desired the bishop, that he would speedily send his learned men unto Breme to dispute with him; and if hee were convinced, they promised without any delay that he should be iustly punished, and sent away: if not, they would in no wise let him depart. Whereunto the Suffragane answered with a great protestation, requiring that he might be delivered into his hands for the quietnes of the whole countrey, taking God to his witnesse, that in this behalf hee sought for nothing else, but only the commodity of his countrey. But for all this they could prevaile nothing, for the Senate continued still in his former mind. Wherupon the Suffragane being moved with anger departed from Breme, and would not confirme their children.

False accusation.

The Senate refuse to send the Preacher to the Bishop.

The Senate of Breme require absputation of the archbishop.

The Suffrag. would not confirm their children for anger.

When he came unto the bishop hee declared the answer of the Senate, and what he had heard and learned of the Priests and Monkes there. Afterward, when daily newes came, that the preacher did still more and more preach and teach more heinous matter against the religious rout, they attempted another way, suborning great men to admonish the citizens of Breme into what ieopardy their commonwealth might fall by means of their preacher, preaching contrary to the decree of the pope and Emperour. Besides that, they said; that he was the prisoner of the Lady Margaret; for which cause they had gotten letters of the Lady Margaret, requiring to have her prisoner sent unto her again.

Then the preachers cannot prevaile by power they fall to practice.

All these crafts and subtilties did nothing at all prevaile, for the Senate of Breme answered all things without blame. When as the bishop saw this his enterprise also frustrate, he attempted another way, whereby he had certaine hope, that both he and also the word of God with him should bee wholly oppressed. Whereupon they decreed a Provinciall councell, not to be holden at Breme, as it was accustomed, but at Bucstade which place they thought most meet for their purpose.

Another practise of the archbishop.

To this counsell were called all the prelates and learned men of the dioces, to determine what was to be believed, and whereunto to trust.

A councell of priests called against Henry Sutphen.

Also to the said councell was Henry called, notwithstanding that they had already decreed to proceed against him, as against a manifest heretike, albeit hee was not yet convict, nor had pleaded his cause before them. Wherefore the rulers of the city, together with the communaltie, detained him at home, foreseeing and suspecting the malice of the councell. Then the said Henry gathered a summe of his doctrine into a few articles, and sent it with his letters unto the Archbishop; excusing his innocency, offering himself to be ready, if hee were convict of any errour by the testimony of the holy Scripture, to recant the same: notwithstanding earnestly requiring, that his errours might bee convicted by the holy scriptures, by the testimony whereof hee had hitherto approved his doctrine, and doubted not hereafter to confirme the same: but this toke no place amongst those annointed Prelates. What the determination of their iudgement was it may hereupon well be gathered, in that shortly after they set upon the church porch the bull of the pope Leo the x. and decree of the Emperour made at Worms. Wherupon Henry contemning their madnesse, proceeded daily in preaching the gospel, adding always this protestation, that hee was ready willingly to give account touching his faith and doctrine to every man that would require the same. In the mean time the holy catholikes could not be idle, but sent their chapleins unto every sermon to trap him in his words. But God, whose foot-paths are in the middest of the floods, would have his marvellous power to bee seene in them; for he converted many of them: insomuch that ỹ greater part of those that were sent to hearken did openly witnesse his doctrine to bee Gods truth, against which no man could contend, and such as in all their lives before they had not heard; perswading them likewise, that they forsaking all impiety should follow the Word of God, and believe the same, if they would be saved. But the chiefe priests, canons, and monkes were so indurate and blinded with Pharao, that they became the worse for these admonitions. When as God saw the time convenient that Henry should confirme the verity that he had preached, he sent him among the cruell murtherers appointed for that slaughter, by this occasion as followeth.

Henry gathereth the summ of his doctrine in writing.

The catholike proceeding of the popes clergie.

They that went about to take him were taken.

It happened in the yeare of our Lord 1524. that this Henry was sent for by letters, by Nicholas Boy parish priest, and other faithfull Christians of the parish of Heldorph, which is a towne in Diethmar, to preach the Gospell unto them, and deliver them out of the bondage of Antichrist, which in that place had full dominion.

Henry Sutphen sent for to preach at Heldorph.

These letters being received upon saint Katherines evening, calling together sir brethren, honest citizens, he opened the matter unto them, how that hee was sent for by them of Diethmar, to preach the Gospell; adding moreover, that he was not only a debtor unto them, but to all other which required his aid. Wherefore hee thought good to goe to Diethmar, to see what God would worke by him, requiring also that they would help him with their advice, by what meanes hee might best take his iourney, that no man should know of it, that thereby he might not be letted or stopped; which thing without doubt had come to passe, if his purpose had bin knowne to the people. Unto whom the citizens answered, desiring him that hee would not depart for a time, forasmuch as the Gospel had not yet taken so deep roote in the people, but was as yet weake, and especially in the villages thereabout, and that the persecution was very great, willing him also to have respect unto this, that he was by them called to the office of preaching: and if they of Diethmar desired

The citizens of Breme perswade Henry not to goe to Diethmar.

desired a Preacher, he should send some other in his place, for they had before perceived the disposition and untrustinesse of them of Diethmar: besides ỳ, it was not in their power to give him frée liberty to depart, without the consent of the whole communalty. Whereunto Henry made answer in this manner, That albeit he could not deny but that hée was sent for by them, yet now there were many godly men at Bzeme, whose labour they might use in his absence, in preaching of the Gospel. Besides that the Papists were for the most part banquished and overthrown, and their folly knowne, even unto women and children, adding thereunto that he had now preached the Gospel by the space of two yéers at Bzeme; and that they of Diethmar lived without a Pastour even in the middest of the Wolves: wherefore hee could not with safe conscience deny their request. And whereas they alledged that they could not licence him without the consent of the whole congregation, that, said he, was but of small effect; forsomuch as hee would not utterly forsake them, but determined only to remaine with them of Diethmar for a moneth or two, to lay a foundation and then to returne againe, desiring them, that after his departure they would declare unto the congregation how hee was sent for by them of Diethmar, to whom he could not say nay: willing them also to excuse his sudden departure, for that he was forced to depart secretly, because of his adversaries privily lying in wait in every place for him; thinking that he should scarcely avoid them, which had alwaies gone about to bring him to his death. Finally, they should promise to the congregation in his name, that when hee had performed his enterprise, hee would straight returne againe. They, being perswaded with these words, consented unto him, stedfastly hoping that they of Diethmar should be converted to the true faith: which people above all other have bin alwaies given to idolatry.

The causes moving Henry to goe to Diethmar.

In this rude country of Diethmar M. Rogers our countryman was superintendent in time of the six articles, where he with great danger of his life did very much good.

Henry taketh his journey to Weldorph.

Having prepared all things toward his setting forth, the two and twentieth day of October he took his journey, and came to Weldorph whither he was sent for: where he was joyfully received of the parish priest and other, as soone as hee was come thither. Albeit he had not yet preached, the dibell with his members by & by began to fret & fume for anger. Above all other, one Augustine Tornborch, prior of the Black Friers, began to fume, who went out of hand unto master I. Swicken his companion, and Commissary to the officiall of Hamburg, to take counsell what was to bee done, lest they should loose their kingdome. Finally, it was decreed by them above all things to withstand the beginnings that he should not have licence to preach: for if by any meanes it happened that he preached, and the people should heare him, it was to be feared that the wickednesse and craft of the priests and monkes should be opened; which being made manifest, they knew plainly that it would be but a folly to resist, remembring what had hapned lately before in Bzeme. This determination had, the Prior the next day early in the morning (for he had not slept well all night for cares) went with great speed unto Heyda, to speak with the eight and forty Presidents of the countrey: unto whom with great complaints hee shewed how that a seditious fellow, a Monke, was come from Bzeme, which would seduce all the people of Diethmar, as he had done the Bzemers. There was moreover that did assist this Prior, master Gunterus, Chancellor of the countrey, and Petrus Hannus, both enemies unto the Gospell. These stoutly assisted the Prior, persuading the other forty sir, being simple and unlearned men, that they should obtain great favour and good will of the bishop of Bzeme, if they would put this heretike Monke to death. When these poore and unlearned men heard these words, they decreed that this Monke should bee put to death, neither heard, nor seene, much lesse convict.

The Prior of the black Friers with the forty eight presidents conspire the death of Henry.

The chiefe doers of this conspiracy.

Furthermore, this Prior obtained letters from the forty eight presidents to the parish priest, commanding him under great penalty, that hee should put the monke out of his house, and command him to depart without preaching. With these letters he came spédily to Weldorph, & delivered the letters over night unto the parish priest; trusting that by their threatnings, and commandements the said Henry should be feared from preaching, diligently watching whether he did preach or not.

Nicholas Boyes parish priest of Weldorph commanded to put away Henry.

When as the parish priest had read over the letters, hee marvelled not a little at that proud commandement, for that it had not been heard of before that the forty eight presidents should meddle with Ecclesiasticall matters, and that it had beene of long time used, that the ruling thereof should bee in the hands of the parish priest: and long time before it was decreed by the whole province, and customably used, that in every church the parish priest should have free liberty to receive or put out the preacher. These letters the parish priest delivered unto Henry; which when he had diligently looked over, he answered, that forsomuch as he was come being sent for by the whole congregation to preach the Gospel of Christ, he would satisfie that vocation, because he saw it would be acceptable unto the whole congregation, and that he ought rather to obey the word of God, than man. Also, that if it pleased God that hee should loose his life in Diethmar, there was as neere a way to Heaven, as in any other place; for that hee doubted nothing at all, that once he must suffer for the Gospels sake. Upon this courage and boldnesse, the next day Henry went up into the pulpit, & made a sermon, expounding the place of Paul, which is, Rom. 1. Testis est mihi Deus, &c. that is, God is my witnesse; and the Gospell of the day. After the sermon was done, the whole congregation being called together, the Prior delivered the letters that were sent by the forty eight presidents the tenour whereof was this: that they of Weldorph should bee fined with a fine of a thousand gilderns, if they suffered the Monke to preach; and commanded moreover, that they should send embassadors unto Heida with full power and authority. When they heard these letters read, they were much moved, because they were so charged contrary to the custome of the countrey; forsomuch as every parish priest hath alwaies had authoritie, according to his discretion, to chuse or put away the preacher. Briefly they all determined with one voice, to kéep Henry for their preacher, & to defend him: for when they had heard the sermon, they were greatly offended with the Prior.

The consta of Henry in vocation.

Hen. preach at Weldorph The citizens Weldorph write in defence of their preacher.

After dinner Henry preached againe, expounding the place of Saint Paul Rom. 15. Debemus nos qui potentes sumus, &c. Wee ought which are strong, &c. The next day the citizens of Weldorph sent their messengers unto Heida, offering to answer in all causes before all men, for their preacher whom they have received. Besides that, the messengers declared what Christian and godly sermons they heard him preach. The parish Priest also wrote letters by the said Legates unto the 48. rulers, wherein he excused himselfe, that it was never his minde, nor the intent of the said Henry to move sedition, but only sincerly to preach the word of God, and offer himselfe ready to answer for the said Henry to all men, whensoever he should bee called; most earnestly desiring them not to give credit unto the monks, which being blinded with hatred and avarice, had fully determined to oppresse the truth: saying moreover that it was against all reason, that a man should be condemned, before the truth be tried out, and his cause declared; and if, after due inquisition had, he should be convict, then he should suffer condign punishment. This submission with the publike testimoniall was nothing esteemed

med or regarded, neither was there any answer giben thereunto, but every man repined and murmured thereat. Last of all, one Peter Methleues, one of the Seignioures answered; that albeit there were divers dissentions in every place about the Christian faith, and that they as men ignorant could not redresse the same, yet this their sentence should be holden and ratified; which was, that the iudgement of determining this dissention should be reserved to the next councell, which by the report of maister Chancellour was now in hand to be called and gathered. Also untill all discord and dissention should be appeased, whatsoever was received and beleeved by their neighbours, he promised in the name of the rest, that they would willingly receive and beleeve the same. So that if the word of God hath not hitherto been cleerly and sincerely preached (as they said) unto the people, and that there be now some which can teach and preach the same more sincerely; it is not their minde or intent to withstand or resist their good doings, but that the presidents would with this one thing diligently to be taken heed of, that there be no occasion given by any man to move sedition, and in the meane time he commanded all men quietly to give over all matters untill Easter next, and by that time it should be appeased, what should be received, and what left undone. With this answer they were all very well contented; and the messengers returned againe to Meldorph with great ioy and gladnesse, declaring to the whole congregation what answer was made, conceiving a sure hope that the matter would shortly come to passe.

God counsell of Peter Methleues.

Upon S. Nicholas day, this Henry preached twice, first upon the Gospell, Homo quidam nobilis, &c. A certaine nobleman, &c. Secondly upon this text, Plures facti sunt sacerdotes, &c. There are many made Priests, &c. With such a spirit and grace, that all men had him in admiration, praying God most earnestly, that they might long have such a preacher. Upon the day of the conception of our Lady, he also made two Sermons upon the first chapter of Matthew, expounding the booke of the generation; wherein he rehearsed the promises made by God unto our forefathers, and under what faith our fathers, that then were, had lived; adding also that, all respect of workes being set apart, we must be iustified by the same faith. All these things were spoken with such boldnesse of spirit, that all men greatly marvelled at him, giving thankes to God for his great mercy, that had sent them such a preacher, desiring him moreover, that he would tarry with them all Christmas to preach; for they feared lest he should be sent for to some other place.

Luke 19.

Heb. 7.

In the meane space, the prior and maister Iohn Schinke were not idle: for when the prior perceived that his malicious enterprise took no good successe, he adioyned unto him a companion, William a doctor of the Iacobins, and so went up to Landanum to the Monks, Franciscans, and Minors, for helpe and counsell. For those kinds of Friers above all other are best instruct by their hypocrisie to deceive the poore and simple people. These Friers straightway sent for certaine of the rulers, which had all the rule and authority, and especially Peter Hannus, Peter Swine, and Nicholas Roden; unto whom they declared, after their accustomed manner, with great complaints, what an heretike Monke had preached, and how he had obtained the favor almost of all the simple people; which if they did not speedily provide for, and withstand the beginnings, and put the heretike to death, it would come to passe, that shortly the honour of our Lady and all saints, together with the two abbeys, should utterly come to ruine and decay.

The prior and the monks agin conspired against the gospell.

When these simple and ignorant men heard these words, they were greatly moved. Whereunto Peter Swine answered thus, that they had before written unto the parish Priest and to Henry, what was best to be done; notwithstanding, if they thought good they would write againe. No, said the prior, this matter must be attempted another way: for if you write unto the heretike, he will by and by answer you againe. And it is to be feared, lest the contagion of his heresie do also infect you, being unlearned men: for if you give him leave to speak, and to answer, there is no hope that you shall overcome him. Wherefore they finally determined to take this Henry by night, and burn him before the people should know it, or he come to his defence to answer. This device pleased all men, but especially the Franciscan Friers. Petrus Hannus the Priors chiefe friend, willing to get the chief praise and thanks of this matter, by the helpe of maister Gunter did associate unto him certaine other rulers of the townes neere adioyning, whose names are here not to be hidden, because they so much affected praise and glory. The names of the presidents were these, Petrus Hannus, Peter Swines son, Henricke Londane, John Holneus, Laurence Hannemanns, Nicolas Willingbourgus, Ambrose and John Brenthusius, Marquardus Kremmerus, Henkedanus, Ludecus, Joannes Willingus, and Petrus Gyoldus, president of Hemingstate. All these presidents, and all other that were of counsell to this pretence, assembled together in the parish of the new church, in the house of M. Gunter; where also the chancellour was consulting together with them, how they might burne the said Henry secretly, coming upon him without any iudgement or sentence. They concluded, the next day after the conception of our Lady, to meet at Henning, which is five miles from Meldorph, with a great band of husbandmen. This determination thus made, they layed Scouts in every place, that there should no newes of their pretensed mischiefes come to Meldorph; commanding that as soone as it began to wax dark, they should all gather together. There assembled above five hundred men of the countrey, unto whom was declared the cause of their assembly, and also they were instructed what was to be done; for before no man knew the cause of the assembly, but onely the presidents. When the husbandmen understood it, they would have returned back againe, refusing such a detestable and horrible deed. The presidents with most bitter threats kept them in obedience; and to the intent they should be the more couragious, they gave them three Barrels of Hamborow Beere to drink.

The names of the conspirators and persecutors.

A drunken murder.

About midnight they came in armor to Meldorph. The Iacobines and Monks prepared torches for them, that Henry should not slip away suddenly in the dark. They had also with them a false betrayer, named Hennegus, by whose treason they had perfect knowledge of all things. With great violence they burst into the house of the parish priest, breaking and spoyling all things, as the manner of that drunken people is. If they found either gold or silver, they tooke it away. When they had spoiled all things, they violently fell upon the parish priest, and with great noise cried out, kill the theefe, kill the theefe. Some of them tooke him by the haire of the head, and pulled him out into the durt, forcing him to goe with them as prisoner: Othersome cried out, saying, that the parish priest was not to be medled withall, for they had no commission to take him. After they had satisfied their lust upon the parish priest, with great rage and fury they ran upon Henry, and drawing him naked out of his bed, bound his hands hard behinde him: whom, being so bound, they drew to and fro so long, that Peter Hannus, which otherwise was unmercifull and a cruell persecutor of the word of God, willed them that they should let him alone; for that without doubt he would follow of his owne minde. Then they

Hennegus the betrayer of the preacher.

The parish priest violently taken in his house by night.

Henry Sutphen taken and carried away of the murderers.

The death of Henry corrupted by the monks and friers.

committed the guiding of him to John Balco, who rather drew him by violence than led him. When he was brought to Hemmingsted, they asked of him how and for what intent he came to Diethmar. Unto whom he gently declared the whole cause of his coming: but they all in a rage cried out, Away with him, away with him; for if we heare him talke any longer, it is to be feared that he will make us also heretikes. Then he, being marvellous weary and faint, required to be set on horsback, for his feet were all cut and hurt with the ice, because he was led all night barefoot. When they heard him say so, they mocked and laughed at him, saying, Must we hire a horse for an heretike, he shall goe a foot whether he will or no? Because it was night they carried him naked to Heida. Afterward they brought him to a certaine mans house named Calden, and bound him there with chaines in the stocks. The master of the house seeing the cruell deed, taking compassion upon Henry, would not suffer it to be done. Wherefore he was carried away to a priests house, the officials servant of Hamburge, and shut up in a cupboord, and was kept by the rude people, which all the night mocked and scorned him. Amongst all other there came unto him, Simon in Altennord, and Christian parish priest of the new church, both alike ignorant and wicked persecutors of the word of God, demanding of him why he had forsaken his holy habit. Unto whom he friendly answered by the Scriptures; but those ignorant persons understood nothing what hee said. Master Gunterus also came unto him, inquiring whether he had rather to be sent to the bishop of Breme, or receive his punishment in Diethmar. Unto whom Henry answered, If I have preached any thing contrary to Gods word, or done any wicked act, it is in their hands to punish me therefore. Gunterus answered, Heark I pray you good friends, heark, he desireth to suffer in Diethmar. The common people all the night continued in immoderate drinking and swilling.

In the morning about eight of the clock, they gathered together in the market place to consult what they should do. Where the rusticall people boyling with drink cried out, Burne him, burne him, to the fire with the heretike. Without doubt, if we do it, we shall this day obtaine great glory and praise both of God and man; for the longer he liveth the more he will seduce with his heresie. What need many words? Sure he was to die; for they had condemned this good Henry without any iudgement (his cause not being heard) to be burned. At last they commanded the crier to proclaime, That every man, that was at the taking of him, should be ready in armour to bring him forth to the fire. Amongst all other the frier Franciscans were present, incouraging the drunken rude people, saying, Now you go the right way to worke. Then they bound the said Henry, hands, feet, and necke, and with great noise brought him forth to the fire. As he passed by, a certaine woman standing in her doore, beholding that pitifull sight, wept abundantly. Unto whom Henry turning himselfe, said, I pray you weep not for me. When he came to the fire, for very weaknesse he sate down upon the ground. By and by, there was present one of the presidents named Hay, which was evidently known to be corrupted and bribed with money to this purpose: he condemned the said Henry to be burned, pronouncing this sentence upon him.

Forasmuch as this theefe hath wickedly preached against the worship of our blessed Lady, by the commandement and sufferance of our reverend father in Christ, the bishop of Breme, and my Lord, I condemne him here to be burned and consumed with fire. Unto whom Henry answered, I have done no such thing, and, lifting up his hands towards the heaven, he said, O Lord forgive them, for they offend ignorantly, not knowing what they do: thy name, O almighty God, is holy.

In the meane time, a certaine woman, the wife of one Jungar, sister of Peter Hannus, offered her selfe to suffer a thousand stripes, and to give them much money, so that they would pacifie the matter, and keep him in prison, untill that he might plead his matter before the whole convocation of the countrey. When they heard these words, they waxed more mad, and threw the woman downe under feet, and trode upon her, and beat the said Henry unmercifully. One of the rusticall sort stroke him behind on the head with a sharp dagger. John Holmes of the new church strok him with a mace. Others some thrust him in the back, and in the arms. And this was not done once or twice, but as often as he began to speak. Master Gunter cried out, incouraging them, saying, Goe to boldly good fellowes, truly God is with us present.

After this, he brought a Franciscan Frier unto Henry, that he should be confessed. Whom Henry demanded in this manner; Brother, when have I done you injury, either by word or deed, or when did I ever provoke you to anger? never said the frier. What should I then confesse unto you, said he, that you think you might forgive me? the Frier, being moved at these words, departed. The fire, as often as it was kindled, would not burne. Notwithstanding they satisfied their minds upon him, striking and picking him with all kind of weapons. The said Henry standing in the meane time in his shirt before all this rude people, at the last they having gotten a great ladder, bound him hard thereunto, & cast him into the fire. And when he began to pray and to repeat his creed, one stroke him upon the face with his fist, saying, thou shalt first be burnt, and afterward pray and prate as much as thou wilt. Then another treading upon his breast bound his neck so hard to step of the ladder, that the blood gushed out of his mouth and nose. This was done to strangle him withall; for they saw that for all his sore wounds he would not die.

After he was bound to the ladder, he was set upright. Then one, running unto him, set his halbert for the ladder to lean against (for those countrimen use no common hangman, but every man exerciseth the office without difference) but the ladder, slipping away from the point of the halberd, caused that the halberd stroke him through the body. Then they cast this good man with ladder and all upon the wood, which tumbling downe light upon the one side. Then John Holmes ran unto him, and strok him with a mace upon the breast, till he was dead and stirred no more. Afterward they rosted him upon the coales; for the wood, as often as it was set on fire, would not burne out. And thus this godly preacher finished his martyrdome, which was an. 1524. Ex Epist. Mar. Lut.

About the same time, many other godly persons, and such as feared God, for the testimony of the Gospell were thrown into the river of Rhene, and into other rivers, where their bodies afterward were found, and taken up. Also in the said towne of Diethmar, another faithfull saint of God, named John, suffered the like martyrdome. Thus these two blessed and constant martyrs, as two shining lights set up of God, in testimony of his truth offered up the sacrifice of their confession sealed with their blood, in a sweet savour unto God.

At the town of Hala likewise, another preacher named M. George, for ministring in both kindes, was martyred and slain of a like sort of cut-throats set up by the monkes and friers to murder him, nere to the town called Halschemburge. Ex Crisp. & Pantal.

At Prague also in Bohemia another, for changing his monkery into matrimony, did suffer in like manner. Ex Lud. Rab.

Further-

Henry brought to Hemmingsted.

The cruell handling of Gods martyr.

A drunken consultation. Crucifige, Crucifige.

The bloudy brood of friers help forward. Henry brought forth to the fire

A false sentence of a corrupt iudge.

The tend compassion a godly wo

The tyran and fury of people ag this blessed martyr.

Where the fence is no done to ma confession man there deth not.

The fire would not kindle.

The mart dome of M Sutphen.

Ex Ep. Ma Luth.

Divers mar tyrs secretly drowned in rivers. John of Die mar martyr.

M. George o Hala preache in Saxonie, martyr.

The town of Wtenberge.

Furthermore in the same yære of our Lord above mentioned, 1524. and the two and twentieth of October, the towne of Wiltenberge in Germany was taken and ransackt, and divers of the inhabitants there slaine, and many imprisoned for maintaining and keeping with them Carolostadius to bee their Preacher: Ex Rab. & Pantal.

Casper Tamber George a scrivener of Vienna, martyr.

In the same catalogue of holy martyrs likewise is to be placed Casper Tamber. Also another called Georgius, a Scribener, which both were burned at Vienna in Austria.

The lamentable martyrdome of Iohn Clerke of Melden in France.

Iohn Clerke of Melden, martyr.

MElden is a city in France, ten miles distant from Paris, where Iohn Clerke was first apprehended and taken, An. 1523. for setting up upon the Church doore a certaine bill against the Popes pardons lately sent thither from Rome, in which bill he named the pope to be Antichrist. For the which his punishment was this, that three severall dayes he should be whipped, and afterward have a marke imprinted in his forehead, as a note of infamie. His mother being a Christian Woman, although her husband was an adversary, when she beheld her sonne thus piteously scourged and ignominiously deformed in the face, constantly and boldly did incourage her sonne, crying with a loud voice, Blessed be Christ, and welcome be these prints and marks.

Iohn Clerke whipped for calling the Pope Antichrist.

Iohn Clerke marked in the forehead.

After this execution and punishment sustained, the said Iohn departed that town, and went to Rosie in Bry, and from thence removed to Metz in Lotharing, where he remained a certaine space, applying his vocation, being a Woolcarder by his occupation. Whereas he, the day before that the people of that city should go out to the suburbs to worship certaine blinde idols nære by (after an old use and custome amongst them received) being inflamed with the zeale of God, went out of the city to the place where the Images were, and brast them all downe in peces. The next morrow after, when the canons, priests, and monks, keeping their old custome, had brought with them the people out of the city, to the place of idolatry, to worship as they were wont, they found all their blocks and stocks almighty lie broken upon the ground. At the sight wherof they being mightily offended in their minds, set all the city on a gog, to search out the author therof, who was not hard to be found; forsomuch as this foresaid Clerk, besides that he was noted of them to be a man much addicted that way, he was also seene somewhat late in the evening before to come from the same place into the city. Wherefore he being suspected, and examined upon the same, at first confessed the fact, rendring also the cause which moved him so to do. The people hearing this, and being not yet acquainted with ỹ kind of doctrine, were moved marvellously against him, crying out upon him in a great rage. Thus his cause being informed to the iudges, wherein he defended the pure doctrine of the sonne of God, he was condemned, and led to the place of execution, where he sustained extreme torments. For first his hand was cut off from his right arme, then his nose with sharp pinsons was violently pluckt from his face; after that both his armes, and his paps were likewise pluckt and drawn with the same instrument. To all them that stod looking on, it was an horror to behold the grievous and dolefull sight of his paines: againe to behold his patience, or rather the grace of God giving him the gift to suffer, it was a wonder. Thus quietly and constantly he indured in his torments, pronouncing, or in a manner singing the verses of the hundred and fiftæn Psalme; Simulacra eorum sunt argentum & aurum, &c. Their images be silver and gold, the work onely of mans hand, &c. The residue of his life, that remained in his rent body, was committed to the fire, and therwith consumed; which was about the yære of our Lord, 1524. Ex Pantal. & Crisp.

Iohn Clerke burnen for casting down images.

The grievous torments of Iohn Clerke.

The constancy of this blessed martyr.

Iohn Castellane.

THe yære next ensuing, which was 1525. master Iohn Castellane borne at Tourney, a doctor of Divinity, after that he was called to the knowledg of God, and became a true preacher of his word, and had preached in France, in a place called Barleduc, also at Uittery in Partoise, at Chalon in Champaine, and in the town of Uike, which is the Chamber and episcopall seat of the bishop of Metz in Lozaine, after he had layed some foundation of the doctrine of the Gospell in the town of Metz, in returning from thence he was taken prisoner by ỹ cardinall of Lozaines servants, by whom he was carried from Gozze to the castle of Nommenie; whereupon the citizens of Metz toke no little displeasure and grievance; who being grievously offended to have their preacher so to be apprehended and imprisoned, within short space after toke certaine of the Cardinals subiects, and kept them prisoners so long, untill the Abbat of S. Anthonies in Viennois, called Theodore de Chaumont, Vicar generall, aswell in causes spirituall as temporall, through the iurisdiction both of the cardinall, and bishopricke of Metz, Toulouse and Verdune, being furnished with an officer and commission from the sæ of Rome, came to the said towne of Metz; and after divers declarations made to the Prevost, and the other Justices and counsellers of the city, he so wrought and brought to passe, that immediatly the said subiects of the cardinall were set at liberty: but Iohn Castellane was kept still prisoner in the castle of Nommenie, and was most cruelly handled from the time of the fourth day of May, untill the twelfth day of January: during all which he persevered constant in the doctrine of the sonne of God. Whereupon he was carried from Nommenie to the towne and castle of Uike, alwaies persevering constantly in the profession of the same doctrine; so that they did proceed unto the sentence of his degradation, that he might be delivered over unto the secular power, according to the custome and manner. And forsomuch as the forme and manner of the sentence and proceste of degrading is notable, and hath bên reported unto us word for word, we have thought good here to annex the same, to declare the horrible blasphemies layned with grosse and brutish subtilty, in those high mysteries which the enemies of the truth do use in their proceste against the children of God; whereby every man, even the most ignorant, may evidently perceive the horrible blindnesse that these unhamefast catholikes are blinded withall.

Iohn Castellane Doctor, and martyr.

D. Castellane carried to the castle of Nommenie.

The zealous affection of the citizens of Metz toward their preacher.

Whosoever escape, the Christians are sure to suffer.

Doctor Castellane constant in his doctrine.

The sentence of the degradation.

The sentence of his degradation. Ex actis episcopalibus.

COncerning the proceste inquisitorie, formed and given in forme of an accusation against thee Iohn Castellane Priest, and religious man of the Friers Eremites of the Order of Saint Austine; understanding likewise thy confession which thou hast made of thine owne good will, maintainnig false and erroneous doctrine; and marking also besides this the godly admonitions, and charitable exhortations which wee made unto thee in the towne of Metz, which thou like unto the serpent Aspis hast refused and given no eare unto: also considering thine answers made and reiterate unto interrogatories, by meanes of thine oath, in the which divellishly thou hast

hast hidden and kept backe not onely the truth, but also, following the example of Cain, hast denied to confesse thy sinnes and mischievous offence: and finally, hearing the great number of witnesses sworne and examined against thee, their persons and depositions diligently considered, and all other things worthy of consideration being justly examined, the reverend Master Nicolas Savin Doctor of Divinity, and inquisitour of the faith, assistant unto us, hath entered processe against thee, and given full information thereof; this our purpose and intent being also communicate unto divers Masters and Doctors both of the Civill and Canon Lawes here present, which have subscribed and signed thereunto, whereby it appeareth, that thou Iohn Castellane hast oftentimes and in diverse places openly and manifestly spread abroad and taught many erroneous propositions, full of the heresie of Luther, contrary and against the catholike faith, and the verity of the Gospell, and the holy Apostolike See, and so accursedly looked back and turned thy face, that thou art found to be a liar before almighty God. It is ordained by the sacred rules of the Canon Law, that such as through the sharpe darts of their venemous tongue do pervert the Scriptures, and go about with all their power to corrupt and infect the soules of the faithfull, should be punished and corrected with most sharpe correction, to the end that others should be afraid to attempt the like, and apply themselves the better to the study of Christian concord, through the example set before their eyes, as well of severity, as of clemency. For these causes and others rising upon the said processe, by the Apostolike authority, and also the authority of our said reverend Lord the Cardinall, which we do use in this our sentence definitive, which we sitting in our judgement seat, declare in these writings, having God onely before our eyes, and surely considering that what measure we doe mete unto other, the same shall be measured unto us againe: we pronounce and declare sententially and definitively thee Iohn Castellane, being here present before us, and judge thee, because of thy deserts, to be excommunicate with the most great excommunication, and therewithall to be culpable of treason against the divine Majesty, and a mortall enemy of the catholike faith, and verity of the Gospell; also to be a manifest heretike, and a follower and partaker of the execrable * cruelty of Martin Luther, a stirrer up of old heresies already condemned: and therefore as thou oughtest to be deposed and deprived of all priestly honour and dignity, of all thy orders, of thy shaving and religious habite, also of thy ecclesiasticall benefices, if thou hast any, and from all priviledge of the Clergy: so we here presently doe depose, deprive, and separate thee, as a rotten member, from the communion and company of all the faithfull: and being so deprived, we judge that thou oughtest to be actually degraded: that done, we leave thee unto the secular powers, committing the degradation and actuall execution of this our sentence unto the reverend Lord and Bishop here present, with the authority and commandement aforesaid.

Truly you say, for your measure is death definitive, and therefore looke you for the same measure against Gods hand.

**If Luther be to be noted of cruelty, which teacheth all men, & killeth no man, what then is to bee noted in the pope, which killeth all Gods children and teacheth none?*

This sentence being thus ended, with their catholike Sermon also, the said bishop of Nicopolis sitting in his Pontificalibus in the iudgement seat, being Suffragan of Metz, with the Clergie, Nobles and people about him, proceeded to the degrading (as they call it) of the said Master Iohn Castellan. Thus the said Master Iohn Castellan, being prepared and made ready to his degradation by the officers of the said bishop, was apparelled in his priestly attire, and afterward brought forth of the chappell by the priests, which were thereunto appointed, with all his priestly ornaments upon him, and holding his hands together, he kneeled downe before the Bishop. Then the officers gave him the Chalice in his hands, with wine and water, the patine, and the host; all which things the said bishop which degraded him, tooke from him, saying: We take away from thee, or command to be taken from thee, all power to offer sacrifice unto God, and to say masse, as well for the quick as the dead. *D. Castellane degraded.*

Moreover the bishop scraped the nailes of both his hands with a peece of glasse, saying, By this scraping we take away from thee all power to sacrifice, to consecrate, and to blesse, which thou hast received by the annointing of thy hands. Then he tooke away from him the Chesil, saying: By good right we do dispoile thee of this priestly ornament, which signifieth charity: for certainly thou hast forsaken the same, and all innocency. Then taking away the stole, he said: Thou hast villanously reiected and despised the signe of our Lord, which is represented by this stole: therefore we take it away from thee, and make thee unable to exercise and use the office of priesthood, and all other things appertaining to priesthood. The degradation of the order of priesthood being thus ended, they proceeded to the order of deacon. Then the ministers gave him the booke of the Gospels, which the bishop took away, saying: We take away from thee all power to read the Gospels in the church of God, for it appertaineth onely to such as are worthy. After this he spoiled him of the Dalmatike, which is the vesture that the deacons use, saying: We depriue thee of this Leviticall order; forsomuch as thou hast not fulfilled thy ministery and office. After this, the bishop tooke away the stole from behinde his backe, saying: We iustly take away from thee the white stole which thou haddest received undefiledly, which also thou oughtest to have borne in the presence of our Lord: and to the end that the people dedicate unto the name of Christ, may take by thee example, we prohibit thee any more to exercise or use the office of Deaconship. Then they proceeded to the degrading of subdeaconship, and taking away from him the booke of the Epistles, and his subdeacons vesture, deposed him from reading of the Epistles in the Church of God: and so orderly proceeding unto all the other orders, degraded him from the order of Benet and Collet, from the order of Exorcist, from the lectorship, and last of all, from the office of doorekeeper, taking from him the keyes, and commanding him hereafter not to open or shut the Revestry, nor to ring any more bels in the Church. That done, the bishop went forward to degrade him from his first shaving, and taking away his surplice, said unto him: by the authority of God almighty, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, and by our authority, we take away from thee all clerkly habite, and despoile thee of all ornament of Religion: Also we doe depose and degrade thee of all order, benefit, and priviledge of the Clergy, and as one unworthy of that profession, we commit thee to the servitude and ignominie of the secular estate. Then the bishop took the sheres and began to clip his head, saying in this manner: We cast thee out as an unthankfull child of the Lords heritage, whereunto thou wast called, and take away from thy head the crowne, which is the royall signe of priesthood, through thine own wickednesse and malice. The bishop also added these words: that which thou hast sung with thy mouth, thou hast not beleeved with thy heart, nor accomplished in worke, wherefore we take from thee the office of singing in the Church of God.

Priests annointed fingers. *The Chesil.* *The stole.* *The Gospell book.* *The Dalmatike.* *The stole behind his back.* *The Epistle book.* *Bennet and Collet. Exorcist. Lectorship. Doore keepers. The Church doore keye. Ringing of bels. The surplis.* *The popes clergy accounteth the secular estate ignominious and servile.* *The royall signe of priesthood.* *Singing in Church.*

The degrading thus ended, the Procurator Fiscall of the court and city of Metz required of ỹ Notary an instrument or copy of the degrading: then the ministers of the bishop turned him out of his clerkly habit, and put upon him the apparell of a secular man. That done, forasmuch as he which is degraded,

degraded, according to the institution of Pope Innocent the third, ought to bee deliuered vnto the secular court, the bishop that degraded him proceeded no further, but said in this manner: We pronounce that the secular court shall receiue thee into their charge, being thus degraded of all clerkly honour and priuiledge.

This done the Bishop, after a certaine manner, intreated the secular Judge for him, saying, My Lord Judge, we pray you as heartily as wee can, for the loue of God, and the contemplation of tender pittie and mercie, and for the respect of our prayers, that you will not in any point doe any thing that shall be hurtfull vnto this miserable man, or tending to his death, or maiming of his bodie. These things thus done, the secular Judge of the towne of Vike, confirming the foresaid sentence,

The burning of Iohn Castellane.

condemned the foresaid Master John Castellane to bee burned quicke: which death hee suffered the twelfth day of Januarie, 1525. with such a constancie, that not onely a great companie of ignorant people were thereby drawne to the knowledge of the veritie, but also a great number, which had already some taste thereof, were greatly confirmed by that his constant and valiant death.

Ioannes Diazius a Spaniard Martyr, killed of his owne brother at Neoberge in Germanie, Anno, 1546.

OF this John Diazius the full processe and historie is set forth in Latine, wherein the whole circumstance is debated at large, whereof the briefe summe is this. John Diazius a Spaniard borne, first being at Paris thirteene yeares, from thence returned to Genua, then to Basil, and after to Strausburgh: from whence he was sent Embassadour with Bucer and other to the Councell of Ratisbone; where hee talking with Peter Maluenda his countrey-man, the Popes factour, so declared his Religion vnto him, that Maluenda wrote to the Frier, which was the Emperours confessour, touching the said John Diazius: at the opening and reading of which letters one Marquina another Spaniard was present. Upon this it followed, whether by this Confessour or by Marquina, that Alphonsus Diazius, brother to John Diazius, which was one of the Popes lawyers in Rome, had knowledge given him of his brother John.

When the communication of Ratisbone was dissolued and broken up, John Diazius from Ratisbone went to the citie of Neoberge, within the dominion of Otto Henry Palatine, about the expedition of Bucers booke there to bee printed. As John Diazius was there occupied, it was not long but Alphonsus his brother was come from Rome to Ratisbone, where Maluenda was: bringing with him a pestilent cut throat, a notorious ruffian or homicide, belonging to the citie of Rome. Maluenda and Alphonsus, consulting together about the dispatch of their diuelish purpose, first laboured to hunt out by the friends of Diazius, where Diazius was; whereof Alphonsus and the homicide hauing knowledge by certaine of his secret friendes, pretending great matters of importance, came to Neoberge, where Diazius was printing of Bucers Booke: where after long debating of matters of Religion betweene the two brethren, Alphonsus seeing the heart of his brother John to be so constantly planted on the sure rocke of Gods truth, that by no wise hee could either bee removed from his opinion, or persuaded to ride in his companie (being otherwise counselled by Bucer and his friends) fained himselfe friendly to take his leaue of his brother and to depart: But shortly after, secretly with his ruffianly murtherer hee returned againe, and by the way they bought a certaine hatchet of a Carpenter.

This done, Alphonsus sendeth his man being disguised with letters vnto his brother, hee himselfe following after. As John Diazius in the morning was risen out of his bed to read the Letters, the wretched Hangman with his Hatchet clouen his head vnto the braines, leauing the Hatchet in his head; and so hee with Alphonsus tooke them to their horse, which stood without the Citie Gate, with as much speede as they might. They of Neoberge, hearing of the horrible act, sent out certaine horsemen, making great iourneys after them. Who comming to Augusta, and hearing the murtherers to bee passed before, were out of hope to ouertake them, and so returned. One in the companie, more zealous than the rest, would not returne, but pursued them still, and in the citie of Denipont caused them to bee stayed, and put in prison. Otto Palatine, hearing of their taking, writeth to the Magistrates of Denipont for Judgement. Which Magistrates at first seemed verie willing thereunto: But in conclusion, through the practise of Papists, and craftie Layers, the sentence judiciall was so delayed from day to day, then from houre to houre, that the Emperours Letters came in post-haste, requiring the matter to bee stayed, and reserued to his hearing. And thus the terrible murther of Caine and his fellow was bolstered out by the Papists. The like whereof from the memorie of men was neuer heard of, since the first example of Caine, which for Religion slew his own brother Abel. But although *true* Judgement in this World be perverted, yet such bloudie Cains, with their wilfull murder, shall not escape the hands of him, who shall judge truly both the committers, and the bolsterers also of all mischieuous wickednesse.

Ex Claud. Senac.

The Emperours Confessor.

Alphonsus Diazius came from Rome to kill his brother.

John Diazius slaine by his owne brother.

God will haue murther known.

Cain still killeth Abel.

Anno, 1546, Charles the Emperour held and

armed councell at Angulta after his victorie gotten in Germanie. Where Iulius Pflug, Michael Sidonius, and Iohn Iſlebius, going about to conioyd together the Goſpell of Chriſt with the traditions of the Pope, that is, to make a hodge potch of them both, drew and framed out a new forme of Religion called Interim. Whereupon beganne a new matter of perſecution in Germanie. For the Emperour proceeded ſtraitly againſt them which would not receiue his Interim, intending thereby to haue wrought ſome great matterie againſt the Goſpellers, but the Lord diſappointed his purpoſe.

Interim.

The aſſaults of the Spaniards againſt the citie of Conſtance.

Among them which withſtood this Spaniſh Interim, beſides other, were alſo the Citizens of Conſtantia. For the which three thouſand Spaniards priuily by night came againſt the Towne of Conſtance, where they killed three of the Watchmen of the Towne, which watching in the Suburbs went forth to view the noyſe which they heard in the Woods. The deuice of the Spaniards was, in the morning when the Citizens were at the Sermon, ſuddenly to ſet vpon the Citie and take it; ſo, no doubt, intending to haue gone further. But as the Lord would, ſomething beganne to bee ſuſpected in the night by the watchmen in the Suburbs on the other ſide the Water, whereby the Councell and Citiſens had intelligence to bee in readineſſe. When the morning came, the Spaniards were readie at the Gate to breake into the Citie. But being driuen from thence, and their Captaine Alphonſus ſlaine, they went to the bridge which goeth ouer the Rhene. But being beaten alſo from thence with Shot and great Peeces from the Walles, and a great number of them drowned in the River, the Spaniards breaking down the hinder part of the bridge becauſe the Citiſens ſhould not purſue them, they recoyled backe into the ſuburbs, and burned them with the dead bodies alſo that were ſlaine, ſo that the number of the Spaniards that there were killed could not bee knowne: Onely an hundred of honeſt Citiſens of Conſtance were miſſing. Ex Ioan. Sleid. Lib. 21.

At the ſame time many godly Miniſters of the Churches in Germanie were in great danger, eſpecially ſuch as refuſed to receiue the Interim: of whom ſome were caſt into priſon. In which number of priſoners was Martin Frectius, Superintendent of Ulmes, with foure other Preachers moe: alſo his brother George, for comming but to his houſe to comfort him. For the which cauſe Muſculus the ſame time, with other Preachers moe, went from Ausburge, Brentius from Hala, Blaurerus from Conſtance, Bucer from Strausburgh.

It would finde another Volume to comprehend the Acts and Stories of all them, which in other Countries, at the riſing of the Goſpell, ſuffered for the ſame. But praiſed be the Lord, euery region almoſt hath his owne Hiſtorie Writer, which ſufficiently hath diſcharged that part of dutie, as euery one in matters of his owne countrey is beſt acquainted: wherefore I ſhall the leſſe need to ouerſtraine my trauell, or to ouercharge this volume therewith. Onely it ſhall ſuffice mee to collect three or foure Hiſtories, recorded by Oecolampadius and the reſt, to bring into a briefe table, and ſo returning to occupie my ſelfe with our owne domeſticall matters, here done at home.

The Hiſtorie of a good Paſtor, murthered for the preaching of the Goſpell: written by Iohn Oecolampadius.

A good prieſt murthered for euill, will.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1525. there was a certaine good and godly miniſter, who had committed ſomething in the commotion there raiſed by the ruſticall clownes of the countrey, which, they ſaid that knew him, was but of ſmall importance. He becauſe he had offended his prince before, not with any fact or crime, but with ſome word ſomthing harply ſpoken, was therefore condemned to be hanged.

After ſentence was giuen, there was a Gentleman of a cruell heart ſent with a certaine troupe of men to apprehend the ſaid prieſt, and to hang him. Who, comming into his houſe, ſaluted him friendly, pretending as though their comming had bene to make good cheere: for he was a good houſkeeper, and the Gentlemen of the countrey thereabouts vſed oftentimes to reſort vnto his houſe familiarly. This prieſt made readie for them in ſhort ſpace a very ſumptuous banquet, whereof they did eat and drinke very cheerefully. After dinner was ended, and that the prieſt was yet at the table thinking no hurt, the Gentleman ſaid to his ſeruants, take you this prieſt our hoſt and hang him, and that without delay; for he hath well deſerued to be hanged for the great offence he hath committed againſt his Prince. The ſeruants were maruellouſly aſtonied with his words, and, abhorring to doe the deed, ſaid vnto their Maiſter, God forbid that wee ſhould commit any ſuch crime, to hang a man that hath intreated vs ſo gently: for the meat, which he hath giuen vs, is yet in our ſtomackes vndigeſted. It were a wicked act for a nobleman to render ſo great an euill for a good turne; but eſpecially to murder an innocent. Briefely, the ſeruants ſought no other occaſion, but onely to giue him way to flie, that they might alſo auoid the execution of that wicked purpoſe.

Vngentlenes in a gentleman.

As the Gentleman and his ſeruants were thus contending, the prieſt ſaid vnto them, I beſeech you ſhew no ſuch crueltie vpon mee, rather lead mee away captiue vnto my Prince, where I may purge my ſelfe. I am falſely accuſed, and I truſt to pacifie his anger which he hath conceiued againſt mee. At leaſt remember the hoſpitality which I haue euer ſhewed to you, and all Noblemen at all times reſorting to my houſe. But principally ſpeaking to the Gentleman, hee aduertiſed him of the perpetuall fling which would follow vpon an euill conſcience: proteſting that hee had faithfully and truely taught them the doctrine of the Goſpell, and that it was the principall cauſe why hee had ſuch euill will: which long time before he had foreſeene would come to paſſe, forſomuch as hee had oftentimes in the pulpit reproued charply and openly the horrible vices of the Gentlemen, which maintained their people in their vicious liuing, and they themſelues were giuen vnto blaſphemie and drunkennelle, whereas they ſhould ſhew example of faith, true religion, and ſobernelle, but they had oftentimes reſiſted him, ſaying, that it was not his part to reproue them, forſomuch as they were his Lords, and might put him to death if they would: that all things which they did were allowable, and that no man ought to gainſay it: alſo that hee went about ſome things in his ſermons, that would come to an euill end.

Many things may be preached, but religion is euer the cauſe why good men goeth wrack.

This good man, whatſoeuer he could ſay, could not make his matter ſeeme good; for the gentleman continued in his wicked enterpriſe, and picked forth his ſeruants ſtill to accompliſh their purpoſe: for it was reſolued by the prince, that he ſhould be put to death, and turning himſelfe vnto the prieſt he ſayd, that hee could gaine nothing by preaching in ſuch ſort, but that he ſhould fully determine himſelfe to die, for the prince had giuen expreſſe commandement to hang him, whoſe fauour he would not loſe to ſaue his life.

Kindneſſe vnkindly rewarded with vnkindneſſe.

At the laſt the ſeruants, after great ſorrow and lamentation, bound their hoſt, and hanged him vpon a beame in his owne houſe, the Gentleman ſtanding by and looking vpon.

This

This good man, seeing no remedie, spake none other words but onely, Jesus haue mercie vpon mee: Jesus saue mee. This is the truth of this most cruell act, which a Turke would scarcely haue committed against his mortall enemie. Now let euery man iudge with himselfe, which of them haue the greatest aduantage, either they which commit the cruelties against the good, or the good men which doe suffer the same vnfully. The first sort haue a continuall gnawing in their conscience, and the other obtaine an immortall crowne.

The like historie of the death of a certaine Minister named M. Pet. Spengler, which was drowned in the yeare of our Lord 1525. collected by Oecolampadius.

*A description of a good minister & Curate.

IN a certaine village, named Schlat, in the countrie of Bizigois, there was a vigilant minister, a man very well learned in the Scriptures, of a good name, for that he liued a godly and a blamelesse life, hauing long time faithfully done his office and duetie, being also courteous and gentle, and well beloued of men, but especially of the Bishop of Constance, with whom hee was in great authoritie, peaceable and quiet with all men that hee had to doe withall. He quieted discords and contentions with a maruellous prudencie, exhorting all men to mutuall charitie and loue. In all assemblies whereseuer he came, he greatly commended honest life and amendment of manners. When the puritie of the Gospell began to shine abroad, hee began to reade with great affection the holy Scriptures, which long time before hee had read, but without any vnderstanding. When he had recouered a little iudgement, and came to more vnderstanding by continuall reading, being also further growne in age, he began to consider with himselfe, in how great darknesse and errours the whole order of priests had beene a long time drowned. O good God, said hee, who would haue thought it, that so many learned and holy men haue wandred out of the right way, and could haue so long time beene wrapped in so great errours, or that the holy Scripture could haue beene so deformed with such horrible abuses: for hee neuer well vnderstood before, hee said, that the Gospell was the veritie of God, in that order, wherein it is written, seeing it containeth so much touching the crosse, persecution, and ignominious death; and yet the priests liued in great prosperitie and no man durst maintaine any quarrell against them without great danger. Hee also saw that the houre was come that the Gospell should bee displated, that persecution was at hand, that the enemies of the truth began now to rage, that the wicked and proud lifted vp their heads on high, and feared not to enterprise and take in hand all kinde of mischiefe and wickednesse against the faithfull, that the Bishops, which ought by their vertue and power to defend the Word, were more barbarous and cruell than any tyrants had beene before. Hee, thus considering the present estate of the world, put all doubt from his heart, and saw presently before his eyes, that Jesus Christ had taught the truth, seeing so many bodies of the faithfull were daily so tormented, beaten, exiled, banished, drowned, and burned. For who can report the great torments, which the innocent haue indured these yeares passed, euen by those which call themselues Christians, and for no other cause, but onely for the true confession of Jesus Christ? This good Pastour considering with himselfe the Lawes and Doctrine of the Church of Rome to swarue from the truth of Christ, especially in restraining marriage: to the end that hee would not defile himselfe with fornication, hee married a maid of his, such a one as feared God, by whom afterward hee had many faire children.

*The crosse discreth between the Christians & counterfeit. & that seeketh to me godly in Christ shall suffer persecution. 2. Tim. 3.

About this time the people of the countrey had raised a great commotion, who in their rage went vnto monasteries, and Priests houses, as if they had taken in hand some Pilgrimage, and spared nothing that they could find to eat. That which they could not eat, they either cast vnder feet, or carried it away with them. One companie of this rusticall sort lodged themselues in the house of this good priest: for they made no difference betweene the good and the bad. These roysters tooke from him all that they could finde, leauing nothing behinde them, insomuch as they tooke away the very hose from his legges, for all that he could doe: albeit that hee gently intreated them, shewing that it was theft and a hanging matter that they did, yet they continued still in their madnesse like beasts.

*A commotion of the Boores.

As they were departing out of the house, the good priest could not refraine himselfe from weeping, saying vnto them, I tell you before, these your vnordinate doings will redound to some great mischiefe to your selues. For what madnesse is this, what meaneth this rage and tumult, wherein you keepe no order or equitie; neither haue any respect betweene friend and foe? who thus stirreth you vp? what counsell doe you follow, or to what end doe you this? Like thieues you spoile whatsoeuer you can lay hands vpon. And thinke you not but these things which you now rob, rauen, and steale, you shall bee compelled hereafter to restore againe to your great detriment. What sedition did euer come to good end? You pretend the Gospell, and haue no peace of the Gospell, either in your mouthes, or in your hearts. These excelles, said he, yee neuer learned of me, who euer haue taught you the true word of God. This your Gospell, saith he, is rather the Gospell of the diuell than of God; which vexeth all the World with violence and wrong, spoyling and robbing without regard. The true Gospell of Jesus Christ teacheth you to doe good vnto all men, to auoid dissentions and perjurie. This I say vnto you, that in these your doings you offend God, and prouoke his iust vengeance to plague you, which will neuer suffer these euills to escape vnpunished. You finde written in the Gospell, That which thou wouldest not should bee done to thee, doe not to other. You offend also all the nobilitie, and your lawfull magistrates, whom you are sworne and bound vnto. It is no small matter, I tell you, to raise vp sedition, to stirre vp other, and to disturbe the state of the common wealth: and when this tumult shall be ceased, what then shall your Noblemen doe? Shall they not rifle you as fast, and of your goods make themselues rich, and then shall one of you betray another. These with such other words hee stood preaching vnto them almost naked; but all this would not preuaile with those men, who, after all these gentle admonitions and faire words, departed out of his house giuing him foule language, and calling him old dotard. Amongst all other, one more wicked than the residue said vnto him in this manner; O maister Curat, wee haue been long deceiued by your selling of masses, by fearing vs with purgatorie, by your dirges and trentals, and so haue wee beene spoyled: wherefore we doe nothing now, but require againe the money which you robbed vs of, and so mocking and scorning him they departed.

*Cruelty and sedition neuer commeth to good end.

*The Gospell teacheth no rebellion.

After that this sedition of the peasants was partly appeased, their armour being laid away, and they taken vnto grace; after that also diuers of the principals of that conspiracy were taken here and there in the villages, and executed; this good pastor fearing no such thing, for the true and sincere preaching of the Gospell whereat many tooke great indignation, was taken in the night by certaine souldiers, which bound him hand and foote with a great

rope before his wife and children, and so set him vpon a horse, and led him away to Friburge. What grieuous sighes, teares, sorrow, and lamentation was there? It would haue moued any heart (were it as hard as flint) to a dolefull compassion, especially to see the barbarous and despitefull rebukes, tauntes, and extreame crueltie shewed by these proud popish souldiers against the innocent priest. Such beastly tyrants the World is neuer without. Such godly ministers wee haue had but a few.

Cruelty without cause.

The people, hearing this pitifull noise and lamentation in the night, came running out, not the men but onely the women; whom the souldiers willed to goe home againe, and that their men should come forth and keepe the towne, but their men durst not appeare. Then from Friburge shortly after they conueyed him to Enssisheim.

After they had long kept this man in prison, and that hee had endured most terrible torments, as well by the priuie members, as in other parts, they iudged him to death. If you will know the cause what they had to lay to his charge, it was onely this, That hee had married a wife secretly in his owne house, with a few witnesses. Other crimes they had none to obiect against him, neither that hee was a seditious and wicked man, nor that hee had committed any other offence, albeit they had gathered diuers wicked persons out of sundrie places, to picke out of his Sermons the order and manner of his behauiour. When hee was led vnto the place of execution, he answered gently and quietly vnto all men that came to comfort him. But there were diuers Monkes and Priests, which troubled him very sore with their foolish babling, as hee was striuing in his spirit against the horrour of death, and making his prayer vnto almighty God, seeking nothing else but to turne him away from his heartie and earnest contemplation. But hee desired them that they would hold their peace, saying, that hee had already confessed his sinnes vnto the Lord Iesus, nothing at all doubting but that hee had receiued absolution and forgiuenesse of them all. And I, said hee, shall be an acceptable sacrifice vnto my Sauiour Iesus Christ, for I haue done no such thing wherefore I am now condemned, which might displease my Lord God, who in this behalfe hath giuen me a good and quiet conscience. Now therefore let them which thirst for innocent bloud, and shed the same, diligently aduise themselues what they doe, and know that they offend euen him vnto whom it pertaineth truly to iudge the hearts of men; for it is said, Vengeance is mine and I will punish. And forsomuch as hee was a very leane man, hee added this moreouer, saying: it is all one, for shortly I must haue forsaken this skinne which already scarcely hangeth to my bones; I know well that I am a mortall and a corruptible worme, and haue nothing in me but corruption. I haue long time desired my later day, and haue made my request that I might be deliuered out of this mortall bodie, to bee ioyned with my Sauiour Iesus Christ.

Rom. 12.

I haue deserued, through my manifold sinnes committed against my Sauiour Christ, my crosse, and my Sauiour Christ hath borne the crosse, and hath died vpon the crosse; and for my part, I will not glorie in any other thing; but only in the crosse of Iesus Christ.

This blessed martyr drowned.

There were present by certaine naughtie persons which could not indure to heare this godly exhortation, but made a signe vnto the hangman to cast him downe into the riuer. After hee was thrown downe, hee mooued by a certaine space in the water, in such sort that the riuer, whereinto he was cast, was red with bloud. This was a certaine signe and token that innocent bloud was that day shed. They which were there present, beholding that which had happened, were greatly amazed and astonied, considering with themselues what the staining of the water with the bloud should signifie. Euery man returned home pensiue and sad, marueling at the cruell deed that was done that day: notwithstanding no man durst open his mouth to speak one word, because that all things were exercised with such crueltie. This was done in the towne of Enssisheim, An. 1525.

The water miraculously coloured with bloud where he was drowned.

These things I did vnderstand by one which did behold them with his eyes. The Lord of his great grace be mercifull vnto vs, and forgiue vs our sins, Ex Oecolamp.

Such was the wickednesse then of those dayes, and yet is still, that whosoeuer was perceiued to fauour the Gospell, or any thing to dislike the doctrine of the Popes church, he was hated and despited of the Rulers, Lawyers, and all other papists through the whole countrey about, but especially of Priests, Monkes, and Friers. And though the life of the Gospellers were neuer so sound and vpright, yet such was the hatred and malice of the Popes friends against them, that they neuer ceased to seeke all occasions, and deuise matters how to bring them to death.

It so happened a little before this present time, that there was a commotion of the rude and rusticall people of the countrey rising in armour inordinately against their rulers, to the great disturbance of the whole countrey of Germanie, and no lesse to their owne destruction; of whom were slain aboue twentie thousand. At length when this rebellion was appeased, and all things quiet, such as were the popes friends, to worke their malice against the Gospell, tooke occasion thereby not long after to accuse and intangle such as they knew to be Gospellers and protestants. And although the said Gospellers were neuer so inculpable and cleere from all rebellion, yet that sufficed not, for causes were made, false witnesse brought, corrupt Iudges suborned to condemne the innocent, and many were put to death, their cause being neither hard nor knowne. By reason whereof a great number of good and innocent Christians were miserably brought to their end and martyrdome. In the number of whom was this poore man also, whose story by Oecolamp. is thus described.

Another historie of a certaine man of the countrey wrongfully put to death, collected by the said Iohn Oecolampadius.

There was, saith he, a certaine man of the countrey, which in my iudgement was a good man and a louer of iustice, and a mortall enemie of all the cruell exactions of the Gentlemen, which oppressed the poore people. This man, after the tumult and commotion of the countrey was appeased, was grieuously vexed and tormented, because hee had cried alarme, when as a great number of horsemen raunged about the countrey to seeke out those which had beene the authours of that sedition. This poore man was taken by policie, and so vpholden with faire promises, that they made him confesse whatsoeuer they required. Ye, thinking that they would not haue put him to death, was cast into prison, whereas hee was long time detained, and well cherished, to take away all suspition from him; but after hee had tarried a long time in prison, they put him to the Pinbanke, laying diuers and many grieuous offences to his charge, where they kept him hanging in the trusse of the cord the space of six houres, hanging a great stone fastened at his feet.

Ex Io. Oec

The trusse of the cordis a certaine hanging by by the hands behind, hauing a weight stone fastened at their feet.

The sweat that dropped from his bodie for very paine and anguish, was almost bloud. In this di-

stresse

treſſe he cried out pittifully, but all that could not once mooue the tormentors hearts. When as all the power and ſtrength in his bodie began to faile him, with great violence they let him fall downe. There this poore man lay euen as a ſtock, not moouing any part or member of his bodie, but a little drawing his breath, which was a token that there was ſome life in him. Here the tormentors were in great doubt what to doe with the man, whom they ſought by all meanes to deſtroy, in what place they might put him, that hee ſhould not die of that torment.

Amongſt them there was one which brought vineger and roſe water, and rubbing him therewithall, they did ſomewhat recouer him. After that they had cauſed him to eat and drinke ſuch as they had prouided for him, they let him downe into a deepe dungeon, where hee could ſee neither Sunne nor Moone. All this was done to the intent to put him to more torment, when hee had ſomewhat recouered his ſtrength againe. There they let him continue eightéene dayes: after which time they brought him againe to examination, propounding certaine articles vnto him, which hee conſtantly denied. They deuiſed diuers and ſundrie kindes of torments, to the intent they might euen of force extort ſomething of this poore man, which might ſeem worthie of death: yet for all that they were faine to depart without their purpoſe. The twentieth day after, theſe tyrants hired a hangman (a man ſure worthie of his office) which left no kinde of cruelties vnpractiſed. Yet did he miſſe of his purpoſe alſo, and was conſtrained to leaue his crueltie, and to pronounce euen with his owne mouth, that the man was innocent, in that hee had ſo conſtantly indured ſo many horrible and grieuous torments. Yet theſe tyrants came againe the fourth time, and ſuborned two witneſſes againſt him, this concluding that he was worthie of death, becauſe hee had cried alarme, after the truce was taken, and would haue moued a new ſedition. The day was appointed when hee ſhould ſuffer, and they brought vnto him the hangman, and a Frier into the Priſon.

The innocent man againe condemned.

A falſe witneſſe.

In the meane time, this poore man thought with himſelfe that they would haue ſhewed him the like crueltie as they had done the night before. They called him out of the dungeon where they had let him downe, certifying him that they had things to tell him for his profit. This they did becauſe hée ſhould not die in priſon.

He had rather lie in priſon then to come into the papiſts hands.

Then they let downe a cord and a ſtaffe, but they could not perſwade him to ſit thereupon, ſaying, that hée would rather chuſe to die there, than hee would endure any more ſuch cruell torments: Notwithſtanding, if they would promiſe him not to put him any more to the truſſe of the cord, nor to put him to death, but to bring him before ſuch iudges, on that condition he would come out, although hee had fully determined neuer to haue remooued from thence, but to haue ended his life in that dungeon. There were preſent certaine councellors which promiſed to performe his requeſt. And thereupon hee was taken out of the dungeon. As ſoone as he ſaw the Frier, he cried out with a loud voyce, ſaying, O miſerable and wretched man that I am, now am I betrayed and deceiued, for my later houre is at hand. I ſee well the dreame which I haue dreamed this night will come to effect, for they doe handle me tyrannouſly, and condemne me not being heard. The Frier brake him off from his purpoſe, and pulling a wooden croſſe out of his ſleeue, preſented it vnto him, declaring that hée muſt be quiet, becauſe they had already giuen ſentence againſt him, and that hée ſhould gaine nothing by ſo much talke. Poore man (ſayd the Frier) thou haſt had good and gentle Iudges, at the leaſt thou ſhalt goe to God, therefore confeſſe thy ſinnes in my eare, and after thou haſt receiued abſolution at my hands, doubt not but this day thou ſhalt goe ſtraight to the kingdome of Heauen. The poore man anſwered, Thou wicked Frier, get thée away from me, for I haue long ſince bewayled my ſinnes and offences, and that before the face of my Lord Ieſus, who hath alreadie forgiuen mée all that which I haue committed againſt his Majeſtie; wherefore I haue no néed of thy abſolution, which thou thy ſelfe doeſt not vnderſtand. This is moſt certaine, that long time ſince thou ſhouldeſt haue amended thine owne wicked and hypocriticall life. I know well enough what thou art; thou playeſt the Ape with mée, but thou haſt a ſubtill and a craftie heart, which hath deceiued much ſimple people. If thou haſt any comfort or conſolation out of the Goſpell to comfort mée withall, let mée haue it; if not, get thée away from mée with thy Pontus. The Frier was ſo confuſed and amazed with theſe words, that hée knew not what to doe or ſay. The Hangman, being wiſer than the Frier, bad him read vnto the poore man ſomething of the paſſion, wherein the poore man would take great pleaſure. This fooliſh Frier had no other conſolation to comfort him withall, but to hold the crucifixe of wood before him, ſaying; Behold thy Sauiour which died for thée; looke vpon him, and thou ſhalt bée comforted. Then ſaid the poore man, I haue another Sauiour, this is none of my Sauiour; get thou away from mée thou naughtie perſon, with thy Marmoſet of wood. My Sauiour dwelleth in Heauen, in whom I truſt that hee will not deliuer my ſoule to eternall death. The Frier croſſed himſelfe, ſhewing the ſemblance of a man that were very ſorie and agréeued, thinking with himſelfe that this poore man was fallen into deſperation. Then he was led forth into the market place, where according to the cuſtome, openly before all the people, his confeſſion was read with a loud voyce; which contained no other thing, but onely that the man had béene a ſeditious perſon, and that in the time of truce hée had cryed Alarme, euen in the night, when all men were at reſt.

The crucifixe of wood falſely called a Sauiour.

The innocent man condemned for ill will.

When hée was come to the place where hée ſhould ſuffer, being compaſſed in with Gleues and Halbards hired for the purpoſe; after hee had ſaid the Lords Prayer, the Hangman bad him knéele downe, but hée refuſed ſo to doe, declaring that hée had yet ſomething more to ſay before the people, thinking that hee ſhould not bée denied to ſpeake in that place, as he was before the wicked Iudges. Thoſe (ſayd hee) which know mee ſhall bee ſufficient good witneſſes on my behalfe, that from my youth vpward I haue alwayes liued in good name, fame, and honeſtie, being neuer before accuſed for any offence, ſedition, or periurie.

In an euill time haue I happened into theſe curſed dayes, when as all wayes both of God and man are turned topſie turuie. I was adherent to the tumult and ſedition of the men of the countrey, as many other were which dwell thereabout, but what then? are there not alſo many Gentlemen which followed the Peaſants armie, and many ſtrong townes which went alſo with them? I was not the authour of any ſedition, which alwayes I haue mortally hated. I neuer gaue counſell vnto any man to moue any broyle or tumult in any place. Wee asked counſell of our Gentlemen what we ſhould doe, when the bands of the peaſants were aſſembled in the fieldes: but they gaue vs neither counſell nor comfort. And to ſpeake of my ſelfe, I did neuer vnderſtand or know what the articles were that were publiſhed, neither was there euer any man that told mee wherefore they were publiſhed; neither did I know wherefore the bands of the countreymen were riſen; neither wherefore

Nihil peccat agnus, ſed lupus eſuriit.

The falſe promiſe of the papiſts is to be truſted.

The chriſtian plaine man reſiſteth the friers wooden croſſe.

euery man moued his neighbour to put on armour. Wherefore then haue yee taken mee as a seditious man, and made me to indure so great torments? He continued a long time in declaring his innocencie; but, notwithstanding all his excuses, and defences, the hangman drew his sword, and at the commandement of the Iudge stroke off his head as he had made an end of his prayers. His tongue moued a long time after in his head, by meanes of the force of the words which hee had before spoken.

This blessed martyr beheaded.

Thus this good man of the countrey ended his dayes. Against whom the false Iudges could finde no crime or offence to obiect, albeit they had diligently sought by witnesses to haue information of all his life and liuing. The Lord grant his spirit to all those which suffer for his name. Ex Ioan. Oecolampad.

Wolfgangus Schuch, a Germane, in Lotharing, martyr.

The story and martyrdome of Wolfgangus Schuch.

WOlfgangus Scuchus comming to a certaine towne in Lotharing, bearing the name of Saint Hippolitus, and being receiued in the said towne to bee their pastor, laboured by all meanes how to extirpe out of the hearts of the people idolatrie and superstition. Which, through the grace of Christ working with him, hee in short time had brought prosperously to passe according to his desire: insomuch that the obseruation of Lent, images, and all idols, with the abomination also of the masse, in the same towne was vtterly abolished: so reformable God made the hearts of the people there, and such affection had they to their minister. It was not long but the rumor thereof came to the hearing of Duke Anthonie, prince of Lorain, (vnder whose dominion they were) through the swift report of the aduersaries, falsely belying these Hippolitans to the Duke; as though they, in relinquishing the doctrine and faction of the Pope, went about to reiect and shake off all authoritie and power of princes, and all superior gouernors. By the meanes of which sinister report they incensed the Prince to such displeasure and indignation, that he threatned to subuert and vtterly to destroy the towne with sword and fire. Wolfgangus, hauing word of this, wrote vnto the Duke his vncle in most humble and obedient wise, in defence both of his ministerie, of his doctrine which he taught, and of the whole cause of the Gospell.

False and pernitious tongues.

The Duke of Lorain threatneth the towne of saint Hippolitus.

The letter of Wolfgangus to the Duke.

In which Epistle first he excused the people to be innocent and blamelesse, and said that those slanderous reporters were rather worthie to bee blamed, and also punished for their false rumors and forged slanders raised vp against them. And that hee opened and explained the cause and state of the Gospell, and of our saluation, consisting only in the free grace of God through faith in Christ his Sonne, comparing also the same doctrine of the Gospell with the confused Doctrine of the Church of Rome.

That done thirdly he proceeded to our obedience, honour, and worship, which first we owe to God and to Christ: next vnder him to princes here and Potestates, whom God hath placed in his roome, and endued with authoritie here in earth; vnto whom they offered themselues now and at all times prest and most readie to obey with all seruice and dutie, &c.

But with this Epistle Wolfgangus did nothing preuaile, either for that it was intercepted by the way, or else for that the false accusations and wicked tongues of the aduersarie part tooke more effect to winne credit with the Duke, than could the simple defence of veritie. Whereupon Wolfgangus, when he saw no other remedie, rather than the towne should come in any danger for his cause, the good man I say of his owne accord came to the citie of Nancey (which is the head town of Lorain) there to render a confession of his doctrine, and also to deliuer the towne of Saint Hippolite out of perill, deriuing all the danger vpon himselfe.

As soone as he was come thither, incontinently hands were layed vpon him, and he layed fast in a straight and stinking prison, where he was sharply and bitterly handled vnder the custodie of the churlish and cruell keepers. All this notwithstanding Wolfgangus, continuing in that prison the space of a whole yeare, yet would not be moued from his constancie, neither with the straitnesse of the prison, nor with the hardnesse of his keepers, nor yet with the compassion of his wife and children, which he had about him or seuen. Then was he had to the house of the gray friers to professe there his faith: where hee both wittily and learnedly confuted all them that stood against him.

The constancie of Wolfgangus vnremoueable.

Wolfgangus had to the gray Friers.

Wolfgangus confuteth his aduersaries.

There was a Frier named Bonauenture, Prouincial of that order, of face, bodie, and bellie monstrous, but much more grosse in blind ignorance, and a man vtterly rude, a contemner of all ciuilitie and honestie; who being long confessour to the Duke, and of great authoritie in Lorain, as he was an enemie to vertue and learning, so was hee euer perswading the Duke to banish out of the court and countrey of Loraine all learned men; neither could hee abide any person which seemed to know more then his elders knew before. The summe of all his diuinitie was this, that it was sufficient to saluation onely to know the Pater noster, and Ave Maria. And thus was the Duke brought vp and trained, and in nothing else, as the Duke himselfe oft-times in talke with his familiars would confesse. This Bonauenture, being chiefe iudge and moderator where Wolfgangus disputed, or was examined, had nothing else in his mouth, but thou heretike, Iudas, Belzebub, &c. Wolfgangus bearing patiently those priuate injuries, which pertained to himselfe, proceeded mightily in his disputation by the Scriptures, confuting, or rather confounding his aduersaries. Who being not otherwise able to make their partie good, yet for very shame, because they would not seeme to doe nothing, tooke his Bible with his notes in the margent into their monasterie, and burned it. At the last disputation Duke Anthonie himselfe was said to be there, altering his apparell, because he would not be knowne: who albeit he vnderstood not the speech of Wolfgangus speaking in Latin, yet perceiuing him to be bold and constant in his doctrine, departing from the disputation, gaue sentence, that hee should be burned, because hee denied the church and sacrament of the masse. Whereupon it followed shortly after that Wolfgangus was condemned to be burned, who, hearing the sentence of his condemnation, began to sing the Psal. 122. Lætatus sum in his quæ dicta sunt mihi, in domum domini ibimus, &c.

A right description of a friar: Silenus, or Cyclops.

The disputation of Wolfgangus with the Frier.

The sentence giuen against Wolfgangus the Duke not knowing what Wolfgangus said.

As he was led to the place of execution, passing by the house of the gray Friers, Bonauenture the great Cyclops, sitting at the doore, cried out to him, thou heretique, doe thy reuerence here to God, and to our Ladie, and to his holy Saints, shewing to him the idols standing at the Friers gate, to whom Wolfgangus answered againe; thou hypocrite, thou painted wall, the Lord shall destroy thee, and bring all thy false dissimulation vnto light. When they were come to the place of his martyrdome, first his bookes before him were throwne into the fire. Then they asked him, whether he would haue his paine minished and shortened: to whom he said, no, bidding them to doe their will: for (said he) as God hath beene with mee hitherto, so I trust now hee will not leaue mee when I should haue most need of him, concluding his words thus, that they should put the sentence in execution, and so beginning

ning to sing the one and fiftieth Psalme he entered into the place heaped vp with fagots and wood, continuing in his Psalme, and singing till the smoake and the flame tooke from him both voyce and life.

The martyrdome of Wolfgangus.

The singular vertue, constancie, and learning of this blessed man, as it refreshed and greatly edified the hearts of many good men; so it astonished as much the mindes of his aduersaries, and wrought to their confusion. For shortly after his death, the Commendator of saint Anthonie of Vienna, who sate as spirituall Iudge ouer him, and gaue sentence of his condemnation, fell suddenly downe and died. Also his fellow, which was Abbat of Clarilocus, and Suffragan to the Bishop of Menez, suddenly at the comming of the Dutches of Denmarke into the citie of Nancy, strucken with sudden feare at the cracke of gunnes, fell downe and died, as they which were present and saw it haue made faithfull relation of the same. An. 1525. Ex Ludou. Rabo, & Pantal.

Iohn Huglein, martyr.

OF Iohn Huglein Priest mention is made in the Commentaries of Iohn Sleid. in lib. 6. who the nert yeare following, An. 1526. was burned at Merspurge by the Bishop of Constance, for that hee did not hold with the Bishop of Romes doctrine in all points.

Moreouer, besides other matters in this yeare occurrent, here is also a Memorandum to bee made to all posteritie, that in this present yeare 1526. vnto Iohn Fredericke, sonne and heire to the prince and Elector of Saxonie, was promised the Ladie Katherine, the Emperours younger sister in marriage, and writings were made of the same. But when the alteration of Religion was sent by Gods prouidence into Saxonie, they swarued from their couenants, and Hawnart, which was then the Emperours Embassadour in Germanie, said plainely that there was no promise to bee kept with heretickes; wherein they seemed to follow well the footsteps of the Councell of Constance, as before you haue partly heard in the storie of Iohn Hus, and of the Emperour Sigismund.

George Carpenter of Emering martyr, burned in the towne of Munchen in Bavaria.

THe 8. day of Februarie in the yeare of our saluation 1527. there hapned a rare & marueilous example and spectacle in the towne of Munchen in Bauaria, which was this. A certaine man named George Carpenter of Emering was there burnt. When he was set out of the prison called Falken Tower, and led before the Councell, diuers Friers and Monks followed him, to instruct and teach him. Whom he willed to tarry at home, and not to follow him. When he came before the Councell, his offences were read, contained in foure articles.

George Carpenter, martyr.

Articles laied against George Carpenter.

First, that he did not beleeue that a priest could forgiue a mans sinnes.

Secondly, that hee did not beleeue that a man could call God out of heauen.

Thirdly, that hee did not beleeue that God was in the bread, which the Priest hangeth ouer the Altar, but that it was the Bread of the Lord.

Fourthly, that he did not beleeue, that the very element of the water it selfe in Baptisme doth giue grace.

George perswaded to recant.

Which foure articles he vtterly refused to recant. Then came vnto him a certaine Schoolemaster of S. Peter in the towne of Munchen, saying, my friend George, doest thou not feare the death and punishment which that must suffer? If thou wert let goe, wouldest thou returne to thy wife and children? whereunto he answered, If I were set at libertie, whither should I rather goe, then to my wife and welbeloued children? Then said the Scholemaster, reuoke your former sentence and opinion, and you shall be set at libertie. Whereunto George answered: My wife and my children are so dearely beloued vnto me, that they cannot be brought from me for all the riches and possessions of the Duke of Bauaria; but for the loue of my Lord God I will willingly forsake them. When he was led to the place of execution, the schoolemaster spake vnto him againe in the middest of the market place, saying: Good George, beleeue in the sacrament of the Altar; doe not affirme it to bee onely a signe. Whereunto he answered, I beleeue this sacrament to be a signe of the bodie of Iesus Christ offered vpon the crosse for vs. Then said the Schoolemaster moreouer, what doest thou meane that thou doest so little esteeme baptisme, knowing that Christ suffered himselfe to be baptised in Iordane? Whereunto he answered, and shewed what was the true vse of baptisme, and what was the end why Christ was baptised in Iordane, and how necessarie it was that Christ should die and suffer vpon the crosse, wherein onely standeth our saluation. The same Christ (said hee) will I confesse this day before the whole world; for he is my Sauiour, and in him doe I beleeue.

The loue of God preferred before wife, children, and libertie.

The Sacrament a signe of the Lords bodie.

Baptisme.

After this came vnto him one Walter Conrade Scheter, the vicar of the Cathedrall Church of our Ladie in Munchen a preacher, saying: George, if thou wilt not beleeue the Sacrament, yet put all thy trust in God, and say; I trust my cause to bee good and true, (a) but if I should erre, truely I would bee sorry and repent. Whereunto George Carpenter answered, God suffer me not to erre I beseech him. Then said the schoolemaster vnto him, doe not put the matter in that hazard, but chuse vnto you some good Christian brother, maister Conrade or some other, vnto whom thou maiest reueale thy heart: not to confesse thy selfe, but to take some godly counsell of him. Whereunto hee answered; nay not so, for it would bee too long. Then maister Conrade began the Lords prayer. Our father which art in heaven. Whereunto Carpenter answered,

(a) Marke here these subtill serpents, which when they cannot remoue this good man from his faith, they goe about to bring him in doubt thereof.

truely thou art our father and no other, this day I truſt to bee with thee. Then maſter Conrade went forward with the prayer, ſaying, Hallowed bee thy name. Carpenter anſwered, O my God, how little is thy name hallowed in this world? Then ſaid maſter Conrade, Thy kingdome come. Carpenter anſwered, Let thy kingdome come this day vnto mee, that I alſo may come vnto thy kingdome. Then ſaid Conrade, Thy will be done in earth as it is in heauen. Carpenter anſwered; For this cauſe, O Father, am I now here that thy will might be fulfilled and not mine. Then ſaid maſter Conrade, give us this day our daily bread. Carpenter anſwered, the onely liuing bread Jeſus Chriſt ſhall bee my foode. Then ſaid Conrade, And forgive us our treſpaſſes, as wee forgive them that treſpaſſe againſt us. Carpenter anſwered, With a willing minde doe I forgiue all men, both my friends and aduerſaries. Then ſaid maſter Conrade, And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from all evill. Whereunto Carpenter anſwered, O my Lord, without doubt thou ſhalt deliuer me; for vpon thee onely haue I layed all my hope. Then hee began to rehearſe the beleefe, ſaying, I beleeve in God the Father Almightie. Carpenter anſwered, O my God, in thee alone doe I truſt, in thee onely is all my confidence, and vpon no other creature, albeit they haue gone about to force me otherwiſe. In this manner he anſwered to euery word: which his anſwers, if they ſhould be deſcribed at length, would be too long. This prayer ended, the ſchoolemaſter ſaid vnto him, doeſt thou beleeue ſo truely and conſtantly in thy Lord and God with thy heart, as thou doeſt cheerefully ſeeme to confeſſe him with thy mouth? Hereunto hee anſwered: it were a very hard matter for mee, if that I which am ready here to ſuffer death ſhould not beleeue that with my heart, which I openly profeſſe with my mouth: For I knew before that I muſt ſuffer perſecution, if I would cleaue vnto Chriſt; who ſaith, Where thy heart is, there is alſo thy treaſure; and whatſoeuer thing a man doth fix in his heart to loue aboue God that hee maketh his Idoll. Then ſaid maſter Conrade vnto him, George, doeſt thou thinke it neceſſarie after thy death, that any man ſhould pray for thee, or ſay maſſe for thee? He anſwered: ſo long as the ſoule is ioyned to the bodie, pray God for mee, that he will giue me grace and patience, with all humilitie, to ſuffer the paines of death with a true Chriſtian faith: but when the ſoule is ſeparate from the bodie, then haue I no more need of your prayers. When as the hangman ſhould binde him to the ladder, hee preached much vnto the people. Then hee was deſired by certaine Chriſtian brethren, that as ſoone as hee was caſt into the fire hee ſhould giue ſome ſigne or token what his faith or beleefe was. To whom hee anſwered, this ſhall bee my ſigne and token; that ſo long as I can open my mouth, I will not ceaſe to call vpon the name of Jeſus.

The heartie confeſſion of George Carpenter.

Luke 12.

Whatſoeuer a man loueth aboue God that he makes his idoll.

George Carpenter refuſes to be prayed for after his death.

This conſtant behauiour of George Carpenter at his death.

Behold (good reader) what an incredible conſtancie was in this godly man, ſuch as lightly hath not been ſeene in any man before. His face and countenance neuer changed colour, but cheerefully he went vnto the fire. In the middeſt, ſaith he, of the towne this day will I confeſſe my God before the whole world. When he was layed vpon the ladder, and the hangman put a bagge of Gunpowder about his necke, he ſaid, let it ſo be, in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt. And when as the two hangmen lifted him vp vpon the ladder, ſmiling he bad a certaine Chriſtian farewell, requiring forgiueneſſe of him. That done the hangman thruſt him into the fire. He with a loud voyce cried out, Jeſus, Jeſus. Then the hangman turned him ouer; and hee againe for a certaine ſpace cryed Jeſus, Jeſus, and ſo ioyfully yeelded vp his ſpirit.

The death and martyrdome of George Carpenter.

Leonard Keyſer.

The hiſtorie of Leonard Keyſer.

HEre alſo is not to be paſſed ouer the maruellous conſtancie of Maſter Leonard Keyſer of the countrey of Bauaria, who was burned for the Goſpell. This Keyſer was of the towne of Rawbe, foure miles from Paſſaw, of a famous houſe. This man, being at his ſtudie in Wittenberge, was ſent for by his brethren, which certified him, that if euer hee would ſee his father aliue, he ſhould come with ſpeed, which thing hee did. Hee was ſcarcely come thither, when as by the commandement of the Biſhop of Paſſaw hee was taken by his mother and his brethren. The articles which he was accuſed of, for the which alſo he was moſt cruelly put to death, and ſhed his bloud for the teſtimonie of the truth, were theſe:

That faith onely iuſtifieth.

That workes are the fruits of faith.

That the maſſe is no ſacrifice or oblation.

Item, for confeſſion, ſatisfaction, the vow of chaſtitie, purgatorie, difference of dayes, for affirming onely two Sacraments, and inuocation of Saints.

Articles againſt Leonard Keyſer.

He alſo maintained three kinds of confeſſion.

The firſt to bee of faith which is alwayes neceſſarie.

The ſecond of charitie, which ſerveth when any man hath offended his neighbour, to whom hee ought to reconcile himſelfe againe, as a man may ſee by that which is written in Mathew 18.

The third, which is not to bee deſpiſed, is to aske counſell of the ancient Miniſters of the Church.

And notwithſtanding that all this was contrarie to the bull of Pope Leo, and the Emperours Decree made at Wormes, ſentence was giuen againſt him, that he ſhould be degraded and put into the hands of the ſecular power. The perſecutors that ſate in iudgement vpon him were the Biſhop of Paſſaw; the ſuffraganes of Ratiſbone, and of Paſſaw; alſo Doctor Eckius, being garded about with armed men. His brethren and kinſfolkes made great interceſſion to haue his iudgement deferred and put off, that the matter might bee more exactly knowne. Alſo John Fredericke Duke of Saxonie, and the Earles of Schauuenburge and of Shunartzen, wrote to the Biſhop for him, but could not preuaile. After the ſentence was giuen, he was carried by a companie of harnelled men out of the citie againe, to Schardingham the thirteenth of Auguſt. Where Chriſtopher Frenkinger the ciuill iudge receiuing him, had letters ſent him from Duke William of Bauaria, that forthwith tarrying for no other iudgement he ſhould bee burned aliue. Whereupon the good and bleſſed martyr early in the morning, being rounded and ſhauen, and clothed in a ſhort gowne, and a blacke cap ſet vpon his head all cut and jagged, ſo was deliuered vnto the officer. As he was led out of the towne to the place where he ſhould ſuffer, he boldly and hardily ſpake in the Almaine tongue, turning his head firſt on the one ſide, and then on the other, ſaying, O Lord Jeſus remaine with me, ſuſtaine and helpe me, and giue me force and power.

Perſecutors.

Haſtie iudgement againſt Leonard Keyſer.

Then the wood was made readie to be ſet on fire, and he began to crie with a loud voyce, O Jeſus I am thine, haue mercie vpon mee, and ſaue me; and therewithall hee felt the fire begin ſharpely vnder his feet, his hands, and about his head: and becauſe the fire was not great enough, the hangman plucked the bodie halfe burnt with a long hooke from vnderneath the wood. Then hee made a great hole in the bodie, through the which he thruſt a ſtake, and caſt him againe into the fire, and ſo made an end of burning. This was the bleſſed end of that good man, which ſuffered for the teſtimonie of the

The martyrdome of Leonard Keyſer.

the truth, the ſixteenth day of Auguſt, in the yeare of our Lord, 1526. Ex 6. Tomo operum Lutheri.

Wendelmuta widow and martyr.

Wendelmuta widow, martyr.

IN Holland alſo the ſame yeare, 1527. was martyred and burned a good and vertuous widow, named Wendelmuta, a daughter of Nicholas of Munchendam. This Widow receiuing to her heart the brightneſſe of Gods grace, by the appearing of the Goſpell, was therefore apprehended and committed to cuſtodie in the caſtle of Werden, ſhortly after from thence was brought to Hague the ſixteenth day of Nouember, there to appeare at the generall ſeſſions of that countrey. Where was preſent Hoethſtratus, Lord Preſident of the ſayd county, who alſo ſate vpon her the ſeuententh day of the foreſaid moneth. Diuers monkes were appointed there to talke with her, to the end they might conuince her, and win her to recant; but ſhee, conſtantly perſiſting in that truth wherein ſhee was planted, would not be remoued. Many alſo of her kindred and other honeſt women were ſuffered to perſwade with her. Among whom there was a certaine noble matron, who loued and fauoured dearely the ſaid Widow being in priſon. This matron comming, and communing with her, in her talke ſaid; My Wendelmuta, why doeſt thou not keepe ſilence, and think ſecretly in thine heart theſe things which thou beleeueſt, that thou maieſt prolong here thy daies and life? To whom ſhe anſwered againe: Ah (ſaid ſhe) you know not what you ſay. It is written, With the heart wee beleeve to righteouſneſſe, with the tongue wee confeſſe to ſalvation, &c. And thus ſhe remaining firme and ſtedfaſt in her beleefe and confeſſion, the twentieth day of Nouember was condemned by ſentence giuen as againſt an heretike, to be burned to aſhes, and her goods to be confiſcate; ſhee taking the ſentence of her condemnation mildly and quietly.

Religion would be profeſſed as well with tongue as with heart.

Rom. 10.

Wooden gods not to be worſhipped.

After ſhe came to the place where ſhee ſhould bee executed, and a Monk there had brought out a blind croſſe, willing her many times to kiſſe and worſhip her God; I worſhip ſaid ſhee no wooden god, but onely that God which is in heauen: and ſo with a merrie and ioyfull countenance ſhee went to the ſtake, deſiring the executioner to ſee the ſtake to be faſt, that it fall not: then taking the powder, and laying it to her breaſt, ſhe gaue her necke willingly to be bound, with an ardent prayer commending her ſelfe to the hands of God. When the time came that ſhe ſhould be ſtrangled, modeſtly ſhe cloſed her eyes, and bowed downe her head as one that would take a ſleepe: which done, the fire then was put to the wood, and ſhe being ſtrangled was burned afterward to aſhes, in ſtead of this life to get the immortall crowne in heauen, an. 1527. Ex Pantal.

Petrus Fliſtedius, and Adolphus Clarebachus put to death at Colen.

Petrus Fliſtedius and

IN the number of theſe Germane martyrs are alſo to be comprehended Peter Fliſteden and Adolph Clarebach, two men of ſingular learning, and hauing ripe knowledge of Gods holy word. Which two in the yeare of our Lord, 1529. for that they did diſſent from the papiſts in diuers points, and ſpecially touching the ſupper of the Lord, and other the Popes traditions and ceremonies, after they had endured impriſonment a yeare and a halfe by the commandement of the Archbiſhop and Senate, were put to death and burned in Colen, not without the great griefe and lamentation of many good Chriſtians; all the fault being put vpon certaine Diuines, which at that time preached, that the puniſhment and death of certaine wicked perſons ſhould pacifie the wrath of God, which then plagued Germanie grieuouſly with a new and ſtrange kinde of diſeaſe: for at that ſeaſon the ſweating ſickneſſe did mortally rage and reigne throughout all Germanie. Ex com. Ioan. Sleidan. Lib. 6.

Adolphus Clarebachus Martyr.

The bloud of martyrs ſpilt to ſtop the ſweating ſickneſſe at Colen.

A preface to the table following.

IF thou well remember in reading this booke of ſtories (louing reader) it was before mentioned and declared, how in the yeare of grace 1501. certaine prodigious markes and ſpints of the Lords paſſion, as the crowne, croſſe, nailes, ſcourges, and ſpeare, were ſeen in Germanie, vpon the garments of men and women. Which miraculous ſtent, paſſing the ordinarie courſe of naturall cauſes, as it was ſent of God, no doubt, to foreſhew the great and terrible perſecution, which afterward fell in the countrey of Germanie and other regions beſides, for the teſtimonie of Chriſt; ſo if the number and names of all thoſe good men and women, which ſuffered in the ſame perſecution, with their acts and doings ſhould bee gathered and compiled together, it would aske a long time, and a large volume. Notwithſtanding, partly to ſatisfie the hiſtorie which we haue in hand, partly alſo to auoid tedious prolixitie, I thought briefly to contract the diſcourſe thereof, drawing as in a compendious table the names of the perſecutors, and of the martyrs which ſuffered, and the cauſes wherefore, with as much ſhortneſſe as I may; referring the full tractation of their liues and doings to thoſe Writers of their owne countrey, where they are to be read more at large. And to keepe an order in the ſame table, as much as in ſuch a confuſed heape of matters I may, according to the order and diſtinction of the countries in which theſe bleſſed Saints of Chriſt did ſuffer; I haue ſo diuided the order of the table in ſuch ſort, as firſt to begin with them that ſuffered in Germanie, then in France, alſo in Spaine, with other forreine countries moe: ſhewing onely the names with the principall matters of them; referring the reſt to the further explication of their owne Storywriters, from whence they be collected. The which Table being finiſhed, my purpoſe is, Chriſt willing, to returne to the full hiſtorie of our owne matters, and martyrs which ſuffered here in England.

The Dutch martyrs.
The French martyrs.
The Spaniſh martyrs.
The Engliſh martyrs.

A Table

A Table of the names and causes of such Martyrs, which gave their liues for the testimonie of the Gospell, in Germanie, France, Spaine, Italy, and other forrien countries, since Luthers time: In which Table first is contained within the first space betweene the lines the persecutors, next the Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdome.

¶ The Martyrs of Germanie.

Of divers which suffered in Germanie for the witnesse of the Gospell partly some rehearsall is made before, as of Voes and Esch, of Sutphen, Iohn Castellane, Pet. Spengler, with a certaine godly minister, and another simple man of the countrey mentioned in Oecolampiadius: Also of them in Diethmar and Prague, of M. George of Hala, Gasper, Tambret, Georgius of Vienna, Wolfgangus Scuch, Iohn Huglius, George Carpenter, Leonard Keyser, Wendelmuta, P. Flistedius, Adolph Clareback, and other moe. The residue follow in order of this Table here to be shewed.

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
Charles the Emperour.	One Nicholas of Antwerpe.
Two servants of a butcher did apprehend at Antwerp. An. 1524.	The Curate of Melza by Antwerp had vsed to preach to a great number of people without that town. The Emperour, hearing thereof, gaue leaue to take the vppermost garment of all them that came to heare, and offered thirtie gilders who so would take the priest. Afterward, when the people were gathered and the curate not there, this Nicholas stepped vp in place and preached. Wherfore he, being apprehended by these two seruants of a butcher, was put in a sack, and drowned by the Crane at Antwerp, 1524.

Nicholas of Antwerpe, martyr.

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
Certain noblemen, after the commotion of the Countrimen in Germany, An. 1525.	come and giue good counsell to fifteene countrimen that should be beheaded, afterward was bid himselfe to kneele downe to haue his head cut off, no cause nor condemnation further being laid against him, but onely of meere hatred against the Gospell. Ex Ioan. Gastia.
The name of the persecutor appeares not in the storie.	George Scherter. After that this George had instructed the people in knowledge of the Gospel in Kaltat, ten miles distant from Saltzburge, hee was accused of his aduersaries and put in prison, where he wrote a confession of his faith, which Matthias Illiricus hath set out with his whole story. He was condemned to be burned aliue: but meanes was made, that first his head should be cut off, and his bodie afterward be cast into the fire. Going toward his death, he said crying aloud, That you may know, said he, that I die a true Christian, I will

George Scherter martyr. Ex Mat. Flac Illyric.

giue

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, princesse of Holland. M. Montane, M. Rosemund. M. Anchusanus. Inquisitors. M. Iodocus Lovering, vicar of Mechlin. An. 1524.	Ioan. Pistorius, a learned man of Holland, and partly of kin to Eras. Roterod. The storie of Pistorius is largly set forth by Gnatheus. First, hee was a priest, then he married, after that hee preached, comming from Wittenberge. Hee spake against the masse & pardons, and against the subtil abuses of priests. He was committed vnto prison with ten malefactors, whom he did comfort, and to one being halfe naked, and in danger of cold, he gaue his gowne. His father, visiting him in prison, did not dissuade him, but bad him be constant. At last he was condemned, and degraded, hauing a foles coate put vpon him. His fellow prisoners at his death sung Te Deum. Coming to the stake, he gaue his necke willingly to the band wherewith he was first strangled & then burned, saying at his death, O death where is thy victorie.

Ioan Pistorius, martyr.

1 Cor. 15.

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
Sebastian Braitestein, Abbat. In Suevia. An. 1525.	Matthias Weibell, Schoolemaster. For saying somewhat against the Abbats first masse, and against the carrying about reliques, through procurement of the Abbat hee was hanged by Campidonium in Suevia.

Matthias Weibell martyr.

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
	A certaine godly priest. This priest being commanded to

A priest, martyr.

A strange miracle of God in manifesting his Gospell.

good priest martyred in his owne house.

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
At Rastat, by Saltzeburge. An, 1528.	giue you a manifest signe; and so hee did by the power of the Lord: For when his head was taken off from his shoulders, the bodie, falling vpon his bellie, so continued the space while one might eat an egge. After that, softly it turned it selfe vpon the backe, and crossed the right foot ouer the left, and the right hand ouer the left. At the sight whereof, they which saw it were in a great maruell. The magistrats, which before had appointed to haue burned the bodie after his beheading, seeing this miracle, would not burne it, but buried it with other Christian mens bodies, and many by the same example were mooued to beleeue the Gospell. Thus God is able to manifest the truth of his Gospell in the middest of persecution, who is to be blessed for euer. Amen.
Balthasar, Officiall.	Henrie Fleming, at Dornicke, 1535. This Henrie a Frier, sometimes of Flanders, forlooke his habite, and married a wife. Who being offered life of Balthasar, if hee would confesse his wife to be an harlot, denied so to doe, and so was burnt at Dornick.
A popish priest, and a wicked murderer.	A good priest dwelling not farre from Basil. 1539. There was a certaine wicked priest, a notorious adulterer, a dicer, and a vile drunkard, giuen to all wickednesse and vngraciousnesse, without all feare, regarding nothing what mischiefe hee did: moreouer, a man fit and readie to serue the affection of the papists at all turnes. It chanced that this priest was receiued and lodged in the house of another priest dwelling not far from Basil, which was a good man, and a sincere fauourer of the Gospell.

This drunken priest, sitting at supper, was so drunke, that hee could not tell what hee did, or else fained himselfe so drunke of purpose, the better to accomplish his intended mischiefe. So it followed, that this wretch after his first sleepe rose out of his bed, and brake all the glasse windowes in his chamber, threw downe the stone, and rent all his holkes bookes that he found. The host, awaking with the noise thereof, came to him, asking him how he did: whether there were any theeues or enemies that hee was in feare of, desiring him to shew what hee ayled. But as soone as the good host had opened his chamber doore, the wicked cutthroat ranne at him with his sword, and slew him. The host, after the wound receiued, fell downe and died. Upon this a clamour was made through all the street, and the neighbours came in, the murtherer was taken and bound: and yet all the friends and kinsfolks that the good priest had could not make that miserable caitife that was the murtherer to be

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
	executed; the Superiour powers did so take his part, saying, That he should be sent to his Bishop. The townesmen did grieuously cry out and complaine at the bolstering out of so manifest villanie: So did also the Nobleman that was the Lord of the Page, saying, That so many good men and married Priests were drowned and beheaded for such small trifles, without any regard had by the bishop, but a murderer might escape vnpunished. It was answered to them againe, That what the superiour powers would doe they had nothing to doe withall: the time was otherwise now, than it was in the commotion of the rusticall people. The superiour powers had authoritie to gouerne as they would, say they; it was their parts onely to obey. And so was hee sent bound to the Bishop, and shortly after dismissed, hauing also a greater benefice giuen him for his worthie act; for hee so auanted himselfe, that hee had slaine a Lutherane Priest. Ex tom. 2. Convivalium Sermonum Ioan. Gastii. Et ex Pantal.
Charles, the Emperours Procurator.	Twentie eight Christian men and women of Louane. Paul a Priest. Two aged women. At Antonia. Two men at Louane, 1543. When certaine of the citie of Louane were suspected of Lutherantime, the Emperors Procurator came from Brussels thither to make inquisition. After which inquisition made, certaine bands of armed men came and beset their houses in the night, where many were taken in their beds, pluckt from their wiues and children, and diuided into diuers prisons. Through the terrour whereof, many citizens reuolted from the doctrine of the Gospell, and returned again to Idolatrie. But twentie eight there were which remained constant in that persecution. Unto whom the Doctors of Louane, Enchusanus especially the Inquisitor, and Latomus sometimes, with other, came and disputed, thinking no lesse but either to confound them, or to conuert them. But so strongly the spirit of the Lord wrought with his Saints, that the other went rather confounded away themselues.
Doctor Enchusanus, Inquisitor. Latomus.	When no disputation could serue, that which lacked in cunning they supplied with torments, by enforcing and afflicting them seuerally euery one by himselfe. Among the rest, there was one Paulus a priest, vpon the age of sixtie yeares; whom the Rectors of the Vniuersitie, with their Collegues, accompanied with a great number of bills and glaiues, brought out of prison to the Austen Friers, where, after many soule words of the Rector, hee was degraded. But at length for feare of death hee began to staggar

Ex Ioan. Gastii.

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dagger in some points of his confession, and so was had out of Louane, and condemned to perpetuall prison, which was a darke and stinking dungeon; where hee was suffered neither to read nor write, nor any man to come at him, commanded only to be fed with bread and water. After that, other two there were, which because they had reuoked before, were put to the fire and burnt, constantly taking their martyrdome.

Two martyrs burned at Louane.

An aged man martyr. Antonia martyr, buried quicke. An aged woman martyr, buried quicke.

Then was there an old man, & two aged women brought forth: of whom the one was called Antonia, borne of an ancient stocke in that citie. These also were condemned, the man to be beheaded, the two women to be buried quicke, which death they receiued likewise very cheerefully. Certain of the other prisoners, which were not condemned to death, were depriued of their goods, commanded in a white sheet to come to the Church, and there kneeling with a Taper in their hand, to aske forgiuenesse: and they which refused so to do, and to abiure the doctrine of Luther, were put to the fire. Ex Fran. Encenate.

M. Perseual, martyr.

The name of the persecutor appeareth not in the storie.

Master Perseuall at Lovane, Anno, 1544.

Not long after this was one Master Perseuall in the same Vniuersitie of Louane, singularly well learned. Who for reprehending certaine popish superstitions, and something speaking in commendation of the Gospell, was throwne into prison. Then being accused of Lutheranisme, because he stood to the same, and would not condescend to the Popes erroneous faction, hee was adiudged to perpetuall prison, there to bee fed only with bread and water: which punishment hee tooke patiently for Christs sake. Neuertheleese certaine citizens, taking compassion of him, sent him wine and beere. But his keepers, being charged vnder a great penalty, durst let nothing come vnto him. At last what became of him no man could learne nor vnderstand. Some iudge that hee was either famished for hunger, or else that hee was secretly drowned. Ex Fran. Encenate.

Dorsardus a Potestate in that country, and a great persecutor.

Iustus Iusberge of Brussels, Anno, 1544.

Iustus Iusberge, a Skinner of Louane being suspected of Lutheranisme, was found in his house to haue the new testament and certaine sermons of Luther; for the which he was committed, and his Iayler commanded that hee should speake with none. There were the same time in the lower prison vnder them, Egidius, and Franciscus Encenas a Spaniard; who secretly, hauing the doores left open, came to him and confirmed him in the cause of righteousnesse. Thus is the

Iustus of Louan, martyr.

Franciscus Encenas prisoner.

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prouidence of the Lord neuer lacking to his Saints in time of necessitie. Shortly after came the Doctors and Maisters of Louane, to examine him of certaine Articles touching religion, as of the Popes supremacie, sacrifice of the masse, purgatorie, and of the sacrament. Whereunto when hee had answered plainely and boldly, after the Scriptures, and would in no wise bee removed, hee was condemned to the fire: but, through intercession made to the Quéene, his burning was pardoned, and he onely beheaded. Ex Franc. Encenate.

Iustus perit de terra.

Giles Tilleman at Brussels, An. 1544.

Giles martyr.

This Giles was borne in Brussels, of honest parents. By his occupation hee was brought vp from his youth to be a cutler. In the which occupation he was so expert and cunning, that he wared thereby rich and wealthie. Comming to the yeares of thirtie, hée began to receiue the light of the Gospell, through the reading of the holy Scripture, and increased therein exceedingly. And as in zeale hee was feruent, so was he of nature humane, milde, and pittifull, passing all other in those parts. Whatsoeuer hee had, that necessitie could spare, hée gaue it away to the poore, and onely liued by his science. Some hee refreshed with his meat; some with cloathing; to some he gaue his shooes; some he helped with houshold stuffe; to other some hee ministred wholesome exhortation of good doctrine. One poore woman there was brought to bed, and had no bed to lie in, to whom hee brought his owne bed, himselfe contented to lie in the straw.

The parson of Brussels.

Good workes going with a liuely faith.

The said Egidius, being detected by a priest or parson of Brussels, was taken at Louan for that religion which the Pope doth call heresie. Where his aduersaries extended great care and diligence to reduce him to their doctrine, and to make him abiure. But as he was a man well reasoned, and singularly witted, they went away many times with shame. Thus, being detained eight moneths in prison, he was sent to Brussels to be iudged: where hee comforted diuers which were there in prison (among whom was also Franciscus Encenas) exhorting them to constancie of the truth vnto the crowne, which was prepared for them. At the table hée ministred vnto them all, being contented himselfe with a few scraps which they left. In his praiers he was so ardent, kneeling by himselfe in some secret place, that he seemed to forget himselfe. Being called many times to meat,

The humble heart of Giles.

Feruencie of prayer.

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meat, he neither heard nor saw them that stood by him, till hee was lift vp by the armes, and then gently he would speake vnto them as one waked out of a swæt sleepe.

Certaine of the Gray Friers sometimes were sent vnto him by two and two, to reduce him; but hæ would alwayes desire them to depart from him, for he was at a point; and when the Friers at any time did miscall him, he euer held his peace at such priuate injuries: insomuch that those blasphemers would say abroad that he had a dumbe diuell in him. But when they talked of any religion, there he spared not, but answered them fully by euidences of the Scripture, in such sort, that diuers times they would depart marueling. At sundrie times hæ might haue escaped, the doores being set open, but he would not for bringing his keeper in perill.

At length, about the moneth of Januarie, he was brought to another prison, to be constrayned with torments to confesse purgatorie, and to vtter mo of his fellowes. But no forcement would serue. Wherefore vpon the twentie two of Januarie hæ was condemned to the fire, but priuily, contrarie to the vse of the countrey; for openly they durst not condemne him for feare of the people, so well was hæ beloued. When tidings of the sentence came vnto him, he gaue heartie thankes vnto God, that the houre was come when hæ might glorifie the Lord.

blasphemy of Friers.

The martyrdome of Giles.

As he was brought to the place of burning, where he saw a great heape of wood piled, hæ required the greater part thereof to bæ taken away, and giuen to the poore; a little, said he, would suffice him. Also seeing a poore man comming by, as hæ went, that lacked shooes, he gaue his shoes vnto him. Better, said hæ, so to doe, than to haue his shoes burnt, and the poore to perish for cold. Standing at the stake the hangman was ready to strangle him before; but hæ would not, saying, that there was

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no such need that his paine should be mitigated, for I feare not, said hæ, the fire; doe thou therefore as thou art commanded. And thus the blessed martyr, lifting vp his eyes to heauen in the middle of the flame, died, to the great lamentation of all that stood by. After that time when the Friers of that citie would goe about for their almes, the people would say, it was not mæt for them to receiue almes with bloudie hands. This Historie you shall finde more copiously described in Franc. Encenas.

The zeale of the people against the bloudy Friers.

Ex Franc. Encen.

Great persecution in Gaunt, and other parts of Flanders.

At Gaunt, Anno, 1543.

1544.

Persecution in Gaunt and Brussels.

As Charles the Emperour did lie in Gaunt, the Friers and Doctors there obtained, that the edict made against the Lutherans might bæ read openly twice a yeare. Which being obtained, great persecution followed, so that there was no citie nor towne in all Flanders, wherein some either were not expulsed, or headed, or condemned to perpetuall prison, or had not their goods confiscat: neither was there any respect of age or sexe. At Gaunt especially many there were of the head men, which for religion sake were burned.

Friers and priests of Flanders.

Ex Francisco Encenace.

Afterward the Emperour comming to Brussels, there was terrible slaughter, and persecution of Gods people, namely in Brabant, Hennegow, and Artois; the horrour and cruelty whereof is almost incredible: Insomuch that at one time as good as two hundred men and women together were brought out of the countrey about into the citie, of whom some were drowned, some buried quicke, some priuily made away, others sent to perpetuall prison: whereby also prisons and towers thereabout were replenished with prisoners and captiues, & the hands of the hangman tired with slaying and killing, to the great sorrow of all them which knew the Gospell, being now compelled either to denie the same, or to confirme it with their bloud. The storie hereof is at large set forth by Fran. Encenas, a notable learned man, who also himselfe was prisoner the same time at Brussels: whose booke written in Latine I my selfe haue seene and read, remaining in the hands of John Oporine at Basil.

Martinus Hœurblocke, Fishmonger, at Gaunt,

An. 1545.

Martine Hœurblocke martyr.

This Martin euer almost to his later age was a man much giuen to all wickednesse and fleshly life, so long as hee continued a follower of the Popes

Franciscan Friers of Gaunt.

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	Popes superstition and Idolatrie. Afterward (as God hath alwayes his calling) through the occasion of a Sermon of his parish priest, beginning to take some working of grace and repentance of his former life, hee went out of Gaunt for the space of three moneths, seeking the companie of godly Christians, such as he heard to vse the reading of the Scriptures: by whom hee being more groundedly instructed returned againe to the citie of Gaunt, where all his neighbours first began to maruell at the sudden change of this man. The Franciscans which knew him before so beneficiall vnto them, now seeing him so altered from their wayes and superstition, and seeing him to visit the captiues in prison, to comfort them in persecution, and to confirme them in the word of God which went to the fire, conspired against him: whereby hee was detected and layed in bands. After that with sharpe and grieuous torments they would haue constrained him to vtter other of the same religion. To whom thus he answered; that if they could proue by the Scripture, that his detecting and accusing of his brethren, whom they would afflict with the like torments, were not against the second Table of Gods Law, then he would not refuse to prefer the honour of God before the safegard of his brethren. Then the Friers examined him in the Sacrament, asking him why he was so earnest to haue it in both kindes, seeing (said they) it is but a naked Sacrament, as you say. To whom hee answered, That the elements thereof were naked, but the Sacrament was not naked, forsomuch as the said elements of bread and wine, being receiued after the institution of Christ, doe now make a sacrament and a mysticall representation of the Lords bodie, communicating himselfe with our soules. And as touching the receiuing in both kindes, because it is the institution of the Lord, who is he (said Martin) that dare alter the same? Then was he brought before the counsell of Flanders. The causes laied against him were the Sacrament, purgatorie, and praying for the dead: for the which he was condemned and burned at Gaunt in Merle place, all his goods being confiscate. As hee stood at the stake, a Franciscan Frier said to him, Martin, vnlesse thou doest turne, thou shalt goe from this fire to euerlasting fire. It is not in you, said Martin againe, to iudge: For this the Friers after were so hated, that many Bills and Rymes were set forth in diuers places against them. Ex Pantal.
Nicolas Vanpoule, Iohn de Bucke, and his wife, martyrs.	Nicholas Vanpoule. Iohn de Bucke and his wife. At Gaunt, an. 1545. The next day after the burning of Martin aforesayd, which was the ninth of May, these three also were burned for the same causes likewise, for the which the other was condemned and burned the day before; but onely that the woman was buried aliue. All which tooke their martyrdome ioyfully and with much cheerfulnesse.
	Vrsula, Maria, Virgins of noble stocke. At Delden, Anno, 1545.
The counsell of Flanders.	Delden is a towne in lower Germanie, three miles from Dauentrie, where these two virgins of noble parentage were burned. Who, after diligent frequenting of Churches and Sermons, being instructed in the word of the Lord, defended; that, seeing the benefit of our saluation commeth only by our faith in Christ, all the other merchandise of the pope, which he selleth to the people for money, was needlesse. First Mary, being the younger, was put to the fire; where shee prayed ardently for her enemies, commending her soule to God. At whose constancie the Iudges did greatly maruell.
	Then they exhorted Vrsula to turne, or if she would not, at least that shee should require to bee beheaded. To whom shee said, that shee was guiltie of no errour, nor defended any thing, but which was consonant to the Scripture, in which she trusted to perseuere vnto the end. And as touching the kinde of punishment, shee said, shee feared not the fire, but rather would follow the Example of her deare sister, that went before. This was marueilous, that the executioners could in no wise consume their bodies with fire, but left them whole lying vpon the ground white: which certain good Christians priuily tooke vp in the night and buried. Thus God many times sheweth his power in the middest of tribulations. Ex Lud. Rab. Pantal. &c.
	Andreas Thiessen. Katharine his wife. Nicholas Thiessen, Francis Thiessen, brethren. At Mechlin, Anno, 1545.
The Parson of S. Katharines.	Andrew Thiessen, citizen of Mechlin, of his wife Katharine had three sonnes and a daughter, whom he instructed diligently in the doctrine of the Gospell, and despised the doings of Poperie. Wherefore being hated and persecuted of the Friers and Priests there, he went into England and there died. Francis and Nicholas his 2. sons went to Germanie to studie, & returning again to their mother and sister and younger brother, by diligent instruction brought them to the right knowledge of Gods Gospell: which being not vnknown to the Parson there of saint Katharine, hee called to them Doctor Ruardus Tapper, and other Walkers and
Doctour Tapperus.	
William de Clerck ruler of Mechlin.	

Marie and Vrsula, two virgins, martyrs.

A miracle wrought of God in the dead bodies of the two virgins.

Andrew Thiessen and his sonnes Nicholas & Francis Thiessen their sonnes, martyrs.

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and Friers, who, taking counsell together with William de Clorke the head Magistrate of the towne of Mechlin, agreed, That the mother with her foure children should bee sent to prison, separated one from another: where great labour was imployed to reclaime them home vnto their Church, that is from light to darknesse againe. The two younger, to wit, the daughter with the younger brother, being yet not setled neither in yeares nor doctrine, something inclined to them, and were deliuered. The mother which would not consent was condemned to perpetuall prison. The other two, Francis and Nicolas, standing firmely to their confession, defended, That the Catholike Church was not the Church of Rome; that the sacrament was to bee ministred in both kindes; that auricular confession was to no purpose; that inuocation of Saints was to bee left; that there was no Purgatorie. The Friers they called hypocrites, and contemned their threatnings. The magistrats, after disputations, fell to torments, to know of them who was their maker and what fellowes they had. Their maker, they said, was Christ which bare his crosse before. Fellowes, they said, they had innumerable, dispersed in all places. At last, they were brought to the Iudges: their articles were read, and they condemned to be burned. Comming to the place of execution, as they began to exhort the people, gagges or balls of wood were thrust into their mouthes, which they through vehemencie in speaking thrust out againe, desiring for the Lords sake that they might haue leaue to speake. And so singing with a loud voyce, Credo in vnum Deum, &c. they went, and were fastened to the stake, praying for their persecutors, and, exhorting the one the other, they did abide the fire patiently. The one feeling the flame to come to his beard, Ah, said hee, what a small paine is this, to be compared to the glorie to come? Thus the patient martyrs committing their spirit to the hands of God, to the great admiration of the lookers on, through constancie atchieued the Crowne of Martyrdome. Ex Phil. Melanct.

The names of their accusers appeare not in the Authors.	Marion, wife of Adrian Taylor. At Dornicke, Anno, 1545.

In the same persecution against Baulius and his companie in Dornicke, was apprehended also one Adrian and Marion his wife. The cause of their trouble, as also of the others, was the Emperours decree made in the councell of Wormes against the Lutherans mentioned before. Adrian, not so strong as a man, for feare gaue backe from the truth, and was but onely beheaded. The wife, stronger than a woman, did withstand their threats, and abide the vttermost; and being inclosed in an yron grate formed in shape of a pastie, was laied in the earth and buried quick, after the vsuall punishment of that countrie, for women. When the aduersaries first told her that her husband had relented, shee beleeued them not: and therefore, as shee went to her death, passing by the tower where hee was, shee called to him to take her leaue; but hee was gone before. Ex Pant. lib. 4.

Marion buried quicke.

The magistrates of Dornicke, or Tornay.	Master Peter Bruly, Preacher. At Dornicke, Anno, 1545.

Maister Peter Bruly was preacher in the French Church at Strausburgh. Who at the earnest request of faithfull brethren came downe to visit the lower countries about Artois and Dornick in Flanders; where hee most diligently preached the word of God vnto the people in houses, the doores standing open.

Peter Bruly martyr.

Whereupon when the Magistrates of Dornicke had shut the gates of the towne, and had made search for him three dayes, hee was privily let down the wall in the night by a basket: and as he was let down to the ditch ready to take his way, one of the which let him downe, leaning ouer the wall to bid him farewell, caused vnawares a stone to slip out of the wall, which falling vpon him brake his leg, by reason whereof he was heard of the watchmen complaining of his wound and so was taken, giuing thankes to God by whose prouidence hee was there staid to serue the Lord in that place. So long as hee remained in prison, hee ceased not to supply the part of a diligent preacher, teaching, and confirming all them that came to him in the word of grace. Being in prison he wrote his owne confession and examination, and sent it to the brethren. Hee wrote also another Epistle vnto them that were in persecution: another also to all the faithfull: also another Letter to his wife the same day that hee was burned. He remained in prison foure moneths. His sentence was giuen by the Emperours Commissioners at Bruxels, that hee should be burned to ashes, and his ashes throwne into the riuer. Although the Friers and Priests made the fire but small, to multiply his paine, yet he the more cheerefully and constantly tooke his martyrdome and suffered it. The letters of Duke Fredericke and of the Lantgraue came to intreat for him; but hee was burned a little before the letters came. Ex Lud. Rab. Lib. 6.

Gods secret working in disposing the wayes of his seruants.

The martyrdome of Baulius.

The Senate of Dornick.	Peter Miocius, Bergiban. At Dornick, Anno, 1545.

The comming of Master Peter Bruly into the countrey of Flanders did exceeding much good among the brethren, as appeared by diuers other good men

Peter Miocius martyr.

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
Cruelty shewed on Christs members.	men, and namely by this Peter Moice, which was by his occupation a silke weauer. This Peter, before hee was called to the Gospell, led a wicked life, giuen to much vngracionsnesse, and almost to all kindes of vice. But after the talke of the Gospell began to worke in him, so cleane it altered him from that former man, that hee excelled all other in godly zeale and vertue. In his first examination hee was asked whether he was one of the schollers of Peter Bzuly. Yee said hee was, and that hee had receiued much fruit by his Doctrine. Doctor Hasardus, a gray Frier. Wilt thou then defend his Doctrine, said they? yea, said he, for that it is consonant both to the old testament and to the new: and for this hee was let downe into a deepe dungeon vnder the castle ditch, full of toades and filthy vermin. Shortly after the Senat, with certain Friers, came againe to examine him, to see whether they could conuert him. To whom he answered and said, that when hee before had liued such an vngodly life, they neuer spake a word against him: but now, for sauouring and fauouring the word of God, they were so infest against him that they sought his bloud. Among whom was one Doctor Hasardus, which asked him if he did not seeme to himselfe more wicked now than euer hee was before: but he setting the Frier at light, bad him auant Frier; saying, that he had to talke with the Senate, and not with him. The Senate then began to examine him of certaine articles of religion. To whom as he was about to answer boldly and expressely to euery point, they interrupting him, bade him say in two words, either yea or nay. Then, said hee, if ye will not suffer mee to answer for my selfe in matters of such importance, then send mee to my prison againe among my toads and frogs, which will not interrupt me, while I talk with my Lord my God. The boldnesse of whose spirit and courage, as it made some to gnash their teeth, so some it made to wonder, and ministred to some great confirmation.
	There was also one Bergiban the same time in prison, who had beene a forward man, and a great doer in the Gospell, before the comming downe of Bzulius. Who being also sought for at the taking of Bzulius, and being then not found at home, either by chance not knowing, or else because he conueyed himselfe out of the way for feare, conceiued thereof such sorrow in his minde, that afterward neither his wife nor children, nor any friends else could stay him, but he would needes offer himselfe to the judges, saying vnto the ruler, being asked why hee came, The magistrates came to seeke mee, said hee, and now I am come to know what they would. Whereupon the ruler, being sorrie of his comming, yet notwithstanding committed him to prison, where he remained constant a certaine while. But after the Commissioners had threatened him with cruell tor-

Persecutors,	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
	ments, and horrour of death, he began by little and little to wauer and shrinke from the truth. At the faire words of the false Friers and priests, to haue his punishment changed, and to be beheaded, hee was faine to grant vnto their biddings and requests. Whereupon the aduersaries, taking their aduantage, came to Wiocius, and told him of Bergibans retractation, willing him to doe the like. But he, stoutly persisting in the truth, indured to the fire, where he, hauing powder put to his breast, was so put to death and dispatched. The Friers, hearing the cracke of the powder vpon his breast, told the people, that the diuell came out of him and carried away his soule. Ex Rab. & aliis.
A certaine Prince in Germanie, about Hungarie or the parts of Panonia.	A Priest of Germanie. Iohannes Gastius Convivialium Sermo. libro secundo, writeth of a certaine Prince, but doth not name him, which put out the eyes of a certaine priest in Germanie, for no other cause, but for that hee said the masse to be no sacrifice, in that sense as many priests doe take it. Neither did the cruell prince immediatly put him to death, but first kept him in prison a long time, afflicting him with diuers torments. Then he was brought forth to be degraded, after a barbarous and tyrannous manner. First, they shaued the crowne of his head, then rubbed it hard with salt, that the bloud came running downe his shoulders. After that they rased and pared the tops of his fingers with cruell paine, that no sauour of the holy oyle might remaine. At last the patient and godly marty, foure dayes after, yeelded vp his life and spirit. Ex Ioan. Gastio Lib. 2.
A Bishop in Hungarie.	A godly Priest in Hungarie. In Hungarie a certaine godly Priest preached, that the eating of flesh is not prohibited in the Scripture: for the which the cruell Bishop, after hee had imprisoned him certaine weekes, caused him to be brought out, and his body to bee tyed ouer with Hares, Geese, and Hennes hanging round about him: and so the beastly Bishop made dogges to be set vpon him, which cruelly rent and tore whatsoeuer they could catch: and thus the good Minister of Christ, being driuen about the Citie with the barking of dogges, dyed, and was martyred. The sight whereof as it was lamentable to the godly, so it seemed ridiculous to the wicked. But within few dayes after, the impious Bishop, by the stroke of Gods iust hand, fell sicke and became horne-madde, and so raging without sense or wit, miserably dyed. Ex Tom. 2. Conuialium Sermonum Iohann. Gastii.

The martyrdome of a godly priest.

The martyrdome of a godly priest.

Iust punishment of God vpon cruell persecutors.

Perſecutors. | Martyrs, and the cauſes of their martyrdome.

John Fredericke of Saxonie, Elector, Anno, 1547.

Among theſe godly and conſtant Saints of Chriſt may well bee recounted John Fredericke Duke of Saxonie. Who when he had recouered againe all his dominions (which Duke Maurice had taken from him before, being in Sueuia with his army) and at laſt was taken priſoner of the Emperour at Albis, the foure and twentieth of Aprill, Anno, 1547, yet could neuer be induced to yéeld to the emperour in reuoking his faith and Doctrine of the Goſpell wherein he ſtood: For the which he was detained from his wife and children, and bereaued of all his goods, and carried about with the Emperour, the ſpace of fiue yeares. This admirable conſtancie of that Duke, was a wonder to all his aduerſaries. At laſt, in the yeare of our Lord, 1552. through the benefit of Almightie God, he was ſet againe at libertie, and, returning home to his wife, and children, continued in his religion till the houre of his death. Ex Sleid. Lib. 19.

Frederick ke of Saxonie

Much like was the cauſe alſo of Philip Lantgraue of Heſſe, who likewiſe, being taken and ſpoiled of the Emperour, continued the ſpace of fiue yéeres in the cruell cuſtodie of the Spaniards: and albeit he had fined vnto the Emperour, and was promiſed to bee ſet free out of priſon, the Emperour and his counſell, dallying with their promiſe, expounded his impriſonment not to be perpetuall. And though great labour and interceſſion was made for him, yet all would not helpe. For when the Emperour ſent him away, then Mary the Emperours ſiſter tooke him by the way, finding cauillations againſt him: whereby he was againe committed into the hands of Spaniards, till at length, through the diſpoſing of Gods mercy, firſt the Duke of Saxonie, and then ſir dayes after the Lantgraue alſo, were both freed out of long captiuitie, and ſent home. Ex Com. Sleid. Libr. 19. 24.

Lantgraue Heſſe.

Hermannus Archbiſhop of Colen, Anno, 1547.

With theſe holy martyrs aboue recited may alſo bee numbred Hermannus archbiſhop of Colen. Who, a little before the Emperour had warre againſt the Proteſtants, had reformed his church from certaine papiſticall ſuperſtitions, vſing therein the aide and aduice of Martine Bucer. Wherefore Charles the Emperour ſent word to Colen, that he ſhould be depoſed; which hee patiently did ſuffer. In his roome was ſet Adolphus Earle of Schaumenburge. Ex Sleid. lib. 18.

Charles the Emperour.

Hermannus Archbiſhop of Colen.

Maſter Nicolas Finchman, Marion, wife of Auguſtinus. Anno, 1549.

Maſter Nicholas and Barbara his wife; Alſo Auguſtinus a Barbar, and Marion his wife, borne about Hennegow, after they had béene at Geneua a ſpace, came into Germanie, thinking that way to paſſe ouer into England. By the way comming to Hennegow, Auguſtine deſired Maſter Nicolas (becauſe he was learned) to come to Bergis to viſit and comfort certaine brethren there; which he willingly did. From thence paſſing by Dornick (or Tornay) they held on their iourney toward England. But in the way Auguſtine and his wife, béeing knowne, were detected to the Lieutenant of Dornicke, who, in all ſpéedie haſte following after them, ouertooke them foure miles beyond Dornicke. Auguſtine (how I cannot tell) eſcaped that time out of their hands, and could not bee found. The ſouldiers, then laying hands vpon Nicholas and the two women, brought them backe againe vnto Dornicke. In returning by the way, when maſter Nicolas at the table gaue thankes (as the manner is of the faithfull) the wicked ruler ſcorning them, and ſwearing like a tyrant, ſaid, Now let vs ſee thou lewd heretike, whether thy God can deliuer thée out of my hand. To whom Nicolas anſwering againe modeſtly, aſked what had Chriſt euer offended him, that he with his blaſphemous ſwearing did ſo teare him in péeces; deſiring him, that if hee had any thing againſt Chriſt, rather he would wreake his anger vpon his poore body, and let the Lord alone. Thus they, being bound hands and féet, were brought to Bergis, and there layed in the dungeon. Then Duke Ariſcote, accompanied with a great number of Prieſts, and Franciſcane Friers, and with a doctor which was their Warden, came to talke with them. Nicolas, ſtanding in the middeſt of them, being aſked what he was, and whether he would, anſwered them perfectly to all their queſtions: and moreouer ſo confounded the Friers, that they went away aſhamed, ſaying, that hee had a diuell, and crying, To the fire with him Lutheraue.

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The Preſident or Maior of Dornicke.

Nicholas Frenchman, Marion wife of Auguſtinus martyrs.

Blaſphemie of a Papiſt.

The Friers confounded.

As they continued loking ſtill for the day of their execution, it came to the rulers mindes, to aſke of Nicolas in what houſe hee was lodged when hee came to Bergis. Nicolas ſaid, he had neuer béene there before, and therefore being a ſtranger he could not tell the name of the houſe. When Nicolas would conſeſſe nothing, Duke Ariſcotus came to Barbara Nicolas his wife, to know where they were lodged at Bergis, promiſing many faire words of deliuery, if ſhe would tell. She, being a weake and a timorous woman, vttered all. By the occaſion whereof great perſecution followed, and many were apprehended. Where this is to be noted, that ſhortly, euen vpon the ſame, the ſonne of the ſaid duke Ariſcotus was ſlaine, and buried the ſame day when Auguſtinus was burned. To be ſhort, Nicolas ſhortly after was brought before the Iudges, and there condemned to bee burned to aſhes. At which ſentence giuing, Nicolas

Barbara reuolted.

Gods puniſhment vpon perſecutors.

Nicolas condemned.

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colas blessed the Lord, which had counted him worthie to bee a witnesse in the cause of his deare & well beloued son. Going to the place of execution, he was commanded to speake nothing vnto the people, or else hee should haue a ball of wood thrust into his mouth. Being at the stake and seeing a great multitude about him, forgetting his silence promised, hee cried with a loud voyce; O Charles, Charles, how long shall thy heart be hardened? and with that, one of the Souldiers gaue him a blow. Then said Nicolas againe. Ah miserable people, thou art not worthie to whom the word of God should be preached. And thus hee spake as they were binding him to the stake. The Friers came out with their old song, crying, that he had a diuell. To whom Nicolas spake the verse of the Psalme: Depart from me all yee wicked, for the Lord hath heard the voyce of my weeping. And thus this holy martyr, patiently taking his death, commended vp his spirit vnto God in the midst of the fire. Ex Lud. Rab. Pant. & aliis.

Marion wife of Austen, aboue mentioned, at Bergis in Hennegow, An. 1549.

The martyrdome of Marion.

After the martyrdome of this Walter Nicolas, Marion the wife of Austen was called for. With whom they had much talke about the manner and state of Geneua, asking her how the sacraments were administred there, and whether she had celebrated there the Lords Supper. To whom shee answered, That the Sacraments there were celebrated after the Lords institution, of the which she was no celebrater, but a partaker. The sentence of her condemnation was this, That she should be interred quicke. When she was let downe to the graue, kneeling vpon her knees, shee desired the Lord to helpe her, and before she should be throwne downe, shee desired her face might be couered with a napkin or some linnen cloth; who being so couered, and the earth throwne vpon her face and her body, the hangman stamped vpon her with his feet, till her breath was past. Ibidem.

Marion buried quicke.

Austen the husband of Marion. At Bellimont in Hennegow, Anno, 1549.

The watchmen or souldiers of Bellimont.

Hee heard before how Augustine escaped before at the taking of Nicolas and the two women. After this he gaue himselfe to sell spices and other pedlarie ware from place to place. Who, at length comming to the towne of Bellimont in Hennegow, there was knowne and detected to the Magistrate. Whereof he hauing some intelligence before, left his ware, and ranne away. And seeing moreouer

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the house beset about with harnessed men where he was hosted, he began to be more afraid, and hid himselfe in a bush: for he was verie timorous, and a weake spirited man. But the houre being come which the Lord had appointed for him, it happened that certaine standing vpon the towne wall which might well see him goe into the thicket or bush, gaue knowledge thereof to the Souldiers, which followed him to the bush, and tooke him. Being taken, hee was had to Bergis, the head towne of Hennegow, where being examined, valiantly standing to the defence of his doctrine, hee answered his aduersaries with great boldnesse.

Augustine again taken.

Wherein here is to bee noted and maruelled to see the worke of the Lord, how this man beeing before of nature so timorous, now was so strengthened with Gods grace, that hee nothing feared the force of all his enemies. Among other came to him the Warden of the gray Friers, with a long Oration perswading him to relent, or else he should be damned in hell fire perpetually. To whom Austen answering againe said, proue that which you say by the authority of Gods word, that a man may beleeue you: you say much, but you proue nothing, rather like a doctor of lies, than of truth, &c. At last, he being there condemned to be burned at Bellimont, was brought to the Inne where hee should take horse: where was a certaine Gentleman a stranger, who, drinking to him in a cup of wine, desired him to haue pitie vpon himselfe, and if he would not fauour his life, yet that he would fauour his owne soule. To whom said Austen, after he had thanked him for his good will, What care I haue, said he, of my soule, you may see by this, that I had rather giue my body to be burned, than to doe that thing that were against my conscience. When he was come to the towne of Bellimont, where he should be burned, the same day there was a great buriall of the Duke Aruscotus his sonne, which was slaine a little before (as is before touched) by the occasion whereof many nobles and Gentlemen were there present, which hearing of this Austine, came to him and talked with him. When the day came of his martyrdome, the people beeing offended at his constancy cried out to haue him drawne at an horse taile to the place of burning: but the Lord would not suffer that. In fine, being tied to the stake and fire set vnto him, heartily he prayed vnto the Lord, and so in the fire patiently departed. Ex Crisp. & aliis.

Tramples of Gods goodnes in strengthening the fainthearted.

The death & martyrdom of Augustine.

A certaine woman of Auspurge At Auspurge, Anno, 1550.

The names of the persecutors be not expressed in the story.

At Auspurge a certaine woman there dwelling, seeing a priest to carry the host to a sicke person with taper light (as the manner is) asked him what he meant so to goe with candle light at noone day. For this shee

Ex Ioan. Sleid. lib.

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thée was apprehended, and in great danger, had it not béene for the earnest suite and prayers of the women of that citie, and at the intercession of Marie the Emperours sister. Ex Io. Sleid. Lib. 22.

Two virgins martyrs.

Two virgins in the Dioceſſe of Bamberge, Anno, 1551.

In the Diocesse of Bamberge two maides were led out to slaughter, which they sustained with patient hearts and chéerefull countenances. They had garlands of straw put on their heads. Whereupon the one comforting the other going to their martyrdome, Séeing Christ, sayd shée, for vs bare a Crowne of thornes, why should we sticke to beare a crowne of straw? no doubt but the Lord will render to vs again better than crownes of gold: some sayd that they were Anabaptists, and it might be (saith Melanchon) that they had some fond opinion admixed withall; yet they did hold, saith he, the foundation of the Articles of our faith, and they died blessedly, in a good conscience and knowledge of the Son of God. Few doe liue without errours. Flatter not your selues, thinking your selues so cleare that you cannot erre. Hæc Phil. Melanct.

constancie to suffered in the citie of Magdeburge.

The Christian Citie of Magdeburge, Anno, 1551.

When Charles the Emperor had almost got all his purpose in Germanie, in obtruding his religion of Interim into all places, which was receiued of the most part of all the chiefe princes and cities; onely the citie of Magdeburge, continuing in the constancie of their doctrine reformed, refused to admit the same. Wherefore warre was raised against them, their citie besieged, and great violence vsed: so that many honest and religious citizens for the Gospels cause sustained great perils and danger of death. At last, when they had manfully and constantly endured such great distresse and calamity, the space of a whole yeare, through the blessed prouidence of Almighty God, (who about the same time sent warre betweene the French King and the Emperour) honest reconciliation was made betweene them and the Emperour, whereby they were receiued into fauour, and suffered to enioy their former religion quietly. Ex Ioan. Sleid. lib. 23.

The names of their persecutors appeare not in the story.

Hostius, otherwise called George, At Gaunt, An. 1555.

Persecutors. | Martyrs and the causes of their martyrdome.

Hostius, martyr.

This Hostius, born at Gaunt, was cunning in grauing in armour, and in steele. Hée first was in the French church here in England, during the raigne of king Edward. After the coming of quéene Marie he went to Norden in Friseland, with his wife and children. From thence hauing businesse he came to Gaunt, where (after a certain space that he had there continued, instructing diuers of his friends) he heard that there was a blacke Frier, which vsed to preach good doctrine to the people. Wherefore hée, being desirous to heare, came to his sermon; where the Frier, contrary to his expectation, preached in defence of transubstantiation. At the hearing whereof his heart was so full, that he had much adoe to refraine, while the Sermon was finished. As soone as the Frier was come downe, he burst out and charged him with false doctrine, perswading the people, as well as he could be heard, by the Scriptures, that the bread was but a Sacrament onely of the Lords body. The Frier, not willing to heare him, made signes vnto him to depart. Also the throng of the people was such, that it carried him out of the doores. He had not gone farre, but Hesselius the Chamberlaine ouertooke him and carried him to prison. Then were doctors and other friers, as Pistorius, and Wunderius, brought to reason with him, of the Sacrament, of inuocation of saints, and purgatorie. He euer stood to the triall onely of the Scripture: which they refused. Then was it agréed that he should declare his mind in writing: which he did. He wrote also to his wife at Emden: comforting her, and requiring her to take care for Samuell and Sara his children. When he was condemned, he was commanded not to speake to the people. Hesselius the officer made great haste to haue him dispatched. Wherefore he, mildely like a lambe, praying for his enemies, gaue himselfe to be bound, patiently taking what they would doe against him: whom first they strangled, and then consumed his bodie being dead with fire. And this was the martyrdome of Hostius. Ex Lud. Rab. lib. 6.

Iames Hesselius Chamberlaine of Gaunt, and the friers there.

Ioan. Frisius Abbat in Bauaria Anno, 1534.

Ioannes Sleidan. Libr. 25. maketh record of one Iohann. Frisius Abbat of Newkat within the Diocesse of the Bishop Virtzpolensis in Bauaria: Who, being suspected of Lutheranisme, was called to account of his faith: and strongly persisting in his assertions, and defending the same by the scriptures, hee was therefore displaced and remoued from all his Iurisdictions, The fiue and twentieth of Iune, An. 1555. Ex Sleid.

John Frisius Abbat.

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
The Baylife of Hennegow, gouernour of the towne & castle of Dornicke.	Bertrand le Blas, at Dornicke, Anno, 1555.
	The storie of Bertrand is lamentable, his torments incredible, the tyrannie shewed vnto him horrible, the constancie of the martyr admirable. This Bertrand, being a silke weauer, went to Wesell for the cause of religion. Who being desirous to draw his wife and children from Dornicke to Wesell, came thrice from thence to perswade her to go with him thither. When she in no wise could be intreated, he, remaining a few dayes at
Peter Deuentiere, Lieutenant of the said Baylife.	home, set his house in order, and desired his wife and his brother to pray that God would establish him in his enterprise that he went about. That done, hee went vpon Christmas day to the high Church of Dornicke, where he toke the cake out of the priests hands, as he would haue lifted it ouer his head at masse, and stampt it vnder his feete, saying,
Philip de Cordis chiefe counseller in criminal causes.	That he did it to shew the glorie of that God, and what little power he hath: with other words moe to the people, to perswade them that the cake or fragment of bread was not Iesus their Sauiour.
Nicholas Chambree.	At the sight hereof the people, beeing stricken with a maruelous dampe, stood all amased. At length such a stirre thereupon followed, that Bertrand could hardly escape with life. It was
Peter Rechelier.	not long but the noise of this was carried to the Bayliffe of Hennegow, and gouernour of the castle of Dornicke, which lay sicke the same time of the Gout at Biesse. Who like a mad man cryed out, that euer God would or could be so patient, to suffer
Iames de Clerke.	that contumelie, so to be troden vnder the foot by such a miser: adding moreouer, that he would reuenge his cause in such sort,
Nicolas of Fernague.	as it should bee an example for euer to all posteritie; and forthwith the furious tyrant commanded himselfe to bee carried
M. Hermes of Wingles, one of the counsell for the said Bailiwicke.	to the castle of Dornicke. Bertrand, being brought before him, was asked whether he repented of his fact, or whether he would so doe, if it were to be done againe. Who answered, that if it were an hundred times to bee done, he would doe it; and if he had an hundred lines, he would
Bertrand thrice tormented.	giue them in that quarrell. Then was hee thrice put to the Pinbanke, tormented most miserably, to vtter his setters on, which hee would neuer doe. Then proceeded they to the
The miserable and tragicall handling of Bertrand.	sentence, more like tyrants than Christian men. By the tenour of which sentence this was his punishment: First, he was drawne from the Castle of Dornicke to the market place, hauing a ball of yron put in his mouth. Then hee was set vpon a stage, where his right hand,

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
	wherewith he toke the holie, was crushed and pressed betweene two hot yrons with sharpe yron edges fierie red, till the forme and fashion of his hand was misshapen. In like manner they brought other like yrons for his right foot, made fire hot, whereunto of his owne accord he put his foot, to suffer as his hand had done before, with maruellous constancie and firmenesse of minde. That done, they toke the ball of yron out of his mouth, and cut off his tongue, who notwithstanding, with continuall crying, ceased not to call vpon God: whereby the hearts of the people were greatly moued: Whereupon the tormentors thrust in the yron ball into his mouth againe. From thence they brought him downe to the lower stage, he going to the same no lesse chearefully and quietly, then if no part of his body had beene hurt. There his legs and his hands were bound behind him with an yron chaine going about his bodie, and so he was let downe fiat vpon the fire: whom the foresaid Gouernour, there standing by and looking vpon, caused to be let vp againe, and so downe and vp againe, till at last the whole body was spent to ashes, which he commanded to be cast into the riuer: when this was done, the Chappell where this masse-god was so intreated was lockt vp, and the bord, whereupon the priest stood, was burnt, the marble stone whereupon the holie did light was broken in peeces. And finally, forsomuch as the said Bertrand had receiued his doctrine at Wesell, commandement was giuen, That no person out of that countrey should goe to Wesell, or there occupie, vnder incurring the danger of the Emperours Placard. Ex Crisp. Pantal. & Adriano.
	The right hand and foot of Bertrand melted off with hot yrons.
	The tongue of Bertrand cut off.
	The burning and martyrdome of Bertrand.
	Two hundred Ministers of Bohemia, Anno, 1555.
	The same yeere two hundred ministers and preachers of the Gospell were banished out of Bohemia for preaching against the superstition of the bishop of Rome, and extolling the glory of Christ. Ex com. Iohan. Sleid. lib. 25.
	Persecution in Bohemia.
	The Preachers of Locrane.
	Locrane is a place, betweene the Alpes, yet subiect to the Heluetians. When these also had receiued the Gospell, and the fiue Pages of the Heluetians aboue mentioned were not well pleased therewith, but would haue them punished, and great contention was among the Heluetians about the same, it was concluded at length, that the Ministers should bee exiled: whom the Tigurins did receiue. Ex Pant.
	Francis Warlut, Alexander Dayken, At Dornicke, Anno, 1562.
	After these two good men, being borne in the lower parts of Germanie, had beene conuersant in diuers reformed churches in other countries: at last, for conscience sake they returned home againe to doe good in their owne
	Persecution in Locrane.

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.

Francis Warlut, Alexander Dayken, martyrs.

owne countrey of Dornick, and thereabout.

So vpon a time as the people there resorted to a backe field or wood without the citie, with a certaine preacher, to heare the word of God, and to pray, the aduersaries, hauing thereof some intelligence, so pursued them, that they tooke of them aboue thirtie, of whom these two among the rest were apprehended; and thinking no lesse but that they should be burned, they began to sing Psalmes. At length being brought forth, first one, then the other, they were both beheaded. And where the Iudges had intended to quarter their bodies, and to set them vp by the high wayes, yet was it so prouided, God working in the hearts of the people, that they were both committed to Sepulture. Ex Lud. Rab.

The father with his two sons and his daughter martyred.

Gillotus Vluer.
Iames Faber his father in law.
Michael Faber, son of Iames.
Anna wife of Gillotus, and daughter of Iames Faber.

Earle of Lalaine.

These in the cause of the Gospel suffered at Valence.

James Faber, being an old man, said, That although hee could not answer or satisfie them in reasoning, yet he would constantly abide in the truth of the Gospell.

Anna his daughter, being with childe, was respited: after she was deliuered, shee followed her husband and father in the like martyrdome.

Michella wife of James Clerke, martyr. This James Clerke before was burned.

Michella Caignoucle, at Valence, Anno, 1550.

Michella, wife of James Clerke which was before burned, when she was offered to bee married, and to bee carried out of the countrey to some reformed church, refused so to doe, but would abide the aduenture of her vocation, and so was condemned with Gillotus to be burned. Ex Crisp.

Godfride a Tailor, martyr.

Godfridus Hamelle, at Dornick, An. 1552.

This Godfride a Tailour was taken and condemned at Dornicke, or Tournay. When they had condemned him by the name of an heretike; Nay (sayd he) not an heretike, but a seruant of Iesus Christ vnprofitable. When the hangman went about to strangle him to diminish his punishment, he refused it, saying, that hee would abide the sentence that the Iudges had giuen. Ex. eod.

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.

¶ Besides these Germanes aboue specified, a great number there was, both in the higher and lower countries of Germanie, which were secretly drowned, or buried, or otherwise in prison made away; whose names although they bee not knowne to vs, yet they are registred in the booke of life. Furthermore, in the Dutch booke of Adrian, diuers other bee numbred in the catalogue of these Germaine martyrs, which likewise suffered in diuers places of the lower countrey: the names of certaine whereof bee these. At Bergis or Berghen in Hennegow were burnt in the yeare of our Lord, 1555. Iohn Malo, Damian Witrock. Waldrew Calier burned quicke, Iohn Porceau. At Alle suffered also one Iulian, Anno, 1541. and Adrian Lopphen, an. 1555, at Bruxels, anno, 1559. one Bawdwine beheaded. Another called Gilleken Tilleman burnt, anno, 1551. Adde moreouer to the same Catalogue of Dutch martyrs burnt and consumed, in the lower countries vnder the Emperours Dominion, the names of these following. William Swole, burnt at Mechlin, anno, 1529. Nicolas Van Pole at Gaunt beheaded. Robert Dguier, and Ioane his wife, with Baudicon and Martin Dguier their children, which suffered at Lisle, anno, 1556. M. Nicolas burnt at Mons in Hennegow; Laurence of Bruxels, at Mons; Iohn Falleau at Mons; Cornelis Volcart at Brugis, anno, 1553. Hubert the Painter, and Philebert Ioyner at Brugis, anno, 1553. A woman buried with thornes vnder her: Peter le Rour at Brugis, anno, 1552. At Mechlin suffered Francis and Nicolas, two brethren, anno, 1555. At Antwerpe were burnt Adrian a painter and Henry a Taylour, anne, 1555. Also Cornelis Halewine Locksmith, and Herman Ianson the same yeare. Master Iohn du Champe, Schoolemaster, anno, 1557. with a number of other besides, which in the said booke are to be seene and read.

Diuers in the lower countries, martyred.

Ex Gallicana hist. & Adrian.

Anno, 1525. wee read also in the French History of a certaine monke, who, because he forsooke his abhominable order and was married, was burnt at Prague.

A Preacher poysoned at Erford.

The priests of Erford.

In the collections of Henry Pantalion, we read also of a certaine godly Preacher to be poysoned, for preaching the word of truth, by the Priests of Erford. Ex Elegia cujusdam viri docti. in Plantal.

And here ceasing with these persecutions in Germany, we will now, Christ willing, proceed further to the French martyrs, comprehending in a like table the names and causes of such as in that kingdome suffered for the word of God and cause of righteousnesse, as in this briefe Summarie consequently hereunder ensueth.

Another Table of them which suffered in France, for *the like witnesse of the Gospell.*

The French Martys.

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
	Iames Pauane Schoolemaster, at Paris, Anno, 1524.
James Pauane, martyr.	THis James, first being taken by the Bishop of Melden, or Meaux, was compelled to recant by Doctour Martiall. Afterward returning againe to his confession, hee was burnt at Paris, in the yeare 1525. Ex Io. Crisp.
Doctor Marshall of Paris.	Dionisius de Rieux, At Melda, or Meaux, Anno. 1528.
Dionisius de Rieux martyr.	This Denys was one of them which was first burned at Melda, for saying, That the masse is a plaine deniall of the death and passion of Christ. He was alwayes wont to haue in his mouth the words of Christ: Hee that denieth mee before men, him also will I denie before my Father, and to muse vpon the same earnestly. Hee was burnt with a slow fire, and did abide much torment. Ex Crisp. & aliis.
This Denis, hauing a wooden crosse put into his hands by the Friers, with his teeth cast it into the riuer, which made the Friers mad.	
	Iohannes de Cadurco, Batchelor of the Ciuill Law, An. 1533.
Johannes Cadurcus, martyr.	This John, first for making a Sermon or exhortation to his countrimen of Limosine in France vpon Alhallow day; and after sitting at a feast where it was propounded, that euerie one should bring forth some sentence; for that hee brought forth this; Christ raigne in our hearts, and did prosecute the same by the Scriptures in much length of words, was thereupon accused, taken and degraded, and after burned. At his degradation one of the Blacke Fryers of Paris preached, taking for his Theame the words of Saint Paul, 1 Tim. 4. The spirit speaketh, that in the later daies men shall depart from the faith, giuing heed to lying spirits, and doctrine of errour, &c. And in handling that place, either hee could not, or would not proceed further in the text. Cadurcus cryed out to him to proceed, and read further. The Frier stood dumbe, and could not speake a word.
	Then Cadurcus, taking the text, did prosecute the same, as followeth: Teaching false Doctrine in hypocrisie, hauing their conscience marked with a hot iron, forbidding to marrie, and

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
	to eat meats, created of God to be eaten with thanksgiuing, &c. Ex Io. Crisp.
	Bartholmew Mylen, a lame Cripple.
	Iohn Burges merchant, the receiuer of Nantes.
	Henry Poille of Couberon.
	Catella, a Schoolemistris.
	Steuen de la Forge, merchant. Anno, 1533.
Promoters of Paris.	These fiue here specified, for certaine bills cast abroad and set vp, sounding against the abhomination of the Masse, and other superstitious absurdities of the Pope, were condemned and burned in the city of Paris. Henry of Couberon had his tongue bored through, and with an yron wire tied fast to one of his cheekes: who likewise with the other was burned as is aforesaid. Ex Io. Crisp.
Fiue martyrs burned.	
	Alexander Canus Priest, otherwise called, Laurentius Cruceus, at Paris, An. 1533.
Alexander Canus, martyr.	For the sincere doctrine and confession of Christs true Religion he was burned in Paris, hauing but a small fire, and did abide much torment. Ex Henric. Pant.
	Iohn Pointer, a Surgeon, at Paris, Anno, 1533.
The Gray Friers in Paris.	This Surgeon being detected and accused by the Friers, and such as hee had cured before of the French Pockes, was first condemned to bee strangled, and then burned: but afterward, because hee would not doe homage to a certaine Idoll at the commandement of a Frier that came to confesse him, his sentence was turned to haue his tongue cut off, and so to bee burned. Ex Cris.
Doctour Clerke a Sorboniste.	
John Pointer martyr. In France the manner was, that the martyrs comming by any image as they went to burning, & would not worship the same, had their tongues cut out.	
	Peter Gaudet, Knight sometimes of Rhodes, Anno, 1533.
A certaine knight of Rhodes vncle to this Peter.	This Peter, being at Geneua with his wife, was trained out from thence by his Vncle, and put in prison for defence of the Gospel: and, after long torments there sustained, was burned. Vide Crisp.
Peter Gaudet martyr.	
	Quoquillard, An. 1534.
Quoquillard martyr.	At Bezanson, in the county of Burgundy, this Quoquillard was

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
	was burned for the confession and testimony of Christs Gospel. Ex. Io.Crisp.
	Nicholas a Scriuener. Iohn de Poix. Stephen Burlet. Anno, 1534. These three were executed and burned for the like cause of the Gospel, in the citie of Arras: namely Nicolas a Scriuener, Iohn de Poir, Stephen Burlet, Ex.Io.Crisp.
A gray Frier in the Citie of Rochel.	Marie Becaudella, At Fountains, An, 1534. This Marie being vertuously instructed of her Maker where she liued; and beeing afterward at a Sermon, where a Frier Preached; after the Sermon found fault with his Doctrine, and refuted the same by the Scriptures. Whereat hee disdaining procured her to bee burned at Fountaines. Ibidem.
	Iohn Cornon, Anno, 1535. Iohn Cornon was a Husbandman of Mascon, and vnlettered: but one to whom God gaue such wisedome, that his Iudges were amased, when he was condemned by their sentence, and burned. Ex Crispin.
George Borell, Taylor. The Procurator of the citie of Grenoble in France. The Inquisitor.	Martin Gonin, in Dolphine, Anno, 1536. This Martine being taken for a spie in the Borders of France, toward the Alpes, was committed to prison. In his going out, his Taylor espied about him Letters of Farellus and of Peter Viret. Wherefore beeing examined of the Kings Procuratour, and of the Inquisitour, touching his Faith, after hee had rendered a sufficient reason thereof, hee was cast into the Riuer and drowned, Ex Io.Crisp.
The kinsfolkes and friends of this Claudius. Morinus, an officer.	Claudius Painter a Goldsmith, At Paris, Anno, 1540. Claudius going about to conuert his friends and kinsfolkes to his Doctrine, was by them committed to Morinus, a chiefe captaine, who condemned him to bee burned: but the high Parliament of Paris, correcting that sentence, added moreouer, That hee should haue his tongue cut out before, and so bee burned. Ex Io.Crisp.
	Stephen Brune a husbandman, at Rutiers, Anno, 1540. Stephen Brune was persecu-

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
Gasper Augerius the bishops renter.	ted of Augerius, who after his confession giuen of his Fayth was adiudged to be burned. Which punishment hee tooke so constantly, that it was to them a wonder. His aduersaries commanded after his death to be cryed, That none should make any more mention of him, vnder paine of Heresie.
Domicellus, a Franciscan and an Inquisitor.	Pantalion addeth moreouer, That, at the place of his burning called Planuoll, the Winde rose and blew the fire so from him, as hee stood exhorting the people, that hee there continued about the space of an houre, in a manner not harmed, or scarce touched with any flame: so that, all the wood being wasted away, they were compelled to begynne the fire againe with new Fagots, and vessels of oyle, and such other matter: and yet neither could he with all this be burned, but stood safe. Then the hangman tooke a staffe, and let driue at his head. To whom the holy martyr being yet aliue said, When I am iudged to the fire, doe yee beat me with staues like a dog? With that the hangman with his pike thrust him through the belly and the guts, and so threw him downe into the fire, and burned his body to ashes, throwing away his ashes afterward with the Winde. Ex Iohanne Crisp.
	Constantinus, a Citizen of Roan, with three other, Ann. 1542. These foure, for defence of the Gospell being condemned to be burned, were put in a Dung-cart. Who, thereat reioycing, said, that they were reputed here as excrements of this World, but yet their death was a sweet odour vnto God, Ex Iohanne Crisp.
	Iohn du Becke priest, Anno, 1543. For the doctrine of the Gospell hee was degraded, and constantly abode the torment of fire in the Citie of Troyes in Champaigne. Ex Iohan. Crispino.
The parish priest of the towne of Saint Faith in Angeow.	Aymond de Lauoy, at Bourdeaux, Anno, 1543. This Aymond preached the Gospell at Saint Faiths in Angeow, where he was accused by the parish priest there, and by other Priests more, to haue taught false Doctrine, to the great decay of their gaines. Whereupon, when the Magistrates of Bourdeaux had giuen commandement, and had sent out their apparitours to apprehend him, hee hauing intelligence thereof was willed by his friends to flie and shift for himselfe:

Nicholas a Scriuener, Iohn de Poix, Stephen Burlet, 3 mrtyrs.

Mary Becaudella, martyr.

Jn Cornon martyr.

The martyr not harmed with the fire.

Martin Gonin martyr.

Constantine Norhman with three other, martyrs.

Claudius Painter Goldsmith, martyr.

John du Becke martyr.

Stephen Brune martyr.

Aymondus de Lauoy martyr.

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selfe: but hee would not, saying, That hee had rather neuer to haue beene borne, than so to doe. It was the office of a good Shepheard, hee said, not to flie in time of perill, but rather to abide the danger, lest the flocke bee scattered: or else lest peraduenture, in so doing, hee should leaue some scruple in their mindes, thus to thinke, that hee had fedde them with Dreames and fables, contrary to the word of God. Wherefore beseeching them to moue him no more therein, hee told them that hee feared not to yeeld vp both body and soule in the quarrell of that truth, which hee had taught: saying with Saint Paul, That hee was ready not onely to bee bound for the testimonie of Christ, in the citie of Bourdeaux, but also to die. To contract the long story hereof to a briefe narration, the sumner came, and was in the citie three daies: during which time, Aymondus preached three sermons. The people, in defence of their preacher, flew vpon the Sumner, to deliuer him out of his hands. But Aymund desired them not to stop his martyrdome: seeing it was the will of God that he should suffer for him, he would not, said he, resist. Then the Consuls suffered the Sumner, and so Aymund was carried to Bordeaux. Where many witnesses, the most part being priests, came in against him, with master Riueracke also, and his seruant: which Riueracke had said oftentimes before, that it should cost him a thousand crownes, but hee would burne him. Many exceptions hee made against his false witnesses, but that would not be taken. All their accusation was onely for denying purgatory.

The office of a good shepheard to stand by his flocke.

Also other priests of the same countrey.

Riueracus and his seruant.

Act.21.

About nine moneths he remained in prison with great misery, bewailing exceedingly his former life, albeit, there was no man that could charge him outwardly with any crime. Then came downe letters, whereupon the Judges began to proceede to his condemnation, and he had greater fetters put vpon him; which hee tooke for a token of his death shortly to follow. After that, he was examined with torments. One of the head Presidents came to him, and shaking him by the beard, bad him tell what fellowes hee had of his religion. To whom he answered, saying, That he had no other fellowes, but such as knew and did the will of God his father, whether they were Nobles, Merchants, husbandmen, or of what degree soeuer they were. In these torments he endured two or three houres, being but of a weake body, with these words comforting himselfe: This body, said he, once must die, but the spirit shall liue: the kingdome of God abideth for euer. In the time of his tormenting he swounded. Afterward, comming to himselfe againe, he said, O Lord, Lord why hast thou forsaken me? To whom the President, Nay wicked Lutheran, said he, thou hast forsaken God. Then said Aymundus, Alas good masters, why doe you thus miserably torment me? O Lord I beseech thee forgiue them, they know not what they doe. See (said the President) this caitife how hee prayeth for vs: neuerthelesse so constant was hee in his paines, that they could not force him to vtter one mans name: saying vnto them, that hee thought to haue found more mercie with men; wherefore he prayed God that he might finde mercie with him.

On the next Saturday following, sentence of condemnation was giuen against him. Then certain friers were appointed to heare his confession. Whom he refused, chusing to him one of his owne Order, the parish priest of Saint Christophers, bidding the friers depart from him, for he would confesse his sinnes to the Lord. Do you not see, said he, how I am troubled enough with men, will ye yet trouble me more: Other haue had my bodie, will yee also take from me my soule? Away from me I pray you. At last, when he could not be suffered to haue the Parish Priest, he then tooke a certaine Carmelite, bidding the rest to depart; with whom hee hauing long talke, at last did conuert him to the truth. Shortly after that came vnto him the Judges, Cassagnes, and Longa, with other Counsellours moe; vnto whom the sayd Aymundus began to preach and declare his mind touching the Lords Supper: But Longa, interrupting him, demanded of him thus.

The Iudge.

First declare vnto vs your mind, what you thinke of Purgatory.

Purgatory.

The Martyr.

In Scripture all these are one, to purge, to clense, and to wash. Whereof we read in Esay, in the Epistles of Saint Paul, and of S. Peter: Hee hath washed you in his blood, Yee are redeemed not with gold, but with the blood of Christ, &c. And how often doe we read in the Epistles of Saint Paul, That we are clensed by the blood of Christ from our sins, &c.

Heb.9. I Pet. I.

The Iudge.

These Epistles are knowne to euery childe.

The Martyr.

To euery child? Nay, I feare you haue scarce read them your selfe:

A Fryer.

Master Aymund, with one word you may satisfie them, if you will say, that there is a place where the soules are purged after this life.

The Martyr.

That I leaue for you to say, if you please. What, would yee haue me damne my owne soule, and to say that which I know not?

The Iudge.

Doest not thou thinke, that when thou art dead, thou shalt goe to purgatory? and he that dieth in veniall sin, that he shall passe straight into paradise?

The Martyr.

Such trust I haue in my God, that the same day, when I shall die, I shall enter into Paradise.

Another Iudge.

Where is Paradise?

The Martyr.

There where the Majestie and glory of God is.

The Iudge.

The Canons do make mention of purgatory; and you in your sermons haue vsed alwaies much to pray for the poore.

The Martyr.

I haue preached the word of God, and not the

This Fr[illegible] keth pray[illegible] the poore [illegible] be aliue, a[illegible] those that dead, to b[illegible] one.

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the Canons.

The Iudge.

Doest thou beléeue in the Church?

The Martyr.

He Church. I beléeue as the Church regenerated by the blood of Christ, and founded in his word, hath appointed.

The Iudge.

What Church is that?

The Martyr.

The Church is a Græke word, signifying as much as a congregation or assembly: and so I say, that whensoeuer the faithfull doe congregate together, to the honour of God, and the amplifying of Christian religion, the holy ghost is verily with them.

The Iudge.

By this it should follow, that there be many Churches: and whereas any rusticall clownes doe assemble together, there must bee a Church.

The Martyr.

It is no absurd thing to say that there be many Churches or congregations amongst the Christians: and so speaketh Saint Paul: To all the Churches which are in Galatia, &c. And yet all these Congregations make but one Church.

G. I.

The Iudge.

The Church wherein thou beléeuest, is it not the same Church, which our Créed doth call the holy Church.

The Martyr.

I beléeue the same.

The Iudge.

And who should be head of that Church?

The Martyr.

E: head of th Church. Jesus Christ.

The Iudge.

And not the Pope.

The Martyr.

No.

The Iudge.

And what is he then?

The Martyr.

A Minister, if he be a good man, as other bishops be: of whom Saint Paul thus writeth: 1 Cor. 4. Let a man so esteeme of vs, as ministers, and dispensers of the Secrets of God, &c.

The Iudge.

What then doest thou not beléeue the Pope.

The Martyr.

I know not what he is.

The Iudge.

E: Pope w theis. Dost thou not beléeue that he is the successor of Peter?

The Martyr,

If he be like to Peter, and be grounded with Peter vpon the true rocke of Christ Jesus, so I beléeue his workes, and ordinances to bee good.

Then the Judges leauing him with the friers departed from him, counting him as a damned creature. Notwithstanding, Aymundus puting his trust in God was full of comfort, saying with Saint Paul, Who shall separate me from the loue of God? Shall the sword, hunger, or nakednesse? No, nothing shall plucke me from him. But rather I haue pitie of you said he, and so they departed. Not long after, he was brought to the place of execution, singing by the way the Psalmes, In exitu Israel de Aegypto, &c. And as hee passed by the place where hee had before béene imprisoned, hee called to his prison fellowes, exhorting them to put their confidence in the Lord, and told them that hee had spoken for them, and declared their miseries vnto the president. He thanked moreouer the keeper, and desired him to be good to his poore prisoners. And so taking his leaue of them, and desiring them to pray for him, also giuing thankes to the mistresse kéeper for her gentlenesse shewed to him, he proceéded forward toward his execution. As he came against the Church of Saint Andrew, they willed him to aske mercie of God and of blessed saint Mary, and of saint Justice. I aske mercie, said he, of God, and his Justice, but the Virgin blessed saint Mary I neuer offended, nor did that thing for the which I should aske her mercy. From thence hee passed forward to the Church of saint Legia, preaching still as he went. Then spake one of the souldiers to the driuer or carter, willing him to driue apace, for here is preaching, said hee, enough. To whom said Aymnnd, Hee that is of God heareth the word of God, &c. In passing by a certaine Image of our Ladie, great offence was taken against him, because hee alwayes called vpon Christ Jesus onely, and made no mention of her. Whereupon hee lifted vp his voice to God, praying that he would neuer suffer him to inuocate any other, sauing him alone. Comming to the place where he should suffer, hee was tumbled out of the cart vpon the ground, testifying to the magistrates and to the people standing by, that hee died for the Gospell of Jesus Christ, and for his word. More he would haue spoken, but he could not be suffered, by the tumultuous vexing of the officers, crying, dispatch him, dispatch him, let him not speake. Then he speaking a few words softly in the eare of the little Carmelite whom hee had conuerted, was bid to step vp to the stage. Where the people beginning to giue a little audience, thus he said: O Lord make hast to helpe me, tarrie not, doe not despise the worke of thy hands: And you my brethren that bee students, and schollers, I exhort you to studie and learne the Gospell: for the word of God abideth for euer: labour to know the will of God, and feare not them that kill the body, but haue no power vpon your soules: And after that, my flesh, said, he repugneth maruellously against the spirit, but shortly I shall cast it away. My good masters, I beséech yée pray for mee. O Lord my God, into thy hands I commend my soule. As hee was oft repeating the same, the hangman tooke and haled him vpon the steps in such sort, that hee strangled him. And thus that blessed saint gaue vp his life: whose body afterward was with fire consumed.

Aymund speaketh for his prison fellowes.

Iohn 8. Filioli, custodite vos a simulachris. 1 Iohn 5.

The words of Aymund to the students.

The death and martyrdome of Aymundus.

Francis Bribard, Anno, 1544.

Francis Bribard was sayd to bee the secretary of the Cardinall of Ballaie. Who being also for the Gospell condemned, after his tongue was cut off, did with like constancie sustaine the sharpenesse of burning. Ibid.

Francis Bribard.

William Husson an Apothecary, at Roan, Anno, 1544.

William Husson Apothecary comming

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comming from Blois to Roan was lodged with a certaine widow in the suburbs of the citie. Who asking of her, at what time the counsell or parliament did rise, shee, said at ten of the clocke. About which time and houre he went to the Palace, and there scattered certaine bookes concerning Christian doctrine, and the abuse of mens traditions.

The high court of Roan.

Whereat the counsell was so moued, that they commanded all the gates of the citie to bee locked and diligent search to bee made in all Innes and hostles, to finde out the authour. Then the widow told of the party which was there, and asked of the rising of the counsell, and shortly vpon the same tooke his horse and rode away. Then were posts set out thorow all quarters, so that the said William was taken by the way riding to Diepe, & brought againe to Roan. Who being there examined, declared his faith boldly, and how he came of purpose to disperse those bookes in Roan, and went to doe the like at Diepe.

A widow keeping a victualling house, in the suburbs of Roan.

The boldnesse of a constant martyr.

The weeke ensuing, he was condemned to be burned aliue. After the sentence giuen, hee was brought in a cart, accompanied with a doctour a Carmelite frier, before the great Church, who putting a torch into his hand required him to doe homage to the image of our Lady; which because he refused to doe, his tongue was cut out. The Frier then making a Sermon, when he spake any thing of the mercies of God, the said William harkened to him: but when he spake of the merits of saints, and other dreams, he turned away his head. The Frier, looking vpon the countenance of Hullon, lift vp his hand to heauen, saying with great exclamation, that he was damned, and was possessed with a diuell. When the Frier had ceased his sermon, this godly Hullon had his hands and feet bound behind his backe, and with a pullie was lifted vp into the aire, and when the fire was kindled, he was let downe into the flame, where the blessed martyr with a smiling & chearefull countenance looked vp to heauen, neuer moouing nor stirring, till he let downe his head, and gaue vp his spirit. All the people there present were not a little astonied thereat, and were in diuers opinions, some saying that he had a diuell: other maintained the contrary, saying, if he had a diuell, he should haue fallen into despaire.

Custodite vos a fermento Pharisæorum. Luke 12.

Cruelty of the Anabaptists.

Frier Delanda conuerted.

This Carmelite frier about said was called Delanda, which after was conuerted, and preached the Gospell. Ex Gallic. hist. Iohan. Crisp. lib. 2.

Three popish Priests. | James Cobard a Schoolemaster and many other taken the same time, Anno, 1545.

James Cobard martyr.

The Duke of Loraine.

This James, Schoolemaster in the citie of Saint Michael in the Dukedome of Barens in Loraine, disputed with three Priests, that the Sacrament of Baptisme, and of the supper did not auaile, vnlesse they were re-

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ceiued with faith: which was as much to say, as that the masse did profit neither the quicke nor dead. For the which and also for his confession, which he being in prison sent of his owne accord by his mother vnto the Iudge, he was burned, and most quietly suffered. Ex Io. Crisp.

Peter Clerke brother to Iohn Clerke, burnt before.
Stephanus Mangimus.
Iames Bouchbock.
Iohn Brisebar.
Henry Hudnote.
Thomas Honorote.
Iohn Baudouinus.
Iohn Fleisch.
Iohn Picquere.
Peter Picquere.
Iohn Matesson.
Philip Little.
Michael Caillon.
Francis Clerke.
A Weaner of Couberon.
At Meaux, Anno, 1546.

Fourteene dyed.

These fourteene dwelt at Melda a citie in France, tenne miles from Paris. Where William Briconatus beeing their Bishop did much good, brought to them the light of the Gospell, and reformed the church.

The Franciscan Friers.

Who, beeing straitly examined for the same, relented: but yet these with many other remained constant. Who after the burning of James Pauane before mentioned, and seeing superstition to grow more and more, began to congregate in Wangins house, and to set vp a Church to themselues, after the example of the French Church in Strausburge. For their Minister they chose Peter Clerke. First, they beginning with twentie or thirty did grow in short time to three or foure hundred. Whereupon the matter being knowne to the Senate of Paris, the chamber was beset where they were, and they taken. Of whom sixtie two men and women were bound and brought to Paris, singing Psalmes, especially the Psalme seuentie and nine. To these it was chiefly obiected, that they being lay men would minister the Sacrament of the Bodie and Blood of the Lord.

Peter Clerke & Iohn Clerke brethren martyrs.

Fourteene burned at Meaux.

A French Church in Meaux.

The doctors of Sorbone and others.

Of these sixtie two, foureteene chiefly did stand fast, which were condemned, and racked to confesse moe of their fellowes: but they vttered none: the rest were scourged and banished the countrey. These foureteene were sent to sundry monasteries to be conuerted: but that would not bee. Then they bring sent in a cart to Melda, or Meaux to be burned; by the way, three miles from Paris, a certaine weaner of Couberon, by chance meeting them, cryed to them aloud, bidding them to be of good cheare, and to cleaue fast vnto the Lord: Who also was taken, and bound with them in the cart.

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cart. Comming to the place of execution, which was before Mangins house, it was told them, That they which would be confessed, should not haue their tongues cut out, the other should. Of whom seuen there were, which to saue their tongues confessed: other seuen would not. Of the first was Steuen Mangin, who hauing his tongue first cut, notwithstanding spake so that hee might be vnderstood, saying thrice, The Lords name bee blessed. As they were in burning, the people sung Psalmes. The Priests seeing that would also sing their songs: O salutaris hostia, and Salve Regina, while the sacrifice of these holy martyrs was finished. Their wiues, being compelled to see their husbands in torments, were after put in prison, from whence they being promised to be let goe if they would say that their husbands were damned, refused so to say.

Peter Chapot, at Paris, Anno, 1546.

Peter Chapot first was a Corrector to a Printer in Paris. After hee had beene at Geneua, to doe good to the Church of Christ, like a good man, hee came with bookes of holy Scripture into France, and dispersed them abroad vnto the faithfull. Which great zeale of his caused him to bee apprehended of John Andre, which was the common Promoter to Liset the President, and to the Sorbonists.

John Andre Bookeseller, promoter.

This good Chapot, being taken and brought before the Commissaries, rendered promptly account of his faith: vnto whom hee exhibited a supplication, or writing, wherein hee learnedly informed the Iudges, to doe their office vprightly. Then were three Doctors of Sorbone assigned, Nicolas Clerici, John Picard, and Nicolas Maillard, to dispute with him. Who when they could finde no aduantage, but rather shame at his hands, they waxed angry with the Iudges, for letting them dispute with heretikes.

Doctours Sarbonists, M. Nicolas Clerici, doctor of Diuinitie.

Doctor Iohn Picard.

This done, the Iudges consulting together vpon his condemnation could not agree: so that Chapot (as it seemed) might haue escaped, had not a wicked person, the reporter of the proces sought and wrought his condemnation, which condemnation was at length concluded thus, That he should bee burned quick, only the cutting off of his tongue was pardoned. The Doctor appointed to bee at his execution was Maillard, with whom he was greatly encumbred. For this Frier called vpon him still, not to speake to the people, but he desired him that hee might pray. Then he bad him pray to our Ladie, and confesse her to be his Aduocate. He confessed that shee was a blessed Virgin, and recited the Lords prayer and the Creed, and was about to speake of the Masse, but Maillard would not let him, making haste to his execution, and said, vnlesse he would say Aue Maria, hee

Doctour Nicolas Maillard.

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should be burned quicke. Then Chapot prayed, O Iesus sonne of Dauid, haue mercy vpon me. Maillard then bad him say, Iesus Maria, and so he should bee strangled. Chapot againe excused, that hee was so weake, hee could not speake. Say, said Maillard, Iesus Maria, or else thou shalt bee burned quicke. As Chapot was thus striuing with the frier, suddenly as it happened, Iesus Maria, escaped out of his mouth, but hee by and by repressing himselfe, O God, said hee, what haue I done: pardon me, O Lord, to thee onely haue I sinned. Then Maillard commanded the cord to bee pluckt about his neck to strangle him: notwithstanding yet he felt something the fire. After all things done, Maillard all full of anger went to the counsell house, called La Chamber Ardante, declaring what an vprore had there almost happened amongst the people; saying that hee would complaine vpon the Iudges, for suffering those heretikes to haue their tongues. Whereupon immediatly a Decree was made, that all which were to be burned, vnlesse they recanted at the fire, should haue their tongues cut off. Which law diligently afterward was obserued. Ex Iohanne Crispino, Lib. 6.

To giue neuer so little to the aduersaries is a great matter.

The cutting off of tongues how and by whom it came in France.

Saintinus Niuet, at Paris, Anno, 1546.

After the burning of those fourteene, whose names bee described before, this Saintinus (which was a lame cripple) with his wife remoued out of Meaux to Montbeliard, where when hee had continued a while in safe libertie of religion, and saw himselfe there to doe no good, but to be a burden to the Church, cast in his mind to returne home to Meaux againe, and so did: where at last, as he was selling certaine small wares in the faire, he was there knowne and apprehended. Whereof when information was giuen, hee being examined at the first confessed all, and more than they were willing to heare. In the time of this Inquisition, as they were examining him of certaine points of religion, and asked him whether he would stand to that he said or not: hee gaue this answere againe, worthy to bee registred in all mens hearts, saying, And I aske you againe, Lord Iudges, dare you be so bold to deny that is so plaine and manifest by the open words of the Scripture? So little regard had he to saue his owne life, that he desired the Iudges, both at Meaux, and at Paris, for God his sake, that they would rather take care of their owne liues and soules, and to consider how much innocent bloud they spilled daily in fighting against Christ Iesus, and his Gospell.

Master Peter Liset, president of the counsell of Paris.

At last, being brought to Paris, through the meanes of master Peter Liset a great persecutor, for that they of Meaux should take by him no incouragement, there hee was detayned, and suffered his martyrdome: where no kinde of cruelties was lacking, which the innocent martyrs of Christ Iesus were wont to

bee

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bee sent vnto.	Ex Henr. Pantal. & hist. Gallic.
	Stephen Polliot, at Paris, Anno, 1546.
The names of his persecutors in the storie be not expressed.	Stephen Polliot comming out of Normandie (where hee was borne) vnto Meaux, tarried there not long, but was compelled to flie, and went to a towne called Fera: where he was apprehended, and brought to Paris, and there cast into a foule and darke prison. In which prison hee was kept in bands and Fetters a long space, where he saw almost no light. At length being called for before the Senate, and his sentence giuen to haue his tongue cut out, and to bee burned aliue, his Sachell of Bookes hanging about his necke, O Lord, said he, is the world in blindnesse and darknes still? For hee thought, being in prison so long, that the world had beene altered from his old darkenesse to better knowledge. At last the worthy martyr of Iesus Christ, hauing his bookes about his necke, was put into the fire, where hee with much patience ended this transitorie life. Ex Hen. Pantal.
	Iohn English, Anno, 1547.
The high Senate of Paris.	He was executed and burned at Sens in Burgundie, beeing condemned by the high court of Paris for confessing the true word of God, Ex Crisp. & Adrian.
	Michael Michelote, a Taylour, Anno, 1547.
	This Taylour, being apprehended for the Gospels sake, was iudged first, if hee would turne, to be beheaded; and if he would not turne, then to bee burned aliue. Who being asked, Whether of these two hee would chuse, answered, That hee trusted, that hee which had giuen him grace not to denie the truth, would also giue him patience to abide the fire. He was burned at Warden by Turney.
	Leonard de Prato, Anno, 1547.
Two false brethren.	This Leonard going from Dyion to Bar, a towne in Burgundie, with two false brethren, and talking with them about religion, was bewraied of them, and afterward burned.
	Iohn Taffingnon, Ioan his wife, Simon Marescall, Ioan his wife. William Michaut. Iames Boulerau. Iames Bretany.

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	Anno, 1547.
	All these seuen being of the citie of Langres, for the word and truth of Christ Iesus, were committed to the fire, wherein they died with much strength and comfort. But especially Ioane, which was Simons wife, being reserued to the last place, because she was the youngest, confirmed her husband and all the other with words of singular consolation; declaring to her husband, that they should the same day be married to the Lord Iesus, to liue with him for euer. Ex Pant. Crisp. et aliis.
	Michael Marescall. Iohn Camus. Great Iohn Camus. Iohn Serarphin. Anno, 1547.
The Senate of Paris.	These also the same yeare, and about the same time, for the like confession of Christs Gospell, were condemned by the Senate of Paris, and in the same citie also with the like crueltie were burned. Ex Pantal. Crispin.
	Octouien Blondell a merchant of precious stones, at Paris, Anno, 1548.
The host of Octouien, at Lyons.	This Octouien, as hee was a great occupier in all Faires and Countries of France, and well knowne both in Court and elsewhere: so was he a singular honest man of great integritie, and also a fauourer of Gods word. Who, being at his hosts house at Lions, rebuked the filthy talke, and superstitious behauiour, which there hee heard and saw. Wherefore the host, bearing to him a grudge, chanced to haue certaine talke with Gabriel of Sacconner Presenteur, concerning the riches, and a sumptuous Coller set with rich Iewels, of this Octouien.
Gabriel of Sacconnex presenteur.	Thus these two consulting together, did suborne a certaine person to borrow of him a certaine sum of Crownes. Which because Octouien refused to lend, the other caused him to be apprehended for heresie, thinking thereby to make attachment of his goods. But such order was taken by Blondels friends, that they were frustrate of their purpose. Then Blondell, being examined of his faith, gaue a plaine and full confession of that doctrine, which hee had learned: for the which hee was committed to prison: where he did much good to the prisoners there.
	For some that were in debt, hee payed their creditors and losed them out. To some hee gaue meat, to other raiment. At length, through the importune perswasions of his parents and friends, hee gaue ouer and changed his confession. Notwithstanding the Presenteur, not leauing so, appealed him vp to the high Court of

Stephen Polliot martyr.

Seuen martyrs.

John English martyr.

Octouien martyr.

Michael Michelot, martyr.

Leonardus de Prato, Martyr.

Faith ioyned with good workes.

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of Paris. There Desuien being asked a-gaine touching his faith, which of his two confessions he would sticke to, he being before admonished of his fall, and of the offence giuen thereby to the faithfull, said he would liue and die in his first confession, which he defended to be consonant to the verity of Gods word. Which done he was condemned to be burned, and so haste was made to his execution, lest his friends in the Court might come betweene and saue his life. Ex. Io Cris. lib. 6.

Hubert Cheriet, alias Burre, a youngman a Taylour, At Dyion, Ann. 1549.

Hubert, being a youngman of the age of nineteene yeeres, was burned for the Gospell at Dyion, who neither by any terrors of death, nor allurements of his parents, could be otherwise perswaded, but constantly to remaine in the truth vnto death. Ibid.

Hubert Cheriet martyr.

Master Florent Venote, Priest, at Paris, Anno, 1549.

This Florent remained in prison in Paris foure yeeres and nine houres. During which time, there was no torment which he did not abide and ouercome. Among all other kindes of torments, he was put in a narrow prison or brake, so strait, that hee could neither stand nor lie, which they call the hose or bot, ad Nectar Hippocratis, because it is strait beneath, and wider aboue, like to the instrument wherewith Apothecaries are wont to make their Hipocras. In this he remained seuen weekes, where the tormentors affirme, that no theefe or murtherer could euer endure fifteene dayes, but was in danger of life, or madnesse.

Peter Lisetas, president of the counsell of Paris, and other Sorbonists.

At last, when there was a great shew in Paris at the Kings comming into the Citie, and diuers other martyrs in sundry places of the City were put to death, he hauing his tongue cut off, was brought to see the execution of them all; and last of all, in the place of Maulbert, was put in the fire and burned the ninth of July at afternoone, Ex. Iohan Crisp.

Florent Venot martyr.

Anne Audebert, an Apothecaries wife and widow, at Orleance, Anno, 1549.

She going to Geneua was taken and brought to Paris, and by the counsell there iudged to be burned at Orleance.

When the rope was put about her, she called it her wedding girdle, wherewith she should be married to Christ. And as she should be burned vpon a Saturday, vpon Michalmas euen: Vpon a Saturday, said she, I was first married, and vpon a Saturday I shall be married againe. And seeing the Dung-

Anne Audebert, martyr.

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cart brought wherein she should be carried, she reioyced thereat, shewing such constancy in her martyrdome, as made all the beholders to maruell. Ex Io. Crisp.

A poore Tailor of Paris, dwelling in the street of Saint Anthonie, at Paris Anno, 1549.

A godly tailor in Paris martyr.

Amongst many other godly Martyrs that suffered in France, the story of this poore Tailor is not the least nor worst to be remembred. His name is not yet sought out in the French Stories for lacke of diligence in those Writers, more is the pitie. The Storie is this. Not long after the Coronation of Henrie the second, the French king, at whose comming into Paris diuers good martyrs were there brought out, and burned for a spectacle, as is aboue said: A certaine poore Taylour, who then dwelt not farre from the Kings Palace, in the streete bearing the name of Saint Anthonie, was apprehended of a certaine Officer in the Kings house, for that vpon a certaine holy day, hee followed his occupation, and did worke for his liuing: Before he was had to Prison, the Officer asked him, why he did labour, and worke, giuing no obseruation to the holy day?

Henry the second French King.

An officer of the Kings house.

Petrus Castellanus, Bishop Machonensis.

To whom he answered, that he was a poore man, liuing onely vpon his labour: and as for the day, hee knew no other but onely the Sunday, wherein he might not lawfully worke for the necessity of his liuing. Then the Officer began to aske of him many questions: whereunto the poore Taylour did so answer, that eftsoones he was clapt in prison. After that, the officer comming into the court, to shew what good service he had done for the holy Church, declared to certaine estates how he had taken a Lutherane, working vpon a holy day; shewing that hee had such answers of him, that he commanded him to prison. When the rumour hereof was noysed in the Kings Chamber, through the motion of them which were about the King, the poore man was sent for to appeare, that the King might haue the hearing of him.

The Taylour imprisoned for breaking a peece of an holy day.

Whereupon the Kings Chamber being voided, saue onely a few of the chiefe Peeres remaining about the King, the simple Taylour was brought. The king sitting in his Chayre commanded Petrus Castellanus Bishop of Mascon, (a man very fit for such Inquisitions) to question with him. The Taylor being entered, and nothing appalled at the Kings Maiestie, after his reuerence done vnto the Prince, gaue thankes to God, that he had so greatly dignified him being such a wretch, as to bring him where he might testifie his truth before such a mighty Prince. Then Castellanus, entering talke, began to reason with him touching the greatest and chiefest matter of Religion. Whereunto the Tailour without feare or any halting in his speech, with present audacitie,

The tailour brought before the King.

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wit and memorie, so answered for the sincere doctrine and simple truth of Gods Gospell, as was both conuenient to the purpose, and also to his questions aptly and fitly correspondent.

The present boldnes of the tailor answering for his religion, before the king.

Notwithstanding, the Nobles there present, with cruell taunts and rebukes, did what they could to dash him out of countenance. Yet all this terrified not him, but with boldnesse of heart, and frée liberty of speech, he defended his cause, or rather the cause of Christ the Lord, neither flattering with their persons, nor fearing their threats: which was to them all a singular admiration, to behold that simple poore artificer to stand so firme and bold, answering before a King, to those questions propounded against him. Whereat when the King séemed to muse with himselfe, as one somewhat amazed, and which might soone haue béene induced at that present to further knowledge, the egregious Bishop, and other courtiers, séeing the king in such a muse, said he was an obstinate and a stubborne person, obstirmed in his owne opinion, and therefore was not to be maruelled at but to be sent to the Iudges, and to be punished: and therefore lest he should trouble the eares of the said Henrie the King, he was commanded againe to the hands of the officer, that his cause might bée informed: and so, within few dayes after, he was condemned by the high Steward of the kings house, to be burned aliue. And lest any déepe consideration of that excellent fortitude of that poore man might further peraduenture pierce the kings mind, the Cardinals and Bishops were euer in the kings eare, telling him, That these Lutheranes were nothing else, but such as carried vain smoke in their mouths, which being put to the fire would soone vanish. Wherefore the King was appointed himselfe to be present at his execution, which was sharpe and cruell, before the Church of Mary the Virgin; where it pleased God to giue such strength and courage to his seruant, in suffering his martyrdome, that the beholding thereof did more astonish the king, than all the other did before. Ex. Iohan Crisp. Ex Henr. Pantal. lib. 7.

Resident counsell about the King.

A simily comparison of a fierie cardinall.

The death and martyrdome of this tailour.

Claudius Thierry, at Orleance, Anno, 1549.

The same yeare, and for the same doctrine of the Gospel, one Claudius also was burned at the said towne of Orleance, being apprehended by the way, comming from Geneua to his Countrey. Ex Iohanne Crispino.

Claud. Thierrie, martyr.

Leonard Galimard, at Paris, Anno, 1549.

This Leonard, for the confession likewise of Christ and his Gospell, was taken and brought to Paris, and thereby the sentence of the Counsell was judged to be burnt the same time, that Florent Venote, aboue mentioned, did suffer at Paris Ex Io. Crisp.

Leonard Galimard, martyr.

Macæus Moreou, at Troyes, Anno, 1549.

He was burned in Troyes in Campain (a towne in France)

Macæus Moreou, martyr.

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remaining constant to the end in the Gospell, for the which hée was apprehended. Ex eodem.

Ioan. Godeau, Gabriel Beraudinus, Anno, 1550.

These two were of the Church of Geneua. Afterward for their friendly admonishing a certain priest, which in his Sermon had abused the name of God, they were taken at Chamberiace. Godeau standing to his confession was burned. Gabriel though hée began a little to shrinke for feare of the torments, yet, being confirmed by the constant death of Godeau, recouered again, and standing likewise to his confession, first had his tongue cut out. Who notwithstanding, through Gods might, did speake so as hée might be vnderstood: whereupon the hangman, being accused for not cutting of his tongue, rightly, said that he could not stop him of his speech. And so these two, after they had confirmed many in Gods truth, gaue their life for Christs Gospell. Ibid.

Ioh. Godeau, Gabriel Beraudine, mar.

Thomas Sanpaulinus, at Paris, Anno, 1551.

Ioan. Andreas promoter.

Peter Liset, president of the counsell of Paris.

Maillardus, Doctor Sorbonius.

Aubertus. Consiliarius.

This Thomas a young man of the age of eighteene yéeres, comming from Geneua to Paris, rebuked there a man for swearing. For the which cause hée, being suspected for a Lutherane, was followed and watched whither he went, and was taken and brought before the Councell of Paris, and put in prison, where he was racked, and miserably tormented, to the intent hée should either change his opinion, or confesse other of his profession. His torments and rackings were so sore through the setting on of Maillard and other Sorbonists, that the sight thereof made Aubertus one of the Counsell, a cruell and vehement enemy against the Gospell, to turn his backe and weep. The young man, when hée had made the tormentors wearie with racking, and yet would otter none, at last was had to Maulbert place in Paris, to be burned. Where he, béeing in the fire, was pluckt vp againe vpon the gibbet, and asked whether he would turne. To whom he said, that he was in his way towards God, and therefore desired them to let him goe. Thus this glorious martyr, remaining inexpugnable, glorified the Lord with constant confession of his truth. Ibid.

Thom. Sanpaulinus mart.

Mauricius Secenate, in Prouince, Anno, 1551.

Hée, first hauing interogations put to him by the Lieutenant of that place, made his answers thereunto, so as no great aduantage could be taken thereof.

Mauricius Secenate, mar.

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of. But hée being greatly compunded and troubled in his conscience for dissembling with the truth, and called afterward before the Lord chiefe Judge, answered so directly, that he was condemned for the same, and burned in Prouince. Ex eodem.

Ioannes Putte, or de Puteo, surnamed Medicus, at Vzez in Prouince, Ann. 1551.

This Medicus, being a Carpenter and vnlettered, had a controuersie about a certaine pit with a citizen of ỹ towne of Vzez, where he dwelled. Ye to call this Medicus in the law, from the pit, accused him of heresie, bringing for his witnesses those labourers whom Medicus had hired to worke in his vineyard: wherefore hé, being examined of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, was condemned and burned at Vezez in Prouince. Ex eodem.

A Citizen of Vzze.

Claudius Monerius, at Lions, Anno, 1551.

This man being well instructed in the knowledge of Gods word, for the which he was also driuen from Auernia, came to Lions, and there taught children. Ye, hearing of the Lord Presidents comming to the City went to giue warning to a certaine familiar friend of his, and so conducted him out of the towne. In returning againe to comfort the mans wife and children hé was taken in his house: and so hé confessing that which hé knew to be true, and standing to that which hé confessed, after much afflictions in prisons and dungeons, was condemned and burned at Lions. Hé was noted to be so gentle and milde of conditions, and constant withall, and also learned, that certaine of the judges could not forbeare weeping at his death.

The gouernor of Lions

The officiall of the archdeacon of Lions.

The said Monerius being in prison wrote certaine Letters, but one especially very comfortable, to all the faithfull, which the Lord willing, in the end of these histories shall bée inserted. Ye wrote also the questions and interrogatories of the Officiall with his answers likewise to the same: which summarily we haue here contracted, as followeth.

The Officiall.

What beléeue you of the Sacrament? is the Bodie of Christ in the bread, or no?

The martyr.

I worship Iesus Christ in Heauen, sitting at the right hand of God the Father.

The Officiall.

What say you by Purgatorie?

The martyr.

Forsomuch as there is no place of mercie after this life, therefore no néed there is of any purgation; but necessarie it is that we be purged before we passe hence.

The officiall.

Of the Pope what thinke you?

Supremacie.

The martyr.

I say, hé is a Bishop, as other Bishops are, if he bé a true follower of Saint Peter.

The officiall.

What say you of vowes?

Vowes.

The martyr.

No man can vow to God so much, but the Law requireth much more than hé can vow.

The officiall.

Are not Saints to be inuocated?

Praying to Saints.

The martyr.

They cannot pray without faith, and therefore it is in vaine to call vpon them. And againe, God hath appointed his Angels about vs, to minister in our necessities.

The officiall.

Is it not good to salute the blessed virgin with Aue Maria?

The martyr.

When she was on this earth, she had then néed of the Angels greéting; for then hé had néed of saluation, as well as other: but now, hé is so blessed, that no more blessing can be wished vnto her.

The officiall.

Are not Images to be had?

Images.

The martyr.

For that the nature of man is so prone to Idolatry, euer occupied and fired in those things which lie before his eyes, rather then vpon those which are not seene, Images therefore are not to be set before Christians. You know, nothing is to be adored, but that which is not seen with eyes, that is God alone, which is a spirit, and him we must worship onely in spirit and truth.

The officiall.

What say you by the canonicall or ordinary houres for prayer?

The martyr.

To houres and times of prayer we ought not to be tied. But whensoeuer Gods spirit doth moue vs, or when any necessity driueth vs, then ought we to pray.

Then the officiall asked what he thought of holy oyle, salt, with such other like. To whom the martyr answered, that all these things were a mere * Maranisмus, that is, sauoured, of the Law of Maranorum, and of the superstition of the Iewes.

* Maranatha is an Hebrew word mentioned 1 Cor. 16. and signifieth curse or malediction, to the losse of all that a man hath, and therof commeth Maranisмus: vid. Nic. Lyr.

Renate Poyet, At Salmure in France, Anno, 1552.

Renate Poyet, the sonne of William Poyet, which was Chancellor of France, for the true and sincere profession of the word of God constantly suffered martyrdome, and was burned in the citie of Salmure: Anno, 1552. Ex. Crisp.

Renat Poyet martyr.

Iohn Ioyer, and his seruant a young man, at Tholouse Anno, 1552.

These two comming from

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	Geneua to their Countrey, with certaine bookes, were apprehended by the way, and at length had to Tholouse. Where the master was first condemned. The seruant, being young, was not so prompt to answer them, but sent them to his Master, saying, that hee should answere them. When they were brought to the stake, the young man first going vp began to weepe. The master, fearing lest hee would giue ouer, ranne to him, and he was comforted, and they beganne to sing. As they were in the fire, the master, standing vpright to the stake, shifted the fire from him to his seruant, being more carefull for him than for himselfe: and when he saw him dead, he boweddowne into the flame, and so expired. Ex Crisp. & alijs.
	Hugonius Grauier, a Schoolemaster, and Minister after of Cortillon, in the Countrie of New-Castle. At Burge, Anno, 1552. At Burge in Bresse, a dayes journey from Lions, this Grauier was burned. He, comming from Geneua to Newcastle, there was elected to be Minister. But first hee going to see his wiues friends at Mascon, there, as he was comming away out of the towne, was taken vpon the bridge, with all his company: and in the end hee willing the women and the rest of the company to lay the fault in him, for bringing them out, was sentenced to be burned; notwithstanding the Lords of Bern sent their heralds to saue his life, and also that the Officiall declared him to bee an honest man, and to hold nothing, but agreeing to the Scriptures. Ex Ioan. Crisp. lib. 3.
Tignatius the gouernor or deputy of Lions.	Martiall Alba. Petrus Scriba. Bernard Seguine. Charles Faber. Peter Nauihere. At Lions, Anno, 1553. These fiue students, after they had remained in the Vniuersitie of Lausanna a certaine time, consulted amongst themselues beeing all Frenchmen, to returne home euery one to his Countrey, to the intent they might instruct their parents and other their friends in such knowledge as the Lord had giuen them. So taking their journey from Lausanna, first they came to Geneua, where they remained a while. From thence they went to Lions. Where they, sitting at the table of one that met them by the way and desired them home to his house, were apprehended and led to prison: where they continued a whole yeare, that is, from the first day of May, to the sixteenth of the same moneth againe. As they were learned and well exercised in the Scriptures, so euery one of them exhibited seuerally a learned confession of his faith; and with great dexterity, through the power of the Lords Spirit, they confounded the friers, with whom they disputed: especially Peter Scribe or Scriuener, and Seguine. They were examined sunderly of the sacrament of the Lords body, of purgatory, of confession and inuocation, of free will, and of the supremacy, &c. Although they approued their cause by good Scripture, and refuted their aduersaries in reasoning, yet right beeing ouercome by might, sentence was giuen, and they burned in the said towne, of Lions. Being set vpon the cart, they began to sing Psalmes. As they passed by the market place, one of them with a loud voice saluted the people with the words of the last Chapter to the Hebrewes: The God of peace which brought againe from death the great pastor of the sheepe, in the bloud of the eternall Testament &c. Comming to the place, first the two youngest one after another went vp vpon the heape of wood to the stake, and there were fastened, and so after them the rest. Martiall Alba, being the eldest, was the last; who likewise being stripped of his clothes, and brought to the stake, desired this petition of the Gouernour, which was, That he might goe about his fellowes tied at the stake, and kisse them. Which being granted, hee went and kissed euery one, saying, Farewell my brother. Likewise the other foure, following the like example, bad each one, Farewel my brother. With that, fire was commanded to be put vnto them. The hangman had tied a rope about all their neckes, thinking first to strangle them; but their faces being smeared with fat and brimstone, the rope was burnt before they were strangled. So the blessed martyrs, in the middest of the fire, spake one to another to be of good cheere, and so departed. Ex Cris. Pant. &c.

John Joyer, with his seruant, martyrs.

Hugh Grauier, martyr.

Fiue students martyrs. Martial Alba Petrus Scriba.

Bernard Seguine.

Clepierius Chamberlaine.

Three Orders of friers

Iudge Melierus.

Doctor Cunubanus, a gray frier.

Iudge Vilard.

Primatius, officiall.

Cortrerius, Iudge.

Peter Nauih

Charles Fab

¶ Their examinations briefely touched.

The frier.

Thou sayest friend in thy confession, that the Pope is not supreme head of the Church: I will proue the contrary.

The Pope is the successor of Saint Peter: Ergo, he is supreme head of the Church.

The martyr.

I deny first your Antecedent.

The frier.

The Pope sitteth in the place of saint Peter: Ergo, he is the successor of Saint Peter.

The martyr.

I will grant neither of both: First, because that

Supremac

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that hée, which succéedeth in the roome of Peter, ought to preach and teach as Peter did; which thing the Pope doth not. Secondly, although he did so preach as Peter did, he might well follow the example of Peter, yet should he not therefore be the head of the Church, but a member onely of the same. The head of men and Angels, whom God hath appointed, is Christ alone, saith saint Paul.

The frier.

Although Christ bée the Head of the whole Church Militant and Triumphant, yet his Vicar héere in Earth is left to supplie his roome.

The martyr.

Not so, for the power of his Diuinity being so great, to fill all things, he néedeth no vicar or deputy to supply his absence.

The frier.

I will proue, that although Christ be King both of heauen and earth; yet he hath héere in earth many vicars vnder him, to gouerne his people.

The martyr.

It is one thing to rule in the ciuill state, another thing to rule spiritually. For in ciuill regiment, wée haue Kings and Princes ordained of God by the Scriptures, for the obseruation of publike society: In the spirituall regiment and kingdome of the Church it is not so.

Then Another frier.

Thou sayest that saint Peter is not the head of the Church, I will proue he is.

Our Lord said to Peter, Thou shalt be called Cephas: which Cephas is as much to say in Latine, as head;

Ergo, Peter is head of the Church.

The martyr.

Where find you that interpretation? Saint John in his first Chapter doth expound it otherwise. Thou shalt bee called Cephas, that is as much (sayth hée) as Petrus or Stone.

Then the Iudge Vilardus, calling for a new testament, turned to the place, and found it to be so. Whereupon the frier was vtterly dashed and stood mute.

The frier.

Thou sayest in thy confession, that a man hath no frée will, I will proue it. It is written in the Gospell, how a man going from Ierusalem to Iericho fell among théeues, and was spoiled, maimed, and left halfe dead, &c. Thomas of Aquine expoundeth this parable, to meane frée will, which he saith is maimed; yet not so, but that some power remaineth in man to worke.

The martyr.

This interpretation I doe refuse and denie.

The frier.

What, thinkest thou thy selfe better learned than saint Thomas?

The martyr.

I doe arrogate no such learning vnto my selfe. But this I say, this parable is not so to be expounded, but is set forth for example of the Lord, to commend to vs charitie towards our Neighbour, how one should helpe another.

The frier.

Thou sayest in thy confession, that we are iustified only by faith, I will proue that we are iustified by workes,

By our workes we do merit.

Ergo, by workes we are iustified.

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The martyr.

I denie the Antecedent.

The frier,

Saint Paul, Hebrewes the last, saith, Forget not to doe good, and to distribute vnto others: Talibus enim victimis promeretur Deus: That is, For by such oblations God is merited.

We merit God by our workes:

Ergo, we are iustified by our workes.

The martyr.

The words of Saint Paul in that place bée otherwise, and are thus to be translated: Talibus enim victimis delectatur Deus, &c. That is, With such sacrifices God is delighted or is well pleased.

The Iudge Vilard.

Vilard the Iudge turned the booke, and found the place euen to bée so, as the prisoner said: Here the friers were marueilously appalled and troubled in their minds: of whom one asked then, what he thought of confession.

The martyr.

To whom the martyr answered, That confession onely is to be made to God, and that those places which they alledge for auricular confession, out of Saint James and other, are to be expounded of brotherly reconciliation betwéen one another, and not of confession in the Priests eare. And here againe the friers stood, hauing nothing to say against it. Confession.

A blacke frier.

Doest thou not beléeue the bodie of Christ to be locally and corporally in the Sacrament? I will proue the same: Iesus Christ taking bread said, This is my body. Transubstantiation.

Ergo, it is truly his body.

The martyr.

The verbe (est) is not to be taken here substantiuely in his owne proper signification, as shewing the nature of a thing in substance, as in Philosophie it is wont to be taken: but as noting the propertie of a thing signifying, after the manner and phrase of the Scripture: where one thing is wont to be called by the name of another, so as the signe is called by the name of the thing signified, &c. So is Circumcision called by the name of the Couenant, and yet is not the Couenant. So the lambe hath the name of the Passouer, yet is not the same. In which two Sacraments of the Old Law, yee see the verbe (est) to be taken, not as shewing the substance of being, but the property of being, in the thing that is spoken of: And so likewise in the Sacrament of the new law.

The frier.

The Sacraments of the old law, and of the new do differ greatly; for these giue grace, so did not the other. Sacraments giue no grace.

The martyr.

Neither the Sacraments of the old nor of the new law, do giue grace, but shew him vnto vs which giueth grace indeed. The minister giueth the Sacraments, but Iesus Christ giueth grace by the operation of the holy Ghost: of whom it is said, This is he which baptiseth with the holy Ghost, &c. Ioha 1.

The frier.

The fathers of the old Testament, were they not partakers of the same grace and promises with vs.

The martyr.

Yes, for Saint Paul saith that the fathers of the old Testament did eate the same spirituall meat, and did drink of the same spirituall drinke

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with vs.

The frier.

Jeſus Chriſt ſaith, John the ſixth, Your Fathers did eat Manna in the Deſert, and are dead.

Ergo, they were not partakers of the ſame Grace with vs in the New Teſtament.

The martyr.

The true eating of Manna.

Chriſt here ſpeaketh of them, which did not eat that Manna with faith, which was a type and figure of that bread of life that came from heauen: and not of them, which did eat the ſame with faith, as Moſes, Aaron, Joſua, Caleb, and ſuch other, who, vnder the ſhadowes of the old Teſtament, did looke for Chriſt to come. For ſo it is written of Abraham, That hee ſaw the day of Chriſt and reioyced, not ſeeing it with his bodily eyes, but with the eyes of his faith.

Heere the doltiſh Doctour was at a ſtay, hauing nothing to ſay, but, heare friend, be not ſo hot nor ſo haſtie, tarrie a while, tarrie a while. At length, after his tarrying, this came out.

The frier.

The Fathers of the old Teſtament, how they were vnder the law, and how they were vnder grace.

I will proue that they of the old Teſtament were not partakers of the ſame grace with vs. The Law (ſaith Saint Paul) worketh anger; And they that are vnder the Law are vnder Malediction: Ergo, they of the old Law and Teſtament were not partakers of the ſame grace with vs.

The martyr.

Saint Paul here proueth, That no man by the Law can be iuſtified, but that all men are vnder the anger and curſe of God thereby, for ſomuch as no man perfourmeth that which in the Law is comprehended; and therefore, we haue need euery man to run to Chriſt, to be ſaued by faith, ſeeing no man can be ſaued by the Law. For whoſoeuer truſteth to the Law, hoping to find iuſtification thereby, and not by Chriſt only, the ſame remaineth ſtill vnder malediction: not becauſe the Law is curſed, or the times thereof vnder the curſe; but becauſe of the weakneſſe of our nature, which are not able to perfourme the Law.

The frier.

Saint Paul, Rom. 7. declareth in the old teſtament to be nothing but anger and threatenings, and in the new teſtament to be grace and mercie, in theſe words where he ſaith, Wretched man that I am, who ſhall deliuer me from the bodie of this death? The grace of God by Jeſus Chriſt.

The martyr.

Saint Paul in this place neither meaneth nor ſpeaketh of the difference of times betweene the old and the new Teſtament, but of the conflict betweene the fleſh and the ſpirit; for that, whereas the fleſh is euer rebelling againſt the ſpirit, yet the ſpirituall man notwithſtanding, through the faith of Chriſt, hath the victory. Furthermore, the true tranſlation of that place hath not Gratia Dei, but Gratias ago Deo, per Ieſum Chriſtum, &c.

Primacius the Officiall.

The Sacrament.

The Officiall, ſeeing the Frier alm oſt here at a point, ſet in, and ſaid. Thou lewd heretique, doeſt thou denie the bleſſed Sacrament?

The martyr.

No ſir, but I embrace and reuerence the Sacrament, ſo as it was inſtituted of the Lord, and left by his Apoſtles.

The officiall.

Thou denieſt the body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament, and thou calleſt the Sacrament bread.

The martyr.

The Scripture teacheth vs to ſeeke the body of Chriſt in heauen and not in earth: where we read Coloſſ. 3. If ye be riſen with Chriſt, ſeeke not for the things which are vpon the earth: But for the things which are in heauen, where Chriſt is ſitting at the right hand of God, &c.

And whereas I affirme the Sacrament not to be the body, but bread, ſpeaking of bread remaining in his owne ſubſtance, herein I doe no other but as Saint Paul doth, who 1. Corinth. 11. doth call it bread likewiſe foure or fiue times together.

The frier.

Jeſus Chriſt ſaid, that he was the bread of life.

The officiall.

Thou naughty heretike, Jeſus Chriſt ſaid that he was a vine, and a doore, &c. Where he is to be expounded to ſpeake figuratiuely. But the words of the Sacrament are not ſo to be expounded.

The martyr.

Thoſe teſtimonies which you alledge make more for me, than for you.

The officiall.

What ſayeſt thou lewd heretike? is the bread of the Lords ſupper, and the bread that we eat at home, all one, and is there no difference betweene them?

The martyr.

In nature and ſubſtance there is no difference, in quality and in vſe there is much difference. For the bread of the Lords Table, though it be of the ſame nature and ſubſtance with the bread that we eate at home, yet when it is applied to be a Sacrament, it taketh another quality, and is ſet before vs to ſeale the promiſe of our ſpirituall and eternall life. And thus was the effect of their examinations. Ex. Criſp.

Petrus Bergerius, at Lions, Anno, 1553.

Petrus Bergerius, mar.

The name of his perſecutor appeareth not in his ſtorie.

About the ſame time, when theſe fiue ſtudents aboue ſpecified were apprehended, this Bergerius alſo was taken at Lions and with them examined, and made alſo the like confeſſion with them together, and ſhortly after them ſuffered the ſame martyrdome. He had beene before an occupier or merchant of wines. He had wife and children at Geneua, to whom he wrote ſweete and comfortable letters. In the dungeon with him was a certaine theefe and malefactor, which had lien there the ſpace of ſeuen or eight moneths. This theefe, for paine and torment, cryed out of God, and curſed his parents that begat him, being almoſt eaten vp with lice, miſerably handled, and fed with ſuch bread, as dogs and horſes had refuſed to eate. So it pleaſed the goodneſſe of Almighty God that, through the teaching and prayer of this Bergerius, hee was brought to repentance of himſelfe, and knowledge of God, learning much comfort and patience by the word of the Goſpel preached to him. Touching his conuerſion he wrote a ſweet letter

The notable conuerſion of theefe in pri.

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ter to those 5. students aboue mentioned, wherin he praiseth God for them, and especially for this Bergerius, declaring also in the same letter, that the next day after that he had taken hold of the Gospell, and framed himselfe to patience, according to the same, his lice (which hee could plucke out before no lesse than twenty at once betwixt his fingers) now were so gone from him, that he had not one. Furthermore, so the almes of good men was extended towards him, that he was fed with white bread, and that which was very good: such is the goodnes of the Lord toward them that loue and seeke his truth. The name of this conuert was John Chambone. Ex Epistola Ioan. Chambone: Ex Crisp. Pantal. &c.

Stephanus Peloquinus.
Dyonisius Peloquinus.
At Ville Franche about Lyons.
Anno. 1553.

Stephen Peloquine, brother to this Dionysius, was taken about two or three yeares before, with Anne Audebert aboue mentioned, and also martyred for the testimony of the Gospell at the same time with a small fire. After whom followed Dionyse Peloquine, in the same steps of martyrdome, which was his brother. This Dionyse had beene sometime a Monke, and changing his weed tooke a wife, with whom he liued a certane space at Geneua in godly order and modestie of life. Comming afterward to Ville Franche six miles from Lions, from thence he was had to Lions, where he remained in prison ten months. From thence hee was reuersed to Ville Franche, where hee was condemned, degraded, and burned. The articles, whereupon he was condemned, were, for the masse, the sacrament, auricular confession, purgatorie, the Virgin Marie, and the Popes supremacie. He suffered in the yeere of our Lord, 1553. September 11. In his martyrdome such patience and fortitude God gaue, that when hee was halfe burned, yet he neuer ceased holding vp his hands to heauen, and calling vpon the Lord, to the great admiration of them that looked on. Ex Io. Crisp.

Lodouicus Marsacus.
Michael Gerard his cosin.
Stephen Grauot, Carpenter.
At Lions, Anno, 1553.

The Kings Lieutenant at Lions.

The officiall.

At Lions the same yeere these three also were apprehended, and sacrificed. Lodouicus had beene of the Order of the Dimilances which serued the King in his warres. Afterward, comming to Geneua, he was trained vp in the knowledge and doctrine of the Lord. Vpon diuers Articles he was examined, as inuocation of Saints, and of the virgin Marie, freewill, merits, and good-workes, auricular confession, fasting, the Lords supper. In his second examination they enquired of him, and also of the other two, touching vowes, the Sacraments, the masse, and the Vicar of Christ. In all which Articles, because his and their judgement dissented from the doctrine of the Popes Church, they were condemned. The answers of Marsac to the Articles are to be seene at large in the booke of the French martyrs, set out by Io. Crisp.

The friers.

The Lieutenant, among other blasphemies, had these words; Of the foure Euangelists but two were pure, Matthew and John. The other two, Marke and Luke, were but gatherers out that the other. The Epistles of Saint Paul, but of the doctors of the Church had authorised them, he would otherwise esteeme them no better than the fables of Æsope.

The blasphemies of the Papists.

Item, the said Lieutenant said to M. Copes maid, speaking somwhat of the law, Cursed be the God of that law.

Note what opinion the Papists haue of the law of God, when it standeth not with their law.

When the sentence of condemnation was giuen against these three, they were so glad thereof, that they went out praysing God, and singing Psalmes. Which troubled the Judges sore, to see them so little to esteeme their death: insomuch that the Lieutenant caused them to bee made to hold their peace, saying, shall these vile abjects so vaunt themselues against the whole state of the Realme? Then as Marsac was going into a corner by, to pray, one of the Souldiers would not suffer him. To whom he said, That little time which we haue will you not giue vs to pray? With that the Souldier being astonished went his way.

As they should be brought out of prison to the stake, the hangman tied a rope about the necks of the other two. Marsac, seeing himselfe to be spared because of his order and degree, called by the way to the Lieutenant, that hee might also haue one of the precious chains about his necke, in honor of his Lord, the which being granted, so were these three blessed martyrs committed to the fire, where they with meeke patience yeelded vp their liues to the hands of the Lord, in testimonie of his Gospell. Ex Cris. Pant.

Matthæus Dimonetus, merchant, at Lions, Anno, 1553.

Matth. Dimonet. martyr.

This Merchant first liued a vicious and detestable life, full of much corruption and filthinesse. He was also a secret enemie, and a searcher out of good men, when and where they conuented together. Who beeing called notwithstanding, by the grace of God, to the knowledge and sauour of his word, shortly after was taken by the Lieutenant, and Buatherius the Officiall, in his own house at Lions, and so after a little examination was sent to prison. Being examined by the inquisitor and the Officialls, hee refused to yeeld any answer to them, knowing no authority they had vpon him, but onely to the Lieutenant.

The Lieutenant of Lions.

Primacius officiall.

His answers were, that hee beleeued all that the holy vniuersall Church of Christ did truly

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Buatherius, officiall.	ly beléeue, and all the articles of the Creed. To the article of the holy Catholike Church, béeing bid to adde also Romanam, that is, the Church of Rome, that hée refused. Aduocates hee knew none, but Christ alone. Purgatory he knew none, but the crosse and passion of the Lambe, which purgeth the sinnes of all the world. True confession, he said, ought to be made not to the Priest once a yeere, but euery day to God, and to such whom wee haue offended. The eating of the
Orus Inquisitor.	flesh and bloud of Christ he take to be spirituall: and the Sacrament of the flesh & bloud of Christ to be eaten with the mouth, and that Sacrament to be bread and wine vnder the name and signification of the body and bloud of Christ; the masse not to be institituted of Christ, béeing a thing contrary to his word and will. For the head of the Church, hée knew none but onely Christ. Being in prison he had great conflicts with the infirmity of his owne flesh, but especially with the temptation of his parents, brethren and kinsfolkes, and the sorrow of his mother: neuertheleſſe, the Lord so assisted him that he endured to the end. At his burning he spake much to the people, and was heard with great attention. He suffered the fiftéenth of July, An. 1553. Ex Crisp.
William Neel, martyr.	William Neel, an Austen Frier, at Eureux, in France, Anno. 1553. Hen. Pantal. lib. 9. & Crisp. & Adrian, maketh mention also of one William Nœl, a Frier Augustine, who suffered in much like sort the same yeere, and was burned at Eureux in France.
Legoux the Deane, Ilierensis.	The occasion of his trouble rose first, for the rebuking of the vicious demeanor of the Priests there, and of the Deane named Legoux. For the which the Dean caused him to be sent to Eureux to the prison of the Bishop. The storie of this William Nœl, with
M. Simon Vigor, the Penitentiary of Eureux.	his answers to their articles obiected, is to be read more at large in the ninth booke of Pantalion, and others.
Simon Laloe martyr.	Simon Laloe, at Dyion, Anno, 1553. Simon Laloe a spectaclemaker, comming from Geneua into France for certaine businesse, was laied hand of by the Bailife of Dyion. Thrée things were demanded of him. First, where he dwelt. Secondly, what was
The baylife or steward of the City Dyion.	his faith. Thirdly, what fellows hée knew of his religion. His dwelling he said was at Geneua. His religion was such, as was then vsed at Geneua. As for his fellowes, he said he knew none, but only them of the same City of Geneua, where his dwelling

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	was. When they could get of him no other answer but this, with all their racking and torments, they proceéded to his sentence, and pursued the execution of the same, which was the one and twentieth of Nouemb. an 1553.
The executioner conuerted.	The executioner, who was named James Siluester, séeing the great faith and constancie of that heauenly martyr, was so compunded with repentance, and fell in such despaire of himselfe, that they had much adoe, with all the promises of the Gospell, to recouer any comfort in him. At last, through the mercy of Christ hée was comforted, and conuerted, and so hée with all his family remoued to the Church of Geneua, Ex Io. Crisp.
Nicolas Nayle martyr.	Nicolas Nayle, at Paris, Anno, 1553. This Nicolas, a shoomaker, comming to Paris with certaine fardels of bookes, was there apprehended, who stoutly persisting in confessing the truth, was tried with sundrie torments, to vtter what fellowes hée had besides of his profession, so cruelly, that his bodie was dissolued almost one ioynt from another: but so constant he was in his silence, that he would expresse none. As they brought him to the stake, first they put a gag or peece of wood in his mouth, which they bound with cords to the hinder part of his head, so hard, that his mouth on both sides gushed out with bloud, and disfigured his face monstrously. By the way they passed by an hospitall, where they willed him to worship the Picture of Saint Mary standing at the gate: but he turned his backe as well as he could, and would not. For the which the blind people were so grieued, that they would haue fallen vpon him. After hée was brought to the fire, they so smeared his body with fat and brimstone, that at the first taking of the fire all his skinne was parched, and the inward parts not touched. With that the cords burst which were about his mouth, whereby his voyce was heard in the middest of the flame, praysing the Lord, and so the blessed martyr departed. Ex Io. Crisp.
Torments.	
Peter Serr martyr.	Peter Serre, about Tolouse, Anno, 1553. Peter Serre first was a Priest, then changing his religion, hée went to Geneua, and learned the shoemakers craft, and so liued. Afterward vpon a singular loue hée came to his brother
A woman of Tolouse.	at Tolouse, to the intent to doe him good. His brother had a wife, which was not well pleased with his religion and comming. Shée in secret counsell told another woman one of her Neighbours of this. What doth shée but goeth to the Officiall, and maketh him priuy of all. The Officiall thinking to forslacke no time, taking counsell with his fellowes, layd hands vpon this Peter, and brought

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	brought him before the Inquisitour. To whom hee made such declaration of his faith, that hee seemed to reduce the Inquisitour to some feeling of conscience, and began to instruct him in the principles of true religion. Notwithstanding, all this helped not, but that he was condemned by the said Chancellor, to be degraded, and committed to the secular Judge. The Judge inquiring of what occupation he was, he said, that of late he was a shoomaker. Whereby the Judge, understanding that hee had beene of some other facultie before, required what it was. He said, that he had been of another faculty before, but he was ashamed to utter it, or to remember it, being the worst and vilest science of all other in the whole world besides. The Judge and the people, supposing that hee had been some theefe or cutpurse, inquired to know what it was; but he for shame and sorrow stopped his mouth, and would not declare it. At last, through their importunat clamor, he was constrained to declare the truth, and said, that he had beene a Priest. The Judge thereupon was so moued, that he condemned him; first inioyning him in his condennation, to aske the King forgiuenesse, then iudged him to haue his tongue cut out, and so to be burned. From this sentence hee appealed to the Parliament of Tolouse: Not for that he thought thereby to saue his life, but becaule he was enioyned to aske the King forgiuenesse, whom he had neuer offended. Also because he was judged to haue his tongue cut off, wherewith he would praise his God. Notwithstanding, by the sentence of that parliament, he was likewise condemned to be burned; onely he was pardoned for asking forgiuenesse of the King, and the cutting off of his tongue, so that he would say nothing against their religion.
The Officiall of the bishop of Tolouse.	
The Inquisitor and Chancellor of the Bishop of Cozerau.	
	As he went to burning, he passed by the colledge of Saint Martiall, where he was bid to honour the picture of the Virgin standing at the gate. Which because he refused, the Judge commanded his tongue to be cut off, and so being put to the fire, he stood so quiet, looking vp to heauen all the time of his burning, as though he had felt nothing, bringing such admiration to the people, that one of the Parliament said, that way not to be best, to bring the Lutherans to the fire, for that would doe more hurt than good. Ex. Io. Crisp.
	Stephen King, Petrus Denocheus, At Chartres, Anno, 1553.
	Stephen King, after hee had been at Strausburgh a while, returned againe into his countrey, dwelling in a towne bearing the name of Saint George, not farre from Chaufours: where hee serued in the place of a notary, and had vnder him a Clerke named Peter Denoche, who also had beene at Geneua, and was there zealous in instructing the ignorant, and rebuking blasphemous swearers, and o-
The Gouernor of Marches.	

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	ther offendors. These two were not long together, but they were suspected both of Lutheranisme, and so were apprehended by the gouernour of the Marches, or Marshall, and so were carried to Chartres: where after their constant confession, vpon their examination made, they were enclosed in prison, and there sustained long and tedious indurance. During the which meantime, Stephen King made many worthie Songs and Sonets in the praise of the Lord, whereby to recreate his spirit in that dolefull captiuity. At length, when after long perswasions and faire promises of the Bishop, and of other, they could not be reuoked from the Doctrine of their confession, they were condemned. From that condemnation they appealed to the Court of Paris. But the Councell there, confirming their former sentence, returned them againe to Chartres, from whence they came, where they were both executed with cruell punishment of fire. Ex Histor. Gallic. per Iohan. Crisp.
	Antonius Magnus, or Magnæus, at Paris, Anno, 1554.
	Antonius Magne was sent by the fiue which were in prison at Lions, aboue mentioned, and by other also that were in captuity at Paris, vnto Geneua to commend them to their prayers vnto God for them. Who, after certaine businesse there dispatched, returned againe into France, and there within three houres of his comming was betrayed and taken by certaine Priests at Burges, and there deliuered by the said Priests vnto the Officiall. After a few dayes the Kings Iustices took him from the Officiall, and sent him to Paris; where after great rebukes and torments he suffered in the prison, and firmely persisting in the profession of the truth, by their capitall sentence hee was adiudged to haue his tongue cut out, and so was burned at Maulbert place in Paris. Ex Io. Crisp.
Priests of Burges.	
	William Alencon, bookeseller.
	A certaine Sherman.
	At Montpelliers, Anno, 1554.
	This Alencon did much good in the Prouinces of France by carrying bookes. Comming to Montpelliers, he was there circumuented by false brethren, detected, and laied in prison. In his faith he was firme and constant, to the end of his martyrdome, being burned the seuenth of Januarie, 1554.
False brethren.	
	There was the same time at Montpelliers a certaine Sherman or Clothworker, who had beene long in durance for religion, but at length for feare and infirmity he reuolted. To whom it was inioyned by the iudges to make,

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make publike recantation, and to be present also at the burning of Alencon aforesaid. At the beholding of whose death and constancie, it pleased God to strike into this man such boldnesse, that he desired the Iudges, that either he might burne with this Alencon, or else be brought againe into prison, saying, That he would make no other recantation, but so. Wherefore within three dayes after he was likewise condemned to the fire, and burned in the towne aforesaid. Ex Io. Crisp.

Paris Panier martyr.

Paris Panier, a Lawyer, at Dola. Anno. 1554.

At Dola was beheaded a good and godly Lawyer, named Paris Panier, for constant standing to the Gospell of Christ: Anno, 1554. Ex Pantal.

Peter du Val, martyr.

Peter du Val, Shoomaker, at Nismes, Ann. 1554.

At Newmaus in Delphinate Peter du Val sustained sore and grieuous rackings and torments; wherewith his body being broken, dissolued, and maymed, yet hee notwithstanding manfully abiding all their extremity, would name and vtter none. Then was hee had to the fire, and there consumed: Anno, 1554. Ex Iohann. Crisp.

John Filiol. Iulian Leuille, martyrs.

Ioannes Filieul, or Filiolus, Carpenter.
Iulianus le ville, poynt-maker.
At Sanserre, Anno, 1554.

Gilles le Pers, Lieutenant for the marshall of S. Andrew. and Inquisitor for the prouince of Borbon.

These two blessed and constant martyrs, as they were going toward Geneua, with one of their sonnes and a daughter, were apprehended by Gilles le Pers; who in the way ouertaking them, and most wickedly and Iudas like pretending great fauour to them, and to their religion, which hee (as hee said) supposed them to bee of, with these and many other faire words circumuented and allured them, to confesse what was their Faith; whither they went with their children; and also that their wiues were at Geneua.

Iohn Bergeronius, another Inquisitor or counseller.

When they had declared this, the wretched Traytour gaue a signe to his horsemen, and so were these simple Saints of Christ entrapped and brought to the Castle of Niuerne. Being in prison they were examined of many things: Whereunto they answered vprightly, according to their faith.

Transubstantiation.

First, touching the Sacrament, they affirmed the transubstantiation of the Bishop of Rome to be against the Article of the Creed, which sayth that Christ is gone vp to heauen, and there sitteth at the right hand of God: and therefore

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therefore the bread and wine must needs remaine in their properties, being notwithstanding a Sacrament, or a holy signe of the body and bloud of the Lord. For like as by bread and wine the heart of man is comforted, so the body of Christ crucified, and his bloud shed spiritually hath the like operation in the soules of the beleeuers. A similitude betweene the bread and the body of Christ

The masse.

For the Masse, they said it was a thing most superstitious, and meere Idolatry. And if we put any part of saluation therein, they said, it was vtterly a robbing the passion of Christ the sonne of God, and that it was not once to be named out of a Christian mouth. Also, that they which say that Peter either was Pope, or authour of the said Masse, are farre deceiued. And as for turning bread into the body of Christ by the words of consecration, it was an errour, they said, more of mad men, then any sad men: forasmuch as God is neither subject to men, nor to the tongues or errorismes of men. Purgatory they denied to be any, saue only the bloud of Christ Iesus.

Honour to G not to Sain

Furthermore, as they would not bereaue the Saints of God of their due honor, so neither the Saints themselues, said they, will be contented to robbe God of his honour onely due to him.

As touching confession, their opinion was, that the wounds and cases of conscience belong to no man, but onely to God.

After these answers giuen and written, they were sent to the monastery of Sanpeter, there to be disputed with. That done, the matter came to be debated among the Iudges, what was to be done with them. Some would their goods to be taken by Inuentory, and them to be banished. But Bergeronius at last caused to be determined, that they should be burned, and first to heare Masse. From that court they appealed to the court of Paris: but the matter there was nothing amended. Where behold the Iudgement of God: In the meane time, while they were at Paris, the wretched persecutor Gilles le Pers was suddenly stroken mad and died in a frenzy: which made many men to wonder, and especially the martyrs to be more constant.

Note the iust vengeance of God vpon a wicked persecutor.

At last, the decree of the sentence was read against them. First for speaking against the Sacrament; which they denied.

Secondly, for speaking against Baptisme; which also they denied.

Thirdly, for speaking contumely against the Saints; which they in like manner denied.

Torments.

After this, the officer, to cause them to recant, threatned them with torments, which they sustained very extreame, the space from after dinner till three of the Clocke. When all that would not turne them, he sent to them a Frier Dominicke, a man captious and sophisticall, to prosse them in disputation. But as he could do no hurt vnto them, so could they doe no good vpon him. When the time of their execution did approch, the officer aforesaid put into their hands being tied a wooden crosse, which they tooke with their teeth, and flung it away: for the which, the officer commanded both their tongues to be cut off. Wherein appeared another marueilous worke of the Lord: For nertheless that their tongues were taken from them, to the intent they should not speake, yet God gaue them vtterance, their tongues being cut out, to speake at their death, saying,

We

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We bid sinne, the flesh, the world, and the diuell, farewell for euer, with whom neuer wee shall haue to doe hereafter. Diuers other words they spake besides, which the people did heare and note. At last when the tormentor came to smeare them with brimstone and gunpowder: Goe to, said Filiolus, salt on, salt on the rotten and stinking flesh. Finally, as the flame came bursting vp to their faces, they, persisting constant in the fire, gaue vp their liues, and finished their martyrdome. Ex Ioan. Crisp. & Hen. Pant. & aliis.

Denys Vaire Priest and martyr.

Dionysius Vayre, At Rhoan Anno, 1554.

In the same yeere suffered at Rhoan Denys Vayre, who, first leauing his Popish Priesthood, went to Geneua, where he learned the art of Booke-binding, and brought many times bookes into France. After that, in the raigne of king Edward the sixth he came to Gerzey, and there was minister and preached. After the death of King Edward, the time not seruing him to tarrie, thinking to returne againe, to Geneua, he came into Normandie with his bookes, into a towne called Fueille: Whereas he going out to hire a cart, William Langlois, with John Langlois his brother, came in and stayed his bookes, and him also which had the custodie of them. Denys, albeit he might haue escaped, yet hearing the keeper of his bookes to be in trouble, came, and presenting himselfe was committed, the other was deliuered. First, after two moneths and a halfe imprisonment, he was charged to bee a spie, because he came out of England. Then from that prison he was remoued to the Bishops prison, and then to Rhoan; where sentence was giuen, that he should be burned aliue, and thrice lifted vp, and let downe againe into the fire. After the sentence giuen, they threatned him with many terrible torments, vnlesse he would disclose such as he knew of that side. To whom hee answered, That the sounder part of all France, and of the Senate, was of that religion: notwithstanding, hee would vtter no mans name vnto them. And as for their torments, he said, he passed not; for if he were killed with racking, then hee should not feele the burning of the fire. When they saw him so little to passe for their torments, they left that, and proceeded to his burning: and first, they put a crosse in his hands, which he would not hold. Then because he comming by the image of the Virgin Marie, would not adore the same, they cryed, cut out his tongue: and so they cast him into the fire, where he should be thrice taken vp, but the flame went so high, that the hangman, being not able to come neere him, cryed to the people standing by to helpe, and so did the Officers with their staues lay vpon the people, to helpe their tormentors, but neuer a man would stirre. And this was the end and martyrdome of that blessed Denys. Ex Henric. Pantal. lib. 10.

Wil. Langloys, vnder-Sherife.

Ioh. Langloys, the Kings procurator.

A merchant hanged for iesting against the friers.

¶ There was a rich merchant of Paris, who said in iest to the Friers of Saint Francis, You weare a rope about your bodies, because Saint Francis once should haue beene hanged, and the Pope redeemed him vpon this condition, that all his life after he should weare a rope. Vpon this, the Franciscan Friers of Paris caused him to be apprehended and laied in prison, and so judgement passed vpon him, that he should be hanged: but he, to saue his life, was contented to recant, and so did. The friers hearing of his recantation commended him, saying, if he continued so hee should be saued, and so calling vpon the officers, caused them to make haste to the Gallowes, to hang him vp while hee was yet in a good way, said they, lest he fall againe. And so was this merchant, notwithstanding his recantation, hanged for jesting against the Friers. Ex Pantal. lib. 7.

The iudgements of God.

¶ To this merchant may also be adioyned the brother of Tamer, who when hee had before professed the truth of the Gospell, and afterward by the counsell and instruction of his brother was remoued from the same, fell into desperation, and such sorrow of mind, that he hanged himselfe. Ex Io. Manlio in dictis Phil. Melanct.

Thomas Calbergne a Coverlet-maker, at Tourney, Anno. 1554.

Thomas Calbergne, martyr.

This Thomas had copied out certaine spirituall songs out of a booke in Geneua, which hee brought with him to Tourney, and lent the same to one of his fellowes. This booke beeing espied, he was called for of the Justice, and examined of the booke, which he said contained nothing but that was agreeing to the Scripture, and that hee would stand by.

Then he was had to the castle, and after ninetéene daies was brought to the Townhouse, and there adjudged to the fire: whereunto he went cheerefully, singing psalmes. As he was in the flame, the Warden of the friers stood crying, Turne, Thomas, Thomas, yet it is time, remember him that came at the last houre. To whom he cried out of the flame with a loud voice, and I trust to be one of that sort, and so, calling vpon the name of the Lord, gaue vp his spirit. Ex Cris. lib. 4.

Nicolas Paul martyr.

Adde also to this, one Nicolas Paul beheaded at Gaunt. These two should haue beene placed among the Dutch martyrs in the Table before.

Richard Feurus, a Goldsmith at Lions, Anno, 1554.

Richard Feurus martyr.

Feurus a goldsmith, borne at Roan, first being in England, and in London, there receiued the taste and knowledge of Gods word, as in his owne Epistle he recordeth. Then he went to Geneua, where hee remained nine or ten yeares. From thence returning to Lions, there hee was apprehended, and condemned.

Latrunculator, or vnder marshal, or examine of Dolphenie.

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demned. Then hée appealed to the high Court of Paris, through the motion of his friends. Where in the way as he was led to Paris, hée was met by certaine whom he knew not, and by them taken from his kéepers, and so set at liberty which was, Anno, 1551.

The Lieutenant.

After that, continuing at Geneua, about the space of three yéeres, he came vpon businesse to the prouince of Dolphenie, and there as he found fault with the grace said in Latine, he was detected, and taken in his Inne in the night, by the vnder-marshall, or him which had the examination of malefactors. The next day hée was sent to the justice, from him to the Bishop. Who ridding their hands of him, then was hée brought to the lieutenant, who sent his aduocate with a notarie to him in prison, to examine him of his faith. The whole processe of his examinations, with his aduersaries and the friers, in his story described, is long, the principall contents come to this effect.

His Attorney.

His Scribe.

The examination of Richard Feurus.

Inquisitour.

This Inquisitor was the aduocat which the lieutenant sent with the Notarie.

Doest thou beléeue the Church of Rome?

The martyr.

No, I do beléeue the Catholike, and vniuersall Church.

Inquisitour.

What Catholike Church is that?

The martyr.

The Congregation, or communion of Christians.

Inquisitor.

What congregation is that, or of whom doth it consist.

The martyr.

The Church. It consisteth in the number of Gods elect, whom God hath chosen to be the members of his sonne Jesus Christ, of whom he is also the head.

Inquisitour.

Where is the congregation, or how is it knowne?

The martyr.

It is dispersed through the vniuersall world, in diuers regions, and is knowne by the spirituall direction wherewith it is gouerned, that is to say, both by the word of God, and by the right institution of Christs sacraments.

Inquisitor.

Doe you thinke the Church that is at Geneua, Lausanna, Berne, and such other places, to be a more true Church, then the holy Church of Rome.

The martyr.

Yea verily, for these haue the notes of the true Church.

Inquisitour.

What difference then make you betwéene those Churches, and the Church of Rome?

The martyr.

Difference betweene the Church of Rome, and the Church of Christ. Much, for the Church of Rome is gouerned only with traditions of men, but those are ruled onely by the word of God.

Inquisitour.

Where learned you this doctrine first?

The martyr.

In England at London.

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Inquisitour.

How long haue you bæn at Geneua.

The martyr.

About nine or ten yéeres.

Inquisitour.

Doest thou not beléeue the virgin Mary to be a mediatrix and aduocate to God for sinners? The virgin Mary no aduocate.

The martyr.

I beléeue, as in the word of God is testified, Jesus Christ to be the onely meditatour and aduocate for all sinners. Albeit the virgin Mary be a blessed woman, yet the Office of an Aduocate belongeth not vnto her.

Inquisitour.

The Saints that bée in paradise, haue they no power to pray for vs? Whether they doe pray.

The martyr.

No, but I judge them to be blessed, and to be contented with that grace and glory which they haue, that is, that they be counted the members of the sonne of God.

Inquisitour.

And what then judge you of them which follow the religion of the Church of Rome, think you them to be Christians?

The martyr.

No, for that Church is not gouerned with the spirit of God, but rather fighteth against the same. The Church of Rome is not the Church of Christ.

Inquisitour.

Do you then excéeme all them which separate themselues from the Church of Rome to bée Christians?

The martyr.

I haue not to answer for others, but onely for my selfe, Euery man (saith saint Paul) shall beare his owne burden. Gal. 6.

And thus the aduocate, when he had asked him whether he would put his hand to that he had said, and had obtained the same, departed to dinner.

At the next examination was brought vnto him a Franciscan frier, who, first entering with him touching the words that he spake in his Inne, asked him, why that grace might not be said in Latine: Because, said he, by the word of God Christians are commanded to pray with heart and with spirit, and with that tongue which is most vnderstood, and serueth best to the edification of the hearers. Then the Frier bringing forth his Benedicite, Agimus tibi gratias, &c. Laus Deo, Pax vivis, requies defunctis &c, began thus to reason.

The frier.

Praying in a strange tongue. God vnderstandeth all tongues, and the church of Rome hath prescribed this forme of praying, receiuing the same from the ancient church and the fathers, which vsed then to pray in Latine. And if any tongue be to be obserued in prayer, one more than another, why is it not as good to pray in the Latine tongue, as to pray in the French.

The martyr.

My meaning is not to exclude any kinde of language from prayer, whether it bée Latine, Grécke, Hebrew, or any other, so that the same be vnderstood, and may edifie the hearers.

The frier.

When Christ entred the city of Jerusalem, the people cryed, lauding him with Osanna filio Dauid, and yet vnderstood they not what they said, as Jerome writeth.

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The Martyr.

It may be that Hierome so writeth, that they vnderstood not the prophetical meaning, or the accomplishment of these words vpon Christ his comming: but that they vnderstood the phrase of that speech or language which they spake, speaking in their owne language, Hierome doth not deny.

Then the Frier, declaring that he was no fit person to expound the Scriptures being in the Latine tongue, inferred the authorities of Councels and Doctours, and testimonies of men, which seemed to moue the officer not a little: who then charging him with many things, as with words spoken in contempt of the virgin Mary and of the Saints; also with rebellion against Princes and Kings, came at last to the matter of the Sacrament, and demanded thus.

Inquisitor.

Doest thou beleeue the holy Host which the priest doth consecrate at the Masse or no?

The martyr.

I beleeue neither the Host, nor any such consecration.

Inquisitor.

Why? doest thou not beleeue the holy sacrament of the Altar, ordained of Christ Iesus himselfe?

The martyr.

Touching the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, I beleeue that whensoeuer we vse the same according to the prescription of Saint Paul, we are refreshed spiritually with the body and bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ, who is the true spirituall meat and drinke of our soules.

The Frier.

The Frier then inferred the words of Saint Johns Gospell, saying, My flesh is meat indeed, &c. and said, that the Doctors of the Church had decided that matter already, and had appointed the Masse to be an holy memory of the death and passion our Lord Iesus Christ.

The martyr.

The Sacrament of the supper I beleeue to be ordained of the Lord, for a memoriall of his death, and for a stirring vp of our thankesgiuing to him. In which Sacrament we haue nothing to offer vp to him, but doe receiue with all thankesgiuing the benefits offered of God to vs most aboundantly in Christ Iesus his Sonne.

And thus the Aduocate with the Frier, bidding the Notary to write the words that hee had spoken, departed. Who after eight dayes, being accompanied with the said Franciscan, and other Friers more of the Dominicks, sent for the said Rich. Feurus againe to his house, and thus began to enquire.

Inquisitor.

Doest thou beleeue any purgatorie?

The martyr.

I beleeue that Christ with his precious bloud hath made an end of all purgatory, and purgation of our sinnes.

Inquisitor.

And doest thou thinke then there is no place after this life, where soules of men departed remaine so long till they haue made satisfaction for their sinnes?

The martyr.

No: but I acknowledge one satisfaction once made for the sinnes of all men, by the bloud and sacrifice of Iesus Christ our Lord, which is the propitiation and purgation for the sinnes of the whole world.

The Sacrament. Iohn 6.

Purgatorie.

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The Frier.

In the eighteenth chapter of Matthew, Christ speaking, by way of a parable or similitude, of a certaine cruell seruant, who, because hee would not forgiue his fellow seruant, was cast into prison, saith; That hee shall not come out from thence before hee hath payed the vttermost farthing. By the which similitude is signified vnto vs a certaine middle place, which is left for satisfaction to be made after this life for sinnes. Matth. 18.

The Martyr.

First, the satisfaction for our sinnes by the death of Christ is plaine and euident in the Scriptures: as in these places; Come to me all you that labour and bee burthened, and I will refresh you, Matth. 11. I am the doore, he that entereth by mee shall bee saued, Iohn 10. I am the way, veritie and life, Iohn 13. Blessed bee they that die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours, Apoc. 13. Also to the theefe which hanged with the Lord, it was said; This day thou shalt be with mee in paradise, &c. Secondly, as touching this similitude, it hath no other demonstration but to admonish vs of our duty, in shewing charity, and forgiuing one another, which vnlesse wee doe, there is no mercy to be looked for at the hands of God. Satisfaction for sinnes. Matth. 11. Iohn 10. Iohn 13. Apoc. 13. Luke 23.

The Frier.

If this be true that you say, then it should follow that there is neither purgatorie nor any Limbus, which were against our Christian faith and our Creed, which saith; He descended into hell, &c. Limbus.

The Deputie.

Doest thou beleeue there is a Limbus?

The Martyr.

Neither doe I beleeue to bee any such place, neither doth the Scripture thereof make any mention.

The Frier.

Where were the old Fathers then before the death of Christ?

The martyr.

In life (I say) eternall, which they looked for, being promised before to Adam, Abraham, and the Patriarchs in the seed to come.

The Deputie.

Then the Deputie, What (saith he) doest thou beleeue that the Pope hath any power?

The martyr.

Yea verily.

The Deputie.

Doest thou beleeue that the Pope, as the Vicar of Iesus Christ, can here bind and loose? The power of the Pope.

The Martyr.

That I doe not beleeue.

The Deputie.

How then doest thou vnderstand the power of the Pope?

The Martyr.

I vnderstand the power of the Pope so as Saint Paul declareth, 2. Thess. saying; That because the world refused to receiue the loue of the truth vnto saluation, therefore God hath given to Satan, and to his ministers, power of illusions and errours, that men should beleeue lies, and set up to themselues Pastors and teachers such as they deserue.

The Frier.

Christ gaue to Saint Peter power to bind and loose, whose successor, and vicar of Christ, is the Pope, for the gouernment of the church, that Christs vicar in earth.

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it might haue one head in the world, as it hath in heauen. And though the paſtors do not liue according to the word which they preach, yet their doctrine is not therefore to be refuſed, as Chriſt teacheth, Matth. 23.

Matth. 23.

The Martyr.

If the Pope and his adherents would preach the Word purely and ſincerely, admitting no other inuentions of their owne, nor obtruding lawes of their owne deuiſing, I would then embrace their doctrine, howſoeuer their life were to the contrary: according as Chriſt doth tell vs of the Scribes and Phariſees, admoniſhing vs to follow their doctrine, and not their liues, Matthew 23. But there is great difference, whether they that take the gouernance of the Church doe ſit in Moſes chaire, which is the ſeat of truth, or elſe doe ſit in the chaire of abomination, ſpoken of by Daniel, and alſo by Saint Paul, where he ſaith; That the man of perdition ſhall ſit in the Temple of God, vaunting himſelfe inſolently above all that is called God, 2 Theſſ. 2.

Matth. 23.

2 Theſ. 2.

The keyes of binding and looſing.

And as touching the keyes of binding and looſing, giuen to Peter, Chriſt therein aſſigned to Peter, and other Apoſtles, the office of preaching the word of the Goſpell, which they did alſo well obſerue, in preaching nothing elſe but only the word, in the which word is all the power contained of binding and loſing. Neither is it to be granted, the Church to haue two heads, one in heauen, another in earth; the head whereof is but one, which is Jeſus Chriſt, whom the Father hath appointed to bee head alone both in heauen and earth, as Saint Paul in many places of his Epiſtles doth teach, Epheſ. 1. Coloſ. 1. &c.

Epheſ. 1. Coloſſ. 1.

The Frier.

You haue no vnderſtanding how to expound the Scriptures, but the old Doctors haue expounded the Scriptures and holy Councells, whoſe iudgements are to bee followed. But what ſay you to auricular confeſſion?

Auricular confeſſion.

The Martyr.

I know no other confeſſion but that which is to be made to God, and reconciliation towards our neighbour, which Chriſt and his Apoſtles hath commended to vs.

The Frier.

Haue you not read in the Goſpell, how Chriſt doth bid vs to confeſſe to the prieſt, where he commanded the leper, being made whole, to ſhew himſelfe to the prieſt?

The martyr.

The true Church of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt neuer obſerued this ſtrange kind of confeſſion, to carry our ſinnes to the prieſts eare. And though the Church of Rome hath intruded this manner of confeſſing, it followeth not thereby that it is to be receiued. And as touching the Leper whom the Lord ſent to the prieſt, he was not ſent therefore to whiſper his ſinnes in the prieſts eare, but onely for a teſtimonie of his health receiued, according to the law.

Of the other confeſſion which is to bee made to God, wee haue both the examples and teſtimonies of the prophet Dauid full in the pſalmes, 32. 51. 106. where he ſaith; That he confeſſed his ſinnes vnto the Lord, and received forgiueneſſe of the ſame.

Pſal. 32. 51. 106.

The Frier.

After this, the Frier proceeding further to make compariſon betweene the church of Rome and the Church of Geneua, would proue that the Pope hath power to ſet lawes in the church,

The Church of Rome and of Geneua compared.

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without any expreſſe word of God; for ſo it is written (ſaid he) That there were many other things beſides, which are not written in this book, Io. 21. Alſo, where Chriſt promiſeth to his Diſciples, to ſend vnto them the holy Ghoſt, which ſhould induce them into all truth. Moreouer, ſuch decrees and ordinances as are in the Church, were decided (ſaid he) and appointed by the Doctors of the Church, and by all the Councels, directed (no doubt) by the holy Ghoſt. Furthermore hee inferred, that the Church alſo of Geneua had their ordinances and conſtitutions made without any word of God. And for example, hee brought forth the order of the Pſalmes and Seruice publikely obſerued and appointed vpon Wedneſday in the Church of Geneua, as though that day were holier than another.

The Martyr.

To this the martyr anſwered againe, declaring that the ordinance of thoſe publique prayers and pſalmes vpon Wedneſday, in the Church of Geneua, was not to bind conſcience, nor for any ſuperſtitious obſeruation, nor for any neceſſitie, which either ſhould bind the conſcience, or could not bee altered at their arbitrement; but onely for an order or commoditie for publique reſort to heare the Word of God, according as ancient Kings and temporall magiſtrates haue vſed in old time to doe, in congregating the people together; not to put any holineſſe in the day, or to bind the conſcience to any obſeruation, (as the Pope maketh his lawes) but onely for orders ſake, ſeruing vnto commoditie.

And as touching that any thing ſhould bee left for Doctors and Councels to bee decided, without the expreſſe word of God, that is not ſo; for that all things be expreſſed and preſcribed by the Word, whatſoeuer is neceſſarie either for gouernment of the Church, or for the ſaluation of men; ſo that there is no need for Doctors of the Church, or Councels, to decide any thing more than is decided already.

Paul ſaith, That hee durſt utter nothing but that the Lord had wrought by him, Rom. 15. Saint John ſpeaking of the doctrine of Chriſt Jeſus, willeth vs to receiue no man, vnleſſe hee bring with him the ſame doctrine, 2 Ioh. Saint Paul warneth the Galathians, not to beleeue an Angell from heaven, bringing another doctrine than that which they had alreadie receiued, Gal. 2. Chriſt, calling himſelfe the good Shepheard, noteth them to bee his ſheepe which heare his voyce, and not the voyce of others; Iohn 10. And Saint Peter admoniſhing the paſtors of the church, forewarnes them to teach only the word of God, without any ſeeking of lordſhip or dominion over the flock. From the which moderation how farre the forme of the Popes Church doth differ, the tyrannie which they vſe doth well declare.

Rom. 15. 2 Iohn.

The Church ought to be gouerned onely by the voyce of Lords word.

I Pet. 5.

The Frier.

In the old church prieſts and miniſters of the church were wont to aſſemble together for deciding of ſuch things as pertained to the gouernment and direction of the Church, whereas in Geneua no ſuch thing is vſed, as I can proue by this your owne Teſtament here in my hands, that you the better may vnderſtand what was then the true vſe and manner of the Church.

The Martyr.

What was the true order and manner that the Apoſtles did inſtitute in the church of Chriſt I would gladly heare, and alſo would deſire

Churches may be inſtituted without the Pope.

you

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you to consider the same; and when you haue well considered it, yet shall you finde the institution and regiment of the Church of Geneua, not to be without the publike counsell, and aduisement of the Magistrates, Elders, and ministers of that church, with such care and diligence as Paul and Silas tooke in ordering the church of Thessalonica, Berrhea, &c. Wherein nothing was done without the authoritie of Gods word, as appeareth Acts 17. As likewise also in establishing the church of Antioch, when the Apostles were together in counsell for the same, there was no other law nor doctrine followed, but onely the word of God, as may appeare by the words of the Councell: Quid tentatis Deum, jugum imponere, &c. And albeit the ministers of the church of Rome, and the Pope were not called to the institution of the foresaid Church of Geneua: yet it followeth not therefore, that there was no lawfull order obserued, either in establishing that Church or any other.

Baptisme in the Popes Church, is necessarie ergo to follow the Popes rites.

The Frier.

You were first baptised in the Church of the Pope, were ye not?

The Martyr.

I grant I was, but yet that nothing hindereth the grace of God, but he may renouate, and call to further knowledge whom hee pleaseth.

A Counsellor.

I would wish you not to sticke to your owne wisedome and opinion. You see the Churches in Germanie, how they dissent one from another. So that if you should not submit your iudgement to the authoritie of the generall councels, euery day you shall haue a new Christianitie.

The Martyr.

To mine owne wisedome I doe not stick nor euer will, but only to that wisedome which is in Christ Iesus, although the world doth count it foolishnesse. And where yee say, that the churches of Germanie dissent among themselues one from another, that is not so, for they accord in one agreement altogether, touching the foundation and principall grounds of Christian faith. Neither is there any such feare, that euery day should rise vp a new Christianitie, vnlesse the Church be ballanced with authoritie of the councels as you pretend. For so we reade in the prophet Dauid, Psal. 33. and in other places of Scripture more: That the Councels of the nations and people shall bee overthrowne and subverted of the Lord, &c. Wherefore the best is, that we follow the counsell of God and his Word, and preferre the authoritie thereof before all other counsels and iudgements of men; and thus doing, I for my part had rather dwell and settle my selfe in this little Christianitie, be it neuer so small, than in that populous Papalitie, be it neuer so great in multitude.

Agreement in the principall points of Doctrine, in the Churches reformed.

Psalm. 33.

Clarus Christianismus potior populoso Papatu.

And thus was this godly Feurus commanded againe by the Deputie to the Bishops prison, and from thence shortly after remoued to Lions, not by the open and beaten way, but by secret and priuie iourneys, lest perhaps he should bee taken from them againe, as hee was before.

Ignatius, D. Fumosus, Sorbonista.

After he was come to Lions, he was brought before Ignatius the Judge, and a Doctor of Sorbone called Fumosus; who questioned with him touching sundrie articles of religion. But in conclusion, when they neither with ar-

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guments could conuict him, nor with promises allure him, nor with threatning terrours stirre him, either to betray the truth which he knew, or to bewray them whom hee knew not, which tooke him away before from his keepers, they

The martyrdome of Richard Feurus.

The martyrdome of Richard Feurus.

proceeded at last to the sentence, condemning him first to haue his tongue cut out, and then to be burned. All which he receiued willingly and quietly for righteousnesse sake, thus finishing his martyrdome. Iuly 7. An. 1554. Ex Crisp. Pant. & aliis.

Nicolas du Chesne, at Gry by Bezanson, An. 1554.

Nicolas Chesne, martyr.

The cause and occasion why this Nicolas came in trouble was, for that hee going from Lausanna (where he abode for his conscience) to fetch his sister, and her husband, and certaine other of his friends, as hee went from Bezanson, toward the towne of Gry, did not homage to a certaine Crosse in the way, where a certaine Monke, which was an Inquisitour, ouertooke him, and thereby suspected him. Hee was guided by the same Monke, craftily dissembling his religion, to a lodging in Gry: Where the Iustice of the place comming in incontinent tooke him. Nicolas seeing how hee was by the Monke his conductour betrayed: O false traitor, said he, hast thou thus betrayed me? then after examination, hee was condemned. Being carried to the place of martyrdome,

An inquisitor Monke.

False dealing in a papist.

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by the way he was promised, that if hée would kneele downe and heare a masse, hée should bée let goe as a passenger. But Nicolas, armed with perseuerance, said, hée would rather dye than commit such an act. Who, calling vpon the name of the Lord, tooke his death patiently. Ex Crisp. lib. 6.

John Bertrand martyr.

Iohn Bertrand a Forrester, or keeper of the forrest of Marchenoir. At Bloys, Anno 1556.

The Seniors or Lords of Estnay & of Ciguongnes, dwelling by the towne of Machenoir.

For the religion and Gospell of Christ this John was apprehended by these persecutours here specified, and led bound to Bloys, where he was examined by Denys the Councellor, of diuers points: as, Whether hée had spoken at any time against God, against the Church, and the he Saints, and the she saints of Paradise. Whereto hée said No. Item, whether at any time hée had called the Masse abominable. Which hée granted, for that he finding no Masse in all the Scripture, was commanded by Saint Paul, That if an Angell from heaven would bring any other Gospell beside that which was alreadie receiued, hee should account it accursed. After his condemnation they would haue him to bée confessed, and presented to him a Crosse to kisse. But he bad the Friers with their crosse depart: that is not the Crosse (said hée) that I must carry. Entring into the cart before the multitude, hée gaue thankes to God, that hée was not there for murther, theft, or blasphemie, but onely for the quarrell of our Sauiour. Being tyed to the post, he sung the fiue and twentieth psalme. Of age hée was young, his countenance was exceeding chéerefull and amiable, his eyes looked vp to heauen. O the happy iourney (said he, séeing the place where he should suffer) and the faire place that is prepared for me. When the fire was kindled about him, O Lord (cried hée) giue thy hand to thy seruant: I recommend my soule vnto thée; and so meekely yéelded vp his spirit. Whose patient and ioyfull constancie so astonied the people, that of long time before nothing did séeme to them so admirable. Ex Gallic. hist. per Crisp. lib. 6.

Denys Barbes, councellor of Bloys.

Peter Rousseau martyr.

Peter Rousseau, Anno 1556.

A brother in law of this Peter.

Peter Rousseau comming from Geneua and Lausanna to his countrey, partly to communicate with certaine of his acquaintance in the Word of God, partly for other certaine affaires, because hee required his inheritance of his brother in law, was by him betrayed. Then being constant in his confession, which hee offered vp, hee was put to the rack three times, which hee suffered constantly

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with great torments. Afterward hee had his tongue cut off, and a ball of iron put in his mouth. Hee was drawne vpon a hurdle, all broken and maimed to the fire, where he was lifted vp into the ayre, and let downe three times: and when he was halfe burned, the ball fell from his mouth, and hee with a loud voyce called on the name of God, saying, Iesus Christ assist me. And so this blessed martyr gaue vp his life to God, Ex Ioan. Crisp.

Cruelty.

Arnold Moniere, Iohn de Cazes, Martyrs.

Arnold Moniere. Iohn de Cazes. At Bourdeaux, An. 1556.

Anthonie de Lescure, the Kings Attorney.

After that Arnold Moniere was taken and examined of the Iustice, and so was layd in prison, John de Cazes resorting to the same towne of Bourdeaux, and hearing of him, and being admonished moreouer, that if hee went to him hee should be appeached of heresie, notwithstanding went to comfort him, and so was also imprisoned. After many examinations, sentence was giuen vpon them to bee burned. When the time came of their martyrdome, they were drawne through the durt vpon an hurdle to the place, accompanied with a number of bills, and glaiues, and Gunners, and Trumpeters. Moreouer, albeit there was no such cause (they being two simple poore men) yet the magistrates commanded (vpon what occasion I know not) all the gates of the Citie to bée shut, and garded with keepers. When the blessed martyrs were brought and bound to the post, which was before the palace, they, much reioycing that they were made worthie to suffer for Christ, made confession of their faith, and many exhortations vnto the people. But to stop the hearing of these Saints, the Trumpeters were commanded to sound, which during all the time of their suffering neuer ceased. The hangman, preparing himselfe first to strangle Cazes, chanced to fall downe from the top of the post to the pauement, and brake his head in such sort, as the bloud followed in great quantitie. Notwithstanding he recouering himselfe, went to Moniere, and him hee strangled, who patiently rendered vp his life. Cazes, who was the stronger of them both, being set on fire before the hangman came, suffered the extremitie of the fire with great paines, but greater patience, for as his legges were almost halfe burnt, yet hee endured, crying, My God, my Father, and so gaue vp his life.

Trumpets brought in to stop the hearing of Gods Saints.

And further, to note the worke of God that followed; when these two milde and martyred Saints were almost consumed in the fire to ashes, suddenly without matter or cause such a feare fell vpon them at the execution, that the Iustices and the people, notwithstanding that they had the gates locked to them, and were defensed with all manner of weapons about them, not knowing wherefore, tooke them to their legges, in such haste flying away, that they ouerranne one another. The Prior of Saint Anthonies fell downe, so that a great number went ouer him. The Iudge Pontacke on his mule,

Feare sent among Gods enemies.

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mule, with his red Robe flying as the other did, was ouerthrowne with the preasse in the Street called Poeteuin, in such sort that he was faine to be carried to Pichons house a widow, and there cried within, Hide me, saue my life, I am dead; I see euen the like matter as at the last commotion. My friends, hide my mule, that no man see her nor know her. Briefely, such was the feare which came vpon them, that euery man shut vp their houses. After the feare was past, euery man asked what the matter was, but none could tell, neither could the Enemies of Gods truth perceiue, who was hee that put them so to flight and feare, without any semblance of any aduersarie about them. This storie is testified, and to be found both in the volume of the French martyrs, printed by Iohn Crispine, lib. 6. also in the booke of Dutch martyrs, written by Adrianus.

Ipius fugit, & nemo persequitur.

Philip Cene. Iames his fellow. At Dyion, Anno 1557.

Philip Cene, Ines his fellow martyrs.

This Philip Cene was an Apothecarie at Geneua. Hee was taken at Dyion, and there imprisoned, and in the same towne of Dyion hee with one Iames his companion was burned. As this Philip went to his death singing psalmes, the Frier standing by stopped his mouth with his hand. The most part of the people wept bitterly, saying; Be of good courage brethren, bee not afraid of this death. Which when one of the aduersary part heard, he said to one of the magistrates, Doe you not see how almost the halfe part of the people is of their side, and doth comfort them; Ex Ioan. Crisp. lib. 6.

The accusers appeare not in the storie.

Archambant Seraphon. M. Nicolas du Russeau. At Dyion, Anno 1557.

Archambant. S. Nicolas Bleau martyrs.

These two were in prison together with Philip and Iames aboue said, at Dyion. Archambant going about with a packet of pedlarie ware to get his liuing, and comming towards his wife, heard of certaine prisoners at Dyion, to whom hee wrote, to comfort them with his letters. The next day after hee was searched at Aussone, and letters of certaine schollers of Paris found about him. Then hee was brought to Dyion, where hee, with the other called maister Nicolas du Russeau, constantly suffered.

The same Archambant had beene also condemned three yeares before at Tule, and as hee was led to Bourdeaux he escaped. Ex ejus Epist. ad uxorem, apud Crisp. lib. 6.

Philbert Hamlin. At Bourdeaux, Anno 1557.

Philbert Hamlin martyr.

Philbert Hamlin first was a priest, then he went to Geneua,

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where he exercised printing, and sent bookes abroad. After that hee was made minister at the towne of Allenart in Saintonge; in which and in other places moe he did much good in edifying the people. At last hee was apprehended at Saintes Ville, and with him his host a priest, whom he had instructed in the Gospell: and after confession made of his faith, hee with the said priest was carried to Burdeaux before the President. As he was in prison, on a Sunday a priest came in with all his furniture to say masse in the prison: whom Philbert seeing to be reuested, came and pluckt his garments from his backe with such zeale and vehemencie, that the masse garments, with the chalice and candlesticks, fell downe and were broken: saying; Is it not enough for you to blaspheme God in Churches, but you must also pollute the prison with your Idolatry? The Iaylour hearing of this, in his fury laid vpon him with his staffe, and also complained of him: whereby he was remoued to the common prison, and layd in a low pit, laden with great yrons, so that his legges were swolne withall, and there continued eight dayes. A little before hee, perceiuing the priest his host to decline from the truth, did what he could to confirme him in the same: but when he knew that he had flatly renounced Christ and his Word, hee sayd vnto him; O vnhappy and more than miserable! is it possible for you to be so foolish, as for sauing of a few dayes, which you haue to liue by the course of nature, so to start away, and to deny the truth? Know you therefore, that although you haue by your foolishnesse auoided the corporall fire, yet your life shall be neuer the longer; for you shall die before me, and God shall not giue you the grace that it shall bee for his cause, and you shall be an example to all Apostates. Hee had no sooner ended his talke, but the priest going out of prison was slaine by two gentlemen which had a quarrell to him. Whereof when Walter Philbert had heard, hee affirmed that he knew of no such thing before, but spake as pleased God to guide his tongue. Whereupon immediately hee made an exhortation of the prouidence of God, which by the occasion hereof moued the hearts of many, and conuerted them vnto God.

The zeale of Philbert.

The Kings' Atturney of Saintes Ville.

Philbert preacheth.

The marueilous iudgement of God against Apostates.

At last, the foresaid Philbert, after his condemnation, was had to the place of his martyrdome before the palace; and as hee was exhorting the people; to the intent his words should not be heard, the trumpets blew without ceasing. And so being fastened to the post, this holy martyr, praying and exhorting the people, was strangled, and his body with fire consumed on Palme Sunday eue. Ex Gall. hist. Crisp. lib. 6.

Trumpets blown to stop the hearing of Philbert.

Nicolaus Sartorius, at Ost, by Piedmont, An. 1557.

Nicolaus Sartorius martyr.

Nicolaus Sartorius of the age of six and twenty yeares, borne in Piedmont, came to the parts of Chamberie in Lent, where a certaine Warden of the Friers

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	in the towne of Olle had preached on good Friday vpon the passion. The report of which sermon being recited to this Sartorius, by one that heard him,
Ripet a Secretary.	Sartorius reprehended the errour and blasphemies thereof,
Anthonie Eschaux, Baily.	which were against the holy scriptures. Shortly after, the party that told him went to a Secretarie, named Ripet, who couertly came to entrap Nicolas, demanding him of the friers sermon: and did not our preacher, said he, preach well? No, said Nicolas, but hee lied falsly. Ripet, entering further with him, demanded: And doe not you beleeue
The Kings procurator.	the bodie of the Lord to bee in the host? to whom Nicolas, then answered againe, that to bee against our Creed, which saith, That hee ascended up and sitteth, &c. Incontinent Ripet went to the frier and his companions, to cause him to be apprehended. The friends of Nicolas, perceiuing the danger, willed him to auoid and saue himselfe, and also accompanied him out of the towne, about the space of three leagues. Then was great pursuit made after him to all quarters, who at length was taken at the towne of Saint Remy, at the foot of the mountaine of great Saint Bernard; where hee was examined before Anthonie Eschaux, Bailiffe of the towne, and other Justices, before whom he answered with great boldnes, for his faith. Then they brought him to the racke, and when the Sergeant refused to draw the cord, the Bailife himselfe and the Receiuer, with a Canon, did racke him with their owne hands. Notwithstanding that the Lords of Berne wrote for him to the towne of Olle, requiring to haue their owne subject deliuered vnto them, they hasted the execution, and pronounced sentence, that hee should be burned. Which sentence he receiued with such constancie, that neither the kings receiuer, nor all the other enemies, could diuert him from the truth of the Gospell, which he manfully maintained while any spirit remayned in his bodie. Ex Io. Crip. lib. 6.
	George Tardif, with one of Tours, a Broderer.
	Nicolas, a Shooemaker of Ienuile.
	At Tours, Anno 1558.
	At Ienuile, Anno 1558.
George Tardif, martyr.	The printer of the storie of the French martyrs named Crispine, among other mo, maketh also memoriall of George Tardif, a broderer of Tours, and Nicolas of Ienuile, declaring that all these three together
The accusers be not named in the storie.	were in prison, and afterward were dissenered, to suffer in sundrie places one from the other: of whom first, George Tardif was executed at Sens.
A Broderer of Tours martyr.	The Broderer of Tours, as he was comming with 5. or 6. other out of a wood, being at prayer was taken, and thereupon examined. Before hee should bee examined, he desired the Judges

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	that hee might pray. Which being granted, after his prayer made, wherein hee prayed for the Judges, for the King, and all estates, and for the necessity of all Christs Saints, hee answered for himselfe with such grace and modestie, that the hearts of many were broken vnto the shedding of teares, seeking (as it seemed) nothing else but his deliuerance. Notwithstanding he at last was sent vnto Tours, and there was crowned with martyrdome.
	The third, which was Nicolas, being but young of yeares, and newly come from Geneua to his countrey, for certaine money, by meanes of a Ladie there dwelling was caused to be apprehended. When hee was condemned and set in the cart, his father, comming with a staffe, would haue beaten him, but the officers not suffering it, would haue strucken the old man. The sonne crying to the officers desired them to let his father alone, saying, That his father had power ouer him, to doe with him what hee would: and so going to the place where hee should suffer, hauing a ball of yron put in his mouth, hee was brought at length to the fire, in the towne of Ienuile, where he patiently tooke his death and martyrdome. Anno 1558. Ex typogra. Crisp. lib. 6.
	The congregation of Paris persecuted, to the number of three or foure hundred, at Paris, Anno, 1558.
	Anno, 1558. September the fourth, a companie of the faithfull, to the number of three or foure hundred, were together conuented at Paris in a certaine house, hauing before it the
The priests of the Colledge of Plessis.	Colledge of Plessis in the street of Saint James, and behind it the colledge of Sorbone. Who there assembled in the beginning of the night, to the intent to communicate together the Lords Supper: but incontinent that
The Doctors of Sorbone.	was discouered by certaine Priests of Plessis; who, gathering together such as were of
Doctor Demochares.	that faction, came to beset the house, and made an outcrie, that
Cenalis, Bishop of Auranches.	the watch might come and take them, so that in short time almost
Martine the Kings Atturney.	all the citie of Paris was vp in armour, thinking some conspiracie to haue beene in the city. Who then following the noyse,
	and perceiuing that they were Lutheranes, a great part of
The Cardinall of Lorane.	them were in extreme rage, furiously seeking to haue their
Maillardus.	bloud, and therefore stopped the streets and lanes with carts, and made fires to see that none
Henrie the second, French king.	should escape. The faithfull, albeit God had giuen them leisure to finish their administration and prayers, with such quietnesse as they neuer had better, seeing the suddennesse of the thing, were strucken in great
	feare.

Nicolas of Ienuile martyr.

A terrible persecution at Paris against the congregation.

The fury of the world against the people of God.

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feare. Who then, being exhorted by the gouernors of the congregation, fell to prayer. That done, through the counsell of some which knew the cowardly hearts of the multitude, this order was taken, that the men which had weapons should aduenture thorow the preasse: onely the women and children remained in the house, and a few men with them, which were lesse bold than the other, to the number of six or seuen score. Where appeared the admirable power of God in them that went out with weapons; which notwithstanding that the lanes and passages were stopped, and the fires made, did all escape saue onely one, who was beaten downe with stones, and so destroyed. Certaine that remained in the house with the women, afterward leaped into gardens, where they were stayed till the Magistrates came. The women (which were all gentlewomen, or of great wealth, onely six or seuen excepted) seeing no other hope, and perceiuing the fury of the people, went vp to the windowes, crying * mercy, and shewing their innocent intent required iustice ordinarie. Thus as they were inclosed about six or seuen houres, at last came Martin the kings Atturny, with force of commissaries and sergeants. Who, with much adoe appeasing the outrage of the people, entered into the house: where hee viewing the women and children, and the other furniture there being prepared for that congregation, perceiued testimonies sufficient of their innocencie, in so much that in considering thereof, for pittie of heart his eyes could not refraine from teares. Notwithstanding, proceeding in his office, hee had them all to prison within the little castle. I omit here the furious vsage of the people by the way, how despightfully they plucked and haled the women, tore their garments, thrust off their hoods from their heads, and disfigured their faces with dust and durt. Neither were they better entreated in the prison, than they were in the streetes; for all the villaines and theeues there, were let out of their holes and stinking caues, and the poore Christians placed in their roomes.

Besides these manifold wrongs and oppressions done to these poore innocents, followed then (which was worst of all) the cruell and slanderous reports of the Friers and Priests; who, in their railing sermons and other talke, cried out of the Lutherans, perswading the people most falsely, that they assembled together to make a banket in the night, & there putting out the candles, they went together Jack with Jill (as they said) after a filthy and beastly manner. Adding moreouer (to make the lye more likely) that certaine Nunnes also and Monkes were with them. Also that they should conspire against the King, and other like hainous crimes, what soeuer their malice could inuent, for defacing of the Gospell. With such like malicious misreports and slanders Satan went about to extinguish the ancient Church of Christ in the primitiue time, accusing the innocent Christians then of incest, conspiracie, killing of Infants, putting out of candles, and filthy whoredome, &c. These sinister rumors and cursed defamations were no sooner giuen out, but they were as soone receiued, and spread farre, not onely to them of the vulgar sort, but also among the States of the Court, and euen to the Kings eares. The Cardinall of Lorraine the same time bare a great sway in the Court; who then procured a certaine Iudge of the Castle to come in, declaring to the King that hee found there, lying in the floore of the foresayd house, diuers couches and pallats, vpon which they intended to commit their whoredome; also much other furniture and preparation appointed for a sumptuous feast or banquet. Wherewith the King was mightily inflamed against them, neither was there any one person that durst contrarie it.

Here the Enemies began highly to triumph, thinking verily that the Gospell with all the friends thereof were ouerthrowne for euer. On the other side, no lesse perplexitie and lamentation was among the Brethren, sorrowing not so much for themselues, as for the imprisonment of their fellowes. Albeit they lost not their courage so altogether, but as well as they could they exhorted one another, considering the great fauour and prouidence of God, in deliuering them so wonderfully out of the danger. Some comfort they tooke vnto them, consulting together in this order, that first they should humble themselues to God in their owne priuate families. Secondly, to stop the running byes of their holy assemblies, they should write Apologies, one to the King, another to the people. Thirdly, that letters of consolation should be written and sent to their brethren in prison.

The first Apologie was written to the King, and conueyed so secretly into his chamber, that it was found and read openly in the hearing of the King and of all his Nobles. Wherein the Christians learnedly and discreetly both cleered themselues of those reports, and shewed the malice of their Enemies, especially of Satan, which euer from the beginning of the Church hath, and still doth goe about to ouerturne the right wayes of the Lord. Declaring further by manifold examples and continuall experience, euen from the primitiue time, how the nature of the Church hath euer beene to suffer verations and slanderous reports and infamation by the malignant Aduersaries, &c. And lastly, comming to the King, they craued that their cause might not bee condemned before it had indifferent hearing, &c. Neuertheless, this Apologie to the King serued to little purpose; for so much as the Aduersaries incontinent denied all that was written to the King, making him to beleeue, that all were but excuses pretensed, neither was there any person that durst reply againe.

But the other Apologie to the people did inestimable good, in satisfying the rumors, and defending the true cause of the Gospell. Whereupon certaine Doctors of Sorbone began to write both against the Apologie and the persons, of whom one was called Demochares; who taking for his foundation, without any proofe, that they were all heretiques, cried out for iustice, with bills, glaues, fire, and sword.

Another Sorbonist, more bloudie than the first, not onely exclaimed against them for putting out the candles in their detestable concourses and assemblies, but also accused them, as men which maintained that there was no God, and denied the diuinitie and humanitie of Christ, the immortalitie of the soule, the resurrection of the flesh, and briefely all the articles of true religion. And thus hee charged them without

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The Apologie of the congregation against false reports.

The true church of Christ euer from the beginning oppressed with slanderous tongues.

Doctor Demochares persecutes.

Lying lyps

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without any proofe, moouing both the King and people, without any forme of law to destroy and cut them in pieces, &c.

Cenalis Bishop of Aurenches persecutor.

The third that wrote against them, was Cenalis, Bishop of Aurenches, which debated the same matter, but with lesse vehemencie than the other, defending impudently, that their assemblies were to maintaine whoredome; complaining of the Iudges, because they were no sharper with them, saying, that their softnesse was the cause why the number of them so much encreased. Among other points of his booke this one thing hee disputeth marueilous pleasantly, touching the signes and markes of the true Church: first presupposing this one thing, which is true; that the true Church hath his signes, by the which it may be knowne from the false church: and thereupon (making no mention at all either of preaching or ministration of Sacraments) thus he inferreth: that their church, which was the catholike church, had bels by the which their assemblies be ordinarily called togither: and the other Church, which is of the Lutherans, hath claps of harquebuses and pistolets for signes, whereby they (as it is commonly vsed) are wont to congregate together. Vpon this supposall, as vpon a sure foundation, he grounding his matter vaunted and triumphed as one hauing gotten a great conquest, and made a long Antithisis, or comparison, by the which he would proue that bells were the markes of the true Church. The bels, said he, doe sound, the harquebuses doe cracke or thunder. The bels doe giue a sweet tune and melodius; the signes of the Lutherans make a foule noise and terrible, The bels doe open heauen, the other do open hell. Bels chase away cloudes and thunder, the other gender cloudes and counterfeit thunder: with many other properties more, which hee brought out, to proue that the church of Rome is the true church, because it hath those bels. Marke, good reader, the profound reasons and arguments which these great Doctors had, either to defend their owne church, or to impugne the apologies of the Christians.

Note well the true notes of the Popes holy church.

Bels made the marke of the true church.

The commodity of bels in the Popes church.

Briefely, to finish the residue of this story: as the faithfull Christians were thus occupied in writing their Apologies, and in comforting their brethren in prison with their letters, the aduersaries againe with their faction were not idle, but sought all meanes possible to hasten forward the execution, giuing diligent attendance, about the prison and other open places, to satisfie their vncharitable desire with the death of them, whose Religion they hated.

Finally, the seuenteenth day of September commission was directed out by the King, and certaine presidents and counsellers appointed to ouersee the expedition of the matter. Whereupon diuers of the poore afflicted Gospellers were brought forth to their iudgement and martyrdome, as anone (Christ willing) you shall heare.

Henricus Pantal. lib. II. partly touching this persecution of the Parisians, referreth the time thereof to the yeare of our Sauiour, 1557. which the French Chronicles doe assigne to the yeare 1558. and addeth moreouer, that the Germans being the same time in a certaine colloquie at Wormes, diuers learned men resorted thither from Geneua and other quarters, desiring of the Princes and Protestants there that they, by their Embassadours sent to the

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French king, would become suters vnto him for the innocent prisoners, which for the cause aboue said were detained in bands at Paris: by the meanes of whose intercession, saith he, and especially for that the French king was then in warre (as God prouided) with Philip king of Spaine, a great part of the captiues were rescued and deliuered: albeit certaine of the said number were executed before the comming of the Germaine Embassadours: the names and martyrdome of whom hereunder doe ensue. Ex Cris. & Pant. lib. II.

Gods helpe time of need.

Nicolas Clinet, at Paris, Anno 1558.

Nicolas Clinet senior of the Church and martyr.

Of this godly company thus brought to iudgement and to martyrdome, the first was Nicolas Clinet, of the age of sixty yeares, who first being a schoolmaster to youth at Saintonge (where he was borne) was there pursued, and had his Image burned. From thence he came to Paris, where for his godly conuersation hee was made one of the Elders, or Gouernors of the Church. For his age hee was suspected of the Iudges to bee a minister, and therefore was set to dispute against the chiefest of the Sorbonists, and namely Maillard, whom hee did so confute both by the Scriptures, and also by their owne Sorbonicall Diuinitie (wherein hee had been well exercised and expert) in the presence of the Lieutenant ciuil, that the said Lieutenant confessed that hee neuer heard a man better learned and of more intelligence.

Priests of the colledge of Plessis.

Doctor Maillard Sorbonist.

Taurin Gravelle, a lawyer, at Paris Anno 1558.

Taurin Gravelle, maist

Taurin Gravelle first was a student of the Law at Tolouse: after that he was made an aduocate in the court of Paris: lastly, for his godlinesse he was ordained an Elder to the said congregation, with Clinet aboue mentioned. This Taurin hauing in his hands the keeping of a certaine house of one maister Barthomier his kinsman, and seeing the congregation destitute of rooms, receiued them into the said house. And when he perceiued the house to bee compassed with enemies, albeit hee might haue escaped with the rest, yet hee would not, but did abide the aduenture, to the intent hee would answer for the fact, in receiuing the said assembly into the house. The constancie of this man was inuincible, in sustayning his conflicts with the Sorbonists. With Doctor Maillard especially he was of old acquaintance, whom hee did know, so well euen from his youth vpward, that whensoeuer the sayd Doctor would open his mouth to speake

Doctor Maillard Sorbonist.

Doctor Maillard confuted.

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speake against the Saints for their nightly assemblies, hee againe did reproch him with such filthy acts of buggerie and infamous sodomitry, that neither they which heard could abide it, neither yet could hee denie it, being so notorious that almost all the children in the streetes did know it: and yet that Sorbonicall Doctor shamed not to impeach good men of whoredome for their godly assemblies in the night. Whose life was so farre from all chastitie, as were their holy assemblies cleere from all impuritie. In fine, these two godly Elders in cruell paines of the fire finished their martyrdome.

Bartholmew Hector. At Thurin, Anno 1556.

A gentleman called Perriere. M. Bartholmew Eme, President. M. Augustine de Eglise, Councellor.

First, this Hector was a trauveller about the countrey, and a seller of bookes, having his wife and children at Geneua. As hee came into the vale of Angroign, in Piedmont, to get his liuing with selling of bookes, he was taken by a certaine gentleman, and there arrested and sent to Thurin; then examined, at last condemned. Being condemned, hee was threatened, that if hee spake any thing to the people his tongue should bee cut off. Neuertheless he ceased nothing to speake. After his prayers made, wherein hee prayed for the Iudges, that God would forgiue them, and open their eyes, he was offered his pardon at the stake if hee would conuert; which he refused. Then he prepared himselfe to his death, which he tooke patiently. Whereat many of the people wept, saying, Why doth this man die, which speaketh of nothing but of God. Ex hist. Gall. per Crisp. lib. 6.

Philip de Luns Gentlewoman, at Paris, Anno 1558.

The Lieutenant ciuill. Doctor Maillard Sorbonist. Mosnier, Lieutenant. Euill neighbours. Bernard Lord Keeper of the Seale, and Cardinal of Sens. The Marquis of Tran.

Next vnto Client and Grauell aboue sayd, was brought out Mistresse Philip Gentlewoman, of the age of twenty three yeares. She came first from the parts of Gascoigne with her husband (who was Lord of Gzaueron) vnto Paris, there to ioyne her selfe to the Church of God. Where her husband also had beene a Senior or Elder: who in the moneth of May before was taken with an ague, and deceased, leauing this Philip a widow, which neuertheless ceased not to serue the Lord in his Church, and also in the house was taken with the said company. Many conflicts shee had with the Iudges and the Sorbonists, namely Maillard. But shee alwayes sent him away with the same reproch as the other did before, and bad him auant Sodomite, saying, shee would not answer one word to such a Villaine. To the Iudges her answer was this, that shee had learned the faith which shee confessed, in the word of God, and in the same shee would liue and die. And being demanded whether the bodie of Christ was in the sacrament: How is that possible, said shee, to be the bodie of Christ, to whom all power is giuen, and which is exalted aboue all heauens; when as wee see the mice and rats, apes, and munkeyes play with it, and teare it in pieces? Her petition to them was, that seeing they had taken her sister from her, yet they would let her haue a Bible or testament to comfort her selfe. Her wicked neighbours, although they could touch her conuersation with no part of dishonestie, yet many things they laid to her charge, as that there was much singing of Psalmes in her house, and twice or thrice an infinite number of persons were seene to come out of her house. Also when her husband was in dying, no priest was called for; neither was it knowne where he was buried; neither did they euer heare any word of their infant to be baptised; for it was baptised in the Church of the Lord. Among other her neighbours that came against her, two there were dwelling at saint Germaine in the suburbs; betweene whom incontinent rose a strife, wherein one of them sticked the other with a knife. The death of this gentlewoman was the more hastened of the Lord keeper of the seale, Bertrand, Cardinall of Sens, and his sonne in law the Marquesse of Trane, to haue the confiscation of her goods.

The Sacrament.

The iust hand of God against false and bloudie witnesses.

These three holy martyrs aboue recited were condemned the seuen and twentieth of September by the processe of the Commissioners and the lieutenant ciuill: and then being put in a chappell together, certaine Doctors were sent to them; but their valiant constancie remained vnmoueable. After that, they were had out of prison, and sent euery one in a dung-cart to the place of punishment. Clinet euer cried by the way, professing, that he said or maintained nothing but the veritie of God. And being asked of a Doctour, whether hee would beleeue saint Austen, touching certaine matters, hee said, yea; and that he had said nothing but which he would proue by this authoritie.

The martyrdome of Clinet, Grauell, and Philip de Luns.

The gentlewoman, seeing a priest come to confesse her, said, that shee had confessed vnto God, and had receiued of him remission: other absolution she found none in Scripture. And when certaine counsellors did vrge her to take in her hands the wooden crosse, according to the custome of them that goe to their death; alledging how Christ commanded euery one to beare his crosse: shee answered, My Lords, said shee, you make mee in very deed to beare my crosse, condemning mee vniustly, and putting mee to death in the quarrell of my Lord Iesus Christ. Who willeth vs to beare our crosse, but no such crosse as you speake of.

The crosse.

Gravelle looked with a smiling countenance and shewed a cheerefull colour, declaring how little he passed for his condemnation: and being asked of his friends to what death he was condemned; I see well (said hee) that I am condemned to death, but to what death or torment I regard not. And comming from the chappell, when he perceiued they went about to cut out his tongue, vnlesse hee would returne, he said, that was not so contained in the arrest, and

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and therefore he was vnwilling to grant vnto it: but afterward perceiuing the same so to be agreed by the court, he offered his tongue willingly to be cut, and incontinent spake plainly these words: I pray you pray to God for me.

The gentlewoman also, being required to giue her tongue, did likewise with these words: Seeing I doe not sticke to giue my bodie, shall I sticke to giue my tongue? No, no. And so these three, hauing their tongues cut cut, were brought to Maulbert place. The constancie of Grauelle was admirable, casting vp his sighes and gronings vnto heauen, declaring thereby his ardent affection in praying to God. Clinet was somewhat more sad than the other, by reason of the feeblenesse of nature and his age. But the gentlewoman yet surmounted all the rest in constancie, which neither changed countenance, nor colour, being of an excellent beautie.

Their tongues cut out.

Precious in the sight of God, is the death of his Saints.

After the death of her husband, shee vsed to goe in mourning weed, after the manner of the countrie. But the same day, going to her burning, shee put on her French hood, and decked her selfe in her best aray, as going to a new marriage, the same day to bee ioyned to her spouse Iesus Christ. And thus the three, with singular constancie, were burned; Grauelle and Clinet were burned aliue. Philip the gentlewoman was strangled, after she had a little tasted the flame with her feet, and visage: and so she ended her martyrdome. Ex Ioan. Crisp. lib. 6.

Nicol. Cene, Per. Gabart, martyrs.

Nicolas Cene, Peter Gabart, at Paris, Anno, 1558.

Of the same companie was also Nicolas Cene a Physition, brother to Philip Cene aboue mentioned, and martyred at Dyion, and Peter Gabart: which two, about fiue or six dates after the other three before, were brought forth to their death: October 2.

The Lieutenant.

Nicolas Cene was but new come to Paris the same day, when he was aduertised of the assembly which then was congregate in the street of saint Iames, and (as he desired nothing more than to heare the word of God) came thither euen as hee was, booted, and was also with them apprehended, sustaining the cause of Gods holy Gospell vnto death.

Doctour Maillard.

The other was Peter Gabart a solicitour of processes, about the age of thirtie yeares, whose constancie did much comfort the prisoners. Hee was put among a great number of Schollers in the little castle. Whom when he heard to passe the time in talking of philosophie; No, no, said hee, let vs forget these worldly matters, and learne how to sustaine the heauenly cause of our God, which lie here in defence of the kingdome of Iesus Christ our Sauiour: And so hee began to instruct them how to answer to euery point of Christian doctrine so well, as if hee had done no other thing in all his life, but onely studied diuinitie; and yet was hee but very simply learned. Then was he sent from

Counsellers.

Friers.

A wholesome lesson for all students.

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them a part to another prison, full of filthy stinch and vermine; where notwithstanding hee ceased not to sing psalmes that the other might wel heare him. He had a young nephew in another prison by, being but a childe, of whom he asked what he had said to the Iudges? Hee said that hee was constrained to doe reuerence to a crucifix painted. O thou naughty boy, sayd hee, haue not I taught thee the Commandements of God? Knowest thou not how it is written; Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any grauen Image, &c. and so began to expound to him the Commandements: whereunto hee gaue good attention.

Images forbidden.

In their examinations many questions were propounded by the Doctors and Friers, touching matters both of religion, and also to know of them what gentlemen and gentlewomen were there present at the ministration of the Sacrament. Whereunto they answered in such sort, as was both sufficient for defence of their owne cause, and also to saue their other brethren from blame, saying, that they would liue and die in that they had sayd and maintained.

When the time of their execution was come, they perceiued that the Iudges had intended, that if they would relent they should be strangled; if not, they should burne aliue, and their tongues hee cut from them. Which torments they being content to suffer for our Sauiour Iesus Christ, offered their tongues willingly to the hangman to be cut. Gabart began a little to sigh, for that hee might no more praise the Lord with his tongue. Whom then Cene did comfort. Then were they drawne out of prison in the dung-cart to the suburbs of Saint Germane. Whom the people in rage and madnesse followed with cruell iniuries and blasphemies, as though they would haue done the execution themselues vpon them, maugre the hangman. The crueltie of their death was such as hath not lightly beene seene: for they were holden long in the aire ouer a small fire, and their lower parts burnt off, before that the higher parts were much harmed with the fire. Neuertheless these blessed Saints ceased not in all these torments to turne vp their eyes to heauen, and to shew forth infinite testimonies of their faith and constancie. In the same fire many Testaments and Bibles the same time also were burnt.

Their tongues cut out.

Cruelty.

Upon the sight of this cruelty, the friends of the other prisoners, which remained behind, fearing the tyrannie of these Iudges, presented certaine causes of refusall against the said Iudges, requiring other Commissioners to be placed. But the King, being hereof aduertised by his Solicitor, sent out his Letters patents, commanding the said causes of refusall to bee frustrate and willed the former Iudges to proceed, all other lets and obstacles to the contrary notwithstanding: and that the presidents should haue power to chuse to them other counsellors, according to their owne arbitrement, to supply the place of such as were absent: amongst whom also the said Solicitor was receiued, in stead of the Kings procurator, to pursue the proces. By the which Letters patents it was decreed, that these stubborne Sacramentaries (as they were called) should be iudged accordingly, saue onely that they should not proceed to the execution before the King were aduertised. These Letters aforesaid stirred vp the fire of this persecution not a little, for that the Iudges at this refusall

See here, in the whole order of the text was conformate together and the poore sits of God, according to the prophesie of the second Psal. Astiterunt Reges terræ & principes conuenerunt in unum, aduersus dominum, &c.

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refusall tooke great indignation, and were mightily offended for that reproch. Notwithstanding so it pleased God, that a young man a Germane, called Albert Hartung, borne in the countrey of Brandeburg, and godsonne to Albert Marques of Brandeburg, by the Kings commandement was deliuered, through the importune suit of the said Marques. Ex Ioan. Crisp. lib. 6.

Albert Hartung deliuered.

Fredericke Danuile. Francis Rebezies.

At Paris, Anno 1558.

Two Presidents.

Twenty five Counsellors.

The Lieutenant Civill.

Doctors.

Friers.

Sorbonists.

Benedictus Iacobin.

Demochares.

Maillard.

Mention was made aboue of certaine young scholliers and students, which were in the little castle with Peter Gabart. Of the which number of Scholliers were these two, Fredericke Danuile, and Francis Rebezies, neither of them being past twenty yeares of age. How valiantly they behaued themselues in those tender yeares, sustaining the quarrell of our Lord Iesus Christ, what confession they made, what conflicts they had, disputing with the doctors of Sorbone, their owne letters left in writting doe make record: the effect whereof briefly to touch, is this: And first touching Fredericke Danuile.

The Lieutenant criminall, who before was halfe suspected, but now thinking to proue himselfe a right Catholique, and to recouer his estimation againe, came to him, beginning with these words of Scripture; Whosoeuer denieth mee before men, him will I denie before my Father, &c. That done, hee asked him what he thought of the Sacrament. To whom Fredericke answered, That if hee should thinke Christ Iesus to bee betweene the priests hands after the Sacramentall words (as they call them) then should hee beleeue a thing contrarie to the holy Scriptures, and to the Creed, which saith, that hee sitteth on the right hand of the Father. Also to the testimonie of the Angels, which spake both of the ascending of Christ, and of his comming downe againe; Acts 1.

Matth. 10.

Acts 1.

After this hee questioned with him touching inuocation of Saints, purgatory, &c. Whereunto he answered so, that hee rather did astonish the enemies, than satisfie them.

Furthermore, the twelfth of September the said Fredericke againe was brought before Benedictus Iacobin, and his companion a Sorbonist, called Noster Magister; who thus began to argue with him.

The Doctor.

Which thinke you to be the true Church, the Church of the Protestants, or the Church of Paris?

The Martyr.

I recognize that to be the true Church where the Gospell is truely preached, and the Sacraments rightly ministred, so as they bee left by Iesus Christ and his Apostles.

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The Doctor.

And is the Church (thinke you) of Geneua such a one as you speake of?

The Martyr.

I so iudge it to be.

The Doctor.

And what if I doe proue the contrary, will you beleeue me?

The martyr.

Yea, if you shall proue it by the Scripture.

The Doctor.

Or will you beleeue Saint Austen and other holy Doctours innumerable?

The martyr.

Yea, so they dissent not from the Scripture and the word of God.

The Doctour.

By the authoritie of Saint Augustine, the Church is there where is the succession of Bishops. Whereunto I frame this argument:

The Church.

There is the Church, where is the perpetuall succession of Bishops.

In the Church of Paris is such succession of Bishops:

Ergo the Church of Paris is the true church.

The Martyr.

To your Major I answer, That if Saint Austen meane the succession of such as are true Bishops indeed, which truly preach the Gospell, and rightly administer the Sacraments; such Bishops I suppose to be at Geneua, where the Gospell is truely preached, and the Sacraments duly ministred, and not in the Church of Paris. But otherwise, if saint Austen meane the succession of false Bishops, such as neither preach nor minister according to Gods word, so is the same in no wise to bee granted.

The Doctor.

Caluin is there by his owne thinking in onely, and by the chusing of the people.

The Martyr.

And that foundeth more for him to bee of Gods diuine election, for so much as by him the Gospell of God is preached truely; and from this no man shall bring me.

After this disceptation, the ninth of the same moneth came against him another Doctor with two Sorbonists; who, bringing forth a scroll out of his bosome, pretended that a certaine scholler comming from Geneva made his confession, wherein was contained, that, in receiving of the bread and wine, the bodie and bloud of Christ is received really. Whereupon they demanded of him, whether hee would receive the same confession.

The Martyr.

Whatsoeuer I haue said vnto you, that will I hold. And as touching this word, really, I know right well that they of Geneua doe not take it for any carnall presence, as you doe; but their meaning is, to exclude thereby onely a vaine imagination.

Really.

The Doctour.

I marueil much that you so refuse the word really, and vse only spiritually, seeing that Caluin himselfe doth vse the same word really.

The Martyr.

Caluin meaneth thereby no other thing but as we doe.

The Doctor.

What say you by confession auricular?

Confession auricular.

The

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The Martyr.

The same that I said before to Monsieur Lieutenant, that is, That I take it for a Plantation, not planted by God in his word.

The Doctor.

The Almanes, in their confession which they sent to our King to bee approued, haue these words: Confessionem auricularem non improbamus; est enim Evangelium secretum: That is, We doe not reject auricular confession, for it is a Gospell secret and priuie. And also Melanchon in his booke of common places doth call it Evangelium secretum.

Melanct. in his common places, speaking of the popish confession which consisteth in the enumeration of sin, saith, that it is a snare of conscience, and against the Gospell, and otherwise maketh there no mention of Evangelium secretum: no more doth the confession of the Almanes.

Another time the said Fredericke was called againe before the Lords, the twentieth of the said moneth, where they did nothing but demand of him certaine questions, where hee was borne, and whether hee had heard in his countrey at Oleron, that Master Gerard the Bishop there did sing masse. Yea, said hee. And why doe not you also, said they, receive the same. Hee answered, because hee did it to retaine and keepe his bishopricke. The martyr for lacke of paper could proceed herein no further.

¶ The examination of Francis Rebezies.

The examination of Rebezies.

REbezies had three sundrie examinations: The first with the Lieutenant ciuill: the second with the Presidents and the Counsellors: the third with the Friers. First the Lieutenant enquiring of his name, countrey, and parents, asked whether he was at the communion, whether he receiued with them the bread and wine, and whether he was a seruitour to master Nicolas Cene, senior of the congregation. Whereunto hee said, Yea. Also whether he was a distributer of the tokens, whereby they were let in that came. That hee denied. Then hee was brought into the councell chamber, before two Presidents, and twenty fiue Counsellors; who, after other questions about his countrey and parents, demanded whether he was taken with them in the house? Yee answered, yea. What he had to doe there? To heare the word of God, and to receiue with them. Who brought him thither? Himselfe. Whom there he knew? No man. How he durst, or would enter, knowing no person there? Truth it was, said hee, that hee knew there two or three. Who were they? Master Grauell, Clinet, and John Sanlot, fayning that name of himselfe. Whether he knew the Preacher? That he denied. Whether hee allowed the act there done to bee good? Yea. Whether hee did not better like to resort vnto their beautified Temples, to heare masse, or whether he did not take the Masse to be an holy thing, and ordained of God? Yee answered againe contrarie, beleeuing that it was a great blasphemie against God, and a seruice set vp of the diuell. Whether hee did not acknowledge purgatorie? Yes, that Purgatorie, which is the death and passion of Christ, which taketh away the sinnes of the world. The death of Christ is the principall, said they, but thou must also beleeue another. Alas, said hee, can wee neuer content our selues with the simplicitie of the Gospell, but man alwayes will bee putting to something of his owne braine: in so many places of the Scripture we see the bloud of Jesus Christ to bee sufficient, as John 1. Apocalyps 5. Hebrews 9. Esay 43. Where the Lord

Masse.

Purgatory.

John 1. Apoc. 5. Heb. 9.

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himselfe saith: That it is hee, who for his owne sake putteth away our iniquities, &c. As Saint Paul also saith, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himselfe, &c. And contrarie, when they obiected the words of the parable, Matthew 5. Thou shalt not come out, till thou hast paid the last farthing. To this hee answered, That the words of that parable had no such relation, but to matters ciuill: and this word (untill) meaneth there, as much as neuer. After that, he was charged there by one, for reading the bookes of Caluin, Bucer, and Bullinger. The President asked, if he were not afraid to be burned, as were the other before, and to bring his parents into such dishonour. Yee answered, that hee knew well, That all which would liue godly in Christ Iesus, should suffer persecution. And that to him either to liue or to die were aduantage in the Lord. And as touching his parents, Christ, said hee, doth premonish himselfe, That whosoeuer loueth father or mother more than him, is not worthie to be his, &c. Iesus Maria, said the President, what youth is this now adaies, which cast themselues so headlong into the fire, and so was hee commanded away.

Esa. 43. 2 Cor. 5. Mat. 5. 2 Tim. 3. Mat. 10.

Thirdly, he was brought before Benet, master of the Doctours of Sorbone, and another called Jacobine, the fourteenth of October, whereas he, chancing to speake of the Lord, the Doctour began thus to obiect, as followeth.

The third examination.

The Doctor.

See how you, and all such as are of your companie, simply name the Lord, without putting to the pronoune, our. So may the Diuels well call the Lord, and tremble before his face.

The difference betweene our Lord, and the Lord.

The Martyr.

The Diuels call the Lord in such sort as the Pharises did, when they brought the Adultresse before him, and called him master: yet neither attended they to his doctrine, nor intended to bee his disciples: whose cause I trust is nothing like to ours, which know, and confesse (as wee speake) him to bee the true Lord with all our heart, so as true Christians ought to doe.

The Doctor.

I know well you hold the Church to bee, where the Word is truly preached, and the Sacraments sincerely ministred, according as they are left of Christ and his Apostles.

The Church.

The Martyr.

That doe I beleeue, and in that I will liue and die.

The Doctor.

Doe you not beleeue, that whosoeuer is without that Church cannot obtain remission of his sinnes?

The martyr.

Whosoeuer doth separate himselfe from that Church, to make either sect, part, or diuision, cannot obtaine as you say.

The Doctor.

Now let vs consider two Churches, the one wherein the Word is rightly preached and Sacraments administred accordingly as they bee left vnto vs: the other wherein the Word and Sacraments be vsed contrarily. Which of these two ought we to beleeue?

Churches.

The martyr.

The first.

The Doctor.

Well said. Next is now to speake of the gifts

giuen

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giuen to the said Church: as the power of the keyes, confession for remission of sinnes, after we be confessed to a Priest. Also wee must beleeue the seuen Sacraments in the same Church truly administred, as they be here in the churches of Paris, where the Sacrament of the Altar is ministred, and the gospell truly preached.

The Martyr.

Sir, now you begin to halt. As for my part, I doe not receiue in the Church moe than two Sacraments, which be instituted in the same for the whole communalty of Christians. And as concerning the power of the keyes, and your confession, I beleeue, that for remission of our sinnes we ought to goe to none other but onely to God, as we read, 1. Iohn. 1. If wee confesse our sinnes, God is faithfull and just to pardon our offences, and hee will purge us from all our iniquities, &c. Also in the Prophet Dauid, Psal. 19. & 32. I have opened my sinne unto thee, &c.

Power of the keyes. Confession.

The Doctor.

Should I not beleeue that Christ, in the time of his Apostles, gaue to them power to remit sinnes?

The Martyr.

The power that Christ gaue to his Apostles if it be well considered, is nothing disagreeing to my saying: and therefore I began to say (which here I confesse) that the Lord gaue to his Apostles to preach the Word, and so to remit sinnes by the same Word.

The Doctor.

Doe you then deny auricular confession?

The Martyr.

Yea verely I doe.

The Doctor.

Ought we to pray to Saints?

The Martyr.

I beleeue no.

The Doctor.

Tell me that I shall aske: Iesus Christ being here vpon the earth, was hee not then as well sufficient to heare the whole world, and to be intercessour for all, as he is now?

The Martyr.

Yes.

The Doctor.

Intercession of Saints.

But we find, that when hee was here on earth his Apostles made intercession for the people, and why may they not doe the same as well now also?

The Martyr.

So long as they were in the world, they exercised their ministery, and prayed one for another, as needing humane succours together: but now they being in Paradise, all their prayer that they make is this, that they with that they which be yet on earth may attaine to their felicity: but to obtaine any thing at the Fathers hand, wee must haue recourse onely to his sonne.

The Doctor.

If one man haue such charge to pray for another, may not hee then bee called an Intercessour?

The Martyr.

I grant.

The Doctor.

Well then, you say there is but one Intercessour. Whereupon I inferre, that I, being bound to pray for another, need not now to goe to Iesus Christ, to haue him an Intercessour, but to God alone, setting Iesus Christ apart; and so ought we verely to beleeue.

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The Martyr.

You vnderstand not sir, that if God doe not behold vs in the face of his owne welbeloued son, then shall wee neuer bee able to stand in his sight. For if hee shall looke vpon vs, hee can see nothing but sinne. And if the heauens bee not pure in his eyes, what shall be thought then of man, so abhominable and vnprofitable, which drinketh iniquity like water, as Iob doth say?

Then the other frier, seeing his fellow to have nothing to answer to this, inferred as followeth.

The Doctor.

Note this blasphemous doctrine, which maketh saints equall Intercessors with Christ.

May (my friend) as touching the great mercy of God, let that stand, and now to speake of our selues, this wee know, that God is not displeased with them which haue recourse vnto his saints.

The Martyr.

Sir, we must not doe after our owne wills, but according to that which God willeth and commandeth. For this is the trust that wee have in him, that if we demand any thing after his will, hee will heare us, 1 Iohn 5.

The Doctor.

As no man commeth to the presence of an earthly King or Prince, without meanes made by some about him, so, or rather much more, to the heauenly King aboue, &c.

The Martyr.

To this earthly example I will answer with another heauenly example of the prodigall sonne, who sought no other meanes to obtaine his fathers grace, but came to the father himselfe.

Worshipping of Saints.

Then they came to speake of adoration, which the said Rebezies disproved by the Scriptures; Acts 10. 13, 14. Apoc. 19. 22. Heb. 10. 14. 12. Where is to bee noted, that where the Martyr alledged the 12. to the Heb. the doctors answered, that it was in the 11. Chapter, when the place indeed is neither in the 11. nor in the 12. but in the 14. chapter of the Acts. So well seene were these Doctors in their Diuinitie.

The Doctor.

The presence of Christ in the host.

Touching the Masse what say you? beleeue you not that when the Priest hath consecrated the host, our Lord is there as well, and in as ample sort, as hee was hanging vpon the crosse?

The Martyr.

Masse.

No verily: but I beleeue that Iesus Christ is sitting at the right hand of his Father; as appeareth, Heb. 10. 1 Cor. 15. Coloss. 3. and therefore (to make short with you) I hold your Masse for none other but for a false and counterfeited seruice, set vp by Satan, and retained by his ministers, by the which you doe annihilate the precious blood of Christ, and his oblation once made of his owne body: and you know right well that the same is sufficient, and ought not to be reiterated.

The Doctor.

You deceiue your selues in the word reiteration, for we doe not reiterate it so as you think: as by example I will shew you. You see mee now in this religious garment: but if I should put vpon me a souldiers weed, then should I bee disguised, and yet for all that I should remaine the same still within my doublet, that I was before in my Friers weed. So is it with the sacrifice: we confesse and grant, that Naturaliter, that is naturally, hee was once offered in sacrifice, and also in sitting Naturaliter, that is, naturally, at the right hand of his

Naturaliter.

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father: but Supernaturaliter, & subscriptivè, that is, supernaturally, we sacrifice the same, without reiteration. Supernaturaliter wee sacrifice him: but that sacrifice is onely disguised, to vnderstand that hee is contained vnder that curtaine and whitenesse, which you see.

Supernaturaliter, or subscriptive.

The martyr.

Sir, this I say, that such a disguised sacrifice is a diabolicall sacrifice: and this you may take for a resolution.

The doctor.

And how is your beleefe touching the holy Supper?

The martyr.

That if it be ministred vnto me by the minister, in such vsage, as it hath beene left of Christ and his apostles, preaching also the word purely withall, I beleeue that, in receiuing the materiall bread and wine, I receiue with liuely faith the body and blood of Iesus Christ spiritually.

The doctor.

Say corporally.

The martyr.

No sir, for his words be spirit and life; and let this content you.

The doctor.

What say you, is it lawfull for a Priest to marry.

The martyr.

I beleeue it to be lawfull for him, in such sort as the Apostle saith, Whosoeuer hath not the gift of continency, let him marry: for it is better to marry then to burne. And if this doe not content you, further you may read what he writeth of Bishops and Elders, 1 Timothy 3. and Tit. 1.

And thus these doctors, affirming that hee denied priesthood, gaue him leaue to depart, saying, God haue mercy on you. So bee it, said hee.

After this, about the two and twentieth of October, the said Rebezies and Fredericke Danuile were brought vp to a Chamber in the Castle to be racked, to the intent they should vtter the rest of the Congregation. In the which chamber they found three Counsellors, who thus began with them: Lift vp thy hand. Thou shalt sweare by the passion of Iesus Christ, whose image here thou seest, shewing him a great marmouset there painted in a paper, &c. Whereunto Rebezies answered, Mounsieur, I sweare to you by the passion of Christ, which is written in my heart. Why doest not thou sweare to vs, said the counsellors, as we say vnto thee: Because, said hee, it is a great blasphemy against the Lord. Then the counsellors read their depositions, and first beginning with Rebezies said: Wilt thou not tell vs the truth, what companions thou knowest to be of this assembly? Rebezies named, as he did before, Grauell, Clinet (which were already burnt) & Iohn Sanlot. To whom they said, that the court had ordained, that if he would giue no other answer but so, he should be put to the torture or Racke, and so he was commanded to be stripped to his shirt, hauing a crosse put in his hand, and being bid to commend himselfe to God and the Virgin Mary; but hee neither would receiue the crosse, nor commend himselfe to the Virgin Mary, saying, That God was able enough to guard him, and to saue him out of the Lyons mouth: and so, being drawne and stretched in the ayre, began to cry, Come Lord & shew thy strength, that may doe not preuaile, &c. But they cryed,

The martyrs racked.

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Tell truth Francis, and thou shalt bee let downe. Neuertheleese he continued still in his inuocation and prayer to the Lord, so that they could haue no other word but that. And after they had thus long tormented him, the Counsellors said, wilt thou say nothing else? I haue nothing else, said he, to say. And so they commanded him to bee loosed, and be put by the fire side. Who, being loosed, said to them: doe you handle thus the poore seruants of God: and the like was done to Fredericke Danuile also, his companion, of whom they could haue no other answer (who at the same time was also very sicke) but as of the other. So mightily did God assist and strengthen his seruants, as euer he did any else, as by their owne letters and confession it doth appeare. Ex literis Franc. Rebez. in Crisp. lib. 6.

The constancy of these martyrs.

These constant and true martyrs of Christ, after they had returned from the torture vnto their fellow prisoners, ceased not to thanke and praise the Lord for his assistance. Frederick did sigh oftentimes, and being asked of his fellowes why he so did, hee said it was not for the euill that he had suffered, but for the euils that he knew they should suffer afterward. Notwithstanding, said he, be strong brethren and be not afraid, assuring your selues of the aid of God, which hath succoured vs, and also will comfort you. Rebezies with the Racke was so drawne and stretched, that one of his shoulders was higher than the other, and his neck drawn on the one side, so that he could not moue himselfe: and therefore desiring his brethren to lay him vpon his bed, there hee wrote his confession, which hitherto wee haue followed. When the night came they reioyced together, and comforted themselues with meditation of the life to come, and contempt of this world, singing psalmes together, till it was day. Rebezies cryed twice or thrice together, away from me Satan. Fredericke, being in bed with him, asked why he cried and whether Satan would stoppe him of his course? Rebezies said, that Satan set before him his Parents; but by the grace of God, said hee, hee shall doe nothing against mee.

Brotherly compassion.

The comfort of Gods saints.

The day next following, they were brought once or twice before the counsellors, and required to shew what fellowes they had moe of the said assembly. Which when they would not declare, the sentence was read against them, that they should be brought in a dung-cart to Maubert place, and there, hauing a ball in their mouthes, be tied each one to his post, and afterward be strangled, and so bee turned into ashes.

Afterward came the friers and doctours, Democares, Maillard, and other, to confesse them, and offering to them a crosse to kisse, which they refused: then Democares by force made Rebezies to kisse it whether he would or no, crying to them moreouer, that they should beleeue in the Sacrament. What, said Fredericke, will yee haue vs to plucke Christ Iesus out from the right hand of his father? Democares said, that so many of their opinion had suffered death before, and yet none of them all euer did any miracles as the apostles, and other holy martyrs did. Fredericke asked them, if they required any miracle. No, said they, and so stood mute, saue onely that Democares prayed them to consider well what they had said vnto them. Maillard also added, that hee would gage his soule to be damned, but it was true. Fredericke answered,

Doctor Maillard gageth soule.

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answered, That hee knew it was contrary.

At last, being brought to the place of execution, a crosse againe was offered them, which they refused. Then a priest standing by bad them beleeue in the Virgin Mary. Let God, saith they, reigne alone. The people standing by, ah mischieuous Lutheran, said they. Nay, a true Christian I am, said he. When they were tyed to their stakes, after their prayers made when they were bid to be dispatched, one of them, comforting the other, said; Bee strong, my brother, be strong: Satan away from us. As they were thus exhorting, one standing by said, these Lutherans doe call vpon Satan. One John Wezell (which afterward died a martyr) then standing by at liberty, answered; I pray you let vs heare (said hee) what they say, and wee shall heare them inuocate the name of God. Whereupon the people listened better vnto them, to hearken, as well as they could, what they said: they crying still as much as their mouthes being stopped could utter. Assist vs O Lord. And so they, rendering vp their spirits to the hands of the Lord, did consummate their valiant martyrdome. Ex Crisp. Lib. 6.

After the martyrdome of these two aboue said, the intention of the Iudges was to dispatch the rest one after another in like sort, and had procured already processe against twelue or thirteene, ready too be iudged. But a certain gentlewoman, then prisoner amongst them, had presented causes of exceptions or refusals against them, whereby the cruell rage of the enemies was stayed to the moneth of July following. In the which meane time, as this persecution was spread into other countries, first the faithfull Cantons of the Suitzers, perceiuing these good men to bee afflicted for the same doctrine which they preached in their Churches, sent their Embassadours to the King to make supplication for them.

The same time also came Letters from the County Palatine Elector, tending to the same end, to solicite the King for them. The King, standing the same time in great need of the Germanes for his warres, was contented at least, that they should proceed more gently with them; and so the fire for that time ceased. Most of them were sent to Abbyes, where they were kept at the charge of the priors, to bee constrained to be present at the seruice of idolatry, especially the young schollers: of whom some shunk backe, other, being more lossely kept, escaped away. The most part were brought before the Officiall to make their confession, and to receiue absolution ordinary. Diuers made their confession ambiguous and doubtfull, &c. Ex Io. Crisp. lib. 6. Ex Pantal. lib. 11.

Rene Seau. Iohn Almarick.
At Paris, Anno 1558.

These two young men were also of the company aboue specified, and were in prison, where they sustained such cruelty, being almost racked to death, that Almericke could not goe when hee was called to the Court to be iudged. And being vpon the racke, he rebuked their cruelty, and spake so freely, as though hee had felt no griefe; &, as they sayd which came to visit him, he testified vnto them, that hee felt no dolour so long as hee was vpon it. Both these dyed in prison, continuing still firme and constant in the pure confession of Christs Church. Ibidem.

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Iohn Bordel.
Matth. Vermeil.
Peter Bourdon.
Andrew de Fou.
At the countrey of Bresil.
Anno 1558.

Iohn Bordel. Mat. Vermeil. Peter Bourdon. Martyrs.

Mention is made in the French story of one Villegaignon lieutenant for the French King, who made a voyage into the land of Brezil with certaine French ships, and tooke an Iland neere to the same adioyning, and made therein a fortresse. After they had beene there a while, Villegaignon (for lacke of victuals, as hee pretended) sent certaine of them away in a ship to the riuer of Plate, toward the pole Antarcticke, a thousand miles off: in the which ship were these foure here mentioned: who, forsaking their ship by occasion of tempest, were carried backe againe, and so came to the land of Brezill, and afterward to their owne countrey-men. Villegaignon being much agrieued thereat, first charged them with departing without his Letter. Moreouer, being terrified in his mind with false suspition and vaine dreams, fearing and dreaming lest they had beene sent as priuy spies by the Brezilians, because they came from them, and had beene friendly entertained of them; hee began to deuise how hee might put them to death vnder some color of treason: but the cause was religion; for albeit sometime hee had beene a professour of the Gospel, yet afterward growing to some dignity, he fell to be an Apostata, and cruell persecutor of his fellowes. But when no proofe or coniecture probable could bee found to serue his cruell purpose, hee knowing them to be earnest protestants, drew out certaine articles of religion for them to answer, and so intrapping them vpon their confession, hee layed them in prons and in prison; and secretly; withone executioner and his page, hee tooke one after another, beginning with John Bordell, and first brought him to the top of a Rocke, and there being halfe strangled, without any iudgement threw him into the Sea, and after the the like manner ordered also the rest. Of whom three were thus cruelly murthered and drowned; to wit, John Bordell, Matthew Vermeil, and Peter Bourdon. The fourth, whith was Andrew de Fou, hee caused

Villegaignon, a French Captaine.

He sent them far then enough, because they should neuer returne, pretending that he lacked victuall, but the cause was religion.

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by manifold allurements, somewhat to incline to his sayings, and so he escaped the danger, not without great offence taken of a great part of the French-men in that countrey. Ex Crisp. li. 6, & Ex Comment. Gallic. de statu Relig. & Reipub.

Geffrey Varagle, martyr.

Geffrey Varagle, At Thurin in Piedmont, Anno, 1558.

In the same yeare, 1558. suffered also Geffrey Varagle, preacher in the Valley of Angroigne, at the towne of Thurin in Piedmont, who first was a monk, and said masse the space of seuen and twenty yeares. Afterward returning from Buske, toward Angroigne, to preach, as hée had vsed before to doe, sent by the ministers of Geneua, and other faithfull brethren, was apprehended in the towne of Burges, and brought before the Kings Lieutenant: where hée was questioned with touching diuers articles of religion: as of justification, workes of superogation, frée-will, predestination, confession, satisfaction, indulgences, Images, Purgatorie, the Pope, &c.. Whereunto hée answered againe in writing, with such learning and reason, alledging against the popes owne distinctions, namely, Dist. 19. cap. Dominus. Distinct. 21. cap. In nono. Distinct. 21. cap. omnes. & cap. Sacro sancto: that as the story reporteth, the court of Thurin maruelling at his learning, condemned him more for reproach of shame, than vpon true opinion grounded on judgement. When hee was brought to the place of execution, the people, which stood by and heard him speake, declared openly that they saw no cause why he should die. A certaine old companion of his, a priest, calling him by his name, master Geffrey, desired him to conuert from his opinions. To whom hée patiently answered againe, desiring him that hée would conuert from his condition. And thus after hée had made his prayer vnto God, and had forgiuen his executioner, and all his enemies, hée was first strangled, and then burned. In the foresaid Story relation is made moreouer, concerning the said Geffrey, that at the time of his burning, a Doue was séene (as was credibly reported of many) flying and fluttering diuers times about the fire; testifying (as was thought) the innocencie of this holy martyr of the Lord. But the storie addeth, that vpon such things, wée must not stay, and so concludeth he the martyrdome of this blessed man. Ex Crisp. lib. 6. pag. 897.

The Kings Lievetenant.

The report of a Doue flying about the fire.

Benet Romain, martyr.

Benet Romain, a mercer or Haberdasher, at Draguignan in Province, Anno, 1558.

Lanteaume Blanc.

The lamentable story of Benet Romaine is described at large among other French martyrs, by John Crispine Printer: the briefe recitall whereof here followeth. This Benet hauing wife and children at Genena, to get his liuing, vsed to goe about the countrey with certaine mercery ware; hauing cunning also amongst other things, how to dresse Corals. As he was comming toward Marsile, and passed by the towne Draguignan, he happened vpon one of the like faculty, named Lanteaume Blanc.

Delauris, counsellor and sonne in law to Miners, lord of Opede, the cruell persecutor.

Anthony Revest, the lieutenant.

Barbosi Iudge, Ordinary of Draguignon.

Ioachim Partavier, the Kings Advocate.

Caval, and Cavalieri, consuls.

The Officiall.

Gasper Siguier officer in Draguignan.

A Frier observant.

Who being desirous to haue of his Corals, and could not agrée for the price, also knowing that hée was one of Geneua, went to a Counseller of the court of Aix, being then at Draguignan, whose name was Delauris, son in law to Miners, Lord of Opede, the great persecutor against Merindoll, &c.

Of Miners great persecutor read in the [illegible] of Merindol.

This Lauris consulting together with the foresaid Blanc, and pretending to buy certaine of his Corall which hée saw to bée very faire, and knowing also that hée had to the worth of thrée hundred crownes, incontinent after his departing from him, he sent to the Officer of the towne to attach the said Benet, as one being the greatest Lutheran in the World. Thus when hee was arrested for the Kings prisoner, Blanc and his fellowes, which sought nothing, but onely the prey, were ready to seize vpon his goods, and likewise of the other two men whom hée hired to beare his merchandise. Then were these thrée poore men separated asunder, and Romaine examined before the Consuls, and the Kings Aduocate, and other Counsellors; Where hée kept his Easter; whether hée receiued at the same Easter: whether hée was confessed before, and fasted the Lent; also hée was bid to say his Pater Noster, the Creed, and Ave Maria, which two first hée did, but denied to say Ave Maria. Then was hée asked for worshipping of saints, women saints, & men saints, and when hee heard masse? He said he would worship none but God alone. Masse hée heard none these foure yeares, nor euer would: whereupon hée was committed to a stinking house of easement, with yron chaines vpon his legs. Lauris, thus hauing his will vpon the poore man, sent for the Lieutenant, named Antony Reuest, told him what he had done, and willed him to sée the prisoner. The Lieutenant, being angry that hée did so vsurpe vpon his office, denied to goe with him to the prisoner, excusing the filthy sauour of the place. Notwithstanding the same

Interogatories ministred to a main.

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	same day, the Lieutenant with another went to the prison, and caused the said Romaine to come before him, of whom hee enquired many things, of his dwelling, of his name and age, his wife and children, of his faculty, and cause of his comming, also of his religion, and all such points thereto belonging. Unto whom hee answered againe simply and truely in all respects, as lay in his conscience, and thereunto being required (because hee could not write) hee put to his marke. After this confession being thrice made, and his answers taken, certaine faithfull brethren of that place found meanes to come to him, and counselled him, that seeing hee had sufficiently already made confession of his faith, he would seeke meanes to escape out from his enemies, which sought nothing but his death, and shewed unto him what he should say to the Lieutenant: but hee refused so to doe, being willing there to render account of his faith, and contented to die for the same.
	The fame of his constancie being knowne in the towne, Judge Barboli, a man blind and ignorant, & no lesse deformed, came to see him, and asked, What, do they beleeue, said he, in any God in Geneua? Romaine looking upon him, What art thou, said he, that so wretchedly doest blaspheme: I am, said hee, the ordinary iudge of this place. And who hath put thee, said Romain, such a grosse and deformed person, in such an office? Thinkest thou that we be Infidels, and no Christians? And if the Diuels themselues doe confesse a God, suppose you that they of Geneua doe deny their God? No, no, we beleeue in God, we inuocate his name, and repose all our trust in him, &c. Barboli tooke such griefe with this, departing from Romaine, that he ceased not to pursue him to death.
	The Lieutenant then being much urged, and much called upon, and also threatned by this Barboli and other, prepared to proceed in iudgement against him, taking to him such Iudges and Aduocates as the Order there required. There was the same time an obseruant frier, which had there preached all the Lent. He being very eager and diligent to haue the poore Christian burned, and seeing the Iudges intentiue about the busines, to set the matter forward, said, That hee would goe and say masse of the holy Ghost, to illuminate their intents to haue the said Romaine condemned and burned aliue at a little fire. Moreouer, hee procured Caual and Caualieri, the Consuls, to threaten the Lieutenant, that they would complaine of him to the high Court of Parliament, if hee would not after that sort condemne him to bee burnt. In the meane time, the faithfull Christians of the said towne, fearing lest by this racking danger might happen to the brethren, sent to Romaine againe in the prison certaine instructions and meanes how he might be ayded, such as should not bee against God. But when the Lieutenant came, the poore man forgot his instructions: so simple he was, and ignorant of the subtilties of this world.
	When the time came that the Iudges were set, and the processe should bee read, Barboli with other whom the Frier had procured, had agreed before that he should be fired aliue, and put to the Racke, to disclose his fellowes, and

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	also gagged that he might not speake and infect the residue. On the other part, one there was of the Aduocates (albeit a man wholly superstitious) who, seeing the rage of the other, gaue contrary aduice, saying, That he should be sent home againe, for that hee was a towne dweller of Geneua, neither had taught there any kind of doctrine, nor brought any bookes, neither had they any informations against him: and that which hee had spoken, was a thing constrained by his oath, forced by the iustice. And as touching his opinion, it was no other but as other young men did follow, which were either of the one part, or of the other: and therefore that here remained no more, but onely the Lieutenant to giue his verdict, &c. Thus much being spoken, and also because the Lieutenant was before suspected, and the time of dinner drew neere, they arose for that time, deferring the matter to another season. The Frier obseruant in this meane while was not idle, inciting still the Consuls and the people, who at the ringing of a bell being assembled together, with the Officiall and the priests in a great rout, came crying to the Lieutenant, to burne the heretike, or elle they would fire him and all his family: and in semblable wise did the same to the other iudges and aduocates: the officiall moreouer added, that if it were not better seene into than so, the Lutherans would take such courage, and shut vp their Church doores, that no man should enter in. Then, because the Lieutenant would not take to him other iudges after their minds, in all poste-haste the people contributed together, that at their owne charge the matter should be pursued at the parliament of Aix, and so compelled the Lieutenant to bring the processe vnto iudgement, every man crying, to the fire, to the fire, that hee may be burned.
	The Lieutenant, being not able otherwise to appease the people, promised to bring the matter to the high Court of Aix, and so hee did. They, hearing the information of the cause, commanded the Lieutenant and the other Iudges to deale no further therein, but to send vp the processe and the prisoner vnto them. This went greatly against the minds of them of Dragui gnan, which would faine haue had him condemned there. Whereupon Barboli was sent out to the Parliament of Aix, where he so practised and laboured the matter, that the cause was sent downe againe to the Lieutenant, and hee inioyned to take vnto him such ancient aduocates, as their old order required, and to certifie them againe within eight dayes. And so Romaine, by the sentence of those old Iudges, was condemned to be burned aliue, if he turned not; if yee did, then to be strangled, and before the execution to bee put vpon the Racke, to the intent hee should disclose the rest of his company. From the which sentence Romaine then appealed, saying, That hee was no heretike. Whereupon hee was carried vnto Aix, singing the commandements as hee passed by the towne of Dragui gnan. Which when the Kings aduocate did see, looking out of his window, hee said vnto him, that hee was one of them that concluded his death, but desired God to forgiue him. Romaine answered againe and said, God will iudge vs all in the last day of iudgement. After hee was come to Aix hee was brought before the counsellors, before whom hee remained no lesse constant and firme, then afore. Then was a Iesuite frier sent, who be-

Good counsell of an aduocate.

The frier still blowerh the cole of persecution.

The cause of Romaine remoued to the parliament of Aix.

The sentence and condemnation of Romaine.

Romaine brought to Aix

The kings aduocate repenteth

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ing three houres with him, could not remoue him, came out to the Lords, and sayd that hee was damned: by reason whereof, the sentence giuen before of his condemnation was confirmed, and hee sent backe againe from whence hee came.

Romain turned again from Aix to Draguignan.

At this returne againe from Aix, the Consuls of Draguignan sent abroad by parishes to the Curats, that they should signifie to their parishioners the day of his death, to the end that they should come: also caused to bee cryed thorow the towne by the sound of a trumpet, that all good Christians should bring wood to the great market place to burne the Lutheran. The day being come, which was Saturday the sixteenth day of May, the poore seruant of God first was brought to the Racke or torture; where, at his first entry, were brought before him the cords, yrons, and weights, to terrifie him. Then, said they, he must vtter his complices, and renounce his religion, or else hee should bee burned aliue. Hee answered with a constant heart, that hee had no other complices nor companions, neither would hee hold any other faith but that which Iesus Christ did preach by his Apostles. Then was he demanded of his fellowes taken with him, whether they did hold the faith of Rome, or whether he did euer communicate with them, or did know them in the towne, or in the prouince to bee of his faith. He said, No. Item, what he had to doe in that towne. Hee said, to sell his corall. Item, who gaue him counsell to appeale. God, hee said, by his spirit.

Romain drawne most pitiously vpon the rack.

Upon this hee was put vpon the gin or racke, where hee being torne most outragiously, ceased not still to cry vnto God, that hee would haue pitty on him for the loue of Iesus Christ his sonne. Then was hee commanded to call to the Virgin Mary, but that hee would not. Whereupon his torture was renewed afresh, in such cruell sort that they thought they had left him for dead. For the which they sent him to the barbars, and finding that hee could endure no longer, they were afraid lest hee had beene past, and hastened to bring him to the fire. So after they had allayed him by priests and friers as much as they could, to make him reuolt, they helped the hangman to beare him, all broken and dismembred as hee was, vnto the heape of wood, where they tyed him to a chaine of yron which was let downe vpon the fagots. Romain, seeing himselfe to be alone lying vpon the wood, began to pray to God: whereat the Friers being moued ran to him againe to cause him to say Aue Maria. Which when hee would not do, they were so furious that they pluked & tare his beard. In all these anguishes the meeke saint of God had recourse still to God in his prayers, beseeching him to giue him patience. Then left they him lying as dead: but so soone as they descended downe from the wood, hee began to pray to God againe, in such sort as one would haue thought that hee had felt no hurt. Then another great Frier, supposing to do more with him than the rest, came vp to the wood vnto him to admonish him. Romain thought at first that hee had beene a faithfull Christian, by his gentle speech, but afterward, when hee urged him to pray to the Virgin Mary, hee desired him to depart and let him alone in peace. As soone as hee was departed, Romain lifted vp his head and his eyes on high, praying God to assist him in his great tentation. Then a certaine father, a Warden, to bring the people in

Romain, broken with the racke and not able to goe, was borne to the fire.

Cruelty of friers

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more hatred, cryed out and sayd; Hee blasphemeth, hee blasphemeth, hee speaketh against the blessed Virgin Mary. Whereat Barbost cryed; Stop his mouth, let him bee gagged. The people cryed, To the fire, let him bee burned. Then the hang-man set fire to the straw, & little sticks that were about, which incontinent were set on fire. Romain still remained hanging in the ayre, till hee dyed; and was burned, all his nether parts well neere, when hee was seene to lift vp his head to heauen, mouing his lips, without any cry: and so this blessed saint rendered his spirit to God.

A flattering Frier.

Crucifige, Crucifige eum.

The cruel death and martyrdome of blessed Romain.

Of this assembly there were diuers iudgements and sundry brutes. Some said, that if good men had beene about him, it had gone better with him: and that those priests and monkes which were about him were whoremasters and infamous. Other said that hee had wrong, and that an hundred of that company there were, which more deserued death then hee, especially among them which condemned him. Other went away marueling, and disputing of his death and doctrine. And thus was the course finished to this valiant and thrice blessed martyr and seruant of the Lord Iesus the sonne of God. Ex Crisp. lib. 6. pag. 902.

Francis Ciuaux. At Dyion, Anno 1558.

Francis Ciuaux martyr.

This Francis Ciuaux was Secretary to the French Embassadour here in England in Queene Maries time, Who afterward, being desirous to heare the Word of God, went to Geneua. Also hee was placed to bee Secretary to the Senate or Councell of Geneua; where he continued about the space of a yeare. Hauing then certaine busines he came to Dyion.

The Covent of the Iacobin Friers at Dyion.

There was the same time a priest that preached at Dyion such doctrine, whereat the sayd Francis being worthily offended, came friendly vnto the priest, and reasoned with him touching his doctrine, shewing by the Scriptures, how and where he had erred. The priest excused himselfe, that hee was not so well instructed to dispute, but hee would bring him the next day to a certaine learned man, whom hee knew there in the towne, and desired the said Francis to goe with him to breakfast, where hee would bee glad to heare them two in conference together. Whereunto when Francis had consented, the priest incontinent went to the Iacobine friers, where the matter was thus contriued, that at the breake-fast time Francis there vnawares should bee apprehended.

A Priest of Dyion.

A priest Iudas.

When the next day came, the priest brought Francis, according to his appointment, to a Iacobine Frier, who pretending much faire friendship vnto him, as one glad and desirous of his company, besought him to take a breakfast with him the next morrow, and

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and there they would enter conference together. With this also Francis was content, and to prepare himselfe the better to that conflict, sat vp almost all the night writing with his fellow. The next morrow, as Francis with his fellow were preparing themselues toward the breakefast, the Jacobine in the mean time went to the Justice of the Towne, to admonish him to be ready at the time and place appointed. Thus, as the Jacobine was standing at the Justices dore, the companion of Francis, seeing the Frier there stand, began to mistrust with himselfe, and told Francis, willing him to beware the Frier. Moreouer, the same night Francis had in his dreame, That the said Frier should commit him to the Justice. But he, either not caring for his dreams, or else not much passing for the danger, committed himselfe to the hands of God, and went. As they were together disputing in the couent of the Jacobines, Francis, thus betrayed of the priest, was apprehended by the Officers, carried to prison, and within seuen dayes after, being Saturday before the natiuity of our Lord, was brought to the place of execution, where first he was strangled, and then burned.

Francis admonished by his dreame.

Ex scripto testimonio Senatus Geneuensis.

And as touching the fellow and companion of this Francis aboue mentioned, he was also apprehended with him, and put in Prison; but because he was but a young Nouice, and yet not fully confirmed, he recanted, and was deliuered.

Peter Arondeau. At Paris, Anno 1559.

Peter Arondeau martyr.

The towne of Rochell, as it is a place of great commodity because of the sea, so was it not inferiour to other good townes in France, for nourishing and supporting the holy assemblies of the Lord. Unto the which town about the yere of our Lord 1559. resorted one Peter Arondeau, a man of base condition, with a little packet of mercerie ware there to sell. Who there being knowne to adjoyne himselfe to the Church and congregation of the Faithfull, was demanded of certaine ministers of Antichrist, whether he would goe to heare masse or no. He said, that hee had beene there too oft, to his great griefe: and that since the time that the Lord had taken the vaile from his eyes, he knew the masse to bee abhominable, forged in the shop of the enemy of all mankinde. They to whom hee thus answered were Priests: amongst whom was one named Monroy, who, taking the other there present for witnesses, brought him strait to the Lieutenant. The deposition being taken, and information made, it was decreed incontinent, that his body should be attached. And although by one of his friends hee was admonished to saue himselfe, and to auoyd the danger, yet he ceased not to put himselfe into his enemies hands; and so was led prisoner. As hee was in prison, many of the faithfull came to comfort him: but rather he was able to comfort not onely them which came to comfort him, but also the other which were there prisoners with him. The priests left no diligence vnsought to stir vp the Lieutenant, which was of himselfe too much inflamed in such matters.

Priests of Rochell.

Manroy a Priest.

The Lieutenant of Rochell.

The masse.

The Cardinall of Lorraine.

Magistri.

S. Andre.

Arondeau after many interogations, and threatning words, and also faire promises of his pardon still continued one man. Then the Lieutenant, seeing his constancie, condemned him to death. Arondeau, praysing God for his grace giuen, did not a little rejoyce that he might suffer in that quarrell, and in token of rejoycing did sing a psalme, being fully resolued to accept the said condemnation, without any appeale. But his friends, not pleased with his resolution, came to him, and so perswaded with him, not to giue his life so good cheape ouer to his enemies hands, that hee was turned from that, and made his appeale. The appeale being entered, the Lieutenant, seeking to gratifie the aduersaries of the Gospell, and especially the cardinall of Loraine, secretly, by the back-side of the towne, and out of the high way, conueyed the poore prisoner vnto Paris, Who being brought vnto Paris by priuie journeyes, as is sayd, was put into prison; committed to the custody of two presidents: to wit, Magistri and Saint Andre. By the meanes of whom, the sentence of the Lieutenant was confirmed, and also put in execution, the fifteenth day of Nouember, in the yeare aboue said: on the which day, the said Arondeau was burned quicke, at the place called Saint John in Greue, at Paris. The constancy heroicall which God gaue him, and wherein hee endured victorious vnto death, was a mirror or glasse of patience to M. Anne du Bourge, counsellor in the Parliament of Paris, and to diuers other then prisoners; and was to them a preparation toward the like death, which shortly after they suffered.

Peter Arondeau condemned.

Peter Arondeau appealeth.

Not long after the happy end of this blessed martyr, the forenamed Monroy, which was the principall accuser and party against him, was strucken with a disease called * Apoplexia, and thereupon suddenly dyed.

By this and many other such like examples, the mighty iudgement of God most euidently may appeare; who, albeit commonly hee doth vse to begin his iudgement with his owne houshold in this world, yet neither doe his aduersaries themselues alwayes escape the terrible hand of his iustice.

Also the Lieutenant, which was condemner, tarried not long after the priest, but hee was arrested personally to appeare before the Kings counsell, through the procurement of a certaine Gentleman of Polonie, called Anthony de Leglise, against whom the said Lieutenant had giuen false and wrong iudgement before. By reason whereof, the foresaid gentleman so instantly did pursue him before the lords of the counsell, that all the extortions and pollings

* Apoplexia is a sicknesse ingendered in the braine by aboundance of grosse humours, which depriue them that haue it, of speech, feeling, and moving: most commonly it assaileth gluttons, drunkards, and surfetters, God iust vengeance vpon the Lieutenant a persecutor.

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Note. pollings of the Lieutenant were there openly discouered, and soe he condemned to pay to the gentleman a thousand French crowns of the sun, within fourteene dayes, vpon paine of double as much. Also hee was deposed of his office, and there declared vnworthy to exercise any royall office hereafter for euer, with infamy and shame perpetuall. Ex Crisp. Lib. 6. pag. 907.

Thomas Moutard, at Valenciennes, Anno, 1559.

Thomas Moutard martyr.

In the towne of Valenciennes, not farre from France, the same yeare, which was 1559. in the moneth of October, suffered Thomas Moutard. Who, first being conuerted from a disordered life to the knowledge of the Gospel, is to vs a spectacle of Gods great gracious mercy towards his elected Christians. This Moutard was attached for certaine words spoken to a priest, saying thus, That his God of the host was nothing but abhomination, which abused the people of God. These words were taken first as spoken in his drunkennesse. But the next day after, when the same words were repeated to him againe, to know whether he would abide by the words there vttered, or no: hee said, yea. For it is an abuse, said he, to seeke Jesus Christ any other where then in heauen, sitting at the glory and right hand of God his father: and in this hee was ready to liue and die. His processe being made, he was condemned to be burned quicke. But as he was carried from the towne house to the place of punishment; it was neuer seene, a man with such constancy to be so assured in heart, and so to reioyce at that great honour which God hath called him vnto. The hangman hasted, as much as was possible, to bind him, and dispatch him. The martyr, in the midst of the flaming fire, lifting vp his eyes vnto heauen, cryed to the Lord, that he would haue mercy on his soule: and so, in great integrity of faith and perseuerance, hee gaue vp his life to God. Ex Io. Crisp. lib. 6.

A priest of Valenciennes.

Against the bodily presence of Christ in the host.

Constancie of a good conscience.

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¶ This Dutch story should haue gone before with the Dutch martyrs. But seeing Valenciennes is not far distant from France, it is not much out of order to adioyne the same with the French martyrs: who all together at length shall be ioyned in the kingdome of Christ: which day the Lord send shortly, Amen.

Thus haue we (through the assistance of the Lord) deduced the table of the French and also of the Dutch martyrs, vnto the time and reigne of Queene Elizabeth, that is to the yeare 1560. Since the which time diuers also haue suffered both in France, and in the lower countrey of Germany; whose story shall be declared (the Lord willing) more at large, when we come to the time of Queene Elizabeth. In the meane season it shall suffice for this present to insert their names onely, which here doe follow:

The residue of the French Martyrs

Martyrs.

ANnedu Burge, Counseller of Paris. Andrew Coiffier, Iohn Isabeau, Iohn Indet, martyrs of Paris, Geffrey Guerien, Io. Morel, Io. Barbeville, Pet. Cheuet, Marin Marie, Margarit Rich, Adrian Dausi, Giles le Court, Philip Parmentier, Marin Rosseau, Peter Milot, Iohn Berfoy; besides the tumult of Amboise, the persecution of Vassi. Austin Marlorat, master Mutonis.

The residue of the Dutch Martyrs.

Martyrs.

IAmes de Lo, of the Ile of Flanders, Iohn de Buissons at Antwerpe, Peter Petit, Iohn Denys, Gymon Guilmin, Simeon Herme of the Ile of Flanders, Iohn de Lannoy at Tourney, Andrew Michell, a blind man at Tournay, Francis Varlut at Tournay, Alexander Dayken of Bramcastle William Cornu in Henault, Antony Caron of Cambray, Renaudine de Francuile. Certaine suffered at Tournay, Michell Robilert of Aras, Nicaise de le Tomb at Tournay, Roger du Mont.

To the Catalogue of French martyrs aboue rehearsed, the story of Merindol and Cabriers, with the lamentable handling of them, were also to be annexed. But because the tractation thereof is prolix, and cannot well be contracted into a short discourse, therefore we haue deferred the same to a more conuenient roome, after the table here following next of the Spanish and Italian martyrs. Where better opportunity shall bee giuen, to prosecute more at full that tragicall persecution, the Lord so permitting.

Touching the story of Merindol. Vide infra.

A Table

A Table of such Martyrs as for the cause of *Religion suffered in Spaine.*

The Spanish Martyrs.

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Franciscus San Romanus. At Burges in Spaine.

Spanish merchants in Antwerpe.

The friers of Antwerpe.

ANno 1540. this Francis was sent by certaine Spanish merchants of Antwerpe, to Bzeme, to take vp money due to bee paid of certaine merchants there. Where hee being at a sermon, hearing maister Jacobus, pzior sometimes of the Austen Friers of Antwerp, preach, was so touched and drawne (through the maruellous working of Gods spirit, at the hearing thereof, albeit hauing no perfect vnderstanding of the Dutch tongue, that not only hee vnderstood all that was there said, but also comming to the preacher, and accompanying him home (all his other worldly busines set apart) there recited the whole contents of his Sermon euery word (as they sayd which heard the said minister of Bzeme preach) in perfect forme and order as hee had preached. After this little taste, and happy beginning, hee proceeded further, searching and conferring with learned men, that in short space hee was growne to great towardnesse and ripe knowledge in the word of life. The minister maruelling at the sudden mutation of the man, and also seeing the vehemencie of his zeale ioyned withall, began to exhort him, how to temper himselfe with circumspecting and discretion, still more and more instructed him in the word and knowledge of the Gospel, which hee so greedily did receiue, as one that could neuer be satisfied: and so remained he with the minister three dayes together, committing his worldly busines, and message that hee was sent for, vnto his fellow which came with him. Thus being inflamed with another desire, hee ceased to seeke for temporall trifles, seeking rather for such French or Dutch bookes which hee could get to reade; and againe, read the same so diligently, that partly by the reading thereof, partly by maister Jacobus, and also by maister Machabeus (which was there the same time) hee was able in short time to iudge in the chiefe articles of our Religion. Insomuch that he tooke vpon him to write letters vnto his countreymen the Merchants of Antwerp: in the which letters first he gaue thanks to God for the knowledge of his holy Word which hee had receiued. Secondly, he bewailed the great cruelty and grosse blindnesse of his countreymen; desiring God to open their eyes and eares, to see and vnderstand the word of their saluation. Thirdly, he promised shortly to come to them at Antwerpe, to conferre with them touching the grace of God, which hee had receiued. Fourthly, declareth to them his purpose in going also to Spaine, intending there likewise to impart to his parents, and other friends at Burges, the wholsome Doctrine which the Lord had bestowed vpon him.

Francis writeth to the Emperor.

Besides this, he addressed other letters also Charles the Emperour, opening to him the calamities and miserable state of Christs Church; desiring him to tender the quietnesse thereof, especially that hee would reforme the miserable corruption of the Church of Spaine, &c. Ouer and besides all this, hee wrote there a Catechism and diuers other treatises in the Spanish tongue. And all this he did in one moneths space.

In the meane time the Spanish merchants of Antwerpe, vnderstanding by his letters both his change of religion, and also his purpose of comming to Antwerpe, sent him Letters againe, pretending outwardly a faire countenance of much good will, but secretly practising his destruction. For at the day appointed of his comming, certaine friers were set ready to receiue him; which tooke him comming downe from his horse, rifled his bookes, had him into a Merchants house nere hand, where they examined him; with whom he againe disputed mightily: and when they found him not agreeing to their faith, they bound him hand and foot, crying out vpon him, and calling him Lutheran, and burnt his bookes before his face, threatning to burne himselfe also. At this disputation within the house diuers Spaniards were present, which made the friers more bold. Being demanded to shew of what faith and religion hee was. My faith (said he) is to confesse and preach Christ Jesus onely, and him crucified, which is the true faith of the vniuersall Church of Christ thorow the whole world. But this faith and doctrine you haue corrupted, taking another abhominable kind of life, and by your impiety haue brought the most part of the world into blindnesse most miserable. And to explane his faith to them more expressly, hee recited all the articles of the Creed.

Francis betrayed by Spanish merchants.

The faith and confession of San Roman.

Which done, then the Friers asked whether he beleeued the Bishop of Rome to be Christs Vicar, and Head of the Church, hauing all the treasures of the Church in his owne power, being able to bind and losely; also to make new articles, and abolish the old, at his owne will and arbitrement. Hereunto Francis answered againe, that hee beleeued none of all this; but contrary did affirme, that the Pope was Antichrist, borne of the diuell, being the enemy of Jesus Christ, transferring to himselfe Gods honour, and which moreouer, being incited by the Diuell, turned all things vpside

The Pope Antichrist.

downe

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downe, and corrupted the sincerittie of Christs religion, partly by his false pretenses beguiling, partly by his extreame crueltie destroying the poore flocke of Christ, &c. With the like boldnesse he uttered his minde likewise against the masse and purgatorie. The Friers could suffer him meanely well to speake, till hee came to the Pope, and began to speake against his dignitie, and their profit: then could they abide no longer, but thundred against him words full of cruelty and terrour. As they were burning of his Bookes, and beganne also to cast the new testament into the fire, Francis seeing that beganne to thunder out against them againe. The Spaniards, then supposing him not to bee in his right senses, conueighed him into a tower six miles distant from Antwerpe, where he was detained in a deep caue or dungeon, with much miserie, the space of eight moneths. In which time of his imprisonment, many graue and discreet persons came to visit him, exhorting him that he would change his opinion, and speake more modestly. Francis answered again, that he maintained no opinion erronious or heretical: and if he seemed to bee somewhat vehement with the Friers, that was to bee ascribed not to him so much, as to their owne importunitie: hereafter he would frame himselfe more temperately. Whereupon the Spaniards, thinking him better come to himselfe, discharged him out of Prison. Which was about the time when the Emperour was in his councell of Ratisbone, An. 1541.

The popes crowne and the Friers bellies are not to be touched.

Francis brought into prison.

San Roman deliuered out of prison.

San Romane, thus being freed out of Prison, came to Antwerpe, where he remained about twentie dayes. From thence he went to Louan, vnto a certaine friend of his, named Franciscus Dryander (who also afterward died a Martyr) with whom hee had much conference, about diuers matters of religion: Who gaue him counsell not to alter the state of his vocation, being called to be a merchant, which state he might exercise with a good conscience, and doe much good. And as touching religion, his councell was, That he should say or doe nothing, for fauour of men, whereby the glorie of God should be diminished; but so, that hee required notwithstanding in the same, a sound and right judgement, conformed to the rule of Gods word, lest it might chance to him, as it doth to many, who, being carried with an inconsiderate zeale, leaue their vocations, and while they thinke to do good and to edifie, they destroy and doe harme, and cast themselues needlesse into danger. It is God, said he, that hath the care of his church, and will stirre vp faithfull ministers for the same: neither doth hee care for such, which rashly intrude themselues into that function without any calling.

Francis Dryander.

This aduertisement of Dryander, Francis did willingly accept, promising hereafter to moderate himselfe more considerately. But this promise was shortly broken, as you shall heare. For passing from Dryander hee went to Ratisbone, and there hauing time and opportunitie conuenient to speake to the Emperour, he stepped boldly vnto him, beseeching him to deliuer his Countrey and Subjects of Spaine from false religion, and to restore againe the sincerittie of Christs doctrine, declaring and protesting, that the Princes and Protestants of Germany, were in the truer part, and that the religion of Spaine, being drowned in ignorance and blindnesse, was greatly dissonant from the true and perfect word of God, with many other words pertaining to the same effect. The Emperour all this while gaue him gentle hearing; signifying that he would consider vpon the matter, and so doe therein, as he trusted should bee for the best. This quiet answer of the Emperour ministred to him no little encouragement of better hope; and albeit he might perceiue there in the Citie many examples to the contrary, yet all that discouraged not him, but he went the second, and also the third time, vnto the Emperour; who quietly again so answered him as before. And yet this our Francis, not satisfied in his mind, sought with a greater ardencie the fourth time to speake to the Emperour; but he was repulsed by certaine of the Spaniards about the Emperour, who incontinent, without all further hearing or aduising the cause, would haue throwne him headlong into the riuer of Danubius, had not the Emperour staid them, and willed him to be judged by the laws of the Empire. By which commandement of the Emperour he was reserued and detained with other malefactors, in bands, till the Emperour tooke his voyage into Affricke. Then Francis, with other Captiues following the Court, after that the Emperour was come into Spaine, was there deliuered to the inquisitors: by whom he was laid in a darke Prison vnder the ground. Oft and many times he was called for examination, where he suffered great injuries and contumelies, but euer remained in his conscience firme and vnmooueable. The articles whereupon he stood, and for which he was condemned, were these.

The Emperours gentle answer.

Francis San Roman brought into Spaine.

That life and salvation in the sight of God commeth to no man in his owne strength workes or merits; but onely by the free mercie of God, in the bloud and sacrifice of his sonne our mediator.

The article of San Roman.

That the sacrifice of the Masse, which the Papists doe recount available, Ex opere operato, for remission of sinne, both to the quicke and the dead, is horrible blasphemie.

That auricular confession, with numbring up of sinnes, that satisfaction, Purgatorie, Pardons, invocation of Saints, worshipping of Images, bee meere blasphemie against the living God.

Item, that the bloud of Christ is prophaned and injuried in the same aforesaid.

After the Inquisitors perceiued, that by no meanes hee could be reclaimed from his assertions, they proceeded at last to the sentence, condemning him to bee burned for an hereticke. Many other malefactors were brought also with him to the place of execution, but all they were pardoned and dismissed: he onely for the Gospell, being odious to the whole world, was taken and burned. As he was led to the place of suffering, they put vpon him a miter of paper, paynted full of Diuels, after the Spanish guise.

Barrabas deliuered, and he taken.

The boldnesse of San Roman to the Emperour.

Furthermore, as he was brought out of the Citie gate to bee burned, there stood a wooden crosse by the way, whereunto Francis was required to doe homage. Which he refused, answering, That the manner of Christians is not to worship wood, and hee was, said hee, a Christian. Hereupon arose great clamour among the vulgar people, for that he denied to worship the wooden crosse. But this was turned incontinent into a miracle. Such was the blind rudenesse of that people, that they did im-

The manner of Christians is not to worship wood.

A great superstitious miracle.

pute

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pute this to the diuine vertue, as giuen to the Crosse from heauen, for that it would not suffer it selfe to be worshipped of an Hereticke: and immediately, for the opinion of that great miracle, the multitude with their swords did helw it in pieces, euery man thinking himselfe happy that might carry away some chippe or fragment of the said crosse.

When hee was come to the place where hee should suffer, the Friers were busie about him to haue him recant, but he continued euer firme. As he was laid vpon the heape of wood, and the fire kindled about him, he began a little, at the feeling of the fire, to lift vp his head toward heauen: which when the inquisitours perceiued, hoping that he would recant his doctrine, they caused him to be taken from the fire. But when they perceiued nothing lesse in him, the aduersaries being frustrate of their expectation, willed him to be throwne in againe, and so was he immediately dispatched.

After that the martyrdome of this blessed man was thus consummate, the Inquisitors proclaimed openly, that hee was damned in hell, and that none should pray for him; yea, and that all were heretikes, whosoeuer doubted of his damnation. Neuertheless certaine of the Emperours souldiers gathered of his ashes. Also the English Embassadour procured a portion of his bones to be brought vnto him, knowing right well that he died a martyr. Yet this could not bee so secretly done, but it came to the eares of the Inquisitors and of the Emperour. Wherefore the souldiers, going in great danger of life, were committed to prison. Neither did the Embassadour himselfe escape cleere from the danger of the Popes scourge; for hee was vpon the same sequestred from the Court, and commanded to be absent for a space. And thus much concerning the notable martyrdome of this blessed San Roman. Ex Franc. Encena. Hispano, teste oculato.

Rochus.
At San Lucar in Spaine,
Anno 1545.

An Inquisitor in Spaine.

Rochus was borne in Brabant, his Father dwelling in Antwerpe. By his science hee was a Caruer or Grauer of Images. Who as soone as he began first to taste the Gospell, he fell from making such Images as vse to serue for idolatry in Temples, and occupied himselfe in making seales: saue only that hee kept standing on his stall an Image of the Virgin Mary artificially grauen, for a signe of his occupation. It happened vnhappily, that a certaine Inquisitour passing by in the street, and beholding the carued Image, asked of Rochus what was the price thereof. Which when Rochus had set (not willing belike to sell it) the Inquisitour had him scarce halfe the money. The other answered againe, that he could not so liue of that bargaine. But still the inquisitour urged him to take his offer. To whom Rochus againe; It shall be yours (said he) if you

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will giue mée that which my labour and charges stand mee in, but of that price I cannot afford it: yet had I rather breake it in pieces. Yea, saith the Inquisitour? breake it, let me sée thée Rochus with that tooke vp a chissell, and dashed it vpon the face of the Image, wherewith the nose or some other part of the face was blemished. The Inquisitour, séeing that, cried out as hee were mad, and commanded Rochus forthwith to prison. To whom Rochus cryed againe, that hée might doe in his owne workes what hée listed. And if the workemanship of the Image were not after his fantasie, what was that to them? But all this could not helpe Rochus, but within three dayes after sentence was giuen vpon him that hée should be burned, and so was hee committed to the executioners. As Rochus was entering the place, there to bee burned, hee cryed with a loud voyce, asking among the multitude, which there stood by, if any man of Flanders were there. It was answered, yea; and also that there were two ships already fraught, and appointed to saile to Flanders. Then, said hée, I would desire some of them to signifie to my Father dwelling in Antwerpe, that I was burned here in this citie, and for this cause which you all haue heard. And thus after his prayers made to God, this good man being wrongfully condemned, after his godly life, made this blessed end. Anno, 1545.

A Caruer burned for breaking his owne image.

The death and martyrdome of Rochus.

And lest this so rare and strange example of cruelty shall séeme to lacke credit, in the fifth booke of the history of Pantaleon there is recorded, That a certaine Spaniard comming to Antwerpe made diligent inquisition there amongst the Image-makers, to find out the parents of this Rochus, and signified to them what had happened to their sonne, as hath béene by his said parents and friends declared: insomuch that it is also testified, that his father, at the hearing of the said message, for sorrow thereof died shortly after. Ex Pantal. lib. 5.

¶ Furthermore besides these aboue recited, and also before their time, I heare and vnderstand by faithfull relation, that diuers other haue béene in the said countrey of Spaine, whose hearts God had marueilously illuminate and stirred vp, both before, and also since the comming in of the Inquisition, to stand in defence of his Gospel, and which were also persecuted for the same, and are said to haue died in prison: Albeit their names as yet are vnknowne, for that the stories of that countrey be not yet come to light, but, I trust, shortly shall, as partly some intelligence I haue thereof. In the meane time we will come now to the Inquisition of Spaine, speaking something of the ceremoniall pompe, and also of the barbarous abuse and cruelty of the same.

Diuers good men and martyrs of Spaine died in prison.

The execrable Inquisition of Spaine.

The forme and manner of the Inquisition of Spaine.

THe cruell and barbarous Inquisition of Spaine first began by King Ferdinandus and Elizabeth his wife, & was instituted against the Iewes, which after their Baptisme maintained againe their owne Ceremonies. But now it is practised against them that bée neuer so little suspected to fauour the veritie of the Lord. The Spaniards, and especially the great Diuines there, doe hold, That this holy and sacred Inquisition cannot erre, and that the holy fathers the Inquisitours cannot be deceiued.

* The Spanish Inquisition can not erre.

Thée

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Three sorts of men chiefly in danger of the Inquisition.

Three sorts of men most principally bee in danger of these Inquisitors. They that bee greatly rich, for the spoyle of their goods. They that bee learned, because they will not haue their misdealings and secret abuses to be espied and detected. They that begin to increase in honour and dignity, lest they being in authoritie should worke them some shame or dishonour.

Example of the same well appeareth in Rochus aboue mentioned.

The abuse of this Inquisition is most execrable. If any word shall passe out of the the mouth of any, which may be taken in euill part; yea, though no word be spoken, yet if they beare any grudge or euill will against the party, incontinent they command him to be taken, and put in an horrible prison, and then finde out crimes against him at leisure, and in the meane time no man liuing is so hardy once to open his mouth for him. If the father speake one word for his childe, he is also taken and cast into prison as a fauourer of heretiques. Neither is it permitted to any person to goe in to the prisoner: but there he is alone in such a place where he cannot see so much as the ground where hee is; and is not suffered either to reade or write, but there indureth in darkenesse palpable, in horrors infinite, in feare miserable, wrestling with the assaults of death.

The miserable handling of Gods people in Spaine.

By this it may bee esteemed, what trouble and sorrow, what pensiue sighs and cogitations they sustain which are not thoroughly instructed in holy doctrine. Adde moreouer to these distresses and horrors of the prison, the injuries, threats, whippings, and scourgings, irons, tortures, and rackes which they endure. Sometimes also they are brought out, and shewed forth in some higher place to the people, as a spectacle of rebuke and infamie. And thus are they detained there some many yeares, and murthered by long torments, and whole dayes together entreated much more cruelly (out of all comparison) than if they were in the hangmans hands to be slaine at once. During all this time, what is done in the processe no person knoweth, but onely the holy fathers and the tormentors, which are sworne to execute the torments. All is done in secret, and (as great mysteries) passe not the hands of these holy ones. And after all these torments so many yeares endured in the prison, if any man shall bee saued, it must bee by gessing. For all the proceedings of the Court of that execrable Inquisition are open to no man, but all is done in hugger mugger and in close corners, by ambages, by couert wayes, and secret counsels: The accuser is secret, the crime secret, the witnesse secret, whatsoeuer is done is secret, neither is the poore prisoner euer aduertised of any thing. If hee can gesse who accused him, whereof, and wherefore, he may be pardoned peraduenture of his life: but this is very seldome; and yet he shall not incontinent be set at libertie, before he hath endured long time infinite torments, and this is called their penitence, and so is he let go; and yet not so, but that hee is enjoyned, before hee passe the Inquisitors hands, that he shall weare a garment with yellow colors, for a note of publique infamie to him and his whole race: and if he cannot gesse right, shewing to the Inquisitors by whom hee was accused, whereof, and wherefore (as is before touched) incontinent the horrible sentence of condemnation is pronounced against him, that he shall bee burned for an obstinate heretique. And so yet the sentence is not executed by and by, but after that

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he hath indured imprisonment in some heinous Prison.

¶ And thus haue yee heard the forme of the Spanish Inquisition. By the vigour and rigor of this Inquisition, many good true seruants of Jesus Christ haue beene brought to death, especially in these later yeares, since the royall & peaceable reigne of this our Queene Elizabeth. The names and stories of whom partly we will here recite, according as we haue faithfull records of such as haue come to our hands by writing. The other which be not yet come to our knowledge we will defer, till further intelligence and opportunitie, by the Lords aid and leaue, shall serue hereafter.

Diuers put in Spaine in the time of Queene Elizabeth.

Anno 1556. Maij 21. in the Towne of Valledolid, where commonly the councell of the Inquisition is wont to bee kept, the Inquisitors had brought together many prisoners both of high and low estate, to the number of thirtie: also the coffin of a certaine noble woman, with her picture lying vpon it, which had beene dead long before, there to receiue iudgement and sentence. To the hearing of which sentence, they had ordained in the said Towne three mightie theatres or stages: vpon the first was placed Dame Jane, sister to K. Philip, and chiefe Regent of his realmes; also prince Charles, King Philips sonne, with other princes and States of Spaine. Vpon the other scaffold mounted the Archbishop de Seuill, prince of the Synagogue of the Inquisitors, with the Councell of the Inquisition: also other Bishops of the land, and the Kings Councell with them.

30 Chiefe prisoners brought by the counsell the Inqui

Three stag

After that the Princes and other spirituall Iudges and Counsellors were thus set in their places, with a great gard of archers and halberdiers, and harnessed souldiers, with foure heraulds also of arms giuing their attendance to the same, and the Earle of Buendia bearing the naked sword, all the market place where the stages were beeing inuironed with an infinite multitude of all sorts of the world there standing, and gazing out of windowes and houses, to heare and see the sentences and iudgements of this Inquisition: Then after all were brought forth, as a spectacle and triumph, the poore seruants and witnesses of Jesus Christ, to the number (as is aforesaid) of thirty, clothed with their Sanbenito, (as the Spaniards do callit) which is a manner of vesture of yellow cloath, comming both before them and behinde them, spangled with red crosses, and hauing burning Cierges in their hands: also before them was borne a crucifix couered with blacke linnen cloath, in token of mourning. Moreouer, they which were to receiue the sentence of death had Miters of paper vpon their heads, which the Spaniards call Coracas. Thus they being produced, were placed in their order, one vnder another, according as they were esteemed culpable: so that first of all stood vp Doctor Cacalla, an Austen Frier, a man notable and singular in knowledge of diuinity, preacher sometime to Charles the fifth Emperour, both in higher and lower Germanie.

The terrible pompe of the Spanish Inquisition.

The Spanish mantle of the Benetes poore colour, with crosses before and behinde called Sanbenito.

These things thus disposed, then followed a sermon made by a Dominick Frier, which endured about an houre. After the Sermon finished, the procurator generall, with the Archbishop, went to the stage where the princes and Nobles stood, to minister a solemne oath vnto them vpon the Crucifix painted in the Masse booke,

This D nicke tow Melchio Cano.

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booke: the tenour of which oath was this. Your majesties shall sweare, that you will favour the holy inquisition, and also give your consent unto the same; and not onely that you shall, by no manner of way, hinder and impeach the same; but also you shall employ the uttermost of your helpe and endeavour hereafter to see all them to bee executed, which shall swarve from the Church of Rome, and adjoyne themselves to the sect of the Lutheran heretiques, without all respect of any person or persons, of what estate, degree, quality, or condition soever they bee.

And thus much for the first article of the oath; the second was this as followeth:

Item, your Majesties shall sweare, that you shall constrain all your Subjects to submit themselves to the Church of Rome, and to have in reverence all the lawes and commandements of the same: and also to give your aid against all them whosoever shall hold of the heresie of the Lutherans, or take any part with them.

In this sort and manner, when all the Princes and States every one in their degree had received their oath, then the Archbishop, lifting up his hand, gave them his benediction, saying; God blesse your highnesses, and give you long life. This solemne pageant thus finished, at last the poore captives and prisoners were called out, the procurator fiscall, or the Popes great Collector, first beginning with Doctor Cacalla, and so proceeding to the other in order, as hereafter in the Table which followeth, with their names and their judgements, is described.

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The Inquisitors of Spain.	1 Doctor Cacalla a Frier Augustine. Before the Popes great Proctor, or Collector fiscall, first was called forth Doctor Austen Cacalla. This Doctor was a Frier of Austens order, and priest of the towne of Valledolid, and preacher sometimes to the Emperor Charles the fifth, a man well accounted of for his learning. Who for that hee was thought to be as the standard bearer to the Gospellers (whom they called Lutherans) and Preacher and Doctor unto them; therefore hee beeing first called for was brought from his stage, nearer to the proctor fiscall, there to heare the sentence of his condemnation, which was, that he should be degraded, and presently burned, and all his goods confiscate to the profit and advancement of Justice.
The Popes great Collector or procurator fiscall.	2 Francis de Bivero Priest of Valledolid, and Brother to the foresaid Cacalla. The second prisoner, and next to Doctor Cacalla, that was called, was Francis de Bivero his brother, priest also of Valledolid, who received likewise the same sentence of condemnation. And to the intent that hee should not speake any thing to the prejudice, or against the abuse of the sacred Inquisition, as he before had done, both within and without the prison, with much boldnesse; and also because he was much favoured of the people; to the end therefore that no commotion should come by his speaking, his mouth was so stopped and shut up, that he could not speake one word.
The Archbishop of Seville.	3 Dame Blanch de Bivero. The third was dame Blanch, sister to the other two aforesaid, against whom also was pronounced the like sentence as upon her brethren before.
The Bishop of Valence.	4 Iohn de Bivero. The fourth was John de Bivero, brother to the same kinded, who was also judged an heretique, and condemned to perpetuall prison, and to beare his Sanbenito all his life long; which is an habiliment of dishonour.
	5 Dame Constance de Bivero, sister to the same aforesaid. Dame Constance de Bivero was the fifth, sister to the other before specified, and widow of Ferdinando Ortis, dwelling sometime at Valledolid, who was also condemned, with the like sentence, with her brethren to be burned.
The Bishop of Orense.	6 The coffin with the dead corps of dame Leonore de Bivero the mother of these aforesaid. The sixth thunderbolt of condemnation was thundered out against a poore coffin, with the dead corps of dame Leonore de Bivero, mother to these above named, being her selfe the sixth, and being already dead long before at Valledolid. Above her coffin was her picture laid, which was also condemned with her dead corps to bee burned for an hereticke: and yet I never heard of any opinion that this picture did hold, either with or against the Church of Rome. This good mother, while shee lived, was a worthie maintainer of Christs

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
	Gospell, with great integrity of life; and retained diuers assemblies of the saints in her house for the preaching of the word of God. In fine, her corps and Image also, being brought before the Fiscall, was condemned likewise (as the mother with her seuen children in the Booke of Machabées,) to bée burned for a Lutheran heretique, and all her goods to bée seized to the behoofe of the superiour powers, and also her house vtterly to bée raced and cast downe to the ground: and for a memoriall of the same a marble stone was appointed there to bée set up in the house, wherein the said cause of her burning should bée engraued.
This good mother with her children burned by Antichrist, resembled to the mother with her 7. children burned in the booke of Machabees.	
The Inquisitours of Spaine.	
	7 Master Aflonse Perez, Priest of Valence.
M. Aflonse Perez, martyr.	In the seuenth place was condemned master Aflonso Perez, priest of Valence, first to be degraded, and after to bée burned as an heretique, and all his goods likewise confiscate and seized to the behoofe of the superiority.
The degradation of Doctor Cacalla, Francis his brother, and Aflonse.	¶ When these seuen aforesaid had receiued their sentence, then the Bishop of Valence, in his Pontificalibus, caused doctor Cacalla, Francis his brother, and Aflonse Perez, to bée apparelled and reuested in priestly vesture. Which done, hée tooke from them first the Chalice out of their hands, and so all their other trinkets in order, according to their accustomed solemnitie. And thus they béeing degraded, and all their priestly unctions taken from their fingers, also their lips and their crownes rased, so were their yellow habits of Sanbenito put ouer their shoulders againe, with their mitres also of paper upon their heads. This done, Doctor Cacalla began to speake, praying the Princes and Lords to giue him audience: but that being not granted unto him, hée was rudely repulsed, and returned againe to his standing. Onely thus much hée protested clearely and openly, That his faith, for which he was so handled, was not hereticall, but consonant to the pure word of God. For the which also hée was prest and readie to suffer death as a true Christian, and not as an hereticke: Besides many other worthie sentences of great consolation, which hée there uttered in the mean space, whiles the Iudges were busie in their Sentences against the residue of the Martyrs.
Doctor Cacalla not suffered to speake.	
	8 Don Peter Sarmiento, knight of the Order of Alcantara.
Don Peter Sarmiento, knight condemned for a perpetuall prisoner.	The eighth that was brought before the foresaid Fiscall was Don Peter Sarmiento, knight of the Order of Alcantara, dwelling at Valence, and sonne of Marquesse de Poza, who was pronounced an heretique, and iudged to beare the marke and habit of dishonour all his life,

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	and condemned to perpetuall prison, with the losse of his Order and of all his goods. To whom moreouer it was enjoyned, neuer to weare any more Gold, siluer, Pearles, or any precious stone about him.
	9 Dame Mencia, wife of the said Don Peter.
Dame Mencia wife of Don Peter condemned for a perpetuall prison	Ninthly, after him was called dame Mencia de Figueroa, wife of the aforesaid Don Peter Sarmiento. Who likewise, being proclaimed for an hereticke, was condemned to the same punishment as her husband was.
	10 Don Lovis de Roxas sonne and heire of the Marquesse de Poza.
Don Lobis Roxas condemned to bear Sanbenito.	Next after her was called and brought forth Don Louis de Roxas, sonne and heire of the marquesse de Poza: who also being declared an hereticke, for the great sute and labour which was made for him, was condemned only to beare his Sanbenito unto the Towne-house, and his goods to bee confiscate.
The Inquisitours of Spaine.	
	11 Dame Anne Henriques.
Dame Anne Henriques adged as an hereticke to be a Sanbenito	After whom in the eleuenth place followed Dame Anne Henriques, daughter of the Marquesse Ascanzes, and mother to the forenamed Marquesse de Poza, and wife to the Lord Alphonsus de Fonesca: Who in like sort was declared an hereticke, and condemned to beare her Sanbenito to the Towne-house, and her goods to bée confiscate.
	12 Christopher Del Campo.
Christophe del Campo mart.	Christopher Del Campo, Citizen of Samoza, was the xij. who, after hée was declared an heretick was iudged to bée burned, and his goods to bee seized.
	13 Christopher de Padilla.
Christophe de Padilla mart.	The like sentence was also giuen upon Christopher de Padilla, citizen of Samoza.
	14 Antonie de Huezuello.
	The fourteenth was Antonie de Huezuello bachelar of diuinitie,

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
	vinity, dwelling at Mozo. Who after hee was proclaimed hereticke, and his goods confiscate, was condemned to bee burned; and moreouer had his mouth stopped, for that hee should not speake and make confession of his faith vnto the people.
	15 Katharine Roman.
	Then followed Katharine Roman, dwelling in Pedrosa, called from her standing: who, receiuing the like sentence, was condemned to be burned, and all her goods confiscate.
	16 Frances Errem.
	The sixteenth was Frances Errem, borne in Pegnaranda; whom they condemned to be burned aliue, and all her goods likewise to be confiscate.
	17 Katharine Ortega.
The Inquisitors of Spain	After her succeeded in the next sentence of martyrdome Katharine Ortega, dwelling in Valledolid, daughter of Hernando Piazo Fiscall, and widdow of Captaine Louis, pronounced with the other to be an hereticke; and forsomuch as shee was reckoned to be a schoolemistresse to the rest, shee was judged to be burned, and her goods confiscate.
	18 Isabell Strada.
	19 Iane Valesques.
	In the eighteenth and nineteenth place stood Isabell de Strada, and Jane Valesques, both dwelling in Pedrosa; which likewise were condemned to bee burned, and all their goods confiscate.
	20 A Smith.
	A certaine workman of white yron, or Smith, for entertaining assemblies in his house, and for watching with them, receiued also with them the like sentence, to lose both life and goods for the Gospels sake.
	21 A Iew.
	With these also was ioyned a Portugall, named Goncalo Vaes of Lisbone, which was borne a Iew, afterward baptized, and then returned againe to his Iudaisme: who, for more shame to the other, was put also in the same tale and number, as the two thæues were ioyned with Christ, and was also with them condemned to be burned, and his goods seised.
	22 Dame Iane de Silva.
	After these was called dame Jane de Silua, wife to John de Biuero, brother to Doctour Cacalla, to whom it was enioyned to beare a mantle all her life for penance, in token of her trespasse, and all her goods confiscate.
	23 Leonore de Lisueros, wife of Huezuello.
	In like manner was called for Leonore de Lisueros, wife of the aforesaid Anthony Huezuello, Bacheler of Diuinity.
The Inquisitours of Spain	24 Marina de Sajavedra.
	Item, Marina de Sajauedra, wife of Cisueras de Sareglio.
	25 Daniell Quadra.
	Item, Daniel Quadra borne at Pedrosa: all which three persons were pronounced heretiques, and condemned to doe penance in perpetuall Prison, with their mantles and confiscation of all their goods.
	26 Dame Mary de Royas.
	Dame Mary de Royas, sister of the Marques of Royas, because shee was in a cloyster, and was come of a good house, was therfore judged to beare her mantle to the towne house, and all her goods confiscate.
	27 Anthony Dominicke.
	Anthonie Dominicke de Pedrosa, being then brought out, was iudged and condemned to three yeares penance in Prison for his heresie, cloathed with the mantle of yellow, and all his goods confiscate.
	28 Anthony Basor an Englishman.
	Last of all was produced Anthony

Dame Iane de Silua condemned for an heretique.

Leonore de Lisueros.

Marina de Sajauedra.

Daniel Quadra condemned to perpetuall prison.

Dame Mary de Royas enioyning penance.

Anthony Dominicks inioyned penance.

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Antony Balor, an English man, inioyned penance.

tony Balor; who for that he was an Englishman, he was iudged to beare his mantle of yellow to the towne-house in penance for his crime, and incontinent was thrust into a cloister for one yere, to the intent he might there bee instructed in the Catholique ordinances of the church of Rome, as they be called.

After these sentences being thus pronounced, they which were condemned to be burned, with the coffin of the dead ladie and her picture vpon the same, were committed to the secular magistrate, and their executioners which were commanded to do their endeauour. Then were they all incontinent taken, and euery one set vpon an Asse, their faces turned backward, and led with a great garrison of armed Souldiers vnto the place of punishment, which was without the Gate of the Towne, called Del Campo.

Fourteene martyrs in Spaine, burned.

When they were come to the place, there were fourteene stakes set vp of equall distance one from another, whereunto euery one seuerally being fastened according to the fashion of Spaine, they were all first strangled, and then burned and turned to ashes, saue onely Antony Huezuello, who forsomuch as he had, both within and without the Prison, vehemently detested the Popes spiritualty, therefore hee was burned aliue, and his mouth stopped from speaking. And thus these faithfull Christians, for the verity and pure word of God, were led to death as Sheepe to the shambles: who not only most Christianly did comfort one another, but also did so exhort all them there present, that all men maruelled greatly both to heare their singular constancy, and to see their quiet and peaceable end.

It is reported that, besides these aforesaid, there remained yet behinde thirtie seuen other prisoners, at the said Towne of Valledolid, reserued to another tragedie and spectacle of that bloudie Inquisition. Ex quin. parte Mart. Gall. Impress. pag. 474.

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¶ Furthermore, whereas the story of the said Inquisition being set out in the French tongue doth reckon the number of the Martyrs aboue mentioned, to be thirty, and yet, in particular declaration of them, doth name no more but eight and twentie: here is therefore to be noted, That either this number lacked two of thirtie, or else that two of the said company were returned backe without iudgement into the prison againe.

¶ And thus much for this present, touching the proceeding of the Church of Spaine, in their Inquisition against the Lutherans, that is, against the true and faithfull seruants of Iesus Christ. Albeit there be other Countries also, besides Spaine, subiect vnto the same inquisition, as Naples, and Sicily: in which Kingdome of Sicily, I heare it credibly reported, That euery third yeare are brought forth to iudgement and execution a certaine number, after the like sort of Christian Martyrs, sometimes twelue, sometime fiue, sometimes more, and sometimes lesse. Among whom there was one, much about the same yeare aboue mentioned, An. 1559. who comming from Geneua to Sicily, vpon zeale to do good, was at last laid hand on, and being condemned the same time to the fire, as he should take his death, was offered there of the hangman to bee strangled, hauing the cord readie about his necke: but he notwithstanding refused the same, and said, that he would feele the fire: and so endured he, singing with all his might vnto the Lord, till he was bereaued both of speech and life, in the midst of the flame: such was the admirable constancie and fortitude of that valiant Souldier of Christ, as is witnessed to mee by him, which being there present the same time did both then see that which he doth testifie, and also doth now testifie, that he then saw.

A Christian martyr burned in Sicily.

¶ Now it remaineth further, according to my promise, in like order of a compendious Table, to comprehend all such Martyrs, as suffered for the veritie and true testimonie of the Gospell, in the places and Countries of Italy: which Table consequently here next insueth.

A Table of such Martyrs as suffered for the testimonie of the Gospell in Italy.

¶ The Italian Martyrs.

	N. Encenas otherwise called Dryander, at Rome, Anno, 1546.
Encenas, or Dryander, martyr.	THis Encenas, or Dryander, a Spaniard borne at Bruges, was brother to Franciscus Encenas the learned man, so oft before mentioned: and was also the teacher or instructer in knowledge of Religion to Diazius the godly Martyr aboue recorded.
Certaine popish Spaniards at Rome.	Hee was sent of his superstitious parents, being young, vnto Rome. Who there, after long continuance growing vp in age and knowledge, but especially beeing instructed by the Lord in the truth of his word, after he was knowne to mislike the Popes doctrine, and the impure doings at Rome, was apprehended and taken of certaine of his owne countrey men, and some

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some of his owne houshold friends at Rome, at the same time when hee was preparing to take his journey to his brother Francis Encenas in Germany. Thus he, being betrayed and taken by his owne Countreymen, was brought before the Cardinalls, and there committed to streight Prison. Afterward hee was brought forth to giue testimonie of his doctrine which he in the presence of the Cardinalls, and in the face of all the Popes Retinue, boldly and constantly defended. So that not onely the Cardinalls, but especially the Spaniards being therewith offended, cried out vpon him that hee should bee burned. The Cardinalls, first before the sentence of death should bee giuen, came to him, offering, if hee would take it (after the manner of the Spaniards) the badge of reconciliation: which hath the name of Sanbenits cloth, made in forme of a mantle, going both before him and behinde him, with signes of the red Crosse. But Encenas, still constant in the profession of truth, denied to receiue any other condition or badge, but only the badge of the Lord, which was to seale the doctrine of his Religion with the testimonie of his bloud. At last the matter was brought to that issue, that the faithfull seruant and witnes of Christ was iudged and condemned to the fire; where he in the sight of the Cardinalls, and in the face of the Apostolicall See pretensed, gaue vp his life for the testimonie of the Gospell. Ex Pantal. lib. 6. Ex Crisp. & aliis.

¶ And for so much as mention hath beene made both in this storie, and many other before, of Franciscus Encenas his brother, here is not to be permitted, how the said Francis being a man of notable learning as euer was any in Spaine, being in the Emperors court at Bruxels, offered vnto the Emperor Charles the fift the new Testament of Christ translated into Spanish. For the which he was cast into prison, where he remained in sorrowfull captivity and calamitie the space of fifténe moneths, looking for nothing more than present death. At last, through the mervailous prouidence of Almightie God, the first day of Februarie, Anno 1545. at eight of the clock after supper, he found the doores of the prison standing open, and he secretly was moued in his minde to take the occasion offered, and to shift for himselfe, and so he issuing out of the prison without any hastie pace, but going as leisurely as he could, escaped from thence, and went strait to Germany.

Imprisonment and escape of Franciscus Encenas.

Faninus imprisoned.

Faninus.
At Ferraria, Anno 1550.

Pope Iulius the third.

Faninus, borne in Fauentia, a towne in Italy, through the reading of godly bookes translated into the Italian Tongue (hauing no perfect skill in the Latine) was conuerted from great blindnes to the wholsome knowledge of Christ and of his word. Wherein he tooke such a swéetnesse, and so grew vp in the meditation of the same, that hee was able in short time to instruct other. Neither was there any diligence lacking in him to communicate that abroad which hee had receiued of the Lord: being so in his minde persuaded, that a man, receiuing by the Spirit of God the knowledge and illumination of his verity, ought in no case to hide the same in silence, as a candle vnder a bushell. And therefore being occupied diligently in that behalfe, albeit he died not publiquely to preach, but by priuate conference to teach, he was at length by the Popes Clients espied, apprehended, and committed to Prison, albeit he remained not long in the prison. For by the earnest perswasions and prayers of his wife, his children, and other friends, he was so ouercome, that hee gaue ouer, and so was dismissed shortly out of Prison. After this, it was not long but he fell into horrible perturbation of minde; insomuch that vnlesse the great mercie of God had kept him vp, he had fallen into vtter desperation, for slipping from the truth, and preferring the loue of his friends and kindred before the seruice of Jesus Christ, whom he so earnestly before had professed. This wound went so déepe into his heart, that hee in no case bee quieted, before hee had fully fired and determined in his minde, to aduenture his life more faithfully in the seruice of the Lord.

Faninus ouercome by his wife and brethren.

Whereupon hee, being thus inflamed with zeale of spirit, went about all the Countrey of Romaigna, publiquely preaching the pure doctrine of the Gospell, not without great fruit and effect in places as he went. As hee was thus labouring, it so fell out that hee was apprehended againe, Anno 1547. in a place called Bagnacauallo, where also he was condemned to be burned. But he said his houre was not yet come, and the same to be but the beginning of his doctrine: and so it was; for shortly after he was remoued vnto Ferraria, where he was detained two yeares. At last the Inquisitors of the Popes heresies condemned him to death, Anno 1549. and yet his time being not come, hee remained after that to the moneth of September, Anno 1550. In the meane time many faithfull and good men came to visit him; for the which the Pope commanded him to be inclosed in straighter custodie; wherein hee suffered great torments the space of eighténe moneths, and yet had suffered greater, if the Dominicke Friers might haue got him in their house, as they went about. Thus Faninus, remoued from prison to prison, many times changed his place, but neuer altered his constancie.

At length he was brought into a prison where were diuers great Lords, Captaines, and noble personages there committed, for stirring vp commotions and factions (as the Countrey of Italy is full of such) who at first, hearing him speake, began to set him at nought, and to deride him: supposing that it was but a melancholie humor that troubled his braine. Whereupon, such as séemed more sage amongst them began to exhort him to leane his opinion, and to liue with men as other men doe, and not to ber his minde, but to suspend his iudgement till the matter were decided in a generall councell. To whom Faninus againe, first giuing them thanks for their friendly good wils where-

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The modeſt anſwer of Faninus to his fellow priſoners.

with they ſéemed to reſpect his well doing, modeſtly and quietly declared vnto them, how the doctrine which he profeſſed was no humour nor opinion of mans braine, but the pure veritie of God, founded in his word, and reuealed to men in the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, and eſpecially now in theſe dates reſtored: which veritie he had fully determined in his minde neuer to denie, to beléeue the lying fantaſies of men. And as in his ſoule, which was redéemed by the bloud of the ſonne of God, he was free from all bondage: ſo likewiſe as touching councels, hee looked for no other ſentence nor authoritie, he ſaid, but that only which he knew to be declared to vs by Chriſt Ieſus in his Goſpell, which both he preached with his word, and confirmed with his bloud, &c. With theſe and ſuch other words he ſo moued their minds, that they were cleane altered vnto a new kinde of life, hauing him now in admiration whom they had before in deriſion, and recounted him for an holy perſon. To whom he proceeded ſtill to preach the word of grace, declaring and confeſſing himſelfe to bée a miſerable ſinner; but by the faith of the Lord Ieſus, and through the grace onely of him, he was fully perſwaded and well aſſured his ſinnes to be forgiuen: like as all their ſinnes alſo ſhall be remitted to them through their faith only in Chriſt, they beléeuing his Goſpell.

Priſoners conuerted by Faninus.

There were other alſo beſides theſe, who, hauing liued before a more delicate kind of life, could not well away with the ſharpnes and the hardneſſe of the priſon. Theſe alſo receiued ſuch comfort by the ſaid Faninus, that not onely they were quietly contented, but alſo reioyced in this their captiuitie, by the occaſion whereof they had receiued and learned a better libertie than euer they knew before.

When the priſonment of this Faninus was knowne to his parents and kinſfolke, his wife and ſiſter came to him with weeping perſwaſions, to moue him to conſider and care for his poore family. To whom hee anſwered againe, That his Lord and maſter had commanded him not to denie him for looking to his family; and that it was enough for them that hée had once for their ſakes fallen into that cowardlineſſe which they knew. Wherefore he deſired them to depart in peace, and ſollicite him no more therein, for his end, he ſaid, he knew to draw nére, and ſo he commended them vnto the Lord.

Pope Iulius the third.

About the ſame time died Pope Paulus the third, and after him ſucceéded Iulius the third, which then ſent letters and commandement that Faninus ſhould be executed. Wherof when one of the magiſtrats officers brought him word the next day, he reioyced thereat, and gaue the meſſenger thankes, and began to preach a long Sermon, to them that were about him, of the felicitie and beatitude of the life to come. Then the meſſenger exhorted him, that, in caſe hee would change his opinion, he ſhould ſaue both his life, and enioy that to come. Another asked him in what caſe he ſhould leaue his little children and his wife, or what ſtay ſhould they bée at, hee ſo leauing them: wherefore hée deſired him to haue reſpect both to himſelfe, and to them. Faninus anſwered, that hee had left them with an ouerſéer, which would ſée vnto them ſufficiently: and being asked who he was, the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, ſaid he, a faithfull kéeper and conſeruer of all that is committed to him. After that the meſſenger was thus departed from

Chriſt preferred before wife and children.

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Faninus, all full of teares and ſorrow, the next day following hee was remoued into the common priſon, and deliuered to the ſecular Magiſtrate. Who in all his wayes, his words, his geſtures, and countenance, declared ſuch conſtancy of faith, ſuch modeſty of manners and tranquility of mind, that they which before were extreame againſt him, thinking him rather to haue a diuell, began now fauourably to hearken to him, and to commend him. With ſuch grace and ſweetneſſe hee talked, euer ſpeaking of the word of God, that diuers of the magiſtrates wiues, in hearing him, could not abſtaine from weeping. The executioner alſo wept himſelfe. One of the publike Scribes then came to him, and ſaid, That if hee would relent from his opinion, the Popes pleaſure was, that he ſhould be ſaued: but that he refuſed. This was maruellous, that hee hauing but ſmall skill in the Latine, yet recited ſo many and ſundry places of the Scripture without booke, and that ſo truly and promptly, as though he had ſtudied nothing elſe. One, ſeeing him ſo toward and merry going to his death, asked, why hee was ſo merry at his death, ſéeing Chriſt himſelfe ſweat blood and water before his paſſion? Chriſt, ſaid he, ſuſtained in his body all the ſorrowes and conflicts with hell and death due to vs: by whoſe ſuffering we are deliuered from ſorrow and feare of them all. Finally, early in the morning hee was brought forth where hee ſhould ſuffer. Who, after his prayers moſt earneſtly made vnto the Lord, méekly and patiently gaue himſelfe to the ſtake: where with a cord drawne about his necke hée was ſecretly ſtrangled of the hangman, in the City of Ferraria, three houres before day, to the intent the people ſhould not ſée him, nor heare him ſpeake: and after, about dinner time, his body in the ſame place was burned. At the burning whereof ſuch a fragrant and odoriferous ſent came to all them there preſent, & ſo ſtroke their ſenſes, that the ſweetneſſe thereof ſéemed to refreſh them no leſſe, than his words would haue done, if they had heard him ſpeake.

Life reſtored.

How Chriſt ouercom death himſelfe, and hath taken away the feare of death from others.

Miracles is reported.

The cuſtome is of that City, that the bones and aſhes which be left ſhould be carried out of the City, but neither the magiſtrate, nor the biſhop, nor his great vicar or chancellor, nor any diuine elſe would take any charge thereof, euery man transferring that burthen from themſelues to him which was the cauſe of his death. Whereby it may appeare, what ſecret iudgement and eſtimation all they had of that good & bleſſed man. At the laſt people took his burned bones with the cinders, and carried them out of the ſtréet of the City. Ex Hen. Pantal. Lib. 7. Ex Io. Criſp. pag. 363.

The death & martyrdome of Faninus.

Dominicus de Baſana, At Placentia, Anno, 1550.

The name of the perſecutor in the ſtory appeareth not.

The ſame yeare that the aforeſaid Faninus ſuffered in Ferraria, Dominicus alſo ſuffered in the City of Placentia. This Dominicus was Citizen in Baſana, and followed the warres of Charles the Emperour in Germany: where hée receiued the firſt taſte of Chriſts Goſpell. Wherein he encreaſed more and more by conferring and reaſoning with learned men, ſo that in ſhort time hee was able to inſtruct

Dominicus de Baſana martyr.

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instruct many; & so he did working & trauelling in the church, til at length in the yeare 1550, he, comming to the city of Naples, there preached the Word, and from thence proceeding to Placentia, preached there likewise vnto the people, of true Confession, of Purgatorie, and of pardons. Furthermore, the next day he entreated of true faith and of good works, how far they are necessarie to saluation, promising moreouer the next day to speake of Antichrist, and to paint him out in his colours. When the houre came that he should begin his sermon, the magistrate of the Citty commanded him to come down from the chaire in the market place, and deliuered him to the Officers. Dominicus was willing and ready to obey the commandement, saying that he did much maruell that the Diuell could suffer him so long in that kinde of exercise. From thence he was led to the Bishops Chancellor, and asked whether he was a Priest, and how he was placed in that function. He answered, that he was no priest of the pope, but of Iesus Christ, by whom he was lawfully called to that office. Then was he demanded, whether he would renounce his doctrine. Hee answered, that he maintained no doctrine of his owne, but onely the doctrine of Christ, which also hee was readie to seale with his bloud, and also gaue heartie thankes to God, which so accepted him as worthie to glorifie his name with his martyrdome. Vpon this he was committed to a filthie and stinking Prison, where after he had remained a few moneths, he was exhorted diuers times to reuoke, otherwise he should suffer: but still hee remained constant in his doctrine. Whereupon when the time came alligned for his punishment, hee was brought to the market place where he preached, and there was hanged: who, most heartily praying for his enemies, so finished his dayes in this miserable wretched world. Ex Pancal. lib. 7.

Galeazius Trecius. At the citie called Laus Pompeia in Italy. Anno 1551.

Santangelo is a certaine Fortresse or Castle in Italy, within Lombardie, not farre from the City called Laus Pompeia, belonging also to the same dioceese. In this fort of Santangelo was an house of Augustine Friers, vnto whom vsed much to resort a certaine Frier of the same order, dwelling at Pania, named Matanardus, a man well expert in the studie of Scripture, and of a godly conuersation. By this Matanardus, diuers not only of the Friers, but also of other Townesmen were reduced to the loue and knowledge of Gods Word, and to the detestation of the popes abuses. Among whom was also this Galeazius, a gentleman of a good calling,

The Bishop of Santangelo & his Priests.

Persecutors. | Martyrs and the causes of their martyrdome.

and wealthie in worldly substance, and verie beneficiall to the poore. Who first by conference with the Friers, and also with his brother in law, began to conceiue some light in Gods truth, and afterward was confirmed more thoroughly by Cælius secundus Curio, who, then being driuen by persecution, came from Pauia to the said place of Santangelo. In proces of time, as this Galeazius increased in iudgement and zeale, in setting forward the wholsome word of Gods grace: as a light shining in darknes he could not so lie hid, but at last, in the yeare of our Lord 1551, certaine were sent from the forenamed citie of Laus Pompeia, to lay hands vpon him, and brought him to the Bishops pallace; where he was kept in bands, hauing vnder him but onely a pad of straw. Although his wife sent vnto him a good featherbed, with sheets to lie in, yet the Bishops chaplaines and Officers kept it from him, diuiding the prey among themselues.

The iniurious and fraudulent dealing of the papists.

When the time came that he should bee examined, he was thrice brought before the Commissioners, where he rendered reasons and causes of his faith, answering to their interrogatories with such euidence of Scriptures, and constancie of minde, that he was an admiration to them that heard him. Albeit not long after, through the importunate perswasions of his kinsfolkes and friends, and other cold Gospellers, laying many considerations before his eyes, he was brought at length to assent to certaine points of the Popes doctrine. But yet the mercie of God, which began with him, so left him not, but brought him againe to such repentance, and bewailing of his fact, that he became afterward (according to the example of Peter, & S. Cyprian, & other) double wise more valiant in defence of Christs quarrell: neither did he euer desire any thing more, than occasion to be offered to recouer againe by confession that which he had lost before by deniall: affirming that he neuer felt more ioy of heart than at the time of his examinations, where he stood thrice to the constant confession of the truth: and contrarie, that hee neuer talked more sorrow in all his life, than when hee slipt afterward from the same by dissimulation. Declaring moreouer to his brethren, that death was much more sweete vnto him, with testimony of the veritie, than life with the least deniall of truth, and losse of a good conscience. Thus Galeazius mourning for his fall in prison, after he heard of his friends, that nothing was yet so farre past, but that he might recouer himselfe againe, and that his infirmitie was not prejudiciall, but rather a furtherance to Gods glory, and an admonition to himselfe to stand more strongly hereafter, tooke thereby exceeding comfort: and when they would haue left with him a booke of the new Testament for his comfort, he refused it, saying, that he had in his heart whatsoeuer Christ there spake to his disciples: also what hapned both to Christ himselfe, and to his disciples, for confessing the word of truth.

Galeazius relenteth.

Galeazius repenteth.

A sentence of a martyr to be marked.

Furthermore, so comfortable was hee after that, that they which talked with him continued all the day without meat or drinke, and would also haue tarried all the night following.

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ing, if they might haue beene ſuffered.

As Galeazius thus continued in the priſon, looking for ſome occaſion to recouer himſelfe againe from his fall, it followed in ſhort time that the Inquiſitors and prieſts repaired to him againe in the priſon, ſuppoſing that hee would confirme now that which before hee had granted to them, and required him ſo to doe. Galeazius, denying all that hee had granted to them before, returned againe to the defence of his former doctrine, with much more boldneſſe of ſpirit confeſſing Chriſt, as he did before, and deteſted images, affirming and proouing that God onely is to be worſhipped, and that in ſpirit and verity: Alſo that there bee no more mediators but Chriſt alone, and that hee onely and ſufficiently by his ſuffering hath taken away the ſinnes of the whole world; and that all they, which depart hence in this faith, are aſcertained of euerlaſting life; they which doe not are vnder euerlaſting damnation, with ſuch other like matter, which was repugnant vtterly to the Popes proceedings. With this confeſſion made, as his mind was greatly refreſhed, ſo the aduerſaries went away as much appalled; who, at laſt perceiuing that he in no caſe could be reuoked, cauſed him to be committed to the ſecular Judge to be burned.

Galeazius returneth to his former confeſſion of truth.

Galeazius committed to the ſecular power.

Thus Galeazius early in the morning, being brought out of priſon to the market place, there was left ſtanding bound to the ſtake till noone, as a gazing ſtocke for all men to looke vpon. In the which meane time many came about him, exhorting him to recant, and not ſo to caſt away his life, whereas with ten words ſpeaking he might ſaue it. And if hee paſſed not for his life, nor for his countrey where he ſhould liue, nor for his goods and poſſeſſions, which ſhould be confiſcate, yet he ſhould ſomewhat reſpect his wife whom hee loued ſo well, and his young children; at leaſt he ſhould conſider his owne ſoule. This counſell gaue they which more eſteemed the commodities of this preſent life, than any true ſoules health in the life to come. But to conclude, nothing could ſtirre the ſetled mind of this valiant Martyr. Wherefore fire was commanded at laſt to be put to the dry wood about him, wherewith hee was ſhortly conſumed without any noyſe or crying, ſaue onely theſe words heard in the middle of the flame, Lord Jeſus. This was An. 1551. Nouem. 24.

The death and decreaſe of Galeazius.

Touching the ſtorie of this bleſſed martyr, this by the way is to be giuen for a Memorandum, That a little before this Galeazius ſhould be burned, there was a controuerſie betweene the Maior of the Citie, and the Biſhops Clergy, for the expences of the wood that ſhould goe to his burning. Hee hearing thereof ſent word to both the parties to agree, for he himſelfe of his owne goods would ſee the coſt of that matter diſcharged.

Another note moreouer here is to bee added, that while Galeazius was in captiuity, certaine of the papiſts, perceiuing that Galeazius had great goods and poſſeſſions, practiſed with his wife, vnder colour to releaſe her huſband, that ſhee ſhould lay out a ſumme of money to be ſent to the wife of the chiefe Lord of Millain (called Ferrarus Gonzaga) to the end that ſhe ſhould entreat both with her huſband, and with the Senate for Galeazius life. Which money when they had thus iuggled into their hands, Galeazius notwithſtanding was burned, and ſo was the ſilly woman robbed and

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deſeated both of her husband, and alſo of her money. Ex Cælio.

D. Iohn Mollius, a gray Frier.
A certaine Weauer of Peruſium.

At Rome, Anno, 1553.

Cornelius, profeſſor of Bononie.

Campeius Cardinall.

Cardinall de Capo.

Bonaventura Generall.

Six cardinals.

Pope Iulius the third.

D. Io. Mollius martyr.

Ioan. Mollius Montilcinus, being but twelue yeares old, with his brother Auguſtinus, was ſet of his parents in the houſe of the Gray Friers, where hee in ſhort time, hauing a freſh wit, farre excelled his fellowes in all tongues and Liberall Sciences. So growing vp to the age of eighteene hee was ordained Prieſt, and ſang his firſt Maſſe. After that hee was ſent to Ferraria to ſtudie, where he ſo profited in the ſpace of ſix yeares, that he was aſſigned, by Vigerius Generall of that Order, to bee doctor, and then reader in diuinitie: whothen, with his ſophiſtrie, oppoſed himſelfe as an vtter enemy againſt the Goſpell. From thence he went to Biria and the next yeare following to Millaine, where he read for profeſſed openly. Againe, from hence hee was taken by Franciſcus Sforzia, and brought to the Vniuerſitie of Papia, there openly to profeſſe Philoſophie. Where he remained foure yeares. After that hee was called to the Vniuerſitie of Bononie by Laurentius Spatha, generall of the order. where hee was occupied in reading the bookes of Ariſtotle De Anima. In the meane time God wrought in his ſoule ſuch light of his word, and of true religion, that hee, waxing wearie of profeſſing Philoſophie, began ſecretly to expound the Epiſtle of Saint Paul to the Romans to a few; which being knowne, his auditours increaſed ſo faſt, that hee was compelled to read openly in the Temple. Where as the number of his audience daily augmented, ſo the eager feruencie of their minds ſo mightily increaſed withall, that euery man almoſt came with his pen and inke to write, and great diligence was beſtowed how to come betime to take vp the firſt places, where they might beſt heare, which was about the yeare of our Lord, 1538. There was the ſame time at Bonenie one Cornelius an arrogant babler, who, enuying the doings of this Ioannes, tooke vpon him, at the requeſt of Cardinall Campeius, to expound the ſaid Epiſtle of ſaint Paul, confuting and diſproouing the explanation of the ſaid John, and extolling the Pope with all his traditions. Contrary, John extolled and commended only Chriſt and his merits to the people. But the purpoſe of Cornelius came to ſmall effect. For the auditours, which firſt came vnto him, began by little to fall from him, and the concourſe of the other mans auditours more and more increaſed.

Laurentius Spatha, generall of these Friers.

Cornelius a cardinall (Campeius, perhaps.

Which when Cornelius perceiued, hee perſwaded Campeius, that vnleſſe hee prouided that man to bee diſpatched, the eſtimation of the church of Rome would thereby greatly decay. But when they could not openly bring

their

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their purpose about, secretly this way was deuised, that Cornelius and Joannes should come to open disputation: which disputation indured till three of the clocke after midnight. At length when neither part could agree, Joannes was bid to returne home to his house. Who as hee was come down to the lower steps, where the place was most straitest, so that his friends could not come to rescue him, (although by drawing their swords they declared their good wills) was there taken and layd fast in prison. When the day came, such tumult and stir was in the whole citie, that Cornelius was driuen to hide himselfe. Also Campeius the Cardinall, with the Bishop there, were both contemned of the Students. The next day the Bishop of Bononi sent his Chancellor to John in the prison, to signifie vnto him, that either he must recant, or else burne. But hee, being of a bold and chearefull spirit, would in no wise be brought to recant. This one thing grieued him, that hee should be condemned, his cause being not heard.

Iollius taken and imprisoned by Cardinall Campeius.

In the meane season, Laurentius Spatha aboue mentioned, being Generall of that Order, in most speedy wise posted vp to Rome, and there so practised with the Cardinall Saint Crucis, the Proctor in the court of Rome for the gray Friers, that the Pope wrote downe his Letters to Campeius, that he should deliuer the said John out of prison; so that hee notwithstanding, within three moneths after, should personally appeare at Rome. Thus the thirtieth day of his imprisonment he was deliuered; who, but for the comming of the Popes Letters, had beene burned within three dayes after. Moreouer, with the said Mollius, Cornelius was also cited to make his appearance likewise at Rome, and there was detained in prison by the Cardinall Saint Crucis, till his cause should be decided. The friends of Mollius gaue him counsell not to goe to Rome, and offered him money to goe to Germany: but hee would not; saying, that the Gospell must also be preached at Rome. After he was come to Rome, and appeared before Pope Paul the third, humbly hee desired, that the cause being so weighty might come in publike hearing, but that could not be obtained. Then was hee commanded to write his mind in articles, and to bring his proofes: which hee diligently performed, intreating of Originall sinne, Iustification by Faith, Free-will, Purgatory, and other such like; proouing the said Articles by the authority of the Scripture, and of ancient Fathers, and so exhibited the same to the Bishop of Rome. Vpon this, certaine Cardinals and bishops were assigned to haue the cause in hearing: who disputed with him three dayes, & could not fell that which he had proued. At last answer was made vnto him thus; that it was truth which hee affirmed, neuertheless the same was not meet for this present time; for that it could not be taught or published without the detriment of the Apostolique See: wherefore hee should abstaine hereafter from the Epistles (a) of Saint Paul, and so returne againe safe to Bononie, and there professe Philosophie. Thus as hee was returned to Bononie, and all men there were desirous to know of his case, how hee sped at Rome, openly in the pulpit hee declared all things in order as they were done, and gaue God thankes.

Mollius deliuered out of prison by meanes of Spatha the Generall.

Mollius appeareth before the Pope.

Herewith Campeius, being more offended than before, obtained of the Pope, that the

(a) The Popes Church cannot abide Saint Pauls Epistles. Pauls Epistles must giue place to Philosophie.

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Generall of the Order should remoue the said John Mollius from Bononie, and place him some other where. So Mollius from thence was sent to Naples, and there was appointed Reader and preacher in the monasterie of Saint Laurence. But Petrus the Viceroy there, not abiding his doctrine, so nearely sought his death, that hee had much adoe to escape with life; and so departing from thence, hee went wandring in Italy from place to place, preaching Christ whersoeuer hee came. Not long after this, when Cardinall Campeius was dead, he was called againe vnto Bononie by a good Abbat named de Grassis, Anno 1543. where hee renewed againe the reading of Saint Pauls Epistles after a secret sort, as hee did before; but that could not bee long vndiscouered. Whereupon by the meanes of Cardinall de Capo, and by Bonauentura the Generall, he was apprehended the second time, and brought to Fauentia, and layd there in a filthy and stinking prison, where hee continued foure yeeres, no man hauing leaue once to come to him. During which time of his indurance hee wrote a Commentarie vpon the bookes of Moses: but that labour by the malignity of the Aduersaries was suppressed. At length, through the intercession of the Earle Petilianus, and of the aforesaid good Abbat de Grassis, hee was againe deliuered, and sent to Rauenna, where he made his abode a few moneths with the Abbat ad S. Vitalem, and there againe taught the Gospell of Christ as before: and whensoeuer he spake of the name of Iesus, his eyes dropped teares, for hee was fraught with a mighty feruencie of Gods holy Spirit.

Mollius the first time apprehended for reading Saint Pauls Epistles.

Mollius againe deliuered.

The feruent zeale of Mollius.

In processe of time, when this Abbat was dead, his sureties began to bee weary of their bond, and so was hee againe now the third time reduced into prison by the popes Legats. There were then foure men of great authority, who, being stirred vp of God, had pitty vpon him, and bailed him out of prison. Of whom, one of the said Sureties tooke the said Mollius home, to instruct his children in the doctrine of Religion and good letters. Furthermore, at the fame of this man such a concourse of people came to see him, that the Aduersaries began to consult with themselues to kill him, lest his doctrine should disperse further abroad, to the detriment of the Church of Rome. Whereupon commandement was sent to the Popes Legate to lay hands vpon him, and to send him vp fast bound to Rome. Where againe, now the fourth time, hee was imprisoned in the castle of Rome, and there continued eighteene moneths, being greatly assaulted, sometimes with flattering, promises, sometimes with terrible threats, to giue ouer his opinion: but his building could not be shaken, for it was grounded vpon a sure Rocke. Thus Doctor Mollius, being constant in the defence of Christs Gospell, was brought with certaine other men (which were also apprehended for religion) into the Temple of Saint Mary (called De Minerva) the fifth day of September, Anno 1553. either there to reuoke, or to be burned. There sat vpon them six Cardinalls in high seats, beside the Iudge: before whom preached a Dominick Frier, with cruelty inueighing against the poore prisoners, incensed the Cardinalls, with all the vehemencie hee might, to their condemnation. The poore men stood holding a burning taper in their hands: of whom some for feare of death reuolted. But this Doctor Mollius, with a

Mollius the fourth time imprisoned.

Weauer

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The constancy of D. Mollius and of the Weauer.

D. Mollius citeth the Pope to the tribunall seat of Christ.

The martyrdome of Dect. Mollius and the Weauer.

Weauer of Perusium, remained constant. Then Mollius beganne an earnest sermon in the Italian tongue, wherein hee confirmed the articles of the faith by the sacred Scriptures, declaring also that the pope was not the successour of Peter, but Antichrist, and that his sectaries doe figure the Whore of Babylon. Moreouer, hee cited them vp to the tribunall seat of Christ, and threw away the burning taper from him. Whereupon they, being replenished with anger, condemned him with the Weauer to the fire, and commanded them to be had away. So were they carried incontinent to the Campe or field called Florianum, where they remained chearefull and constant. First the weauer was hanged: Mollius then, willing the Hangman to execute his office likewise vpon him, began to exhort the people to beware of Idolatry, and to haue no other Sauiours but Christ alone: for hee onely is the Mediator betweene God and man. And so was hee also hanged, commending his soule to God, and afterward laid in the fire and burned. The people hauing diuers iudgements vpon him; some said hee died an heretike, some said hee was a good man. Ex Henrico Pantal. Lib. 19. Anno, 1543.

Two Monkes of the house of Saint Austen in Rome. At Rome, Anno, 1554.

Two Augustin monkes, martyrs.

Furthermore in the same citie of Rome, and about the same time, in the Monasterie of saint Austen, were found two Monks in their cells, with their tongues and their heads cut off, onely for rebuking the immoderate and outragious excesse of the Cardinalls, as witnesseth Manlius. Such was the cruelty then of the malignant aduersaries. Ex Iohan. Man. in dictis Phil. Melanct.

Franciscus Gamba. At the Citie of Comun, in the diocesse of Millain. Anno, 1554.

Franc. Gamba martyr.

Francis Gamba borne in the citie of Bziria, in Lombardie, after hee had receiued the knowledge of the Gospell, went to Geneua, to conferre about certaine necessary affaires with them that were wise and learned in that Church, which was about the time when the Lords Supper there was administred at Pentecost: Who there also at the same time did communicate with them. Afterward in his returning home, as he was passing ouer the lake of Come, he was taken and brought to Come, and there committed to Ward. During the time of which imprisonment, diuers and sundry, as well Nobles as others, with Doctours also, especially priests and Monkes, resorted vnto him. The Senate of Millaine. labouring by all manner of meanes, and most faire promises, to reduce him from his opinions: which seemed to some but phantasies coming of some humour: to some they seemed vncatholike or heretical. But he, constantly disputing with them by the manifest Scriptures, declared the opinions which he defended not to be any vaine speculations or imaginary phantasies of mans doting braine, but the pure veritie of God, and the euident doctrine of Iesus Christ, expressed in his word, necessarie for all men to beleeue, and also to maintaine vnto death: and therefore for his part, rather than he would be found false to Christ and his word, he was there readie not to deny, but to stand to Christs Gospell, to the effusion of his bloud. Thus when hee could in no wise be reclaimed from the doctrine of truth, letters came from the Senate of Millaine, that he should be executed with death. Which execution, as they of Comun were about to prepare, in the mean while came other letters from Geneua, written by the Emperours Embassadour, and other Nobles of Millaine, by the which letters his death was delaied for a time, till at length other letters were sent from the Senate againe of Millaine, requiring execution of the sentence. Neuertheless, through intercession of his friends, one weekes respite more was granted him, to proue whether he might bee wonne againe to the Popes Church, that is to say, lost from God. Thus hee being mightily and long both assailed by friends, and by enemies terrified, yet by no perswasions would bee ouercome, but gaue thankes to God, that hee was made worthie to suffer the rebukes of this world, and cruell death, for the testimony of his sonne; and so went he chearefully vnto his death. Then came certaine Franciscan Friers to him to heare his confession, which hee refused. Also they brought in their hands a crosse for him to behold, to keepe him from desperation at the feeling of the fire. But his minde, he said, was so replenished with ioy and comfort in Christ, that hee needed neither their crosse, nor them. After this, as hee was declaring many comfortable things to the people, of the fruition of those heauenly ioyes aboue which God hath prepared for his, because he should speake no more to the people, his tongue was bored thorow, and so immediatly being tied to the stake, there he was strangled till he was dead, euery man there, which saw his constancie, giuing testimonie, that he died a good man. Ex Epist. cujusd. Nobilis Commensis apud Hen. Pant. lib. 10. & Cœlium.

Patient in execution.

Franc. Gam. his tongue bored through.

Pomponius Algerius at Rome, Anno, 1555.

Pope Paulus the fourth.

Pomponius Algerius, martyr.

Pomponius Algerius borne in Capua, a young man of great learning, was student in the Vniuersitie of Padua, where he not being able to conceale and keepe close the veritie of Christs Gospell, which he learned by the heauenly teaching of Gods grace, ceased not both by doctrine and example of life to informe as many as hee could in the same doctrine, and to bring them to Christ. For the which hee was accused of heresie to Pope Paulus the fourth. Who, sending immediately to the magistrates of Venice, caused him to bee apprehended;

The magistrates of Venice.

The blind iudgment of the world in Gods matters.

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prehended at Padua, and carried to Venice, where hee was long detained in prison and bands, till at last the Pope commanded the Magistrates there to send him up bound unto Rome, which the Venetians effsoones accomplished. After he was brought to Rome, manifold perswasions and allurements were assaied to remove the vertuous and blessed young man from his sentence. But when no worldly perswasions could prevaile against the operation of Gods Spirit in him, then was hee adjudged to be burned alive; which death most constantly he sustained, to the great admiration of all that beheld him.

Being in prison at Venice, he wrote an Epistle to the afflicted Saints; which for the notable sweetnesse and most wonderfull consolation contained in the same, in shewing forth the mightie operation of Gods holy power working in his afflicted Saints that suffer for

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his sake; I have thought good and expedient to communicate, as a principall monument amongst all other Martyrs letters, not onely with the other Letters which shall bee inserted hereafter (the Lord willing) in the end of the book, but also in this present place to be read, to the intent that both they which bee, or shall bee hereafter in affliction, may take consolation: and also that they which yet follow the trade of this present world, in comparing the joyes and commodities thereof with these joyes here expressed, may learne and consider with themselves, what difference there is betweene them both, and thereby may learne to dispose themselves in such sort, as may be to their edification, and perpetuall felicitie of their soules. The copy of the Letter, first written in Latine, we have translated into English, the tenor whereof here under insueth.

A comfortable Letter of Pomponius Algerius *an Italian Martyr.*

¶ To his most dearly beloved Brethren *and fellow Servants of Christ, which are departed out of Babylon into Mount Sion, grace, peace, and health from God our father, by Iesus Christ our Lord and Saviour.*

TO mitigate your sorrow which you take for mee, I cannot but impart unto you some portion of my delectations and joyes, which I feele and finde, to the intent you with mee may rejoyce, and sing before the Lord, giving thankes unto him: I shall utter that which no man will beleeve when I shall declare it. I have found a nest of honey and honeycombe in the intrailes of a Lyon. Who will ever beleeve that I shall say? or what man will ever thinke in the deepe darke dungeon to finde a Paradise of pleasure? in the place of sorrow and death to dwell in tranquilitie and hope of life? in a Cave infernall to bee found joy of soule? and where other men doe weepe, there to bee rejoycing? where other doe shake and tremble, there strength and boldnesse to bee plenty? who will ever thinke, or who will beleeve this? in such a wofull state such delectation? in a place so desolate, such societie of good men? in strait bands and cold yrons such rest to bee had? All these things the sweet hand of the Lord (my sweet Brethren) doth minister unto mee. Behold, hee that was once farre from mee, now is present with mee. Whom once scarce I could feele; now I see more apparantly; whom once I saw afarre off, now I behold neere at hand; whom once I hungred for, the same now approcheth and reacheth his hand unto mee. Hee doth comfort mee, and heapeth mee up with gladnesse; he driveth away all bitternesse, hee ministreth strength and courage, hee healeth mee, refresheth, advanceth, and comforteth mee. O how good is the Lord, which suffereth not his servants to bee tempted above their strength! O how easie and sweet is his yoke! Is there any like unto the Highest, who receiveth the afflicted, healeth the wounded, and nourisheth them? Is there any like unto him? Learne yee, Welbeloved, how amiable the Lord is, how meeke and mercifull hee is, which visiteth his servants in tentations, neither disdaineth he to keepe companie with us in such vile and stinking caves. Will the blind and incredulous world (thinke you) beleeve this? Or rather will it not say thus? No, thou wilt never be able to abide long the burning heat, the cold snow, and the pinching hardnesse of that place, the manifold miseries, and other grievances innumerable; the rebukes and frowning faces of men how wilt thou suffer? Dost thou not consider and revolve in thy mind thy pleasant Country, the riches of the world, thy kinsfolke, the delicate pleasures and honours of this life? Dost thou forget the solace of thy sciences, and fruit of all thy labours? Wilt thou thus lose all thy labours which thou hast hitherto sustained? so many nights watched? thy painefull travels, and all thy laudable enterprises, wherein thou hast beene exercised continually even from thy childhood? Finally feareſt thou not death, which hangeth over thee, and that for no crime committed. O what a foole art thou, which for one word speaking mayest salve all this, and wilt not? What a rude and unmannerly thing is this, not to bee entreated at the instant petitions and desires of such, so many and so mighty, so just, so vertuous, so prudent and gracious Senators, and such noble personages, &c.

But now to answer; Let this blinde world hearken to this againe, What heat can there bee more burning than that fire which is prepared for thee hereafter? And likewise, what snow can bee more cold than thy heart which is in darknesse, and hath no light? What thing is more hard, and sharpe, or crooked, than this present life which here wee lead? What thing more odious and hatefull than this

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world here preſent? and let theſe worldly men here anſwer mee; What Countrey can wee have more ſweet then the Heavenly Countrey above? what treaſures more rich or pretious then everlaſting life? And who bee our kinſmen, but they which heare the word of God? where bee greater riches, or dignities more honourable, than in Heaven? And as touching the ſciences, let this fooliſh world conſider, bee they not ordained to learn to know God? whom unleſſe wee doe know, all our labours, our night watchings, our ſtudies, and all our enterpriſes ſerve to no uſe or purpoſe, all is but labour loſt. Furthermore, let the miſerable worldly man anſwer mee; what remedie or ſafe refuge can there bee unto him, if hee lack God, who is the life and medicine of all men? And how can he bee ſaid to flie from death, when he himſelfe is already dead in ſinne? If Chriſt bee the way, verity, and life, how can there bee any life then without Chriſt: The ſooly heat of the priſon to mee is coldneſſe; the cold winter to mee is a freſh ſpring time in the Lord. Hee that feareth not to bee burned in the fire, how will he feare the heat of weather? or what careth he for the pinching froſt, which burneth with the love of the Lord? The place is ſharpe and tedious to them that bee guilty, but to the innocent and guiltleſſe it is melliſluous. Here droppeth the delectable dew, here floweth the pleaſant Nectar, here runneth the ſweet milke, here is plentie of all good things. And although the place it ſelfe be deſert and barren, yet to mee it ſeemeth a large walk, and a valley of pleaſure; here to mee is the better and more noble part of the world. Let the miſerable worldling ſay and confeſſe, if there bee any plot, paſture or medow ſo delightfull to the minde of man, as here. Here I ſee Kings, Princes, Cities, and People, here I ſee Warres, where ſome bee overthrowne, ſome bee victors, ſome thruſt downe, ſome lifted up. Here is the mount Sion, here I am already in Heaven it ſelfe. Here ſtandeth firſt Chriſt Ieſus in the front. About him ſtand the old Fathers, Prophets, and Evangeliſts, Apoſtles, and all the ſervants of God. Of whom ſome doe embrace and cheriſh mee, ſome exhort mee, ſome open the ſacraments unto mee, ſome comfort mee, otherſome are ſinging about mee. And how then ſhall I bee thought to bee alone, among ſo many and ſuch as theſe bee? the beholding of whom to mee is both ſolace and example. For here I ſee ſome crucified ſome ſlaine, ſome ſtoned, ſome cut aſunder, and ſome quartered, ſome roſted, ſome broiled, ſome put in hot cauldrons, ſome having their Eyes bored through, ſome their Tongues cut out, ſome their Skinne plucked over their Heads, ſome their Hands and Feet chopt off, ſome put in kilnes and furnaces, ſome caſt downe head-long, and given to the Beaſts and Fowles of the ayre to feed upon. It would aske a long time if I ſhould recite all.

To bee ſhort, divers I ſee with divers and ſundrie torments excruciate: yet notwithſtanding, all living, and all ſafe. One plaiſter, one ſalve cureth all their wounds: which alſo giveth to mee ſtrength and life, ſo that I ſuſtaine all theſe tranſitorie anguiſhes and ſmall afflictions with a quiet minde, having a greater hope laid up in Heaven. Neither doe I feare mine adverſaries which here perſecute mee and oppreſſe mee: for hee that dwelleth in Heaven ſhall laugh them to ſcorne, and the Lord ſhall deride them. I feare not thouſands of people which compaſſe mee about. The Lord my God ſhall deliver mee, my hope, my ſupporter, my comforter, who exalteth up my head. Hee ſhall ſmite all them that ſtand up againſt mee without cauſe, and ſhall daſh the teeth and jawes of ſinners aſunder: for hee onely is all bleſſednesſe and majeſty. The rebukes for Chriſts cauſe makes us jocund; for ſo it is written, if yee bee rebuked and ſcorned for the name of Chriſt, happie bee you: for the glorie and ſpirit of God reſteth upon you, 1. Pet. 4. Bee you therefore certified, that our rebukes, which are laid upon us, redound to the ſhame and harme of the rebukers. In this world there is no manſion firme to mee; and therefore I will travell up to the new Ieruſalem which is in Heaven, and which offereth it ſelfe unto mee without paying any fine or income. Behold, I have entred already in my journey, where my houſe ſtandeth for mee prepared, and where I ſhall have riches, kinsfolkes, delights, honours never failing. As for theſe earthly things here preſent, they are tranſitorie ſhadowes, vaniſhing vapours, and ruinous walls. Briefely, all is but very vanitie of vanities, where as hope and the ſubſtance of eternitie to come are wanting; which the mercifull goodneſſe of the Lord hath given as companions to accompany mee, and to comfort mee, and now doe the ſame begin to worke and to bring forth fruits in mee. I have travelled hitherto, laboured and ſwet early and late, watching day and night, and now my travels begin to come to effect. Daies and houres have I beſtowed upon my ſtudies. Behold the true countenance of God is ſealed upon mee, the Lord hath given mirth in my heart. And therefore in the ſame will I lay mee downe in peace and reſt; Pſalme. 4. And who then ſhall dare to blame this our age conſumed, or ſay that our yeares bee cut off? What man can now cavill that theſe our labours are loſt, which have followed and found out the Lord and maker of the world; and which have changed death with life? my portion is the Lord (ſaith my ſoule) and therefore I will ſeeke and wait for him. Now then, if to die in the Lord bee not to die, but to live moſt joyfully, where is this wretched worldly rebell, which blameth us of folly for giving away our lives to death? O how delectable is this death to mee, to taſt the Lords cup, which is an aſſured pledge of true ſalvation: for ſo hath the Lord himſelfe forewarned us, ſaying. The ſame that they have done to mee, they will alſo doe unto you. Wherefore let the doltiſh world with his blinde worldlings (who in the bright Sunſhine yet goe ſtumbling in darkeneſſe, being as blinde as beetles) ceaſe thus unwiſely to carpe againſt us for our raſh ſuffring, as they count it. To whom thus wee anſwer againe with the holy Apoſtle, That neither tribulation, nor anguiſh, nor hunger, nor nakedneſſe, nor jeopardy, nor perſecution, nor ſword, ſhall bee able ever to ſeparate us from the love of Chriſt: wee are ſlaine all the day long, wee are made like ſheepe ordained to the ſhambles: Rom. 8. Thus doe wee reſemble Chriſt our head, which ſaid, That the diſciple cannot bee above his maſter, nor the ſervant aboue his Lord. The ſame Lord hath alſo commanded, that every one ſhall take up his croſſe, and follow him, Luke 9. Rejoyce, rejoyce (my deare brethren, and fellow ſervants) and bee of good comfort, when yee fall into ſundrie tentations. Let your patienee bee perfect on all parts. For ſo is it foreſhewed us before, and is written, That they which ſhall kill you ſhall thinke to doe God good ſervice. Therefore afflictions and death bee as tokens and ſæraments of our election and life to come. Let us then bee glad and ſing unto the Lord, when as wee, being cleare from all juſt accuſation, are perſecuted and given to death. For better it is, that wee in doing well doe ſuffer, if it ſo bee the will of the Lord, than doing evill, 1. Pet. 3. Wee have for our example Chriſt and the Prophets, which ſpake in the name of the Lord, whom the children of iniquitie did

quell

quell and murther. And now wee bleſſe and magnifie them that then ſuffered, Let us bee glad and joyous in our innocencie and uprightneſſe. The Lord ſhall reward them that perſecute us; let us referre all revengement to him.

I am accuſed of Fooliſhneſſe, for that I doe not ſhrinke from the true doctrine and knowledge of God, and doe not rid my ſelfe out of theſe troubles, when with one word I may. O the blindneſſe of man, which ſeeth not the Sun-ſhining, neither remembreth the Lords words. Conſider therefore what hee ſaith, You are the light of the world. A citie built on the hill cannot bee hid; neither doe men light a candle, and put it under a buſhell, but upon a candleſtick, that it may ſhine and give light to them in the houſe. And in another place hee ſaith You ſhall bee led before Kings and Rulers; feare yee not them which kill the body, but him which killeth both body and ſoule: whoſoever ſhall confeſſe mee before men, him will I alſo confeſſe before my Father which is in heaven. And hee that denieth mee before men, him will I alſo deny before my heavenly Father. Wherefore ſeeing the Words of the Lord bee ſo plaine, how or by what authority will this wiſe Counſellor then approve this his counſell which hee doth give? God forbid that I ſhould relinquiſh the commandements of God, and follow the counſels of men; for it is written; Bleſſed is the man that hath not gone in the way of ſinners, and hath not ſtood in the counſels of the vngodly, and hath not ſit in the chaire of peſtilence; Pſal. 1. God forbid that I ſhould deny Chriſt where I ought to confeſſe him. I will not ſet more by my life than by my ſoule: neither will I exchange the life to come for this world here preſent. O how fooliſhly ſpeaketh he which argueth me of fooliſhneſſe?

Neither doe I take it to be a thing ſo uncomely, or unſeeming for mee not to obey in this matter the requeſts of thoſe ſo honourable, juſt, prudent, vertuous, and noble Senators, whoſe deſire (hee ſaith) were enough to command mee: for ſo are wee taught of the Apoſtles; that wee ought to obey God before men. After that wee have ſerved and done our duty firſt unto God, then are wee bound next to obey the proteſtates of this world; whom I wiſh to be perfect before the Lord. They are honourable; but yet are they to be made more perfect in the Lord. They are juſt; but yet Chriſt the ſeat of juſtice is lacking in them. They are wiſe; but where is in them the beginning of wiſedome, that is, the feare of the Lord? They are called vertuous, but yet I wiſh them more abſolute in Chriſtian charity. They are good and gracious; but yet I miſſe in them the foundation of goodneſſe, which is the Lord God, in whom dwelleth all goodneſſe and grace. They are honourable; yet have they not received the Lord of glory, which is our Saviour, moſt honourable and glorious. Vnderſtand you Kings, and learne you that judge the earth. Serve the Lord in feare, and rejoyce in him with trembling. Hearken to doctrine, and get knowledge, leſt you fall into Gods diſpleaſure, and ſo periſh out of the way of righteouſneſſe. What fret you, what fume you, O Gentiles? O you people, what caſt you in your braines the cogitations of vanity? you Kings of the earth, and you Princes, why conſpire you ſo together againſt Chriſt and againſt his holy One? Pſal. 2. How long will you ſeeke after lyes, and hate the truth? Turne you to the Lord, and harden not your hearts. For this you muſt needs confeſſe, that they which perſecute the Lords ſervants, doe perſecute the Lord himſelfe. For ſo hee ſaith himſelfe; Whatſoever men ſhall doe to you, I will count it to be done not as unto you, but to my ſelfe.

And now let this carnall politique Counſellour and diſputer of this world tell, wherein have they to blame mee; if in my examinations I have not anſwered ſo after their minde and affection as they required of mee? ſeeing it is not our ſelves that ſpeake, but the Lord that ſpeaketh in us; as hee himſelfe doth forewitneſſe, ſaying; When you ſhall bee brought before Rulers and Magiſtrates, it is not you your ſelues that ſpeake, but the ſpirit of my father that ſhall be in you; Matth. 10. Wherefore if the Lord bee true and faithfull of his word, as it is moſt certaine, then is there no blame in mee: for hee gave the words that I did ſpeake; and who was I that could reſiſt his will? If any man ſhall reprehend the things that I ſaid, let him then quarrell with the Lord, whom it pleaſed to worke ſo in mee. And if the Lord bee not to bee blamed, neither am I herein to bee accuſed, which did that I purpoſed not, and that I forethought not of. The things which there I did utter and expreſſe, if they were otherwiſe then well, let them ſhew it, and then will I ſay, that they were my words, and not the Lords. But if they were good and approved, and ſuch as cannot juſtly be accuſed, then muſt it needs bee granted, ſpite of their teeth, that they proceeded of the Lord, and then who bee they that ſhall accuſe mee? A people of prudence? Or who ſhall condemne mee? Iuſt Iudges? And though they ſo doe, yet nevertheleſſe the Word ſhall not bee fruſtrate, neither ſhall the Goſpel bee fooliſh, or therefore decay; but rather the Kingdome of God ſhall the more proſper and flouriſh unto the Iſraelites, and ſhall paſſe the ſooner unto the Elect of Chriſt Ieſus: And they which ſhall ſo doe ſhall prove the grievous judgement of God, neither ſhall they ſcape without puniſhment that bee perſecutors and murtherers of the Iuſt. My welbeloved, lift up your eyes and conſider the counſels of God. He ſhewed unto us a late an image of his plague, which was to our correction: and if wee ſhall not receive him, hee will draw out his ſword, and ſtrike with ſword, peſtilence, and famine, the Nation that ſhall riſe againſt Chriſt.

Theſe have I written to your comfort, deare brethren. Pray for mee. I kiſſe in my heart, with an holy kiſſe, my good maſters, Silvius, Pergula, Iuſtus, alſo Fidel Rocke, and him that beareth the name of Lelia, whom I know, although being abſent. Item, the Governour of the Vniverſity, Syndicus, and all other, whoſe names be written in the booke of life. Farewell all my fellow ſervants of God; fare you well in the Lord, and pray for mee continually.

From the delectable Orchyard of Leonine priſon, 12. Calend. Auguſt. Anno 1555.

¶ It is written of one Thebrotus, That when he had read the booke of Plato, De Immortalitate Animæ, He was ſo moued and perſwaded therwith, that hee caſt himſelfe head-long downe from an high wall, to be rid out of this preſent life. If thoſe heathen Philoſophers, having no Word of God, nor promiſe of any reſurrection and life to come, could ſo ſone bee perſwaded, by reading the workes of Plato, to condemne this world and life here preſent; how much more is it to be required in Chriſtians, inſtructed with ſo many evidences and promiſes of Gods moſt perfect Word, that they ſhould learne to caſt off the carnall deſires and affections of this miſerable peregrination? and that for a double reſpect, not onely in ſeeing, reading, and underſtanding ſo many examples of the miſeries of this wretched world; but alſo much more in conſidering and pondering the heauenly ioyes and conſolations of the other World remayning for vs hereafter in the life to come.

for a more full euidence whereof I thought good to giue out this present Letter of Algerius aboue prefixed, for a taste of the same, and a liuely testimonie for all true Christians to read and consider. Now let vs proceed further (the Lord willing) in our Table of Italian Martyrs.

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
	Ioannes Aloysius. At Rome, Anno 1559.
	Of Ioannes Aloysius we finde mention made in a letter of Simon Florillus: which Aloysius was sent downe from Geneua to the parts of Calabria, there to bee their minister; who afterward was sent for vp to Rome, and there suffered. Ex Epist. D. Simoniis Florilli.
	Iacobus Bovellus. At Messina. Anno 1559.
	Iacobus Bouellus was likewise sent from Geneua to the said parts of Calabria, with Aloisius; who also, being sent for vp to Rome; was sent downe to the Citty Messina, and there was martyred. Ibidem.
	Divers that suffered in the Kingdome of Naples. At Naples, Anno 1560.
Pope Pius the fourth.	After Pope Julius the third came Marcellus the second. After him succeeded pope Paul the fourth. This Paul being dead, followed pope Pius the fourth; who, being aduanced to that roome, began hot persecution in all the territories of the Church of Rome, against them which were suspected for Lutherans. Wherupon ensued great trouble and persecution in the Kingdome of Naples, in such cruell sort, that many Noblemen, with their Wiues and others, are reported there to bee slaine. Vide Pantal. lib. 11.
	Eightie eight Martyrs in one day with one Butcherly knife slaine like Sheepe.
Pope Pius the fourth.	A hundred and sixty other also condemned. At Calabria, Anno 1560.
	In Calabria likewise the same time suffered a blessed number of Christs welbeloued Saints, both old and yong; put together in one house, to the number of fourscore and eight persons, all which, one after another, were taken out of the house, and so being layd upon the butchers stall, like the sheepe in the shambles, with one blondie knife were all killed in order. A spectacle most tragicall for all posteritie to remember, & almost incredible to beleeue. Wherefore for the more credit of the matter, lest wee should seeme either light of credit, to beleeue that is not true, or rashly to commit to pen things without due proofe and authoritie; wee haue here annexed a piece of an Epistle written by Master Simon Florius, preacher of Gods word at the citie Clauenna, among the Rhetians, vnto a certaine friend of his named Gulielmus Gratalorus, an Italian, and Doctor of physicke in the Vniuersitie of Basil. Which Gratalorus translated the same into the Latine tongue, and it is to bee found in the eleuenth booke of Pantal. pag. 337. the English whereof is this as followeth.

¶ *The end of a certaine letter of Master* Simon Florellus, *written in Italian, concerning a lamentable slaughter of eighty eight Christian Saints in the parts of Calabria.*

Newes out of Italy, Anno 1560.

AS concerning newes I have nothing to write, but onely that I send you a copie of certaine letters, imprinted either at Rome or at Venice, concerning the martyrdome or persecution in two seuerall Townes of Calabria, eight Italian miles from the borders of Consentia; the one called Saint Sixtus, within two miles of Montalte, under the Seigniorie of the Duke of Montalte; the other called Guardia, scituate upon the Sea Coast, and twelve miles from Saint Sixtus: the which two Townes are vtterly destroyed, and eight hundred of the Inhabitants there, or (as some write from the Citty of Rome) no lesse than a full thousand. Hee that wrote the letter was seruant to Ascanius Carracciolus. The Countrey and people there I well knew to take the first originall of their good doctrine and honest life from the Waldenses. For before my departure from Geneva, at their request, I sent them two Schoolemasters, and two Preachers. The last yeare the two Preachers were martyred; the one at Rome, named Ioannes Aloisius Pascalis, a Citizen of Cunium; the other at Messina, named Iames Bovell, both of Piedmont: this yeare the residue of that godly fellowship were martyred in the same place. I trust this good seed sowen in Italy will bring forth good and plentifull fruit.

Ioan. Aloysius Pascalis, Iames Bouell, preachers and martyrs.

Now followeth the copy of the letters sent from Montalte, a towne in Calabria, eight miles distant from Consentia, bearing date the 11 of June, 1560. The writer of the which letters, as yee may perceiue, was one of them which call themselues Catholiques, and followers of the Pope. The words of the letter be these, as here vnder followeth.

¶ *Here followeth the copy of a letter sent from Montalte in Calabria, by a Romanist, to a certaine friend of his in Rome, containing newes of the persecution of Christs people in Calabria, by the new Pope Pius the fourth.*

Horrible persecution in Calabria, Anno 1560.

HItherto, most noble Lord, I have certified you, what here dayly hath beene done about these Heretickes. Now commeth next to signifie vnto your Lordship the horrible iudgement begunne this

this present day, being the eleventh of Iune, to bee executed very early in the morning against the Lutherans: Which when I thinke upon I verily quake and tremble. And truly the manner of their putting to death was to bee compared to the slaughter of Calves and Sheepe. For they being all thrust up in one house together, as in a Sheepefold, the Executioner commeth in, and amongst them taketh one and blindefoldeth him with a muffler about his eyes, and so leadeth him forth to a larger place neere adjoyning, where hee commandeth him to kneele downe; which being so done, hee cutteth his Throat, and leaving him halfe dead, and taking his Butchers Knife and muffler all of goare bloud, (which the Italians call Benda) commeth againe to the rest, and so leading one after another, hee dispatcheth them all, which were to the number of eightie eight. This spectacle to behold how dolefull and horrible it was, I leave to your Lordships judgement: for to write of it I my selfe cannot but weepe. Neithe was there any of the beholders there present, which seeing one to die could abide to behold the death of another. But certes so humbly and patiently they went to death, as is almost incredible to beleeve. Some of them, as they were in dying, affirmed that they beleeved even as wee doe. Notwithstanding, the most part of them died in the same their obstinate opinions. All the aged persons went to death more cheerefully: the younger were more timorous. I tremble and shake even to remember how the executioner held his bloudy Knife betweene his Teeth, with the bloudie muffler in his hand, and his armes all in gore bloud up to the elbowes, going to the fold and taking every one of them, one after another, by the hand, and so dispathing them all, no otherwise than doth a Butcher kill his Calves and Sheepe.

The Christians led like Calves. Courtcore and right martyrs.

It is moreover appointed (and the Carts bee come already) that all those so put to death should bee quartered, and so be conveighed in the Carts to the hithermost parts of Calabria, where they shall bee hanged upon Poles in the high wayes and other places, even to the confines of the same Countrey. Vnlesse the Popes holinesse and the Lord Viceroy of Naples shall give in commandement to the Lord Marquesse of Buccianus, Governour of the said Province, to stay his hand, and goe no further, hee will proceed with the rack and torture, examining all other, and so increase the number in such sort, that hee will nie dispatch them all.

This day it is also determined that an hundred of the more ancient Women should appeare to bee examined and racked, and after to bee put to death, that the mixture may bee perfect, for so many men so many women. And thus have you that I can say of this justice. Now is it about two of the clocke in the afternoone: shortly wee shall heare what some of them said when they went to execution. There bee certaine of them so obstinate, that they will not looke upon the crucifix, nor bee confessed to the Priest, and they shall bee burned alive.

The heretiques that bee apprehended and condemned are to the number of 1600. but as yet no more but these aforesaid 88. are already executed. This people have their originall of the valley named Angronia, neere to Subaudia, and in Calabria are called Vltramontani. In the Kingdome of Naples there are foure other places of the same people, of whom whether they live well or no, as yet wee know not: for they are but simple people, ignorant without learning, wood-gatherers, and husbandmen: but as I heare, much devout, and religious, giving themselves to die for religions sake. From Montealto, the 11. of Iune. And thus much writeth this Romanist.

¶ Here moreouer is to bee noted, that the foresaid Marquesse Buccianus aboue specified had a-sonne or brother, vnto whom the said new Pope (Pius the fourth belike) is reported to haue promised a Cardinalship at Rome, if all the Lutherans were extirped and rooted out in that prouince. And like enough that the same was the cause of his butcherly persecution and effusion of Christian bloud, in the said Countrey of Calabria, beyond Naples in Italy.

Besides those godly Italian martyrs in this table aboue contained, many other also haue suffered in the same Countrey of Italy, of whom some before haue beene specified, some peraduenture omitted. But many more there bee, whose names wee know not: whereof as soone as knowledge may be giuen vnto vs, we purpose God willing to impart the same, louing reader, vnto thee.

Now in the meane time it followeth (according to my promise made before) next after this lamentable slaughter of Calabria, here to insert also the tragicall persecution and horrible murder of the faithfull flocke of Christ, inhabiting in Merindoll in France, and in other Townes adjacent neere vnto the same, in the time of Franciscus I. the French King. The furious cruelty of which miserable persecution although it cannot bee set forth too much at large, yet because we will not wearie too much the reader with the full length thereof, we haue so contracted the same, especially the principall effect thereof wee haue comprehended in such sort, that as wee on the one part haue auoided prolixity, so on the other wee haue omitted nothing, which might seeme vnworthy to bee forgot. The story here followeth.

A notable history of the persecution and *destruction of the people of Merindoll and Cabriers in the Countrey of Prouince: where not a few persons, but whole villages and townesships with the most part of all the foresaid countrey, both men, women, and children, were put to all kind of cruelty, and suffered martyrdome for the profession of the Gosspell.*

The lamentable story of Merindoll.

They that write of the beginning of this people, say, That about two hundred yeares agoe, they came out of the countrey of Piedmont to inhabite in Prouince, in certaine villages destroied by warres, and other desert places: wherein they vsed such labour and diligence, that they had abundance of corne, wine, oyles, honie, almons, with other fruits and commodities of the earth, and much Cattell. Before they came thither, Merindoll was a barren desert, and not inhabited. But these good people (in whom God alwaies had reserued some little seed of piety) being dispersed and separated from the societie of men, were compelled to dwell with beasts, in that waste and wild desert, which notwithstanding, through the blessing of God and their great labor and trauell, became exceeding fruitfull. Notwithstanding, the world in the meane time so detested and abhorred them, and with all shamefull rebukes and contumelies railed against them in such despitefull manner, that it seemed they were not worthie that the earth should beare them. For they of a long continuance and custome had refused the Bishop of Romes authoritie, and obserued euer a more perfect kinde of doctrine, than others, deliuered vnto them from the father to the son, euer since the yeare of our Lord, 1200.

For the originall of this people, see before.

For this cause they were often accused and complained of to the King, as contemners and despisers of the magistrates, and rebels. Wherefore they

were called by diuers names, according to the Countries and places where they dwelt. For in the Countrey about Lyons they were called the poore people of Lyons; in the borders of Sarmatia and Liuonia, and other Countreys towards the North, they were called Lollards; in Flanders and Artois, Turrelupins, of a desert where wolues did haunt. In Dolphine, with great despite they were called Chagnards, because they liued in places open to the Sun, and without house or harborough. But most commonly they were called Waldoys, of Waldo, who first instructed them in the word of God; which name continued vntill the name of Lutherans came vp, which aboue all other was most hated and abhorred.

Pauperes de Lugduno; Waldenses; Turrelupini; Chagnardi. Of Waldo, mad before.

Notwithstanding, in all these most spitefull contumelies and slanders, the people dwelling at the foot of the Alpes, and also in Merindoll and Cabriers and the quarters thereabout, alwayes liued so godly, so vprightly, and iustly, that in all their life and conuersation there appeared to bee in them a great feare of God. That little light of true knowledge which God had giuen them, they laboured by all meanes to kindle and encrease dayly more and more, sparing no charges, whether it were to procure bookes of the holy Scripture, or to instruct such as were of the best and most towardly wits, in learning and godlinesse; or else to send them into other Countries, yea euen to the farthest parts of the earth, where they had heard that any light of the Gospell began to shine.

For in the yeare 1530, vnderstanding that the Gospell was preached in certaine Townes of Germanie and Suitzerland, they sent thither two learned men, that is, Georgius Maurellus, borne in Dolphine, a godly preacher of their owne, and whom they had of their owne charges brought vp in learning, and Pet. Latomus a Burgundian, to confer with the wise and learned ministers of the Churches there, in the doctrine of the Gospell, and to know the whole forme and manner which those Churches vsed in the seruice and worshipping of God: & particularly to haue their aduice also vpon certaine points which they were not resolued in. These two after great conference had with the chiefest in the Church of God, namely with Oecolampadius at Basil; at Stralburgh, with Bucer and Capito; and at Berne with Bartholdus Hallerus, as they were returning thorow Burgundy homeward, Petrus Latomus was taken at Dyon, and cast into prison; Maurellus escaped, and returned alone to Merindol, with the Bookes and Letters which hee brought with him from the Churches of Germany; and declared to his brethren all the points of his Commission, and opened vnto them, how many and great errours they were in, into the which their old ministers, whom they called (a) Barbes, that is to say, Uncles, had brought them, leading them from the right way of true Religion.

(a) These were their ministers for lack of better, vntill they came to more sincere knowledge: which instructed them most commonly by night abroad in Caues and Quarries, for feare of persecution.

When the people heard this, they were moued with such a zeale to haue their Churches reformed, that they sent for the most ancient brethren, and the chiefest in knowledge and experience of all Calabria and Apulia, to consult with them touching the reformation of the Church. This matter was so handled, that it stirred vp the Bishops, Priests, and Monkes in all Prouince with great rage against them. Amongst other, there was one cruell wretch called Io. de Roma, a monk, who obtaining a Commission to examin those that were suspected to be of the Waldoys or Lutheran profession, forthwith ceased not to afflict the faithfull with all kinde of crueltie that he could deuise or imagine. Amongst other most horrible torments, this was one which he most delighted in, and most commonly practised; he filled boots with boyling grease, and put them vpon their legges, tying them backward to a forme, with their legges hanging downe ouer a small fire, and so he examined them. Thus he tormented very many, and in the end most cruelly put them to death. The first whom hee thus tormented, were Michelottus Serra, and W. Melius, and a number moe.

Of these Calabrians, vide infra.

Ioannes de Roma a wretched persecutor.

The cruelty of a Papist.

Michelottus Serra. W. Melius, martyrs.

Wherefore Francis the French King, being informed of the strange and outragious cruelty of this hellish Monke, sent Letters to the high Court or Parliament of Prouince, that forthwith hee should bee apprehended, and by forme of proces and order of Law hee should bee condemned, and aduertisement sent vnto him with all speed of his condemnation. The Monke, being aduertised hereof by his friends, conueyed himselfe to Auinion, where he thought to enioy the spoylings, which he, like a notorious theefe, had gotten by fraud and extortion, from the poore Christians. But shortly after he, which had so shamefully spoyled other, was spoyled of all together by his own houshold seruants. Whereupon shortly after he fell sicke of a most horrible disease, strange and vnknowne to any Physition. So extreame were the paines and torments wherewith he was continually vexed in all his bodie, that no ointment, no fomentation, nor any thing else could ease him one minute of an houre. Neither was there any man that could tarrie neere about him, nor yet would any one of his owne friends come neere to him, so great was the stinch that came from him. For the which cause he was carried from the Iacobines to an hospitall, there to bee kept. But the stinch and infection so increased, that no man there durst come neere him: no, nor he himselfe was able to abide the horrible stinch that issued from his body, full of vlcers and sores, and swarming with vermine, and so rotten, that the flesh fell away from the bones by peecemeale.

The iust iudgement of God against a cruell persecutor.

Whiles he was in these torments and anguish, he cried out oftentimes in great rage; Oh who will deliuer mee? who will kill and rid mee out of these vntollerable paines, which I know I suffer for the euills and oppressions that I haue done to the poore men? And hee himselfe went about diuers times to destroy himself, but he had not the power. In these horrible torments and anguish, and fearefull despaire, this blasphemer and most cruell homicide most miserably ended his vnhappie dayes and cursed life, as a spectacle to all persecutors, receiuing a iust reward of his crueltie by the iust iudgement of God. When he was dead, there was no man that would come neere him to bury him: but a young nouice newly come to his Order, in stead of a more honorable sepulture, caught hold with a hooke vpon his stinking carrion, and drew him into a hole hard by, which was made for him.

A spectacle all persecutors.

After the death of this cruell Monster, the bishop of Aix, by his Officiall Perionet, continued the persecution, and put a great multitude of them in prison: of whom some by force of torments reuolted from the truth; the others which continued constant, after he had condemned them of heresie, were put into the hands of the ordinarie Iudge, which at that time was one Meirenus, a notable cruell persecutor, who without any forme of processe, or order of law, such as the Officiall had pronounced to be hereticks, hee put to death with most cruell torments; but shortly after he receiued a iust reward of his crueltie in like manner.

The Bishop of Aix, Perion his Officiall Meirenus, a cruell persecutor.

After the death of the good President Culinetus, Lord of Reuest, being chiefe President of the Parliament of Aix, put many of the faithfull to death. Who afterward, being put out of his office, returned to his house of Reuest, where hee was stricken with such an horrible sickenesse, that, for the furie and madnesse which he was in, his wife or any that were about him durst not come neere him; and so he, dying in his furie and rage, was iustly plagued for his vnmercifull and cruell dealing.

Another example of Gods horrible iudgement vpon a persecutor.

After him succeeded Barthol. Callaneus, likewise

another example of Gods iudgement vpon Caſſanens a ſtoutie perſecutor.

bloudie decree againſt the Merindolians.

wiſe a peſtilent perſecutor, whom God at length ſtrucke with a fearefull and ſudden death. In the time of this tyrant, thoſe of Merindoll, in the perſon of ten, were cited perſonally to appeare before the Kings Atturnie. But they, hearing that the court had determined to burne them without any further proceſſe or order of law, durſt not appeare at the day appointed. For which cauſe the court awarded a cruell ſentence againſt Merindoll, and condemned all the inhabitants to bee burned, both men and women, ſparing none, no not the little children and Infants; the towne to be raſed, and their houſes beaten downe to the ground; alſo the trees to be cut downe, as well Oliue trees as all other, and nothing to be left, to the intent it ſhould neuer bee inhabited againe, but remaine as a deſert or wilderneſſe.

This bloudie arreſt or decree ſeemed ſo ſtrange and wonderfull, that in euerie place throwout all Prouince there was great reaſoning and diſputation concerning the ſame, eſpecially among the aduocates and men of learning and vnderſtanding: inſomuch that many durſt boldly and openly ſay, that they greatly marueiled how that Court of parliament could be ſo mad, or ſo bewitched, to giue out ſuch an arreſt, ſo manifeſtly iniurious and vniuſt, and contrarie to all right and reaſon, yea to all ſence of humanitie; alſo contrarie to the ſolemne oath which all ſuch as are receiued to office in courts of parliament are accuſtomed to make, that is to ſay, to iudge iuſtly and vprightly, according to the Law of God, and the iuſt ordinances and Lawes of the Realme, ſo that God thereby might be honored, and euerie mans right regarded, without reſpect of perſons.

Some of the Aduocates or Lawyers, defending the ſaid arreſt to bee iuſt and right, ſaid; that in caſe of Lutheraniſme, the Iudges are not bound to obſerue either right or reaſon, law or ordinance; and that the Iudges cannot faile or doe amiſſe, whatſoeuer iudgement they doe giue, ſo that it tend to the ruine and extirpation of all ſuch as are ſuſpected to be Lutherans.

To this the other Lawyers and learned men anſwered, That vpon their ſayings it would enſue, that the Iudges ſhould now altogether follow the ſame manner and forme in proceeding againſt the Chriſtians accuſed to be Lutherans, which the Goſpell witneſſeth that the Prieſts, Scribes, and Phariſees followed in purſuing and perſecuting, and finally condemning our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

men ſo the Iewiſh Prieſts prouoked againſt Chriſt the ſon of God.

By theſe and ſuch other like talkes the ſaid arreſt was publiſhed throughout the countrey, and there was no aſſembly or banquet where it was not diſputed or talked of: and namely within twelue dayes after the arreſt was giuen out, there was a great banquet in the towne of Aix; at which banquet was preſent M. Bartholmew Chaſſanee, preſident, and many other Counſellors and other Noble perſonages and men of authority. There was alſo the Archbiſhop of Arles, and the biſhop of Aix, with diuers Ladies and Gentlewomen, amongſt whom was one which was commonly reported to be the Biſhop of Aix his Concubine. They were ſcarce well ſet at the table, but thee began thus to talke; My L. Preſident, will you not execute the arreſt which is giuen out of late againſt the Lutherans of Merindoll? The Preſident anſwered nothing, feigning that he heard her not. Then a certaine Gentleman asked of her what arreſt that was. She recited it in manner and forme as it was giuen out, forgetting nothing, as if ſhe had a long time ſtudied to commit the ſame to memory. Whereunto they which were at the banquet gaue diligent care, without any word ſpeaking, vntill ſhe had ended her tale.

the Biſhops diquet.

here is no clitie to the clitie of an diot.

The Lord of Aix a good man.

Than the Lord Alenc, a man fearing God, and of great vnderſtanding, ſaid vnto her; Gentlewoman, you haue learned this tale either of ſome that would haue it ſo, or elſe it is giuen out by ſome parliament of women. Then the Lord of Senas, an ancient Counſellor, ſaid vnto him; No, no, my Lord of Alenc, it is no tale which you haue heard this Gentlewoman tell; for it is an arreſt giuen out by a whole Senate; and you ought not thus to ſpeake, except you would call the Court of Prouince a parliament of women. Then the Lord of Alenc began to excuſe him ſelfe, with proteſtation that he would not ſpeake any thing to blemiſh the authority of that ſoueraigne Court; notwithſtanding he could not beleeue all that which the ſaid gentlewoman had told, that is to ſay, that all the inhabitants of Merindoll were condemned to die by the arreſt of the ſaid court of Parliament of Prouince, and eſpecially the women and little children and infants; and the towne to be raſed for the fault of ten or twelue perſons which did not appeare before the ſaid court at the day appointed. And the Lord Beauieu alſo anſwered, that he beleeued not the ſaid Court to haue giuen out any ſuch arreſt; for that (ſaid he) were a thing moſt vnreaſonable, and ſuch as the very Turks & the moſt tyrants in the world would iudge to be a thing moſt deteſtable; and ſaid further, that hee had knowne a long time many of Merindoll, which ſeemed vnto him to be men of great honeſty: and my Lord Preſident (ſaid he) can certifie vs well what is done in this matter, for wee ought not to giue credit vnto womens tales. Then the Gentlewoman, which had rehearſed the arreſt, ſtayed not to heare the Preſidents anſwer, but ſuddenly looking vpon the Biſhop of Aix, ſaid, I ſhould greatly haue marueiled, if there had beene none in all this company which would defend theſe wicked men. And lifting vp her eyes to heauen, in a great womanly chafe and fume, ſaid. Would to God that all the Lutherans which are in Prouince, yea and in all France, had hornes growing on their fore-heads, then wee ſhould ſee a goodly many of hornes. To whom the Lord Beauieu ſuddenly anſwered, ſaying, Would to God that all Prieſts harlots ſhould chatter like Pies. Then ſaid the Gentlewoman, ah my L. Beauieu, you ought not ſo to ſpeake againſt our holy mother the Church, for that there was neuer dog that barked againſt the Crucifix, but hee waxed mad. Whereat the Biſhop of Aix laughed, & clapping the Gentlewoman on the ſhoulder, ſaid, By my holy orders, my Minion, well ſaid, I con you thanke. She hath talked well vnto you, my Lord Beauieu, remember well the leſſon which thee hath giuen you. Here the Lord Beauieu, being wholly moued with anger, ſaid, I care neither for her ſchoole nor yours, for it would be long before a man ſhould learne of either of you both any honeſty or honour. For if I ſhould ſay that the moſt part of the Biſhops and Prieſts are abhominable Adulterers, blind Idolaters, Deceiuers, Theeues, Seducers, I ſhould not ſpeake againſt the holy Church, but againſt a heape and flocke of Wolues, Dogges, and filthy ſwine: In ſpeaking theſe things I ſhould thinke a man not to be mad at all, except hee be mad for ſpeaking of the truth.

The Lord of Beauieu.

A Catholique wife of a prieſts harlot.

Then the archbiſhop in a great fury anſwered, my Lord Beauieu, you ſpeake very euill, and you muſt giue account, when time and place ſerueth, of this your talke which you haue here vttered againſt the Church-men. I would, ſaid the Lord Beauieu, that it were to doe euen this preſent day, and I would binde my ſelfe to proue more abuſes and naughtineſſe in prieſts then I haue yet ſpoken. Then ſaid the Preſident Chaſſanee, my Lord Beauieu, let vs leaue off this talke, and liue as our Fathers haue done, and maintaine their honour. Then ſaid hee in a great anger, I am no prieſts ſonne to maintaine their wickednelle and abuſe. And afterward hee ſaid, I am well content to honour all true pa-

stors of the Church, and will not blame them which shew good example in their doctrine and liuing: but I demand of you my Lord of Arles, and you my Lord of Air, when as our Lord Christ Iesus called the priests deceiuing hypocrites, blinde seducers, robbers and theeues, did he them any outrage or wrong? and they answered, no; for the most part of them were such men. Then said the Lord Beauieu, euen so is it with the bishops and priests which I haue spoken of, for they are such kind of men, or rather worse: and I so abhorre their filthie and abhominable life, that I dare not speake the one halfe of that which I know, and therefore in speaking the truth, to coole the babling of an harlot, I do them no iniurie.

The Popes Churchmen worse then the old Pharisies.

Then Mounsier de Senas, an ancient Counseller, said, Let us leaue off this contentious talke, for wee are here assembled and come together to make good cheere. And afterward, he said, Mounsieur de Beauieu, for the loue and amitie which I doe beare unto you, I will aduertise you of three things, which if you will doe, you shall finde great ease therein.

Churchmen, be they neuer so euill, must not be spoken against. I. Par. 16.

The first is, That you neither by word nor deed aid or assist those which you heare to be Lutherans.

Secondly, That you do not intermeddle openly to reproue ladies and gentlewomen for their passime and pleasure.

Thirdly, that you do neuer speake against the life and liuing of priests, how wicked soeuer it bee, according to this saying, Do not touch mine annointed.

To whom Mounsieur de Beauieu answered, As touching the first point, I know no Lutheranes, neither what is meant by this word Lutheranisme, except you doe call them Lutherans, which professe the doctrine of the Gospell. Neither yet will I euer allow any arrest which shall be giuen out to death against men whose cause hath not been heard, especially against women and young infants: and I am assured that there is no court of parliament in all France which will approue or allow any such arrest. And whereas you say that I should not meddle to reproue ladies and gentlewomen, if I knew any kinswoman of mine, which would abandon her selfe unto a priest or clerke, yea albeit he were a Cardinall or Bishop, I would not do her so much honour as to rebuke her therefore, but at the least I would cut off her nose. And as touching priests, as I am contented not to meddle with their businesse, so likewise I will not that they meddle with mine hereafter, or come from henceforth within mine house. For as many as I shall finde or take there, I will set their crownes so neere their shoulders, that they shall nede no more to weare any hoods about their necks. The like also said the president Chassanee.

How priests harlots should be handled.

Then the bishop of Air his sweet heart, which had begun the quarrell, said, I shall not be in quiet, except I speake yet one word more unto Mounsieur Beauieu. Doe you thinke, said shee unto him, that all the cardinals, bishops, abbats, priests, and all those holy religious men which goe oftentimes to gentlemens houses, and haunt the Castles and palaces of princes and noblemen, goe thither to commit wickednes? Also you must not thinke euill of all those ladies and gentlewomen, that goe to bishops houses of deuotion, and to reueale those whom they know to be Lutherans, as it was commanded in the pulpit upon paine of excommunication: if so be you will maintaine these words, I will not cease to accuse you of crime, and also of treason both to God and man: for here bee those in this companie, which shall make you giue an account thereof. Shee had not so soone ended her talke, but Mounsieur Beauieu said unto her: Auaunt, O Herodias, thou filthie and impudent Harlot; is it thy part to open thy mouth to talke in this companie? Doest thou well understand and know what treason to God and man meaneth? Is it not sufficient for thee to bee as thou art, but thou must solicite other to shed innocent bloud? With these words the gentlewoman was somewhat amazed. All men had thought that this talke had beene at an end, and euery man beganne to inuent some merrie communication, that the former matter should bee no more talked of.

Well spoken and like an harlot.

As Herodias wrought the death of Iohn Baptist, so this strumpet seeks the death of the Merindolians: two strumpets well compared together.

At the last, the gentlewoman aduising her selfe, and thinking that shee was too much injuried, in that it was said that shee went about to shed innocent bloud, shee brake off all their talke, and with a loud voice said, Mounsieur Beauieu, if I were a man as I am a woman, I would offer you the combate, to prooue that I am no such manner of woman as you say I am, that I desire to shed innocent bloud. Do you call the bloud of these wicked men of Merindoll, innocent bloud? True it is, that I desire and offer with my whole power, that these naughtie packes of Merindoll, and such like as they are should bee slaine and destroied, from the greatest euen unto the least. And to see the beginning of this worke, I haue imploied all my credit, and all my friends, and doe spare neither bodie nor goods to worke the ruine and destruction of these people, and to raise out and to deface their memorie from amongst men. Doe you then, Mounsieur Beauieu, call the slaughter of these Lutherans the effusion of innocent bloud? And say you what you will, I will not refraine for any man liuing, to goe either by day or by night unto the houses of Bishops, in all (a) honestie and honour, for the deuotion which I beare unto our holy (b) mother the Church, and also I will receiue into my house all religious men, to consult and deuise the meanes how to put these Lutherans to death. But as Mounsieur Beauieu tooke no more regard unto her talke, so likewise all that were at the table dispraised her and were weary of her prating.

God scureth the shewd cow short hornes.

The cruell hart of an harlot.

(a) The visor honestie on a harlots face.
(b) Like mother like daughter.

Then there was a certaine yong Gentleman, which merrily jesting said unto her; Gentlewoman it must nedes bee that these poore people, unto whom you doe wish this cruell death, haue done you some great displeasure. Then said shee, I may well take an oath, that I neuer knew one of these wretched people, neither (that I wot of) euer saw any of them. And I had rather to meet tenne Diuels than one of those naughtie Knaues: for their opinions are so detestable, that happie and blessed are they that neuer heard tell of them. And I was not then well aduised, at what time by curiositie I, seeing the Bishop of Air so much troubled and angry that he could not eat nor drinke, did desire him and constraine him to tell mee the cause thereof. Then hee, perceiuing that I would not bee well contented if he should not tell mee, declared unto mee some part of the cause, that is to say, that there were certaine heretiques, which spake against our holy mother the Church, and among other errours, they maintained euen to death, that all bishops, priests, and pastors ought to bee married, or else to bee gelded, and hearing this I was marueilously offended, and euer since I did hate them to the death. And also it was injoyned unto mee by penance, that I should endeauor with all my power to put these heretiques to death. After these friuolous talkes, there was great trouble and debate amongst them, and many threatnings, which were too long here to describe.

Oderunt me gratis. Iohn 15.

The popes clergie cannot abide honest marriage to die for it.

Then the president Chassanee, and the counsellers parted aside, and the Gentlemen went on the other part. The Archbishop of Arles, the Bishop of Air, and diuers Abbats, Priors, and others, assembled themselues together, to consult how this arrest might be executed with all speed, intending to raise a new persecution, greater then that of Iohn the

Quæreban principes sacerdotum scribæ, quomodo interficerent Iesum. Luke 22.

Iacobine

Iacobine Monke of Rome: For otherwise (sayd they) our state and honour is like to decay: We shall bee reproued, contemned, and derided of all men. And if none should thus vaunt and set themselues against us but these peasants, and such like, it were but a small matter; but many Doctors of Diuinitie; and men of the religious Order, diuers Senators and Aduocates, many wise and well learned men, also a great part of the Nobilitie (if we may so say) and that of great renowne, yea euen of the chiefest Peeres in all Europe, begin to contemne and despise us, counting us to bee no true pastors of the Church: so that except we see to this mischiefe, and prouide for remedie betime, it is greatly to bee feared, lest not only we shall be compelled to forsake our dignities, possessions, and liuings, which wee now wealthily enjoy, but also the Church, being spoyled of her pastors and guids, shall hereafter come to a miserable ruine and vtter desolation. This matter therefore now requireth great diligence and circumspection, and that with all celeritie.

Then the Archbishop of Arles, not forgetting his Spanish subtilties and policies, gaue his aduice as followeth, Against the Nobilitie (said hee) wee must take heed that wee attempt nothing rashly; but rather we must seeke all the meanes wee can how to please them; for they are our shield, our fortresse, and defence. And albeit wee know that many of them do both speake and thinke euill of us, and that they are of these new Gospellers, yet may wee not reproue them or exasperate them in any case: but seeing they are too much bent against us already, wee must rather seeke how to win them, and to make them our friends againe by gifts and presents: and by this policie wee shall liue in safety vnder their protection. But if wee enterprise any thing against them, sure wee are to gaine nothing thereby, as wee are by experience already sufficiently taught.

It is well said (said the Bishop of Aix) but I can shew you a good remedie for this disease: wee must goe about with all our endeauour, power, and policie, and all the friends wee can make, sparing no charges, but spending goods, wealth, and treasure, to make such a slaughter of the Merindolians and rusticall peasants, that none shall be so bold hereafter, whatsoeuer they be, yea although they be of the blood royall, once to open their mouths against us, or the Ecclesiasticall State. And to bring this matter to passe, wee haue no better way than to withdraw our selues to Auinion, in the which citie we shall finde many Bishops, Abbats, and other famous men, which will with us employ their whole endeauour to maintaine and vphold the majestie of our holy Mother the Church. This councell was well liked of them all. Whereupon the said Archbishop of Arles, and the Bishop of Aix went with all speed to Auinion, there to assemble out of hand the Bishops, and other men of authoritie and credit, to entreat of this matter. In this pestilent conspiracie, the bishop of Aix, a stout champion, and a great defender of the traditions of men, taking vpon him to be the chiefe Orator, began in a manner as followeth.

O Yee Fathers and Brethren, yee are not ignorant, that a great tempest is raised vp against the little barke of Christ Iesus, now in great danger, and readie to perish. The storme commeth from the North, where of all these troubles proceed. The Seas rage, the waters rush in on every side, the windes blow and beat vpon our house, and wee without speedie remedie are like to sustaine shipwracke and losse of all together. For oblations cease, pilgrimage and deuotion waxeth cold, charitie is cleane gone, our estimation and authoritie is debased, our jurisdiction decayed, and the Ordinances of the Church despised. And wherefore are wee set and ordained ouer Nations and Kingdomes, but to root out and destroy, to subuert and ouerthrow whatsoeuer is against our holy Mother the Church? Wherefore let us now awake, let us stand stoutly in the right of our owne possession, that wee may root out, from the memorie of men for ever, the whole rout of the wicked Lutheranes. Those Foxes (I say) which destroy the Vineyard of the Lord; those great Whales which goe about to drowne the little Barke of the Sonne of God. Wee haue alreadie well begun, and have procured a terrible arrest against these cursed heretiques of Merindoll; now then resteth no more but onely the same to bee put in execution. Let us therefore employ our whole endeauour, that nothing happen which may let or hinder that which wee have so happily begun; and let us take good heed that our Gold and Silver doe not witnes against us at the day of Iudgement, if wee refuse to bestow the same, that wee may make so good a sacrifice vnto God. And for my part I offer to wage and furnish, of mine owne costs and charges, a hundred men well horsed, with all other furniture to them belonging, and that so long, untill the vtter destruction and subuersion of these wretched and cursed caitifes bee fully performed and finished.

Your charitie is gone indeed, when yee seeke to the blood of your brethren.
Your estimation is pharisaicall, your iurisdiction is tyrannicall.
Your ordinances serue not to Christs glorie, but your owne.
The day shall come when men shall thinke they do a good seruice to God, in putting you to death.
Iohn 16.

This Oration pleased the whole multitude, saving one Doctor of Diuinitie, a Frier Iacobine, named Bassinet, who then answered againe with this Oration.

THis is a weightie matter (said hee) and of great importance; Wee must therefore proceed wisely, and in the feare of God, and beware that wee do nothing rashly. For if wee seeke the death and destruction of these poore and miserable people wrongfully, when the King and the Nobility shall heare of such an horrible slaughter, wee shall bee in great danger, lest they doe to us as wee reade in the Scriptures was done to the priests of Baal. For my part I must say and vnfeignedly confesse, that I have too rashly end lightly signed many processes against those which have beene accused of heretical doctrine: But now I doe protest before God, which seeth and knoweth the hearts of men, that, seeing the lamentable end and effect of mine assignements, I have had no quietnesse in my conscience, considering that the secular Iudges, at the report of the judgement and sentence given by mee and other doctors my companions, have condemned all those vnto most cruell death whom wee have iudged to bee heretiques. And the cause why in conscience I am thus disquieted, is this; that now of late, since I have given my selfe more diligently to the reading and contemplation of the holy Scriptures, I have perceived that the most part of those Articles, which they that are called Lutherans doe maintaine, are so conformable and agreeing to the Scriptures, that for my part I can no longer gainsay them, except I should euen wilfully and maliciously resist and strive against the holy Ordinances of God. Albeit hitherto, to maintaine the honour of our holy mother the Church, and of our holy Father the Pope, and of our Orders, I have consented to the opinions and doings of the other Doctours, as well through ignorance, as also because I would not seeme to attempt any thing against the will and pleasure of the Prelates and Vicars generall. Yet now it seemeth vnto mee, that wee ought not any more to proceed in this matter as wee have done in time past. It shall bee sufficient to punish them with fines, or to banish them, which shall speake too intemperately or rashly against the constitutions of the Church, and of the Pope. And such as shall bee plainly conuicted by the holy Scripture to bee blasphemous or obstinate heretickes, to bee condemned

The oration of Bassinet answering to the bishop of Aix.
The godly repentance of Bassinet.
The testimonie of Bassinet for Lutherans.

to death according to the enormitie of the crimes or errors, or elſe to perpetuall priſon. And this my advice and councel I deſire you to take in good part.

With this councell of Baſſinet all the companie was offended, but eſpecially the biſhop of Aix, who, lifting up his voyce aboue all the reſt, ſaid thus vnto him; O thou man of little faith, whereof art thou in doubt? Doeſt thou repent thee of that thou haſte well done? Thou haſte told here a tale, that ſmelleth of fagots and brimſtone. Is there any difference (thinkeſt thou) betweene hereſies and blaſphemies ſpoken and maintained againſt the holy ſcriptures, and opinions holden againſt our holy mother the Church, and contrarie to our holy father the Pope, a moſt vndoubted and true God in earth? Art thou a maſter in Iſrael, and knoweſt thou not theſe things? Then ſaid the Biſhop of Arles, Could any man intreat better of the little bark of Chriſt Ieſus, than my Lord of Aix hath done? Then ſtood vp Baſſinet againe, and made this Oration.

God and the pope, and the obedience of them two compared together Iohn 3.

Another oration of Baſſinet.

It is true, that my Lord the Biſhop of Aix hath very well ſet out the manners and ſtate of the Clergie, and hath aptly reprooved the vices and hereſies of this preſent time: and therefore ſo ſoone as mention was made of the ſhip of Chriſt Ieſus, it came into my minde firſt of all of the high Biſhop of Ieruſalem, the Prieſts, the Doctors of the Law, the Scribes and Phariſees, which ſometimes had the gouernance of this ſhip, beeing ordained paſtors in the Church of God. But when they forſooke the Law of God, and ſerued him with mens inventions, and traditions, hee deſtroyed thoſe hypocrites in his great indignation: and having compaſſion and pitie vpon the People which were like Sheepe without a Sheepheard, he ſent diligent Fiſhers to Fiſh for men, faithfull workemen into his harveſt, and labourers into his vineyard, which ſhall all bring forth true fruits in their ſeaſon. Secondly, conſidering the purpoſe and intent of the reuerend Lord Biſhop of Aix, I called to minde the ſaying of the Apoſtle in his firſt Epiſtle and fourth Chapter vnto Timothy, That in the later daies ſome ſhall fall away from the fayth, following after deceitfull ſpirits, and the doctrine of Diuels. And the Apoſtle giueth a marke whereby a man ſhall know them. Likewiſe our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, in the ſeuenth Chapter of Matthew, ſaith, That the falſe Prophets ſhall come cloathed in Sheepe ſkinnes, but inwardly they are rauening Wolues, and by their fruits they ſhall bee knowne. By theſe two, and diuers ſuch other places, it is eaſie to vnderſtand, who are they that goe about to drowne this little barke of Chriſt. Are they not thoſe which fill the ſame with filthie and vncleane things? With mire and dirt? with puddle and ſtinking water? Are they not thoſe which haue forſaken Ieſus Chriſt, the fountaine of liuing water, and haue digged vnto themſelues pits or ciſternes, which will hold no water? Truly euen thoſe they are which vaunt themſelues to bee the ſalt of earth, and yet haue no ſauor at all; which call themſelues paſtors, and yet are nothing leſſe than true paſtors, for they miniſter not vnto the ſheepe the true paſture and feeding, neither diuide and diſtribute the true bread of the word of life. And (if I may bee bold to ſpeake it) would it not bee at this preſent as great a wonder to heare a Biſhop preach, as to ſee an Aſſe flie? Are not they curſed of God which glorie and vaunt themſelues to haue the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen, and neither enter in themſelues, nor ſuffer them that would enter to come in? They may bee knowne right well by their fruits; for they haue forſaken faith, iudgment, and mercie, and there is no honeſt, cleane, or vndefiled thing in them, but their habite, their rochet, and their ſurpleſſe, and ſuch other. Outwardly they are exceeding neat and trim, but within they are full of all abhomination, rapine, gluttony, filthy luſt, and all manner of vncleanneſſe, They are like painted ſepulchers, which outwardly appeare beautifull and faire, but within they are full of filth and corruption. A man ſhall know, I ſay, theſe rauening Wolues by their fruits, which deuoure the quicke and the dead vnder the pretence of long prayer; and forſomuch as I am enforced to giue place to the truth, and that you call mee a maſter in Iſrael, I will not bee afraid to proue by the holy Scriptures, that your great Pilot and Patron the Pope, and the Biſhops the Marriners and ſuch others which haue impudently forſaken the Ship of Chriſt Ieſus, to imbarke themſelues in Pinnaces and Brigandines, are Pyrats and Robbers of the Sea, falſe Prophets, deceiuers, and not true paſtors of the Church of Ieſus Chriſt.

False paſtors in Chriſts Church deſcribed.

Matth. 13.

Take heed of thoſe that come to you in ſheepes skins, but inwardly they rauening wolues. Matthew 7.

The popes prelats in Chriſts ſhip are theeues pirats.

When Doctor Baſſinet had thus freely and boldly vttered his minde, the whole multitude began to gather about him, and ſpitefully railed at him. But the biſhop of Aix, aboue other, raging and crying out as he had beene mad: get thee out, ſaid he, from amongſt vs thou wicked Apoſtata, thou art not worthie to bee in this companie. Wee haue burned daily a great many, which haue not ſo well deſerued it, as thou haſt. Wee may now perceiue, That there is none more ſtedfaſt and feruent in the faith than the doctors of the canon law. And therefore it were neceſſarie to bee decreed in the next generall councell, that none ſhould haue to doe in matters of religion but they alone: For theſe knaues and beggerly monks and friers willbring all to naught. Then the other doctors of the ſame order boldly reproued the biſhop of Aix for the injurie that hee had done vnto them. After this there aroſe a great diſſention amongſt them. Inſomuch that there was nothing at that time determined. After dinner all theſe reuerend prelats aſſembled together again, but they ſuffered neither frier nor monke to bee amongſt them, except hee were an Abbat. In this aſſemblie they made a generall compoſition confirmed with an oath, That euerie man ſhould endeauour himſelfe that the ſaid arreſt of Merindoll ſhould bee executed with all expedition, euery man offering to furniſh out men of warre, according to his abilitie. The charge whereof was giuen to the biſhop of Aix, and to the preſident of the cancus, to ſolicite the matter, and to perſwade by all meanes poſſible the preſidents and counſellers of the ſaid court of parliament, without feare or doubt, to execute the ſaid arreſt, with drummes, enſignes diſplaied, artillerie, and all kinde of furniture of warre.

A commendation for doctors of the canons.

The biſhop of Aix, archetraitor of this perſecution.

This conſpiracie being concluded and determined, the Biſhop of Aix departed incontinent from Auinion, to goe vnto Aix, to performe the charge which was giuen to him. Notwithſtanding they deſired him to be, the next day after the councell was holden, at a banquet which ſhould bee made at the houſe of the biſhop of Rieux. To this banquet ſuch as were knowne to bee the faireſt and moſt beautifull women in all Auinion were called, to refreſh and ſolace theſe good Prelats, after the great paines and trauell which they had taken for our holy mother the Church. After they had dined, they fell to dancing, playing at dice, and ſuch other paſtimes, as are commonly wont to bee frequented at the banquets and feaſts of theſe holy Prelats. After this they walked abroad to ſolace themſelues, and to paſſe the time till ſupper.

Ex fructibus eorum cognoſcetis eos

As they paſſed thorow the ſtreetes, euerie one leading his minion vpon his arme, they ſaw a man which ſold bawdie images and pictures, with filthie rimes and ballets annexed to the ſame, to moue and ſtirre vp the people to whoredome and knauerie. All theſe

Holy pictures erected, Gods lawes rejected.

these goodly pictures were bought vp by the Bishops: which were as many as a mule could well carrie. And if there were any obscure sentence, or hard to vnderstand, in those rimes or ballets, the same these learned prelates did readily expound, and laughed pleasantly thereat. In the same place, as they walked along, there was a Bookeseller which had set out to sale certaine Bibles in French and Latine, with diuers other bookes; which when the prelates beheld, they were greatly mooued thereat, and said vnto him, Darest thou be so hardie to set out such merchandise to sell here in this towne? Doest thou not know that such bookes are forbidden? The Bookeseller answered, Is not the holy Bible as good as these goodly pictures, which you haue bought for these gentlewomen? He had scarce spoken these words, but the Bishop of Aix said, I renounce my part of Paradise, if this fellow be not a Lutheran. Let him be taken, said he, and examined what he is; and incontinently the Bookeseller was taken and carried vnto Prison, and spitefully handled: for a companie of knaues and ruffians, which waited vpon the prelates, began to crie out, A Lutherane, A Lutherane, to the fire with him, to the fire with him, and one gaue him a blow with his fist, another pulled him by the haire, and others by the beard, in such sort that the poore man was all imbrued with bloud, before that he came to Prison.

The morrow after he was brought before the iudges, in the presence of the Bishops, where he was examined in this forme as followeth. Hast not thou set forth to sale the Bible and the new Testament in French? The prisoner answered, that he had so done. And being demanded, whether he vnderstood or knew not, that it was forbidden throughout all Christendome, to print or sell the Bible in any other language than in Latine: he answered, that he knew the contrarie, and that he had sold many Bibles in the French tongue, with the Emperors priuiledge, and many other printed at Lions, also new Testaments imprinted by the Kings priuiledge. Furthermore he said, that he knew no Nation throughout all Christendome, which had not the holy scriptures in their vulgar tongue: and afterward with a bold courage thus he spake vnto them. O you inhabitants of Auinion, are you alone in all Christendome those men, which doe despise and abhorre the testament of the heauenly father? will ye forbid and hide that which Iesus Christ hath commanded to be reuealed and published? Doe you not know that our Lord Iesus Christ gaue power vnto his Apostles to speake all manner of tongues, to this end, that his holy Gospell should be taught vnto all creatures, in euery language? And why doe you not forbid those bookes, and pictures, which are full of filthinesse and abhomination, to moue and stirre vp the people to whoredome, and to vncleannesse, and to prouoke Gods vengeance and great indignation vpon you all? What greater blasphemie can there be, than to forbid Gods most holy bookes which be ordained to instruct the ignorant, and to reduce and bring againe into the way such as are gone astray? What cruelty is this, to take away from the poore fillie soules their nourishment and sustenance? But my Lords, you shall giue an heauie account, which call sweet sower, and sower sweet, which maintaine abhominable and detestable bookes and pictures, and reject that which is holy.

Then the Bishop of Aix and the other Bishops began to rage, and gnashed their teeth against this poore prisoner. What need you, said they, any more examination? Let him be sent straight vnto the fire, without any more words. But the iudge Laberius, and certaine others were not of that mind, neither found they sufficient cause why to put him to death, but went about to haue him put to his fine, & to make him confesse and acknowledge the Bishop of Aix, and other his companions, to be the true pastors of the Church. But the Bookeseller answered, that he could not do it with a good conscience, forsomuch as he did see before his eyes, that these bishops maintained filthie books and abhominable pictures, rejecting and refusing the holy bookes of God, and therefore he iudged them rather to be the Priests of Bacchus and Venus, than the true pastors of the Church of Christ. Whereupon he was immediatly condemned to be burned, and the sentence was executed the very same day. And for a signe, or token of the cause of his condemnation, he carried two Bibles hanging about his necke, the one before, and the other behinde him: but this poore man had also the word of God in his heart and in his mouth, and ceased not continually by the way, vntill that he came to the place of execution, to exhort and monish the people to read the holy scriptures; insomuch, that diuers were thereby mooued to seek after the truth. The Prelats, seeing a great dissention among the people of Auinion, and that many murmured and grudged against them for the death of this good man, and also for the dishonor which they had done vnto the holy Testament of God, minding to put the people in a feare, they proceeded the next day to make a proclamation by the sound of a trumpet, throughout the whole towne and countie of Venice, That all such as had any books in the French tongue, intreating vpon the holy scriptures, should bring them forth, and deliuer them vnto the hands of the commissioners appointed for that purpose: contrariwise, they which had any such bookes found about them should be put to death.

A godly bookseller with two Bibles about his neck, burnt in Auinion.

Proclamation against French Bibles.

Then after that these prelates had taken aduice to raise great persecution in Venice, the bishop of Aix returned to prosecute the execution of the arrest against Merindoll, trauelling earnestly with the president Cassaneus to that effect: declaring vnto him the good will of the prelates of Auinion and Prouince, and the great affection they bare both to him & his, with many faire promises if he would put the arrest in execution. The president answered him, that it was no small matter to put the arrest of Merindoll in execution. Also, that the said arrest was giuen out more to keepe the Lutherans in feare, which were a great number in Prouince, than to execute it in effect, as it was contained in the said arrest. Moreouer he said, that the arrest of Merindoll was not definitiue, and that the lawes and Statutes of the realme did not permit the execution thereof without further processe. Then said the bishop, if there be either law or statute which do hinder or let you, we carrie in our sleeues to dispence therewithall. The President answered, it were a great sinne to shed the innocent bloud. Then said the Bishop, The bloud of them of Merindoll be vpon vs and vpon our successours. Then said the president, I am verie well assured that if the arrest of Merindoll be put in execution, the king will not be well pleased to haue such destruction made of his subiects. Then said the bishop, although the king at the first doe thinke it euill done, we will so bring it to passe, that within a short space he shall thinke it well done. For we haue the cardinals on our side, and specially the most reuerend cardinall of Tournon, the which will take vpon him the defence of our cause, and we can doe him no greater pleasure, than vtterly to root out these Lutherans: so that if we haue any need of his councell or aid, we shall be well assured of him: And is not he the principall, the most excellent and prudent aduersaries of these Lutherans, which is in all Christendome?

The bishop of Aix stirreth vp Cassaneus the president to persecution.

The answer of Cassaneus to the bishop for Merindol.

Sanguis ejus super nos, & filios nostros. Matth. 27.

The cardinall of Tournon the organ of Antichrist.

By this and such other like talke the bishop of Aix perswaded the president, and counsellors of the court of parliament, to put the said arrest in execution, and by this meanes, through the authoritie of the said court, the drumme was sounded throughout all Prouince, the Captains were prepared, with their

The Popes army setteth forward towards Merindoll.

their enſignes diſplayed, and a great number of foot-men and horſemen began to ſet forward, and marched out of the towne of Aix in order of battell, well horſed and furniſhed againſt Merindoll, to execute the arreſt. The Inhabitants of Merindoll, being aduertiſed hereof, and ſeeing nothing but preſent death to be at hand, with great lamentation commended themſelues and their cauſe vnto God by prayer; making themſelues ready to be murthered and ſlaine, as theepe led vnto the Butchery.

The army againe retired by the means of the Lord of Alenc.

Whiles they were in this grieuous diſtreſſe, pitiouſly mourning and lamenting together, the father with the ſonne, the daughter with the mother, the wife with the husband, ſuddenly there was newes brought vnto them, that the army was retyred, and no man knew at that time how or by what meanes: yet notwithſtanding afterward it was knowne, that the Lord of Alenc, a wiſe man, and learned in the Scriptures and in the Ciuile Law, being moued with great zeale and loue of Iuſtice, declared vnto the Preſident Chaſſanee, that he ought not ſo to proceed againſt the inhabitants of Merindoll by way of force of armes, contrary to all forme and order of Iuſtice, without iudgement or condemnation, or without making any difference betweene the guilty and the vnguilty. And furthermore hee ſaid, I deſire you my Lord Preſident call to remembrance the counſell which you haue written in your booke entituled Catalogus gloriæ mundi: in the which booke you haue intreated and brought forth the proceſſes which were holden againſt the Rats by the Officers of the court and iuriſdiction of the Biſhop of Authun. For as it happened, there was almoſt throughout all the Bailiwicke of Lauſſois ſuch a great number of Rats, that they deſtroyed and deuoured all the corne of the countrey.

A story of excommunicating the rats for eating vp the corne.

Whereupon they tooke counſell to ſend vnto the Biſhop of Authuns Officiall, to haue the Rats excommunicate. Whereupon it was ordained and decreed by the ſaid Officiall, after he had heard the plaintife of the procurator fiſcall, that, before hee would proceed to excommunication, they ſhould haue admonition and warning according to the order of Iuſtice. For this cauſe it was ordained, that by the ſound of a trumpet, & open proclamation made throughout all the ſtreets of the towne of Authun, the Rats ſhould be cited to appeare within three dayes; and if they did not appeare, then to proceed againſt them.

The three dayes were paſſed, and the procuratour came into the court againſt the Rats, and for lacke of appearance obtained default by vertue whereof he required that they would proceed to the excommunication. Whereupon it was iudicially acknowledged, that the ſaid Rats, being abſent, ſhould haue their Aduocate appointed them to heare their defence, forſomuch as the queſtion was for the whole deſtruction and baniſhing of the ſaid Rats. And you my Lord Preſident, being at that time the Kings Aduocate at Authun, were then choſen to be the Aduocate to defend the Rats. And hauing taken the charge vpon you in pleading the matter, it was by you there declared, that the citation was of no effect, for certaine cauſes and reaſons by you there alledged. Then it was decreed, that the ſaid Rats ſhould be once againe cited throughout the pariſhes where they were. Then after the citations were duly ſerued, the procuratour came againe into the court as before; and there it was alledged by you my Lord Preſident, how that the terme of appearance giuen vnto the Rats was too ſhort, and that there were ſo many Cats in euerytowne and village as they ſhould paſſe through, that they had juſt cauſe to be abſent.

The preſident Chaſſanee choſen Aduocate for the Rats.

The perſuaſion of the Lord of Alenc to Chaſſanee.

Wherefore my Lord Preſident, you ought not ſo lightly to proceed againſt theſe poore men, but you ought to looke vpon the holy Scriptures, and there you ſhall finde how wee ought to proceed in this matter: and you my Lord haue alledged many places of the Scripture concerning the ſame, as appeareth more at large in your ſaid booke; and by this plea of a matter which ſeemeth to be but of a ſmall importance you haue obtained great fame and honour, for the vpright declaration of the manner and forme how Iudges ought grauely to proceed in criminall cauſes. Then my Lord Preſident, you which haue taught others, will you not alſo learne by your owne bookes? the which will maſtily condemne you, if you proceed any further to the deſtruction of theſe poore men of Merindol. For are they not Chriſtian men, and ought you not as well to miniſter right and iuſtice vnto them, as you haue done to the Rats? By theſe and ſuch like demonſtrations the Preſident was perſwaded, and immediately called backe his Commiſſion which he had giuen out, and cauſed the army to retire, the which was already come neere vnto Merindoll, euen within one mile and a halfe.

to returne the armie from Merindoll.

Then the Merindolians, vnderſtanding that the army was retyred, gaue thankes vnto God, comforting one another, with admonition and exhortation alwayes to haue the feare of God before their eyes, to be obedient vnto his holy commandements, ſubiect to his moſt holy will, and euery man to ſubmit himſelfe vnto his prouidence, patiently attending and looking for the hope of the Bleſſed, that is to ſay, the true life, and the euerlaſting riches, hauing alwayes before their eyes for example our Lord Jeſus Chriſt the very Sonne of God, who hath entred into his glory by many tribulations. Thus the Merindolians prepared themſelues to endure and abide all the afflictions that it ſhould pleaſe God to lay vpon them: and ſuch was their anſwer to all thoſe that either pitied or elſe ſought their deſtruction. Whereupon the bruit and noyſe was ſo great, as well of the arreſt, as of the enterpriſe of the execution, and alſo of the patience and conſtancie of the Merindolians, that it was not hidden or kept ſecret from King Francis, a King of noble courage and great iudgement; who gaue commandement vnto the noble and vertuous Lord Mounſieur de Langeay, which then was his Lieutenant in Thurin, a citie in Piemont, that he ſhould diligently enquire and ſearch out the truth of all this matter. Whereupon the ſaid Mounſieur de Langeay ſent vnto Prouince two men of fame and eſtimation, giuing them in charge to bring vnto him the copie of the Arreſt, and diligently to enquire out all that followed and enſued thereupon; and likewiſe to make diligent inquiſition of the life and manners of the ſaid Merindolians, and others which were perſecuted in the countrey of Prouince.

The Lords of Merindolia.

Francis the French king.

Mounſieur de Langeay to inquire better of the Merindolians.

Theſe Deputies brought the copie of the Arreſt, and of all that happened thereupon, vnto the ſayd Mounſieur de Langeay, declaring vnto him the great injuries, pollings, extortions, exactions, tyrannies, and cruelties, which the Iudges, as well ſecular as eccleſiaſticall, vſed againſt them of Merindoll and others. As touching the behauiour and diſpoſition of thoſe which were perſecuted, they reported that the moſt part of the men of Prouince affirmed them to be men giuen to great labour and trauell; and that about 200 yeares paſſed, (as it is reported) they came out of the countrey of Piemont to dwell in Prouince, and tooke to tillage & to inhabit many hamlets, and villages deſtroyed by the wars, and other deſert and waſt places: which they had ſo well occupied, that now there was great ſtore of wines, oyles, honie, and cattell, wherewith ſtrangers were greatly relieued and holpen. Beſides that, before they came into the countrey to dwell, the place of Merindoll was tared but at foure crowns, which before the laſt deſtruction paid yearly vnto the Lord, for tares and tallages, aboue three hundred and fiftie crownes, beſide other charges.

A teſtimonie of the commendation of the Merindolians.

The

The godly conuersation of the Merindolians.

The like was also reported of Lormarin, and diuers other places of Prouince, whereas there was nothing but robbery, before they came to inhabit there, so that none could passe that way, but in great danger. Moreouer, they of the countrey of Prouince affirmed, That the inhabitants of Merindoll, and the other that were persecuted, were peaceable and quiet people, beloued of all their neighbors, men of good behauiour, constant in keeping of their promise, and paying of their debts, without trauersing or pleading of the law. That they were also charitable men, giuing almes, releeuing the poore, and suffered none amongst them to lacke or to bee in necessitie. Also they gaue almes to strangers, and to the poore passengers, harbouring, nourishing and helping them in all their necessities, according to their power. Moreouer, that they were knowne by this, throughout all the countrey of Prouince, that they would not sweare, or name the Diuell, or easily bee brought to take an oath, except it were in iudgement or making some solemne couenant. They were also knowne by this, That they could neuer be moued nor prouoked to talke of any dishonest matters, but in what company soeuer they came, where they heard any wanton talke, swearing or blaspheny to the dishonour of God, they straitway departed out of that company. Also they said, that they neuer saw them goe to their business, but first they made their prayers. The said people of Prouince furthermore affirmed, that when they came to any faires or markets, or came to their cities by any occasion, they neuer in a manner were seene in their Churches: and if they were, when they prayed they turned away their faces from the images, and neither offered candles to them, nor kissed their feet. Neither would they worship the reliques of saints, nor once looke vpon them. And moreouer, if they passed by any crosse or image of the crucifix, or any other saint, by the way as they went, they would doe no reuerence vnto them. Also the priests did testifie, that they neuer caused them to say any masses, neither Diriges, neither yet De Profundis, neither would they take any holy water; and if it were carried home vnto their houses, they would not say once God a mercie, yea they scorned vtterly to abhor it. To goe on Pilgrimage, to make any vowes to saints, to buy pardons or remission of sinnes with money, yea though it might bee gotten for a halfe penny, they thought it not lawfull. Likewise when it thundred or lightned, they would not crosse themselues, but casting vp their eyes vnto Heauen fetch deepe sighes. Some of them would kneele downe and pray, without blessing themselues with the signe of the crosse, or taking of holy water. Also they were neuer seene to offer or cast into the bason any thing for the maintenance of lights, brotherhoods, churches, or to giue any offering either for the quicke or the dead. But if any were in affliction or pouerty, those they releeued gladly, and thought nothing too much.

Crimes laid against the Merindolians.

Liues law preferred before Gods law.

This was the whole tenour of the report made vnto mounsieur de Langeay, touching the life and behauiour of the inhabitants of Merindoll, and the other which was persecuted: also as touching the arrest, and that which ensued thereupon. Of all those things the said monsieur de Leangeay, according to the charge that was giuen him, aduertised the King, who vnderstanding these things, as a good prince moued with mercy and pitie, sent letters of grace and pardon, not onely for those which were condemned for lacke of appearance, but also for all the rest of the countrey of Prouince, which were accused and suspected in like case: expressly charging and commanding the said parliament, That they should not hereafter proceed so rigorously, as they had done before, against this people; but if there were any that could be found or proued, by sufficient information, to haue swarued from the Christian religion, that then hee should haue good demonstration made vnto him by the word of God, both out of the old and new Testament: and so, as well by the gentlenesse as by the rigor of the same, hee should be reduced againe vnto the Church of Christ: declaring also that the kings pleasure was, that all such, as should bee conuict of heresie in manner aforesaid, should abiure: forbidding also all manner of persons, of what estate or condition soeuer they were, to attempt any thing against them of Merindoll, or other that were persecuted, by any other manner of meanes, or to molest or trouble them in person or goods: reuoking and disannulling all manner of sentences and condemnations of what iudges soeuer they were, and commanding to set at liberty all prisoners which either were accused or suspected of Lutheranisme.

The Merindolians require the iudgement of cardinall Sadolet touching their articles.

By vertue of these letters they were now permitted to declare their cause, and to say what they could in defence thereof. Whereupon they made a confession of their faith: the effect whereof you shall see in the end of the Storie. This confession was presented first to the court of parliament, and afterward being declared more at large, with articles also annexed thereunto, it was deliuered to the bishop of Cauaillon, who required the same. Also to Cardinall Sadolet, Bishop of Carpentras, with the like articles, & also a supplication to this effect: That the inhabitants of Cabriers, in the county of Venice, most humbly desired him that he would vouchsafe to receiue and reade the confession and declaration of their faith and doctrine, in the which they, and also their fathers before them, had beene of a long time instructed and taught, which they were perswaded to be agreeable to the doctrine contained in the old and new Testament. And because hee was learned in the holy Scriptures, they desired him that hee would marke such articles as hee thought to bee against the Scriptures: and if he should make it to appeare vnto them, that there was any thing contrary to the same, they would not only submit themselues to abiuration, but also to suffer such punishment as should bee adiudged vnto them, euen to the losse, not only of all that they had, but also of their liues. And moreouer, if there were any Iudge in all the countrey of Venice, which by good and sufficient information should bee able to charge them that they had holden any erroneous doctrine, or maintained any other religion than was contained in the articles of their confession, they desired him, that hee would communicate the same vnto them, and with all obedience they offered themselues to whatsoeuer should be thought iust and reasonable. Upon this request cardinall Sadolet answered by his letters written by his secretarie, and signed with his owne hand, the tenour whereof here ensueth.

This most godly and Christian confession you shall finde more largely set out in Hen. 12 ant. and also in the French story, intreating of the destruction of Merindoll, and Cabriers: also touching their faith and confession you shall partly see hereafter.

The answer of cardinall Sadolet to the Merindolians.

I haue seene your request, and haue read the Articles of your confession, wherein there is much matter contained; and doe not understand that you are accused for any other doctrine, but for the very same which you haue confessed. It is most true that many haue reported diuers things of you worthie of reproofe, which, after diligent inquiry made, wee haue found to bee nothing else but false reports and slanders. As touching the rest of your Articles, it seemeth vnto mee, that there are manie words therein, which might well bee changed without prejudice vnto your confession. And likewise it seemeth to mee, that it is not necessarie that you should speake so manifestly against the pastors of the Church. For my part, I desire your welfare, and would bee sorie that you should bee so spoyled or destroyed as they doe pretend. And to the end you shall the better vnderstand my amity and friendship towards you, shortly I will bee at my house by Cabriers, whither ye may resort vnto mee either in greater or smaller number, as you will, and returne safely

The Kings pardon procured, & sent downe for the Merindolians.

safely without any hurt or damage, and there I will aduertise you of all things that I thinke meet for your profite and health.

The Bishop of Cauaillon seeketh the destruction of Cabriers.

About this time, which was the yeare of our Lord 1542. the Vice-legate of Auinion assembled a great number of men of warre, at the suit of the Bishop of Cauaillon, to destroy Cabriers. When the army was come within a mile of Cabriers the Cardinall Sadolet went with speed to the Vice-legat, & shewed him the request of the inhabitants of Cabriers, with the articles of their confession, and the offers that they made; so that for that present the army retyred without any hurt or damage done vnto the Inhabitants of Cabriers. After this the Cardinall Sadolet went vnto Rome; but before his departure hee sent for diuers of Cabriers, and certaine Farmers of his owne, whom he knew to bee of the number of those which were called Lutherans, and told them that hee would haue them in remembrance as soone as he came to Rome, and communicate their articles and confession vnto the Cardinalls, trusting to finde a meane to haue some good reformation, that God should be thereby glorified, and all Christendome brought to an vnitie and concord: at the least, nothing at all doubting, but that the foulest abuses should be corrected and amended; aduertising them in the meane time to bee wise and circumspect, to watch and pray, for that they had many enemies. With this Oration of Cardinall Sadolet they of Cabriers were greatly comforted, trusting that at the suit of Cardinall Sadolet they should haue answer of their confession. But at his returne they vnderstood, that he found all things so corrupt at Rome, that there was no hope of any reformation there to be had, but rather mortall war against all such as would not liue according to the Ordinances of the Church of Rome. Likewise said the Treasurer of Carpentras, who albeit he paied out money to furnish souldiers that were hired for the destruction of Cabriers, notwithstanding he did aid them secretly all that he might. Howbeit hee could not do it so secretly, but that it came to the knowledge of the Legate. Whereupon hee was constrained to withdraw himselfe.

Cardinall Sadolet returned back the army comming against Cabriers.

The promise of Sadolet to his Tenants of Cabriers.

The treasurer of Carpentras a priuie friend to them of Cabriers.

On the other part, the Bishop of Aix and Cauaillon pursued still the execution of the arrest of Merindoll. Then it was ordained by the Court of Parliament, that, according to the Kings letters, John Durand Counsellor of the Court of parliament with a Secretarie, and the Bishop of Cauaillon with a Doctor of Diuinitie, should goe vnto Merindoll, and there declare vnto the Inhabitants the errors and heresies which they knew to bee contained in their confession, and make them apparant by good and sufficient information, and hauing so conuicted them by the word of God, they should make them to renounce and abiure the said heresies. And if the Merindolians did refuse to abiure, then they should make relation thereof, that the Court might appoint how they should further proceed. After this Decree was made, the Bishop of Cauaillon would not tarrie vntill the time which was appointed by the Court for the execution of this matter: but he himselfe with a D. of Diuinity came to Merindoll to make them to abiure. Vnto whom the Merindolians answered, that he enterprised against the authoritie of the Parliament, and that it was against his Commission so to do. Notwithstanding, he was very earnest with them that they should abiure, and promised them, if they would so do, to take them vnder his wings and protection, euen as the hen doth her chickens, and that they should be no more robbed or spoiled. Then they required that hee would declare vnto them what they should abiure. The Bishop answered, that the matter needed no disputation, and that he required but onely a generall abiuration of all errors, which would bee no damage or prejudice to them: For he himselfe would not stick to make the like abiuration. The Merindolians answered him againe, that they would doe nothing contrary to the Decree and Ordinance of the Court, or the Kings letters, wherein hee commanded that first the errors should be declared vnto them, whereof they were accused: wherefore they were resolued to vnderstand what those errors and heresies were, that, being informed thereof by the Word of God, they might satisfie the Kings letters: otherwise it were but hypocrisie and dissimulation, to do as he required them. And if he could make it to appeare vnto them by good and sufficient information, that they had holden any errors and heresies, or should be conuict thereupon by the Word of God, they would willingly abiure; or if in their confession there were any word contrarie to the Scriptures, they would reuoke the same. Contrariwise, if it were not made manifest vnto them, that they had holden any heresies, but that they had alwayes liued according to the doctrine of the Gospell, and that their confession was grounded vpon the same, then they ought by no meanes to moue or constraine them to abiure any errors, which they held not, and that it were plainly against all equity and iustice so to do.

The Popes Bishops will come to no reason.

The Bishop condemne the Merindolians for heresie, and yet can shew no heresies in them by the word of God.

Then the Bishop of Cauaillon was maruellously angrie, and would heare no word spoken of any demonstration to be made by the Word of God, but in a fury cursed and gaue him to the Diuel that first inuented that meane. Then the Doctor of Diuinitie, whom the Bishop brought thither, demanded what articles they were, that were presented by the Inhabitants of Merindoll; for the Bishop of Cauaillon had not yet shewed them vnto him. Then the Bishop of Cauaillon deliuered the Doctor the Confession. Which after he had read, the bishop of Cauaillon said, What? will you any more witnesse or declaration; this is full of heresie. Then they of Merindoll demanded, In what point? Whereupon the Bishop knew not what to answer. Then the Doctor demanded to haue time to looke vpon the articles of the confession, and to consider whether they were against the Scriptures or no. Thus the Bishop departed, being verie sore agrieued that he could not bring his purpose to passe.

The Bishop agrieued to heare the word of God.

After eight dayes the Bishop sent for this Doctor, to vnderstand how he might order himselfe to make their heresies appeare which were in the said condition. Whereunto the Doctor answered, that he was neuer so much abashed: for when he had beholden the articles of the confession, and the authorities of the Scripture that there were alledged for the confirmation thereof, he had found that those Articles were wholly agreeable and according to the holy Scriptures, and that he had not learned so much in the Scriptures all the dayes of his life, as he had in those eight daies, in looking vpon those Articles and the authorities therein alledged.

The article of the Merindolians against the Doctor.

Shortly after, the Bishop of Cauaillon came vnto Merindoll, and calling before him the Children both great and small, gaue them money, and commanded them with faire words to learne the Pater noster and the Creed in Latine. The most part of them answered, that they knew the Pater noster and the Creed already in Latine, but they could make no reason of that which they spake, but onely in the vulgar tongue. The Bishop answered, that it was not necessarie they should bee so cunning, but that it was sufficient that they knew it in Latine, and that it was not requisite for their saluation, to vnderstand or to expound the articles of their faith; for there were many Bishops, Curates, yea and doctors of Diuinitie, whom it would trouble to expound the Pater noster and the Creed. Here the Baylife of Merindoll, named Andrew Maynard, asked to what purpose it would serue, to say the Pater noster and the Creed, and not to vnderstand

The answer the children Merindoll the bishop.

The Bishop of Cauaillon commeth again to Merindoll.

derstand the same: for in so doing they should but mock & deride God. Then said the bishop unto him, do you understand what is signified by these words, I beleeve in God? The Baylife answered, I should thinke my selfe very miserable, if I did not understand it: and then he began orderly to give account of his faith. Then said the bishop, I would not have thought there had bene so great Doctours in Merindoll. The Baylife answered, The least of the inhabitants of Merindoll can doe it, yet more readily than I: but I pray you, question with one or two of these yong children, that you may understand whether they be well taught or no. But the bishop either knew not how to question with them, or at the least would not.

The answer of the Baylife of Merindoll to the bishop.

The Pater noster in Latine.

The children of Merindoll too good for the bishop.

Then one named Pieron Roy said, Sir, one of these children may question with another, if you thinke it so good, and the Bishop was contented. Then one of the children began to question with his fellowes, with such grace and gravity, as if hee had bene a Schoolemaster: and the children one after another answered so unto the purpose, that it was marvellous to heare: for it was done in the presence of many, among whom there were foure religious men that came lately out of Paris, of whom one said unto the Bishop, I must needes confesse, that I have often bene at the common Schooles of Sorbone in Paris, where I have heard the disputations of the Divines: but yet I never learned so much as I have done by hearing these yong children. Then said William Armant; did you never read that which is written in the eleventh Chapter of Saint Matthew, where it is said, O Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, I render thankes unto thee, that thou hast hidden these things from the sage and wise men of the World, and hast revealed them unto young infants: but behold O Father, such was thy good will and pleasure? Then every man marvelled at the readie wit and wittie answeres of the Children of Merindoll.

The youth of Merindoll well brought up.

Matth. 11.

When the Bishop saw that hee could not thus prevaile, he tried another way, and went about by faire and flattering words to bring his purpose to passe. Wherefore, causing the strangers to goe apart, he said, that hee now perceived they were not so evill as many thought them to be. Notwithstanding, for the contentation of them which were their persecutors, it was necessary that they should make some small abjuration, which onely the Baylife, with two Officers, might make generally in his presence, in the name of all the rest, without any Notary to record the same in writing, and in so doing they should be loved and favoured of all men, and even of those which now persecuted them: and that they should sustaine no infamy thereby; for there should be no report thereof made, but onely to the Pope, and to the high Court of Parliament of Province: And also if any man in time to come would turne the same to their reproach, or alledge it against them to their hurt or damage, they might utterly denie it, and say they made no abjuration at all, because there were no records made thereof, or witnesses to prove the same. For this purpose hee desired them to talk together, to the end there might be an end made in this matter, without any further businesse.

The Merindolians are moved to abjure.

The Baylife, and the two Officers, with divers other Ancients of the Towne answered, That they were fully resolved not to consent to any abjuration howsoever it were to be done, except that (which was alwaies their exception) they could make it appeare unto them by the Word of God, that they had holden or maintained any heresie: marvelling much that he would goe about to perswade them to lie to God and to the World. And albeit that all men by nature are liers, yet they had learned by the Word of God that they ought diligently to take heed that their children did not accustome or use themselves to lie, and therefore punished them verie sharpely, when as they tooke them with any lie, even as if they had committed any robbery, For the Divell is a lyar, and the father of lies. Here the Bishop rose up in great anger and indignation, and so departed.

In matters of faith and religion ought to be no dissimulation.

Within a while after the bishop of Aix sollicited Master John Durandus, counsellour of the Court of the Parliament of Province, to execute the commission which was given him: that is, to goe unto the place of Merindoll, together with the secretarie of the said Court, and there in the presence of the Bishop of Cabaillon accompanied with a Doctor of divinity, to declare the errours and heresies which the bishops pretended the inhabitants of Merindoll to be infected and intangled withall, and, according to their dutie, to make it appeare by the Word of God, and so being convict to make them abjure and renounce the said heresies. Whereupon the said Counsellour Durandus certified the day that hee would be present at Merindoll, to the end and purpose that none of the inhabitants should be absent. At the day appointed, the said Counsellor Durandus, the Bishop of Cabaillon, a Doctour of Divinitie, and a Secretarie, came unto Merindoll, where were also present divers Gentlemen, and men of understanding of all sorts, to see this Commission executed. Then they of Merindoll were advertised that they should not appeare all at once, but that they should keepe themselves apart, and appeare as they should be called, in such order and number, as should be appointed unto them. After that Durandus, the Bishop of Cabaillon, the Doctour of Divinitie, and the Secretarie were set in place where justice was accustomed to be kept, there was called forth Andrew Maynard, the Bailife of Merindoll, Jenon Romane, and Micheline Maynard Syndiques, John Cabrie, and John Palenc, Ancients of Merindoll, and John Brunerall under-bailife. After they had presented themselves with all due reverence, the Counsellor Durandus spake thus unto them.

Durand stirred up by the Bishops to execute the commission against the Merindolians.

Durandus the commissioner commeth to Merindoll.

Syndicus is a Greeke word, and signifieth almost as an advocate or patron, or deputy sent to plead our cause.

You are not ignorant that, by the arrest given out by the high Court of Province, you were all condemned to be burned, both men, women, and children; your houses also to be beaten downe, and your Towne to be raced and made desolate, &c. as is more largely contained in the said arrest. Notwithstanding, it hath pleased the King our most gracious Prince to send his letters unto the said Court, commanding that the said arrest should not so rigorously procéed against you: but if it could by sufficient information be proved, that you or any of you had swarved from the true Religion, demonstration should be made thereof unto you by the Word of God, whereby you might be reduced againe to the flocke of Christ. Wherefore it was determined in the said Court of Parliament, that the Bishop of Cabaillon, with a Doctour of Divinitie, should in my presence declare unto you the errours and heresies wherewith they say you are infected; and after good demonstration made by the Word of God, you should publikly and solemnly renounce and abjure the said heresies; and in so doing should obtaine the grace and pardon contained in the Kings letters: wherefore shew your selves this day, that you be obedient unto God, the King and the Magistrates. When hee had thus spoken, what answer you, said hee, to that which I have propounded?

The words of Durandus to the Merindolians.

Then Andrew Maynard the Bailife desired that they would grant them an advocate to answer according to the instructions which they would give him, forsomuch as they were men unlearned, and knew not how to answer as in such a case was requisite. The Counsellor answered, that he would heare their answer neither by advocate nor by writing

ting, but would heare them answer in their owne persons: Notwithstanding hee would give them leave to goe apart, and talke together, but not to aske any counsell but onely among themselves: and then to answer one after another. Upon this determination the Baylife and the two Syndiques with other two ancient men, talked together awhile and determined that the two Syndiques should speake first, and after them the baylife, then the two ancient men, every man according as God should give them grace, and by & by presented themselves. Whereat the counseller Durandus was greatly abashed, to see that they had decreed and determined so speedily. Then Michelin Maynard began to answer, desiring the counseller and the bishop, with the other assistants, to pardon him, if that hee answered over rudely, having regard that they were poore, rude, and ignorant men. His answer here followeth.

The answer of the Merindolians to Durandus.

We are greatly bound, saith he, to give God thankes, that, besides other his benefits bestowed upon us, he hath now delivered us from these great assaults, and that it hath pleased him to touch the heart of our Noble King, that our cause might be intreated with justice, and not by violence. In like manner are wee also bound to pray for our Noble King, which following the example of Samuel and Daniel hath not disdained to looke upon the cause of his poore subjects. Also we render thankes unto the Lords of the parliament, in that it hath pleased them to minister justice according to the kings commandement. Finally, wee thanke you my Lord Durandus, Commissioner in this present cause, that it hath pleased you in so few words to declare unto us the manner and order how we ought to proceed. And for my part, I greatly desire to understand and know the heresie and errours whereof I am accused, and whereas they shall make it appeare unto me, that I have holden any errours or heresies, I am contented to amend the same, as it shall be ordained and provided by you.

After him answered Jenon Romine the other Syndique, a very ancient father, approving all that which his fellow before had said, giving God thanks that in his time, even in his later daies, he had seene and heard so good newes, that the cause of religion, should be decided and debated by the holy Scriptures, and that hee had often heard ancient men say, that they could never obtaine of the Judges, in all their persecution, to have their cause debated in such sort.

The Baillife of Merindoll answereth.

Then Andrew Maynard the Baylife answered saying, that God had given to those two Syndiques the grace to answer so well, that it was not necessary for him to say or adde any more thereunto. Notwithstanding it seemed good that their answers were put in writing, which was not done by the Secretary, that had done nothing else but mocke and giere at all that had beene said: Wherefore he required the Commissioner to looke unto the matter. Then the Commissioner was very angry, and sharpely rebuked his Secretary, commanding him to sit nearer and to write their answers word for word, and he himselfe with a singular memory repeated their answers, and oftentimes asked if it were not so. The said answers being thus put in writing, the Commissioner asked the Baylife if he had any more to answer, saying that hee had done him great pleasure to shew him his Secretaries fault, willing him to speake boldly, what he thought good for the defence of their cause. Then the Baylife said, forsomuch as it hath pleased you to give me audience and liberty to speake my mind freely; I say moreover, that it seemeth unto me, that there is no due forme of processe in this judgement: for there is no party here that doth accuse us. If we had an accuser present, which, according to the rule of the Scripture, either should prove by good demonstration out of the old and new testament that whereof wee are accused, or, if hee were not able, should suffer punishment due unto such as are heretiques; I thinke he would be as greatly troubled to maintaine his accusations, as wee to answer unto the same.

The proceeding with the Merindolians not after forme of law.

After that the Baylife had made this answer, John Palenc, one of the Ancients of Merindoll, said that hee approved all that had beene said by the Syndiques, & that he was able to say no more than had beene said by them before. The Commissioner said unto him: you are, I see a very ancient man, and you have not lived so long, but that you have something to answer for your part in defence of your cause. And the said Palenc answered, seeing it is your pleasure that I should say something, it seemeth unto me unpossible that (say what we can) we should have either victory or vantage; for our Judges be our enemies.

John Palenc answereth.

Then John Brunerall, Under-baylife of Merindoll, answered, that hee would very faine know the authority of the Counseller Durandus, Commissioner in this cause, forasmuch as the said counseller had given them to understand, that hee had authority of the high Court to make them abjure their errors, which should be found by good and sufficient information, and to give them so doing the pardon contained in the Kings letters, and quit them of all punishment and condemnation. But the said Commissioner did not give them to understand that if it could not be found, by good and sufficient information, that they were in errour, hee had any power or authority to quit and absolve them of the said sentence and condemnation: wherefore it seemed that it should be more vantage for the said Merindolians, if it should appeare that they were heretiques, then to be found to live according to the doctrine of the Gospell. For this cause hee required, that it would please the said Commissioner to make declaration thereof: Concluding, that if it did not appeare, by good and sufficient information against them, that they had swarved from the faith, or if there were no accuser that would come forth against them, they ought to be fully absolved, without being any more troubled either in body or goods.

The underbaylife of Merindoll answereth

Durandus the commissioner required to shew his commission.

These things were thus in debating from seven of the clocke in the morning, untill eleven. Then the Commissioner dismissed them till after dinner. At one of the clocke at afternoone, they were called for againe, and demanded whether they would say any thing else touching that which was propounded in the morning by the said Commissioner. They answered, no. Then said the Commissioner, what doe you conclude for your defence; the two Syndiques answered, We conclude that it would please you to declare unto us the errors and heresies whereof wee are accused. Then the Commissioner asked the Bishop of Cavaillon, what information he had against them. The Bishop spake unto him in his eare, and would not answer aloud. This talk in the eare continued almost half an houre, that the Commissioner and all other that stood thereby were weary thereof. In the end, the Commissioner said unto them, That the Bishop of Cavaillon had told him, that it was not needful to make it apparant by information, for such was the common report. Hereunto they answered, that they required the causes and reasons alledged by the Bishop of Cavaillon against them, should be put in writing. The Bishop was earnest to the contrary, and would have nothing, that either hee said or alledged, to be put in writing.

The Baylife and Syndicks of Merindoll appeare the second time.

They that doe the workes of darknesse hate the light.

Then John Brunerall required the Commissioner, that at the least hee would put in writing, that the Bishop would speak nothing against them that they could understand; and that hee would not speake before the Commissioner but onely in his eare,

eare. The Bishop on the contrary part defended that hē would not bē named in processe. There was great disputation upon this matter, and continued long. Then the Commissioner asked the Merindolians if they had the articles of their confession, which they had presented to the high Court of Parliament. Then they required that their confession might be read, that by the reading thereof, they might understand whether it were the doctrine which they held, and the confession which they had presented, or no. Then the confession was read publikly before them, which they did allow and acknowledge to bē theirs. This done, the Commissioner asked the Doctour if hē did finde in the said confession any heretical opinions, whereof hē could make demonstration by the Word of God, either out of the Old or New Testament. Than spake the Doctour in Latine a good while. After hē had made an end, Andrew Maynard the Bayliffe desired the Commissioner, according as he had propounded, to make the errours and heresies that they were accused of apparant unto them by good information, or at the least to marke those Articles of their confession, which the Bishop and the Doctour pretended to be heretical; requiring him also to put in Register the refusall as well of the Bishop as of the Doctour, of whom the one spake in his eare, and the other in Latine, so that they of Merindoll could not understand one word. Then the Commissioner promised them to put in writing all that should make for their cause. And moreover hē said that it was not needfull to call the rest of the Merindolians, if there were no more to be said to them, then had bēene said to those which were already called. And this is the summe of all that was done at the afternoone.

What were the articles and doctrine of their confession read Fleid. lib. 10.

Many which came thither to heare these disputations, supposing that they should have heard some goodly demonstrations, were greatly abashed to sē the Bishop & the Doctor so confounded; which thing afterward turned to the great benefit of many: for hereby they were moved to require copies of the confession of their faith; by meanes whereof they were converted and embraced the truth, and namely thrē Doctours, who went about divers times to dissuade the Merindolians from their faith; whose ministery God afterwards used in the preaching of his Gospell. Of whom one was Doctour Combaudi prior of S. Marimin, afterwards a Preacher in the territory of the Lords of Berne. Another was Doctour Somati, who was also a Preacher in the Bayliwick of Tonon. The other was Doctour Veraudi, Pastour and Minister in the County of Newcastle.

Three Doctors converted by the confession of the Merindolians.

After this the inhabitants of Merindoll were in rest and quietnesse for a space, insomuch, that every man feared to go about to trouble them, seeing those which persecuted them did receive nothing but shame and confusion: as it did manifestly appeare, not only by the sudden death of the President Chassanē, but also many other of the chiefest Counsellors of the Parliament of Province, whose horrible end terrified many, but especialy the strange and fearefull example of that bloody tyrant Joyn de Roma, set out as a spectacle to all persecutors, whereof wē have spoken before.

The sudden death of a persecutor.

Thus the Lord repressing the rage of the adversaries for a time, stayed the violence and execution of that cruell sentence or arrest given out by the Parliament of Province against the Merindolians, untill John Miniers, in exceeding bloody Tyrant, beganne a new persecution. This Miniers, being Lord of Opede nēere to Merindoll, first beganne to vexe the poore Christians by pilling and polling, by oppression and extortion, getting from them what hē could, to enlarge his Seigniory or Lordship, which before was very base. For this cause hē put five or six of his own Tenants into a Cisterne under the ground, and closing it up there he kept them till they died for hunger, pretending that they were Lutheranes, & Valdoys, to have their goods and possessions. By this, and such other practises this wretch was advanced in short space to great wealth and dignity, and so at length became not only the chiefe President of the High Court of Parliament, but also the Kings Lieutenant Generall in the Countrey of Province, in the absence of the Lord Grignan, then being at the Councell of Worms in Germany. Now therefore seeing no opportunity to bē lacking to accomplish his divellish enterprize, hē employed all his power, riches, and authority, not only to confirme and to revive that cruell Arrest given out before by the Court of Parliament; but also (as a right Minister of Sathan) hē exceedingly increased the cruelty thereof, which was already so great, that it sēemed there could nothing more be added thereunto. And to bring this mischiefe to passe hē forged a most impudent lye, giving the King to understand, that they of Merindoll and all the Countrey nēere about, to the number of twelve or fifteene thousand, were in the field in armour with their Enseigne displayed, intending to take the towne of Marseille, and make it one of the Cantons of the Switzers: And to stay this enterprize, hē said, it was necessary to execute the Arrest Manu Militari: and by this meanes hē obtained the Kings Letters Patents, through the helpe of the Cardinall of Tournon, commanding the sentence to be executed against the Merindolians, notwithstanding the King had before revoked the said sentence, and given strait commandement that it should in no wise be executed, as is before mentioned.

6. Martyrs of Opede.

Minerius made the Kings Lieutenant of Province.

False accusation and crimes forged upon the innocent Christians.

The King abused by wicked counsell.

After this he gathered all the Kings army, which was then in Province ready to go against the Englishmen, and took up all besides, that were able to beare armour, in the chiefest townes of Province, and joyned them with the army which the Popes Legat had levied for that purpose in Avinion and all the Countrey of Venice, and employed the same to the destruction of Merindoll, Cabriers, and other Townes and Villages, to the number of two and twenty; giving Commission to his souldiers, to spoyle, ransacke, burne, and to destroy all together, and to kill man, woman, and childe, without all mercy, paring none: No otherwise then the Infidels and cruell Turks have dealt with the Christians, as before in the Story of the Turks you may read.

For as the Papists and Turkes are like in their Religion, so are the said Papists like, or rather exceed them, in all kindes of cruelty that can be devised. But this Arch-Tyrant, before hē came to Merindoll, ransacked and burnt certaine Townes, namely La Roch, Saint Stephens, Ville Laure, Lormarin, La Motte, Cabrierettes, Saint Martin, Pipin, and other places moe, notwithstanding that the Arrest extended but only to Merindoll. Where the most of the poore inhabitants were slaine and murdered without any resistance; women and maidens ravished; women with child, and little infants borne and to be borne, were also most cruelly murdered; the Pappes of many women cut off, which gave suck to their children, which loking for suck at their mothers breast, being dead before, died also for hunger. There was never any such cruelty and tyranny sēene before.

Eight townes with the most part of the people destroyed for true religion.

Horrible cruelty upon women and young infants.

Minerius a pestilent persecutor without all reason and measure.

The Merindolians, seeing all on a flaming fire, round about them, left their houses and fled into the Woods, and remained all that

night at the village Sanſales and thereabouts, in wonderſull feare and perplexity: for the Biſhop of Cavaillon, deputie to the biſhop of Romes Legate, had appointed certaine Captaines to goe and ſlay them. The next day they went a little further, hiding themſelves in woods, for there was danger on every ſide, and Miniers had commanded, under paine of death, that no man ſhould aid them by any meanes, but that they ſhould be ſlaine without pitie or mercy, whereſoever they were found. The ſame Proclamation was of force alſo in the Biſhop of Romes dominions thereby: and it was ſaid that the biſhops of that countrey did finde a great part of the armie. Wherefore they went a tedious and painfull journey, carrying their children upon their ſhoulders, and in their armes, and in their ſwadling clothes, and many of them alſo being great with child were conſtrained ſo to do. And when they were come to the place appointed, thither was already reſorted a great number which had loſt their goods, and ſaved themſelves by flight.

Not long after, it was ſhewed them how that Miniers was comming with all his power, to give the charge upon them. This was in the evening, and becauſe they ſhould go through rough and cumberſome places, and hard to paſſe by, they all thought it moſt expedient for their ſafegard to leave behind them all the women & children, with a few other, and among them alſo, certaine Miniſters of the Church, the reſidue were appointed to goe to the towne of Muſſi. And this did they upon hope that the enemie would ſhew mercy to the multitude of women and children being deſtitute of all ſuccour. No tongue can expreſſe whatſorow, what teares, what ſighing, what lamentation there was at that woefull departing, when they were compelled to be thus ſeparated aſunder, the huſband from his deare wife, the father from his ſweet babes and tender infants, the one never like to ſee the other againe alive. Notwithſtanding, after the Miniſters had ended their ordinary ſermons, with evening prayers and exhortations, the men departed that night, to avoid a greater inconvenience.

A lamentable ſeparation of the Merindollians from their wives and children.

When they had gone all the night long, and had paſſed over the great hill of Libron, they might ſee many Villages and Farmes ſet on fire. Miniers in the mean time had divided his army into two parts, marching himſelfe with the one towards the town of Merindoll; and having knowledge by eſpiall whither the Merindolians were fled, he ſendeth the other part to ſet upon them, and to ſhew their accuſtomed cruelty upon them. Yet before they came to the place where they were, ſome of Miniers army either of good will, or moved with pittie, privily conveighed themſelves away, and came unto them, to give them warning, that their enemies were comming: and one from the top of an high rocke, where he thought that the Merindolians were underneath, caſteth downe two ſtones, and afterward, although he could not ſee them, he called unto them, that they ſhould immediatly flie from thence. But the enemies ſuddenly came upon them, finding them all aſſembled together at prayers, and ſpoyled them of all that they had, pulling off their garments from their backes: ſome they raviſhed; ſome they whipped and ſcourged; ſome they ſold away like cattell, practiſing what cruelty and villany ſoever they could deviſe againſt them. The women were in number about five hundred.

The Merindolians overtaken of their enemies.

In the meane time Miniers came to Merindoll, where he found none but a yong man named Maurice Blanc, who had yelded himſelfe unto a ſouldier, promiſing him for his ranſome two French crownes. Miniers would have had him away by force, but it was anſwered that the ſouldier ought not to loſe his priſoner. Miniers therefore, paying the two crownes himſelfe, tooke the yong man, and cauſed him to be tied unto an Olive tree, and ſhot through with harquebuſes, and moſt cruellie martyred. Many gentlemen, which accompanied Miniers againſt their wils, ſeeing this cruell ſpectacle, were moved with great compaſſion, and could not forbeare teares. For albeit this yong man was not yet very well inſtructed, neither had before dwelt at Merindoll, yet, in all his torments, having alwaies his eyes lifted up to Heaven with a loud voice he ceaſed not ſtill to call upon God: and the laſt words that he ſpake were theſe. Lord God, theſe men take away my life full of miſerie, but thou wilt give unto me life everlaſting by thy Sonne Jeſus Chriſt, to whom be glorie. So was Merindoll without any reſiſtance valiantlie taken, ranſackt, burnt, raced, and laied even with the ground. And albeit there was no man to reſiſt, yet this valiant Captaine of Opede, armed from top to toe, trembled for feare, and was ſeene to change his colour very much.

Uſſe cruelty ſhewed upon a yong man of Merindoll.

The towne of Merindoll deſtroyed of the papiſts.

When he had deſtroyed Merindoll, he laid ſiege to Cabriers, and battered it with his ordinance; but when hee could not winne it by force, hee with the Lord of the towne, and Poulin his chiefe Captaine, perſwaded with the inhabitants to open their gates ſolemnly promiſing, that if they would ſo doe, they would lay downe their armour, and alſo that their cauſe ſhould be heard in judgement with all equitie and juſtice, and no violence or injury ſhould be ſhewed againſt them. Upon this, they opened their gates and let in Miniers with his Captaines and all his army. But the tyrant, when he was once entered, falſified his promiſe, and raged like a beaſt. For firſt of all he picked out about thirtie men, cauſing them to be bound and carried into a medow nere to the towne, and there to be miſerably cut and hewne in pieces of his ſouldiers.

The towne of Cabriers ſa taken.

Othes and promiſe broken the papiſts.

30. Men martyrs.

Then, becauſe he would leave no kind of cruelty unattempted, he alſo exerciſed his outrage and fury upon the poore ſilly women, and cauſed fortie of them to be taken, of whom divers were great with child, and put them into a barne full of ſtraw, and hay, and cauſed it to be ſet on fire at foure corners, and when the ſillie women, running to the great windowe where the hay is wont to be caſt into the barne, would have leaped out, they were kept in with pikes and halberds. Then there was a ſouldier which moved with pitie at the crying out and lamentation of the women, opened a doore to let them out; but as they were comming out, the Tyrant cauſed them to be ſlaine and cut in pieces, opening their bellies, that their children fell out, whom they trod under their feete. Many were fled into the Wineceller of the Caſtle, and many hid themſelves in caves, whereof ſome were carried into the medow, and there ſtripped naked were ſlaine: Other ſome were bound two and two together, and carried into the hall of the Caſtle, where they were ſlaine by the Captaines, reſoycing in their bloody butchery and horrible ſlaughter.

40. Women martyrs.

Cruelty Mutcall, or rather fury diaboli.

That done, this Tyrant, more cruell than ever was Herod, commanded Captaine John de Gay with a band of ruffians to go into the church (where was a great number of women, children, and yong infants) to kill all that he found there. Which the Captaine refuſed at the firſt to do, ſaying, that were a cruelty unuſed among men of warre. Whereat Miniers being diſpleaſed, charged him upon paine of rebellion and diſobedience to the King, to doe as he had commanded him. The captaine fearing what might enſue, entred with his men, and deſtroyed them all ſparing neither yong nor old.

In this meane while certaine ſouldiers went to ranſake the houſes for the ſpoile, where they found many poore men that had there hidden themſelves in cellers and other private places, flying upon them & crying out, kill, kill. The other ſouldiers that were without the towne killed all that they could meete with. The number of thoſe that were ſo unmercifully

fully murthered, were about a thousand persons of men, women, and children. The Infants, that escaped their fury, were baptized againe of their enemies.

Above a thousand martyrs of Cabriers.

In token of this jolly victory the Popes officers caused a pillar to be erected in the said place of Cabriers, in the which was ingraven the yeare & the day of the taking and sacking of this towne, by John Minars Lord of Oppede, and chiefe president of the Parliament of Provence, for a memoriall for ever of that barbarous cruelty, the like whereof was yet never heard of. Whereupon we with all our posterity have to understand, what be the reasons and arguments wherewith the Antichrist of Rome is wont to uphold the impious seat of his abhomination: Who now is come to such exceesse and profundity of all kindes of iniquity, that all justice, equity and verity being set aside, he seeketh the defence of his cause by no other thing but only by force and violence, terror and oppression, and shedding of blood.

The arguments wherewith the Duke of the Popes church vnderby.

In this meane while the Inhabitants of Merindoll and other places thereabout were among the mountaines and rockes, in great necessity of victuals, and much affliction: who had procured certaine men, which were in some favour and authority with Miniers, to make request for them unto him, that they might depart safely whither it should please God to leade them, with their wives and children, although they had no more but their shirts to cover their nakednesse. Whereunto Miniers made this answer; I know what I have to doe: not one of them shall escape my hands, I will send them to dwell in hell among the Divels.

Antichrist here worth the will.

After this there was a power sent unto Cotta; which likewise they overcame, & committed there great slaughter. Many of the Inhabitans fled away and ran into an orchard, where the souldiers ravished the women and maidens; and when they had kept them there inclosed a day and a night, they handled them so beastly, that those which had great bellies, and the younger maidens died shortly after. It were impossible to comprehend all the lamentable and sorrowfull examples of this cruell persecution against the Merindolians and their fellowes; insomuch that no kinde of cruell tyranny was unpractised: for they which escaped by woods, and went wandring by Mountaines, were taken and set in gallies, or else were slaine outright.

The towne of Cotta destroied

Many which did hide themselves in rockes and dark caves, some were famished with hunger, some were smothered with fire & smoke put unto them. All which may more fully be understood by the Records of the Court, and by the pleas betweene them and their adversaries in the high Consistory of the Court of Paris: where all the dores being set open, and in the publick hearing of all the people, the cause of this trouble and persecution was shortly after solemnly debated betweene two great Lawyers; the one called Aubrius, which accused Minerius the President committed to prison; and the other called Robertus, who was the defendant against him. The cause why this matter of Merindoll was brought in plea and judgement, to be decided by the law, was this:

Martyrs of Cotta.

When the Merindolians were slaine the cause was ended.

Henrie the second, French King, which newly succeeded Francis his father above mentioned, considering how this cruell and infamous persecution against his owne subjects and people was greatly misliked of other princes, and also objected both against him & his father as a note of shameful tyranny, by the Emperour himselfe Charles the fifth, and that in the publique Councell of all the States of Germany, for so murthering and spoyling his owne naturall subjects, without all reason and mercy; he therefore, to the intent to purge and cleare himselfe thereof, caused the said matter to be brought into the Court, and there to be decided by order of Justice.

Francis the French King vnder Charles the fifth Emperour.

Which cause, after it was pleaded to and fro in publique audience, no lesse than fifty times, and yet in the end could not be determined, is it brake off and was passed over; and at length Minerius, being losed out of prison, was restored to his liberty and possessions againe, upon this condition and promise made unto the Cardinall Charles of Loraine, that hee should banish and expell these new Christians (terming so the true professors of the Gospell) out of all Provence.

The cause of the Merindolians after their death pleaded fifty times in the Court.

Minerius loosed out of prison.

Thus Minerius being restored, returned againe into Provence, where he began againe to attempt greater tyranny than before. Neither did his raging fury cease to proceed, before the full judgement of God lighting upon him, brought him by a horrible disease unto the torments of death, which hee most fully had deserved. For hee being stroken with a strange kind of bleeding at the lower parts, in a manner of a bloody flix, and not being able to void any urine, thus by little and little his guts within him rotted: and when no remedy could bee found for this terrible disease, and his intrals now began to be eaten of wormes, a certaine famous Chirurgeon, named La Mote, which dwelt at Arles, a man no lesse godly than expert in his science, was called for; who after he had cured him of this difficulty of making water, and therefore was in great estimation with him; before he would proceed further to search the other parts of his putrified body, & to search out the inward cause of his malady, he desired that they which were present in the chamber with Minerius would depart a little aside. Which being done, he began to exhort Minerius with earnest words, saying, how the time now required that he should aske forgivenesse of God by Christ, for his enormous crimes and cruelty in shedding so much innocent blood, and declared the same to be the cause of this so strange profusion of blood comming from him.

The full stroke of God upon cruell Minerius.

Good counsell given to Minerius of his Surgeon.

These words being heard, so pierced the impure conscience of this miserable wretch, that hee was therewith more troubled than with the agony of his disease: insomuch that he cried out to lay hand upon the Chirurgeon as an heretique. La Mote, hearing this, eftsones conveied himselfe out of sight, and returned againe to Arles. Notwithstanding it was not long but he was sent for againe, being entreated by his friends, and promised most firmely, that his comming should bee without any perill or danger: and so with much adoe he returned againe to Minerius, what time all now was past remedie: and so Minerius raging and casting out most horrible and blaspheming words, and feeling a fire which burnt him from the navell upward, with extreme stinch of the lower parts finished his wretched life. Whereby we have notoriously to understand, that God through his mighty arme at length confoundeth such persecutors of his innocent and faithful servants, and bringeth them to nought; to whom be praise and glory for ever.

Minerius seeketh the blood of his Surgeon.

The wretched end of wretched Minerius the persecutor.

Moreover, besides this Justice of God shewed upon Minerius, here also is not to be forgotten that which followed likewise upon certaine of the other which were the chiefe doers in this persecution under Minerius aforesaid; namely Lewes de Maine, brother in law to the said President, and also the brother and the sonne in law to Peter Durant, maister-butcher of the towne of Air: the which three did slay one another, upon a certaine strike that fell upon them. And upon the same day the Judge of Air, who accompanied Minerius in the same persecution, as he returned homeward, going over the river of Durance, was drowned. Ex hist. Gallica, Henr. Pantal. & aliis.

The full plague of God upon three persecutors.

Notes upon the Story of Merindoll, above recited.

THus hast thou heard (loving Reader) the terrible troubles and slaughters committed by the Bishops and Cardinals, against these faithfull men of Merindoll, which for the hainous tyranny, and example of the fact most unmercifull, may be comparable with many of the first persecutions in the Primitive Church, done either by Decius, or Diocle-sianus.

The gospellers of Merindoll came first of the Waldenses.

Now touching the said story and people of Merindoll, briefely by the way is to be noted, that this was not the first time that these men of this countrey were vexed; neither was it of late yeares that the doctrine and profession of them beganne. For (as by the course of time, and by ancient Records it may appeare) these inhabitants of Province, and other Coasts bordering about the Confines of France, and Piedmont, had their continuance of ancient time, and received their doctrine first from the Waldenses, or Albigenses, which were (as some say) about the yeare of our Lord 1170. or (as other doe reckon) about the yeare of our Lord 1216. whereof thou hast (gentle Reader) sufficiently to understand, reading before.

Vid. supra.

Vid. supra.

Waldenses how and of whom they first began.

These Waldenses, otherwise called Pauperes de Lugduno, beginning of one Petrus Waldus, Citizen of Lyons, as is before shewed, by violence of persecution being driven out of Lyons, were disparkled abroad in divers countries, of whom, some fled to Massillia, some to Germany, some to Sarmatia, Livovia, Bohemia, Calabria, and Apulia; divers straied to the countries of France, especially about Province and Piedmont, of whom came these Merindolians above mentioned, and the Angrognians with others, of whom now it followeth likewise (God willing) to discourse. They which were in the countrey of Tolouse, of the place where they frequented, were called Albii, or Albigenses. Against the which Albigenses Frier Dominicus was a great doer, labouring and preaching against them tenne yeares together; and caused many of them to be burned, for the which he was highly accepted and rewarded in the Apostolicall Court, and at length, by Pope Honorius the third, was made Patriarch of the blacke Guard of the Dominicke Friers. Ex Antonio part. 3. titul. 19. Capitulo 1.

Dominicus patriarch of the black friers, enemie to the Waldenses.

Vid. supra.

These Albigenses, against the Pope of Rome, had set up to themselves a Bishop of their owne, named Bartholomæus, remaining about the Coasts of Croatia and Dalmatia, as appeares by a letter of one of the Popes Cardinals, above specified. For which cause the See of Rome tooke great indignation against the said Albigenses, and caused all their faithfull Catholikes and obedientiaries to their Church to rise up in armour, and to take the signe of the holy crosse upon them, to fight against them, Anno 1206. by reason whereof great multitudes of them were pittifully murthered, not onely of them about Tolouse, and Avinion in France (as is afore to be seene) but also in all quarters miserable slaughters and burnings of them long continued, from the raigne of Fredericke the second, Emperour, almost to this present time, through the instigation of the Romane Popes.

Ex Paul. Æmilio, lib. 6.

Paulus Aemilius the French Chronicler in his sixth Booke, writing of these Pauperes de Lugduno, and Humiliati, and dividing these two orders from Albigenses, reporteth that the two former orders were rejected of Pope Lucius the third. And in their place other two orders were approved, to wit, the order of the Dominicke Friers, and of the Franciscans. Which seemeth not to be true, forsomuch as this Pope Lucius was twenty yeares before Innocent the third: and yet neither in the time of Pope Innocent the order of the Dominicke Friers was approved, but in the time of Pope Honorius the third, who was forty yeares after Pope Lucius. Againe, Bernardus Lutzenbergensis, in Catal. Hæret. affirmeth, That these Pauperes de Lugduno, or Waldenses began first, Anno, 1218. Which if it be true, then must the other report of Aemilius be false, writing of the sect of Pauperes Lugdunenses, to be refused by Pope Lucius the third, who was long before this, in the yeare of our Lord, 1181.

Ex Bernard. Lutzenberg.

Amongst other Authours which write of those Waldenses, Ioannes Sleid. libr. 16. intreating of their continuance and doctrine, thus writeth of them. There be, saith he, in the French Province a people called Waldoys. These of an ancient trade and custome among them, do not acknowledge the Bishop of Rome, and ever have used a manner of doctrine, somewhat more pure than the rest, but especially since the comming of Luther, they have increased in more knowledge and perfection of judgement. Wherefore they have beene oftentimes complained upon to the King, as though they contemned the Magistrate, and would move rebellion, with other such matters falsely surmised against them, more of despite and malice, than of any just cause of truth. There be of them certaine Townes and Villages, among which Merindoll is one. Against these Merindolians sentence was given five yeares past, at Aix, being the high tribunall seat or judgement place of Province, that all should be destroyed without respect of age or person, in such sort, as that the houses being plucked downe, the Village should be made plaine, even with the ground, the trees also should be cut downe, and the place altogether made desolate and desert. Albeit, though it were thus pronounced, yet was it not then put in execution, by the meanes of certaine that perswaded the King to the contrary, namely, one William Belsay, who was at the same time the Kings Lievtenant in Piedmont. But at the last, the twelfth day of Aprill, An. 1545. Iohn Minerius President of the Counsell of Aix, calling the Senate, read the Kings Letters, commanding them to execute the sentence given, &c.

See the story of Sleidan.

Moreover, concerning the confession and the doctrine of the said Merindolians, received of ancient time from the forefathers the Waldenses, thus it followeth in the said booke and place of Iohn Sleidan.

This confession worthy of perpetuall memory, you shall see more largely set out in Henry Pantaleon writing of the destruction of Cabiters & Wertndoll, and also in the French story.

At last (saith Sleidan, after he had described what great cruelty was shewed against them, when the report hereof was bruted in Germany, it offended the mindes of many: and indeed the Switzers, who were then of a contrary religion to the Pope, intreated the King, that hee would shew mercy to such as were fled. Whereunto the said King Francis made answer in this wise: pretending that he had just cause to do as he did: Inferring moreover, that they ought not to be carefull, what he did within his dominions, or how hee punished his offenders, more then hee was about their affaires, &c. Thus hard was the King against them, notwithstanding (saith Sleidan) that he, the yeare before, had received from the said his Subjects of Merindoll a confession of their faith and doctrine. The Articles whereof were, That they, according to Christian faith confessed, first God the Father, Creatour of all things: The Sonne, the only Mediatour and Advocate of mankinde: The holy Spirit, the Comforter and instructer of all truth. They confessed also the Church, which they acknowledged to be the fellowship of Gods elect, whereof Iesus Christ is head. The Ministers also of the Church they did allow, wishing that such as did not their duty should be removed.

Ex Ioan. Sleid. no. lib. 16.

The confession and faith of the Waldenses in Merindoll.

And as touching Magistrates, they granted likewise the same to bee ordained of God to defend the good, and to punish the transgressours. And how

how they owe to him not love onely, but alſo tribute and cuſtome, and no man herein to bee excepted, even by the example of Chriſt, who payed tribute himſelfe, &c.

Likewiſe of Baptiſme, they confeſſed the ſame to be a viſible and an outward ſigne, that repreſenteth to us the renewing of the Spirit, and mortification of the members.

Furthermore, as touching the Lords Supper, they ſaid and confeſſed the ſame to bee a thankſgiving, and a memoriall of the benefit received through Chriſt.

Matrimony they affirmed to be holy; and inſtituted of God, and to be inhibited to no man.

That good workes are to be obſerved and exerciſed of all men, as holy Scripture teacheth.

That falſe doctrine, which leadeth men away from the true worſhip of God, ought to be eſchewed.

Briefely and finally, the order and rule of their faith they confeſſed to be the old and new Teſtament; proteſting that they beleeved all ſuch things as are contained in the Apoſtolique Creed: Deſiring moreover the King to give credit to this their declaration of their faith, ſo that whatſoever was informed to him to the contrary, was not true, and that they would well prove, if they might be heard.

And thus much concerning the doctrine and confeſſion of the Merindolians out of Sleidan, and alſo concerning their deſcent and off-ſpring from the Waldenſes.

The Hiſtory of the Perſecutions and Wars againſt the people called Waldenſes or Waldoys, in the valleyes of Angrogne, Luſerne, S. Martin, Perouſe, and others, in the Country of Piedmont, from the yeare 1555, *to the yeare of our Lord*, 1561.

Perſecution in the valley of Angrogne, Lucerne, S. Martin, Perouſe, in Piedmont.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs, and the cauſes of their martyrdome.
	The Martyrs of the valley of Angrogne.
	The Martyrs of the valley of Lucerne.
The Parliamen tof Thurin.	The Martyrs of Saint Martin.
	The Martyrs of Perouſe and others.
	In the Countrey of Piedmont. From the yeare 1555. unto 1561.
The Preſident of Saint Iulian.	TO proceed now further in the perſecution of theſe Waldois, or Waldenſes, you have heard hitherto, firſt how they dividing themſelves into divers countreyes, ſome fled to Province, and to Tolouſe, of whom ſufficient hath been ſaid. Some went to Piedmont, and the valley of Angrogne, of whom it followeth now to intreat, God willing.
Iacomel Monke, an Inquiſitor.	Thus theſe good men, by long perſecution being driven from place to place, were grievouſly in all places afflicted, but yet could never be utterly deſtroi'd, nor yet compelled to yeild to the ſuperſtitious & falſe religion
Mounſieur de la Trinity.	
The Gentlemen of the Valleyes.	of the Church of Rome: but ever abſtained from their corruption and idolatry, as much as was poſſible, and gave themſelves to the Word of God, as a rule both truly to ſerve him, and to direct their lives accordingly.
Charles Truchet.	They had many bookes of the old & new Teſtament tranſlated into their language. Their miniſters inſtructed thē ſecretly, to avoid the fury of their Enemies which could not abide the light: albeit they did not inſtruct them with ſuch purity as was requiſite. They lived in great ſimplicity, and with the ſweat of their browes. They were quiet and peaceable among their neighbours, abſtaining from blaſphemy, and prophaning of the name of God by oaths, & ſuch other impiety: frō lewd games, dancing, filthy ſongs, and other vices and diſſolute life, and conformed their life wholly to the rule of Gods Word. Their principall care was alwayes, that God might be rightly ſerved, and his Word truly preached: Inſomuch that in our time, when it pleaſed God to ſet forth the light of his Goſpel more clerly, they never ſpared any thing to eſtablish the true and pure miniſtery of the Word of God and his Sacraments. Which was the cauſe that Satan with his miniſters did ſo perſecute them of late more cruelly than ever hee did before, as manifeſtly appeareth by the bloody and horrible perſecutions which have beene, not only in Province, againſt thoſe of Merindoll and Cabriers; alſo againſt them of Prage and Calabria (as the Hiſtories afore written do ſufficiently declare) but alſo againſt them in the countrey of Piedmont, remaining in the valley of Angrogne, and of Lucerne, and alſo in the valley of S. Martine, and Perouſe, in the ſaid country of Piedmont. Which people of a long time were perſecuted
Boniface Truchet.	
The Collateral of Corbis.	
The Collaterall de Eccleſia.	
The Duke of Savoy.	
Monkes of Pigneroll.	
And many other moe, Enemies of God, and Miniſters of Satan.	

by the Papiſts, and eſpecially within theſe few yeares they have bēn vexed in ſuch ſort, and ſo diverſly, that it ſeemeth almoſt incredible: and yet hath God alwayes miraculouſly delivered them, as hereafter ſhall enſue.

Albeit the people of Angrogne had before this time certain to preach the Word of God, and miniſter the Sacraments unto them privately; yet in the yeare of our Lord 1555, in the beginning of the moneth of Auguſt, the Goſpell was openly preached in Angrogne. The Miniſters and the people intended at the firſt to kēpe themſelves ſtill as ſecret as they might: but there was ſuch concourſe of people from all parts, that they were compelled to preach openly abroad. For this cauſe they built them a Church in the middeſt of Angrogne, where aſſemblies were made, and Sermons preached. It happened about that time, that

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The iust hand of God upon John Martin a persecutor.

one John Martin of Briqueras, a mile from Angrogne, which vanted every where, that he would slit the Ministers nose of Angrogne, was assaulted by a Wolfe which bit off his nose, so that he died thereof mad. This was commonly knowne to all the townes thereabout.

At this season the French king held these foresaid valleyes, and they were under the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Thurin. In the end of December following, newes was brought, that it was ordained by the said Parliament, that certaine horsemen and footmen should be sent to spoile and destroy Angrogne. Whereupon some, which pretended great friendship to this people, counselled them not to go forward with their enterprise, but to forbeare for a while, and to wait for better opportunity. But they notwithstanding, calling upon God, determined with one accord constantly to persist in their Religion, and in hope and silence to abide the good pleasure of God: so that this enterprise against Angrogne was soone dashed. The same time they began also openly to preach in Luserne.

In the moneth of March, Anno 1556. the Ministers of the valley of Saint Martine preached openly. At that time certaine Gentlemen of the valley of Saint Martine took a good man named Bartholmew, a Book-binder, prisoner, as he passed by the said valley, the which was sent by and by to Turin; and there with a marvelious constancie, after hee had made a good confession of his faith, he suffered death: insomuch that divers of the Parliament were astonished and appalled at his constancy. Yet they of the said Parliament, being sore incensed against the Valdoys, sent one named the President of Saint Julian, associating unto him one called De Ecclesia, and others, to hinder their enterprise. These comming first to the valley of Perouse, whereas yet no Preachers were, but they were accustomed to resort to the sermons at Angrogne, very much troubled and feared the poore people there.

Bartholmew a Book binder, martyr.

The President of S. Julian and other, sent to the Angrognians.

From thence they went to the valley of Saint Martine, and remained there a good while, tormenting the poore people, and threatening their utter ruine and destruction. After that they came to Luserne, troubling and vexing the people there in like maner. From thence they went to Angrogne, accompanied with many Gentlemen, and a great rabble of Priests of the said Countrey. But by the way the President enquired for one dwelling at Saint Johns nere to Angrogne, and examined him, whether he had not baptised his childe at Angrogne, and wherefore he had so done. The poore simple man answered, that hee had baptised his childe at Angrogne, because Baptisme was there ministred according to the institution of Christ.

Note here how the Papists play the Anabaptists.

Then the President in great rage commanded him in the Kings name to baptise his childe againe, or else he should be burnt. The poore man desired the President, that he might be suffered to make his prayer to God, before he should make answer thereunto. Which after he had done in the Hall before all the company there present, he required the President that hee would write, and signe the same with his owne hand, that hee would discharge him before God, of the danger of that offence, if hee should baptise his childe againe, and that he would take the perill upon him and his. The President, hearing this, was so confounded, that he spake not one word a good while after. Then said hee in a great fury; Away thou villaine out of my sight; and after that he was never called more.

Example of good prayer.

The President confounded at the poore mans answer.

After they were come to Angrogne, the President, having visited the two Temples, caused a Monke to preach in the one, the people being there assembled: who pretended nothing else, but onely to exhort them to returne to the obedience of the See of Rome. The aforesaid Monke, with the President and all his whole retinue, kneeled downe twice, and called upon the Virgin Mary: but the Ministers and all the people stood still, and would not kneele, making no signe or token of reverence. As soone as the Monke had ended his sermon, the people requested instantly, that their minister might also bee suffered to preach, affirming that the said Monke had spoken many things which were not according to the Word of God. But the President would not grant their request.

The people would not kneele to pray to our Lady.

After that, the said President admonished them in the name of the King and the Parliament of Thurin, that they should returne to the obedience of the Pope, upon paine of losse of goods and life, and utter destruction of their towne. And withall he recited unto them the pitious discomfiture of their brethren and friends, which had bin done before in Merindoll and Cabriers, and other places in the countrey of Province. The Ministers and the people answered, that they were determined to live according to the word of God, and that they would obey the King and all their superiors in all things, so that God thereby were not displeased: and furthermore, if it were shewed unto them by the Word of God, that they erred in any point of Religion, they were ready to receive correction, and to be reformed. This talke endured about six houres together, even untill night. In the end, the President said there should be a disputation appointed for those matters. Whereunto the people gladly agreed. But after that there was no more mention made thereof.

The people of Angrogne threatned with destruction.

The Angrognians desired to be tried by the Word of God.

Here he remained fourteene dayes, daily practising new devices to vex and torment them, with new proclamations, now calling to him the Syndiques and head Officers, now severally and now all together, that so forfeare he might make them relent: causing also assemblies to be made in every Parish by such as he appointed, thinking thereby to divide the people. Notwithstanding he nothing prevailed with all that he could doe: but still they continued constant. In so much that they with one accord presented a brief confession of their faith, with an answer to certaine Interrogatories propounded by the President: In the which they confessed:

The Syndiques were a Sheriffes, Counsellors, or Advocates.

That the religion, wherein both they and their Elders had been long instructed & brought up, was the same which is contained both in the old and new Testament, the which is also briefly comprised in the twelve Articles of the Christian beleefe.

The Articles and confession of the Angrognians exhibite to the President.

Also, that they acknowledged the Sacraments instituted by Christ, wherby he distributeth abundantly his graces and great benefits, his heavenly riches and treasures to all those which receive the same with a true and lively faith.

Furthermore, that they received the Creeds of the foure general Councels; that is to say, of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and also the Creed of Athanasius, wherein the mystery of the Christian faith and religion is plainely and largely set out.

Item, the ten Commandements expressed in the twentieth Chapter of Exodus, and in the fifth of Deuteronomy, in the which the rule of a godly and holy life, and also the true service which God requireth of us, is briefely comprised: and therefore following this article, they suffered not by any meanes (said they) any grosse iniquities to raigne amongst them; as unlawfull swearing, perjury, blasphemy, cursing, slandering, dissention, deceit, wrong dealing, usury, gluttony, drunkennesse, whoredome, theft, murther, sorcery, witchcraft, or such like: but wholly endevoured themselves to live in the feare of God, and according to his holy will.

Moreover, they acknowledged the superior powers, as Princes and Magistrates, to be ordained of God, and that whosoever resisteth the same, re-

sisteth

sileth the ordinance of God; and therefore humbly submitted themselves to their superiours with all obedience, so that they commanded nothing against God.

Finally they protested, that they would in no point be stubborne, but if that their forefathers or they had erred in any one iot concerning true Religion, the same being proved by the Word of God, they would willingly yeld and be reformed.

Their Interrogatories.

The interrogatories were concerning the masse, Auricular Confession, Baptisme, Marriage, and Burials, according to the institution of the Church of Rome.

Their answers to the Interrogaties. Masse.

To the first they answered, That they received the Lords Supper as it was by him instituted, and celebrated by his Apostles: but as touching the Masse, except the same might be proved by the Word of God, they would not receive it.

Auricular confession.

To the second, touching auricular confession, they said, that for their part they confessed themselves daily unto God, acknowledging themselves before him to be miserable sinners, desiring of him pardon and forgivenesse of their sinnes, as Christ instructed his in the prayer which he taught them: Lord forgive us our sinnes. And as Saint John saith; If we confesse our sinnes to God, he is faithfull and just to forgive us our sinnes, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousnesse. And according to that which God himselfe saith by his Prophet; O Israel, if thou returne, returne unto me. And againe, O Israel, it is I, it is I which forgiveth thee thy sinnes. So that, seeing they ought to returne to God alone, and it is hee onely which forgiveth sinnes, therefore they were bound to confesse themselves to God onely, and to no other. Also it appeareth, that David in his Psalmes, and the Prophets, and other faithfull servants of God have confessed themselves both generally and particularly unto God alone: yet if the contrarie might be proved by the Word of God, they would (say they) with all humblenesse receive the same.

Ioh. 1. Iere. 3. Esa. 43.

Baptisme.

Thirdly, as touching Baptisme, they acknowledged and received that holy institution of Christ, and administred the same with all simplicitie, as hee ordained it in his holy Gospell, without any changing, adding or diminishing in any point, and that all this they did in their mother tongue, according to the rule of Saint Paul; who willeth that in the Church every thing be done in the mother tongue, for the edification of our neighbour: but as for their conjurations, oyling, and salting, except the same might be proved by the sacred Scripture, they would not receive them.

1. Cor. 14.

The manner of burials.

Fourthly, as touching Burials they answered, that they knew there is a difference betweene the bodies of the true Christians and the Infidels, forasmuch as the first are the members of Jesus Christ, Temples of the holy Ghost, and partakers of the glorious resurrection of the dead; and therefore they accustomed to follow their dead to the grave reverently, with a sufficient company, and exhortation out of the Word of God, as well to comfort the parents and friends of the Dead, as also to admonish all men diligently to prepare themselves to die. But as for the using of Candles or lights, praying for the Dead, ringing of Bels, except the same might be proved to be necessary by the Word of God, and that God is not offended therewith, they would not receive them.

Obedience to mens traditions.

Fifthly, as touching obedience to mens traditions, they received and allowed all those ordinances which (as Saint Paul saith) serve for order, decency, and reverence of the Ministery. But as for other ceremonies, which have beene brought into the Church of God, either as a part of Divine service, or to merit remission of sinnes, or else to bind mens consciences, because they are meere repugnant to the Word of God, they could by no meanes receive them.

Councels not to be preferred before Gods Word.

And whereas the Commissioners affirmed the said traditions to have beene ordained by Councels; first they answered, that the greatest part of them were not ordained by Councels. Secondly, that Councels were not to be preferred above the Word of GOD, which saith; If any man, yea or Angell from Heaven, should preach unto you otherwise, than that which hath beene received of the Lord Iesus, let him be accursed. And therefore (said they) if Councels have ordained any thing dissenting from the Word of God, they would not receive it. Gal. 1.

Councels not kept of the papists in many points.

Finally they said, that the Councels had made divers notable decrees concerning the election of Bishops and Ministers of the Church; concerning Ecclesiasticall discipline, as well of the Clergie as of the people; also concerning the distribution of the goods and possessions of the Church, and further that all pastors which were either whoremongers, drunkards, or offensive in any case, should be put from their office. Moreover, that whosoever should be present at the masse of a Priest which was an whoremonger, should be excommunicate. And many such other things, which were not in any point observed. And that they omitted to speake of many other things which were ordained by divers Councels, very superstitious, and contrary to the holy Commandements of God, as they would be readie to prove (said they) if they should have occasion and opportunity thereunto.

Disputation required.

Wherefore they required the Commissioners, that a Disputation might be had (as by the said President was pretended) publiquely, and in their presence, and then if it might be proved by the word of God, that they erred either in doctrine, or conversation and manner of living, they were content with all humblenesse to be corrected and reformed, as they had before said. Beseeching them to consider also that their religion had beene observed and kept from their ancestors, untill their time, many hundred yeares together: and yet for their parts, being convicted by the infallible Word of God, they would not obstinately stand to the defence thereof. Saying moreover, that they, together with the said Lords Deputies, confessed all one GOD, one Saviour, one holy Ghost, one Law, one Baptisme, one hope in Heaven; and in summe, they affirmed that their faith and religion was firmely founded and grounded upon the pure Word of God: wherefore it is said, that blessed are they which heare the same and keep it.

For the antiquity of these Waldoys see before.

Turkes and Iewes finde more favour with the papists than the true Christians.

To be short, seeing it is permitted to the Turkes, Saracens, and Iewes (which are mortall enemies to our Saviour Christ) to dwell peaceably in the fairest Cities of Christendome, by good reason they should be suffered to live in the desolate mountains and vallies, having their whole religion founded upon the holy Gospell, and worshipping the Lord Jesus, and therefore they most humbly besought them to have pittie and compassion upon them, and to suffer them to live quietly in their deserts; protesting that they and theirs would live in all feare and reverence of God, with all due subjection and obedience to their Lord and Prince, and to his lieutenants and officers.

A breathing time given of God to the Angrongnians.

The President and the rest of the Commissioners, perceiving that they laboured in vaine, returned to Thurin with the notes of their proceedings; the which immediately were sent unto the Kings Court, and there the matter remained one yeare, before there was any answer made thereunto. During which time the Waldoys lived in great quietnesse, as God of his infinite goodnesse is wont to give some comfort and refreshing to his poore servants, after long troubles and afflictions. The number of the faithfull so augmented, that thorow-

throughout the Vallies Gods Word was purely preached, and his Sacraments duely administred, and no masse was sung in Angrogne, nor in divers other places. The yere after, the president of Saint Julian, with his associates, returned to Pigneroll, and sent for thither the chiefe rulers of Angrongne, and of the valley of Luserne, that is, for five of Angrongne, and for two of every Parish besides, and shewed unto them, how that the last yere they had presented their confession, the which, by a decree made by the parliament of Turin, was sent to the Kings Court, and there diligently examined by learned men, and condemned as hereticall. Therefore the King willed and commanded them to returne to the obedience of the Church of Rome, upon paine of losse both of goods and life: injoyning them moreover to give him a direct answer within three daies. From thence he went to Luserne, and caused the houlholders, with great threatnings, to assemble themselves before certaine by him appointed: but they with one assent persisted in their former confession. And lest they should seeme stubborne in the defence of any erroneous doctrine, they desired that their confession might be sent to all the Universities of Christendome, and if the same in any part by the Word of God were disproved, it should immediatly bee amended: but contrariwise, if that were not done, then they to bee no more disquieted.

Persecution against begunneth against the Angrongnians.

The Lusernians require triall by Gods Word.

The Angrongnians required to bring in their Ministers and schoolmasters.

The President, not contented with this, the next morning sent for six of Angrongne by him named, and for two out of everie other parish, the which hee and the gentlemen of the countrie threatned very sore, & warned twelue of the chiefe of Angrongne, and certaine of the other parishes to appeare personally at the parliament of Turin, and to bring before the Judges of the sayd Parliament their ministers & schoolemasters, thinking, if they were once banished the countrie, that then their enterprise might soone be brought to an end. To the which it was answered, that they could not, nor ought not to obey such a commandement.

Proclamation made at Angrongne.

A little while after, Proclamation was made in every place, that no man should receive any preacher comming from Geneva, but onely such as were appointed by the Archbishop of Turin, and other his Officers, upon paine of confiscation of their goods and losse of their lives, and that every one should observe the Ceremonies, Rites, and Religion used in the Church of Rome. Furthermore, if any of the foresaid Preachers of Geneva came into those quarters, that they should immediately be apprehended, and by no meanes their abode there by any one to be concealed, upon the paine aforesaid. And furthermore, the names of those which should disclose any one of them should be kept secret, and also for their accusation they should have the third part of the goods confiscated, with a full pardon, if that the said accusers were any of those which privilie did keepe or maintaine the said Ministers: and that they and all other, which would returne to their mother the Church, might freely and safely come and recant before the said Commissioners.

The Germans make supplication for the Angrongnians.

At the same season the Princes of Germany, and certaine of the Switzers sent unto the French King, desiring him to have pittie on the foresaid Churches; and from that time, untill three yeres after, the people of the foresaid Valleyes were not molested by any of the Kings Officers, but they were sore vexed by the Monkes of Pigneroll, and the Gentlemen of the Valley of Saint Martine.

Geffrey Varlallia, martyr.

About that time a Minister of Angrongne named Geffrey Varlallia, borne in Piedmont, a vertuous and learned man, and fearing God, went to visite certaine Churches in those quarters where he was borne, and comming homeward was taken at Berge, and from thence led to Thurin, where he, after he had made a good confession of his faith, to the confirmation of many, and to the terror of his adversaries, most constantly suffered.

A few dayes after, a Minister of the Valley of Luserne, returning to Geneva, was taken prisoner at Suse, and soone after sent to Thurin, and with an invincible constancy made his confession before those of the Parliament, and in the end was condemned to be burnt. The hangman at the time of execution feined himselfe to be sick, and so conveied himselfe away. And so likewise another served them, being appointed by the foresaid Court to execute the poore minister. It is credibly reported that the Hangman, which executed certaine Germans a little before, would by no means do this execution. Whereupon the minister was sent to prison againe, where after long and painfull indurance seeing the prison doore open, he escaped, and returned to his cure.

A notable example of a good hangman.

Now foure yeares being past, in such manner, as we have hitherto touched in this story, in the yere following, which was 1559, there was a peace concluded betweene the French King and the King of Spaine. Whereupon the countrey of Piedmont (certaine townes excepted) was restored to the Duke of Savoy: under whose Regiment the foresaid Churches, and all other faithfull people in Piedmont, continued in great quietnesse, and were not molested: and the Duke himselfe was content to suffer them to live in their religion, knowing that he had no subjects more faithfull and obedient than they were. But Sathan hating all quietnesse, by his ministers stirred the Duke against the said Churches of Piedmont, his owne naturall Subjects. For the Pope and the Cardinals, seeing the good inclination of the Duke towards this people, incensed him to do that, which otherwise he would not. The Popes Legat also which then followed the Court, and other that favoured the church of Rome, laboured by al means to perswade the Duke, that he ought to banish the said Waldoys, which maintained not the Popes Religion: alledging, that he could not suffer such a people to dwell within his dominion, without prejudice and dishonour to the Apostolike See. Also that they were a rebellious people, against the holy Ordinances and Decrees of their holy Mother the Church. And briefely, that he might no longer suffer the said people, being so disobedient and stubborn against the holy Father, if he would indeed shew himselfe a loving and obedient son.

The Pope stirreth up the Duke of Savoy against Angrongne.

Such divelish instigations were the cause of these horrible and furious persecutions, wherewith these poore people of the valleyes and the countrey of Piedmont was so long vexed. And because they foresaw the great calamities which they were like to suffer, to finde some remedy for the same (if it were possible) all the said Churches of Piedmont, with one common consent wrote to the Duke, declaring in effect, that the only cause why they were so hated, and for the which hee was by their enemies so sore incensed against them, was their Religion, which was no new or light opinion, but that wherein they and their ancestors had long continued, being wholly grounded upon the infallible word of God, contained in the old and new Testament. Notwithstanding, if it might be proved by the same word, that they held any false or erroneous doctrine, they would submit themselves to be reformed, with all obedience. But it is not certaine whether this advertisement was delivered unto the Duke or no: for it was said that he would not heare of that religion. But howsoever it was in the month of March following, there was a great persecution raised against the poore Christians which were at Carignan. Amongst whom there were certaine godly persons taken, and burnt within foure dayes after,

Mathurin and his wife, Joh. de Carquignam, martyrs.

after; that is to say, one named Mathurine, and his wife, and John de Carquignam, dwelling in the valley of Luserne, taken prisoner as he went to the market at Pigneroll. The woman died with great constancy. The good man John de Carquignam had bene in prison divers times before for religion, and was alwaies delivered by Gods singular grace and providence. But seeing himselfe taken this last time, incontinent he said, he knew that God had now called him. Both by the way as he went, and in prison, and also at his death, he shewed an invincible constancy, and marvellous vertue, as well by the pure confession which he made touching the doctrine of salvation, as also in suffering with patience the horrible torments, which he endured both in prison and also at his death. Many at that time fled away: others being afraid of that great cruelty, and fearing also man more than God, looking rather to the Earth than to Heaven, consented to returne to the obedience of the Church of Rome.

Persecution beginneth in the Valleys.

Within few daies after, these Churches of the said Waldoys, that is to say, Le Larch, Peronne, Meane, and Suse, were wonderfully assaulted. To recite all the outrage, cruelty, and villany that was there committed, it were too long: for brevities sake we will recite onely certaine of the principall and best knowne. The Churches of Meane and Suse suffered great affliction. Their minister was taken amongst other. Many fled away, and their houses and goods were ransackt and spoiled. The Minister was a good and faithfull servant of God, and endued with excellent gifts and graces, who in the end was put to most shamefull and cruell death. The great patience which he shewed in the middest of the fire greatly astonished the Adversaries. Likewise the Churches of Larch and Peronne were marvellously tormented and afflicted. For some were taken and sent to the gallies, other some consented and yelded to the Adversaries, and a great number of them fled away. It is certainely knowne, that those which yelded to the adversaries were more cruelly handled than the others which continued constant in the Truth. Whereby God declareth how greatly he detesteth all such as play the Apostataes, and shrinke from the truth.

The Minister of Meane, martyr.

His secret incitement upon them that broke from the truth.

But for the better understanding of the beginning of this horrible persecution against the Waldoys, here note, that first of all Proclamations were made in every place, that none should resort to the Sermons of the Lutherans, but should live after the custome of the Church of Rome, upon paine of forfeiture of their goods and to be condemned to the gallies for ever, or lose their lives. Three of the most cruell persons that could be found were appointed to execute this commission. The first was one Thomas Jacomel, a Monke, and Inquisitor of the Romish faith; a man worthy for such an office, for he was an Apostata, and had renounced the knowne truth, and persecuted mortally and maliciously the poore Christians, against his owne conscience, and of set purpose, as his bookes doe sufficiently witnesse: he was also a whoremonger, and given over to all other villanies and filthy living, and in the horrible sinne of Sodomitry, which he commonly used, he passed all his fellowes. Briefly, he was nothing else but a mishapen monster both against God and nature. Moreover, he so afflicted and tormented the poore captives of the said Waldoys, by spoyling, robbery, and extortion, that he deserved not onely to be hanged, but to be broken upon the wheele 100 times, and to suffer so many cruell deaths, if it were possible; so great, so many, and so horrible were the crimes that he had committed.

Cruell persecutor. Jacomell a cruell Apostata.

Religious dealing of the Waldoys.

The second was the Collaterall Corbis, who in the examination of the prisoners was very rigorous and cruell; for he onely demanded of them whether they would goe to the masse, or be burnt within three daies; and in very deed executed his sayings. But it is certainely reported, that he seeing the constancy, and hearing the confession of the poore martyrs, feeling a remorse, and tormented in conscience, protested that he would never meddle any more.

Martyrs.

The third was the Provost de la Justice, a cruell and crafty wretch, accustomed to apprehend the poore Christians either by night, or early in the morning, or in the highway going to the market, and was commonly lodged in the valley of Luserne, or thereabouts. Thus the poore people were alwaies as the lillie shepe in the wolves jawes, or as the sheepe which are led unto the slaughter-house.

At that season one named Charles de Comptes, of the valley of Luserne, and one of the Lords of Angrongne, wrote to the said Commissioners, to use some lenity towards them of the valley of Luserne. By reason whereof they were a while more gently intreated than the rest. At that season the Monkes of Pigneroll, and their associates, tormented grievously the Churches nere about them. They tooke the poore Christians as they passed by the way, & kept them prisoners within their abbey. And having assembled a company of Ruffians, they sent them to spoile those of the said Churches, and to take prisoners men, women, and children; and some they so tormented, that they were compelled to sweare to returne to the masse; other some also they sent to the gallies, and other some they burnt cruelly. They which escaped, were afterward so sicke, that they seemed to have bene poisoned. The same yeere there were two great earthquakes in Piedmont, and also many great tempests and horrible thunders.

The cruell monkes of Pigneroll.

Martyrs.

The Gentlemen of the vallie of Saint Martin entreated their tenants very cruellie, threatning them, and commanding them to returne unto the Masse; also spoiling them of their goods, imprisoning them, and vexing them by all the meanes they could. But above all the other, two especially, that is to say, Charles Trutchet and Boniface his brother, the which, the second day of Aprill before day, with a companie of Ruffians spoiled a Village of their owne subjects, named Renclaret: the which as soone as the Inhabitants of the said village perceived, they fled into the mountaine covered with snow naked and without victuall, and there remained untill the third night after. In the morning certaine of his retinue tooke a Minister of the said Vallie prisoner, which was come not of Calabria, and was going to visit the poore people of Renclaret, and led him prisoner to the Abbie, where soone after he was burnt, with one other of the Vallie of S. Martine.

Charles Trutchet and Boniface his brother two cruell persecutors.

A Minister of Calabria burnt

The third night after, they of Pragela, having pittie upon the poore people of Renclaret, sent about foure hundred to discomfit the companie of the Truchets, and to restore those which were fled to their houses. They were furiously assaulted by the shot of their enemies, who notwithstanding in the end were put to flight, and but one of the five hundred hurt.

Gods people relieved.

About the yeere before, the said Truchet, being accompanied with a companie of Ruffians, arrested prisoner the Minister of Renclaret as he was at his Sermon. But the people were so moved by his outragious dealing, and especially the women, that they had almost strangled the said Truchet, and the rest of them were so canvassed, that they had no list to come there againe anie more. By reason whereof he so vexed them by processes, that they were compelled to agree with him, and to pay him sixteen hundred crownes.

Some after the Lords of the said vallie tooke another Minister of the same vallie, as he was going to preach in a parish a mile from his house: but the

A Minister of the Valley of Renclaret taken & wounded.

the people perceiving that, ſpedily purſued him and tooke him. The enemies, ſeing that they were not able to lead him away, wounded him ſo ſore, that they left him for dead. Wherupon they ſo perſecuted the poore people, that they were almoſt deſtroied.

Here is not to be forgotten, that the ſame night, in the which the company of Truchet was diſcomfited, was ſo ſtormy and terrible, and the Gentlemen of that Countrey were ſo terrified, that they thought they ſhould have bene all deſtroyed. Wherefore they uſed more gentleneſſe towards the people than before. Except Charles Truchet and his brother, the which went to the Duke, and made grievous complaints againſt the Waldoys, not onely for that which was done and paſt, but alſo perſwaded the Duke, that they went about to build there fortreſſes in the Mountaines, and alſo intended to maintaine certaine garriſons of ſtrangers; charging them further with divers other crimes, of the which they were in no point guilty. The Duke, being moved by theſe falſe ſurmiſes, gave in charge to the ſaid accuſers, that the fortreſſe of the valley of Saint Martine, the which about twentie yeres before was rated by the Frenchmen, ſhould be built againe, and that therein ſhould be placed a perpetuall garriſon, and that the people ſhould make ſo plaine and wide the rugged waies, that Horſemen might eaſily paſſe; with divers ſuch other things. And all this to be done at the coſts and charges of thoſe that would not ſubmit themſelves to the obedience of the Roman Church.

This Commiſſion being ſealed, the Gentlemen cauſed the fortreſſe to be built againe, and put therein a garriſon, and proclaimed the Commiſſion. The poore people, being thereat amazed, withſtood the Commiſſioners, and ſent certaine to the Duke: and immediately after the Commiſſioners returned to the Dukes Court, being at Nice, to inflame his anger more againſt them. But God ſoone prevented this miſchiefe: For the Truchets, being at Nice, went to the Sea with divers Noblemen, and immediately they were taken priſoners by the Turkes, put into the Gallies, ſore beaten with ropes, and ſo cruelly handled that it was commonly reported that they were dead: and long time after, denying their Nobility, were ſent home, having paid foure hundred Crownes for their ranſome. Some ſay, that the Duke himſelfe was almoſt taken. But it is ſure that he fell ſicke ſoone after. In the moneth of Aprill next following, the Lord of Raconis was preſent at a Sermon, in a place nere unto Angrongne. The Sermon being ended, he talked with the Miniſters: and having diſcourſed as well of the Dukes ſickeneſſe, as alſo of his clemencie and gentleneſſe, he declared to them, that the perſecution proceeded not of him, and that he meant not that the Commiſſion ſhould have bene ſo rigorouſly executed. After that he demanded of them, what way they thought beſt to appeaſe the Dukes wrath: they anſwered, that the people ought not to be moved to ſeke by any meanes how to pleaſe and appeaſe the Duke, which might diſpleaſe God. But the beſt way they knew was the ſame wherewith the ancient ſervants of God uſed to appeaſe the Pagan Princes and Emperours, in the time of the great perſecutions of the Church, that is to ſay, to give out and preſent unto them in writing the confeſſion of their faith, and defence of the Religion which they profeſſed; truſting that, foraſmuch as the fury of divers prophane and Ethnicke Emperors and Princes hath bene heretofore appeaſed by ſuch meanes, the Duke, being endued with ſuch ſingular vertues as they ſaid he was, would alſo be pacified by the like meanes. And for that cauſe the poore people had before ſent a ſupplication, with a confeſſion of their faith unto the Duke, but they were not certaine whether he had received it or no: wherefore they deſired him to preſent the ſame unto the ſaid Duke himſelfe. Whereunto he agreed, & promiſed ſo to doe. Whereupon they ſent three ſupplications; one to the Duke, the ſecond to the Duchelle, and the third to the Dukes Councell; wherein they briefly declared what their religion was, and the points thereof, which they and their anceſtours had of a long time obſerved, being wholly grounded upon the pure Word of God; and if by the ſame Word it would be proved that they were in errour, they ſhould not be obſtinate, but gladly be reformed, and embrace the truth. After this the perſecution ſeemed to be ſomewhat aſſwaged for a little while.

In the end of June next following, the Lord of Raconis and the Lord of Trinitie came to Angrongne, there to qualifie (as they ſaid) the fore perſecution, and cauſed the chiefe Rulers and Miniſters to aſſemble together, propounding divers points of Religion concerning doctrine, the calling of Miniſters, the Maſſe, and obedience towards Princes and Rulers: and furthermore declared unto them, that their confeſſion was ſent to Rome by the Duke, and daily they looked for anſwer. To all theſe points the Miniſters anſwered. After this they demanded of the chiefe Rulers, if that the Duke ſhould cauſe Maſſe to be ſung in their pariſhes, whether they would withſtand the ſame or no. They anſwered ſimply, that they would not. Then they demanded of them, if that the Duke would appoint them preachers, whether they would receive them. They anſwered, that if they preached the Word of God purely, they would heare them. Thirdly, if that they were content that in the mean time their Miniſters ſhould ceaſe, and if they which ſhould be ſent preached not the Word of God ſincerely, then their Miniſters to preach againe. If they would agree to this, they were promiſed that the perſecution ſhould ceaſe, and the priſoners ſhould be reſtored againe. To this queſtion, after they had conferred with the people, they anſwered, that they could by noe meanes ſuffer that their Miniſters ſhould forbeare preaching.

The two Lords, not contented with this anſwer, commanded in the Dukes name, that all the miniſters which were ſtrangers ſhould out of hand be baniſhed the countrey; ſaying, that the Duke would not ſuffer them to dwell within his Dominion, for that they were his enemies. Demanding alſo, whether they would folker and maintaine the Princes enemies within his owne land againſt his owne decree and expreſſe commandement? To the which anſwer was made by the chiefe Rulers, That they could by no meanes baniſh them, unleſſe they were afore convicted of ſome hereſie or other crime: for their part they had alwaies found them to be men of pure and ſound doctrine, and alſo of godly life and converſation.

This done, immediately Proclamations were made, and the perſecution began on every ſide to be more furious than it was afore. Amongſt others, the monkes of Pigneroll at that time were moſt cruell; for they ſent out a companie of hired Ruffians, which daily ſpoiled and ranſackt houſes, and all that they could lay hands of; tooke men, women, and children, and led them captives to the Abbey, where they were moſt ſpitefully afflicted and tormented. At the ſame time they ſent alſo a band of the ſaid Ruffians by night to the Miniſters houſe of Saint Germain, in the valley of Perouſe, being led thither by a traitor that knew the houſe, and had uſed to haunt thither ſecretly; who knocking at the dore, the miniſter knowing his voyce, came forth immediately, and perceiving himſelfe to be betrayed, fled; but he was ſoone taken and ſore wounded, and yet notwithſtanding they pricked him behind with their halberds to make him haſten his pace. At that time alſo many they ſlew, many they hurt, and many alſo they brought to the abbey,

False complaints brought to the Duke againſt the Waldoys.

What cruell reporters doe.

The iuſt iudgment of God upon the Truchets, for cruelly hering, ſpoiling and accuſing of theſe poore Waldoys.

By what meanes the Chriſtians in times paſt have appeaſed the fury of pagan Princes.

The Angrognians ſend forth three ſupplications.

The confeſſion of the Angrognians ſent to the Pope.

Demands put to the Angrognians.

The Angrognians deny to put away their Miniſters.

The Monkes of Pigneroll cruell againſt the Angrognians.

The Miniſter of S. Germain betrayed and taken.

Barbarous cruelty ſhewed againſt the good Miniſter of S. Germain.

Abbey, and there kept them in prison, and cruelly handled them. The good Minister endured sore imprisonment, and after that a most terrible kind of death, with a wonderfull constancie: for they rosted him by a small fire; and when halfe his bodie was burnt, he confessed and called vpon the Lord Iesus with a loud voyce.

The Inquisitour Iacomell, with his Monkes, and the collaterall Cozbis, amongst other shewed one practise of most barbarous crueltie against this poore man. Who, when hee should be burnt, caused two poore women of Saint Germaine (which they kept in prison) to carrie fagots to the fire, and to speake these words vnto their pastor: Take this thou wicked heretike, in recompence of thy naughty doctrine, which thou hast taught vs. To whom the good minister answered, Ah good women, I haue taught you well, but you haue learned ill. To bee briefe they so afflicted and tormented those poore people of Saint Germaine, and the places thereabout, that after they were spoiled of their goods, and driuen from their houses, they were compelled to flie into the mountaine to saue their liues. So great was the spoile of these poore people, that many which before had beene men of much wealth, and with their riches had ministred great succour and comfort to others, were now brought to such miserie, that they were compelled to craue succour and relefe of other.

two women compelled to carrie fagots to time their fire.

Whether it be lawfull for the persecuted people of Christ to rise to their owne defence.

Now, forasmuch as the sayd Monkes, with their troupes of Ruffians (which were counted to be in number about three hundred) made such spoyle and hauocke in all the countrey, that no man could there liue in safetie: it was demanded of the Ministers, whether it was lawfull to defend themselues against the insolencie and furious rage of the said Ruffians. The ministers answered, That it was lawfull, warning them in any case, to take heed of bloudshed. This question being once dissolued, they of the valley of Luserne, and of Angrongne, sent certaine men to them of Saint Germaine, to ayde them against the supporters of these Monkes.

In the moneth of June, the haruest being then in Piedmont, diuers of the Waldoys were gone into the countrey, to reape and to make prouision for corne, for very little groweth vpon their mountaines: the which were all taken prisoners at sundrie times and places, not one knowing of another: but yet God so wrought, that they all escaped out of prison, as it were by a miracle: Whereat the aduersaries were marueilously astonished. At the same time there were certaine other also, which had sustained long imprisonment, looking for nothing else but death; and yet they after a wonderfull sort, by Gods mercifull prouidence, were likewise deliuered.

Iudabilia Dei.

In the moneth of July, they of Angrongne, being in a morning at haruest vpon the hill side of Saint Germaine, perceiued a companie of Souldiers spoiling them of Saint Germaine: and doubting lest they would goe to Angrongne, made an outcrie. Then the people of Angrongne assembled together vpon the mountaine, and some ranne to Saint Germaine ouer the hill, and some by the valley. They which went by the valley, met with the spoilers comming from Saint Germaine, loaden with spoile, which they had gotten, and being but fifty, set vpon the other, amounting to the number of one hundred and twentie men well appointed, and gaue them soone the ouerthrow. The passage ouer the bridge being stopped, the enemies were faine to take the riuer of Cluzon, where diuers were sore hurt, many were drowned, and some escaped very hardly: and such a slaughter was made of them, that the riuer was dyed with the bloud of them, which were wounded and slain, but none of the Angrongnians were once hurt. If the said riuer had beene as great as it was wont commonly to bee, there had not one man scaped aliue. The noyse of the harquebuses was great, and within lesse than one houres space, there was three or foure hundred of the Waldoys gathered together vpon the riuer: and at the same time they had purposed to fetch away their prisoners which were in the Abbey, but they would not doe it without the counsell of their Ministers, and so deferred the matter vntill the next day. But their ministers counselled them not to enterprise any such thing: but to refraine themselues, and so they did. Albeit, they doubted not, but if they had gone incontinent, after that discomfiture, vnto the Abbey, they might haue found all open and easily haue entred: for the monks were so sore afraid, that they fled suddenly to Pigneroll, to saue their reliques and Images, which they carried thither. The rest of the countrey about were wonderfully afraid, and rang the bells euery where. The greater part of them fled, doubting lest the poore Waldoys would haue reuenged the wrongs and outrages done to them.

The destroy of the Angrongnians for their enemies.

The next day following, the commander of saint Anthonie de Fossan came to Angrongne, accompanied with diuers Gentlemen, saying, that hee was sent by the Duke: and hauing assembled the chiefe rulers and ministers of Angrongne, and of the valley of Luserne, after hee had declared vnto them the cause of his comming, he read their supplication directed to the Duke, which contained their confession, demanding of them, if it were the same which they had sent to the Duke. They answered, yea. Then he began to dispute, being sent as he said, to informe them of their errours, not doubting but they would amend, according to their promise. Then he entred into a disputation of the Masse, in a great heat, deriuing the same from the Hebrew word Massa, which signified (as he supposed) consecration, and shewed that this word Massa might bee found in ancient Writers. The ministers answered, that hee ill applied the Hebrew word: and further, that they disputed not of the word Missa, but of that which is signified by the same, the which he ought first to proue by the word of God. Briefly, that he could not proue either by the word of God, or the ancient fathers their priuate masse, their sacrifice expiatorie or propitiatorie, their transubstantiation, their adoration, their application of the same for the quicke and the dead, and such other matters, which are principall parts of the same Masse. The Commander, hauing here nothing to reply, fell into a marueilous choller, railing and raging as if he had beene starke mad, and told them that he was not come to dispute, but to banish their ministers, and to place others in their roomes, by the Dukes commandement, which he could not, vnlesse their ministers were first driuen out of the countrey.

The commander of S. Anthony sent to Angrongne.

Missa falsely deriued out of the Hebrew.

Disputation about the masse.

From thence hee went to the Abbey of Pigneroll, where he and Iacomell caused a number of the poore inhabitants of Campillon, and of Fenill, which bee of the valley of Luserne, to be taken prisoners, spoyling them of their goods, driuing away their cattell; and forcing them to sweare and forsweare, and in the end ransomed them for great summes of mony. About that time, a Gentleman of Campillon agreed with those which were fled, for thirtie crownes to be paied vnto him out of hand, that hee would warrant them from any further vexation or trouble, so that they remained quiet at home. But when he had receiued the money, he caused the commander of Fossan with his men by night to come to his house, and then sent for the poore men; thinking traiterously to haue deliuered them into the hands of their mortall enemie, following therein the decree of the Councell of Constance, which is, that no promise is to be kept with heretiques. But

The poore inhabitants of the valley of Luserne taken prisoners.

God, knowing how to succour his in their necessitie, preuented this danger; for one of them had intelligence of the Commanders comming, and so they all fled. Thereupon they wrote to the Lord of Raconis, declaring vnto him the proceedings of the Commander, and that he neither would nor could shew or proue any thing by the Word of God, as he had promised, but threatned them great wrongs and iniuries, and would not suffer their Ministers to reply, or say any thing for the defence of their cause. And therefore they desired him to signifie the same to the Dukes grace, to the end that he should not be offended, if they peristed still in their Religion, seeing it was not proued vnto them by any reason taken out of the Scripture, that they erred.

Nothing proued by the word of God against the Waldoys.

After this, there were many commandements and iniunctions giuen out throw all the countrey, to banish these poore Waldoys, with the doctrine of the Gospell, if it were possible, out of the mountaines and valleys of Piedmont: but the poore people still desired, that according to that which they had so often before protested by word and writing, they might be suffered to serue God purely, according to the rule prescribed in his Word: simply obeying their Lord and Prince alwayes, and in all things. Notwithstanding they were still vexed and tormented with all the crueltie that could bee deuised, as partly it is already declared: but much more you shall perceiue by that which followeth.

In the end of October next following, the rumour went that an army was leuying to destroy them: and in very deed there were certaine bands leuied, ready to march at an houres warning. Furthermore, those malefactors which heretofore were fled or banished for any offence or crime committed, were called home againe, and pardoned of all together, so that they would take them to their weapons, and goe to destroy the Waldoys. The Ministers and chiefe Rulers of the valleyes of Luserne and Angrongne, thereupon assembled together oftentimes, to take aduice what in such an extremitie were best to doe. In the end they determined, that for certaine dayes following there should be kept a generall fast, and the Sunday after, a Communion. Also that they should not defend themselues by force of armes, but that euery one should withdraw himselfe to the high mountaines, and euery one to carrie away such goods as they were able to beare: and if their enemies pursued them thither, then to take such aduice and counsell as it pleased God to giue them. This article of not defending themselues seemed very strange to the people, being driuen to such an extremitie, and the cause being so iust. But yet euery one began to carry their goods and victuals into the mountaines, and for the space of eight dayes all the wayes were filled with commers and goers to the mountaines; like vnto Ants in Summer, which prouide for Winter. All this did they, in this great perplexitie and danger, with a wonderfull courage and cheerefulnesse, praising of God, and singing of Psalmes, and euery one comforting another. Briefly, they went with such ioy and alacritie, that you should not haue seene any which grudged to leaue their houses and faire possessions, but were wholly determined patiently to abide the good pleasure of God, and also to die if he had so appointed.

Barabas delineated, and Christ pursued.

Deliberation among the Waldois, how to defend, and how not to defend themselues.

Whether subiects for Religion may stand to their owne defence.

A few dayes after, certaine other Ministers, hearing what they of Angrongne and Luserne had concluded, wrote vnto them, that this resolution seemed very strange to some, that they ought not to defend themselues against the violence of their enemies, alledging many reasons, that in such extremitie and necessitie it was lawfull for them so to doe: especially the quarrell being so iust, that is, for the defence of true religion, and for the preseruation of their owne liues, and the liues of their wiues and children; knowing that it was the Pope and his ministers which were the cause of all these troubles and cruell warres, and not the Duke, who was stirred vp thereunto onely by their instigations. Wherefore they might well and with good conscience withstand such furious and outragious violence. For the proofe hereof they also alledged certaine examples.

During this season, the Lord of Angrongne named Charles de Comptes of Luserne, laboured earnestly by all meanes possible to cause them of Angrongne to condescend to the Dukes pleasure, and sollicited them to send away their ministers; promising that he would cause a Masse to be sung at Angrongne, and that the people should not be compelled to be present thereat, hoping that by that meanes the Dukes wrath would bee appeased. The chiefe of Angrongne thereupon were assembled and made this answer; That if the Duke would permit them to chuse other ministers, they were content to send away their forraine ministers and strangers. But as touching the Masse, his Highnesse might well cause it to be sung in their parishes, but they for their part could not with safe consciences be present at the same, nor yet giue their consent vnto it.

The Angrongnians refuse to heare masse.

The two and twentieth of October the said Lord of Angrongne went from Luserne to Mondeuis where hee was then Gouernour for the Duke, and sent for the chiefe Rulers of Angrongne at seuerall times, declaring vnto them the great perils and dangers wherewith they were inuironed, the army being already at hand: yet promising them, if they would submit themselues vnto him, hee would send immediately to stay the army. They of Angrongne answered, That they all determined to stand to that which they, two dayes before in their assembly, had put in writing. With this answer hee seemed at that present to be content. The next day the rumour was, that they of Angrongne had submitted themselues to the Duke. On the morrow, which was Sunday, you should haue seene nothing but weeping and mourning in Angrongne. The Sermon being ended, the Rulers were called before the ministers and the people, the which affirmed, that they wholly cleaued vnto their former writing; and they sent secretly to the Notarie for the copie of that which was passed in the Councell house at their last assembly before the Lord de Comptes: in the which was comprised, That Angrongne had wholly submitted her selfe to the good pleasure of the Duke. The people hearing that were sore astonished, and protested rather to die than obey the same. And thereupon it was agreed, that at that very instant (albeit it were very late) certaine should be sent to the Lord of Angrongne, to signifie vnto him that the determination of the Councell was falsified, and that it might please him the next morning to come to Angrongne, to heare the voyces of the people, not onely of the men, but also of the women and children. But hee himselfe went not thither, hauing intelligence of the vproare, but sent thither the Iudge of that place. Then that which had beene falsified was duly corrected; the Iudge laying all the blame vpon the Notarie.

The determination and ambo of the Angrognians was falsified.

During this time, the Aduersaries cried out throw all the countrey of Piedmont; To the fire with them, to the fire with them. The Thursday after Angrongne, by proclamations set vp in euerie place, was exposed to the fire and sword. On Friday after, being the second of Nouember, the army approched to the borders of the Valley of Luserne, and certaine horsemen came to a place called Saint John, a little beneath Angrongne. Then the people retired into the mountaines. Certaine of Saint John, perceiuing that the horsemen not onely spoiled their goods, but also tooke their fellowes prisoners, set vpon them. It is not certaine what number of their enemies were there slaine: but

Open proclamation against Angrongne.

but suddenly they retired to Bubtane, where their campe then was, and not one of them of S. John was slaine or hurt. It happened at the same time that two of the foresaid horsemen, being sore amazed, galloped before the rest towards the army, being readie to march towards Angrongne, crying, They come, they come. At whose cry the whole Army was so astonished, that euery man fled his way, and they were all so scattered, that the Captaines that day were not able to bring them in order againe, and yet no creature followed them.

Ichabod departed from the house of Israel.

On the Saturday in the morning the army mustered in the meadow ground of Saint John, neere to Angrongne. They of Angrongne had sent certaine to keepe the passages, and stop the army that they should not enter, if it were possible. In the meane season the people retired into the meadow of Moure, and little thought of the comming of the army so soone, or that they would haue made such a sudden assault; for they were yet carrying of victuals and other stuffe, so that few of them kept the passages. Now they which kept the straits, perceiuing that their enemies prepared themselues to fight, fell downe vpon their knees, and made their prayers vnto God, that it would please him to take pitty vpon them, and not to looke vpon their sinnes, but to the cause which they maintained, to turne the hearts of their enemies, and so to worke, that there might be no effusion of bloud: and if it were his will to take them, with their wiues and infants, out of this world, that hee would then mercifully receiue them into his Kingdome. In this sort most feruent prayers were made of all those that kept the passages, with exhortation that they should all together cry vnto God, and craue his succour and assistance in this great distresse. All this the Lord of Trinitie and the army did well perceiue.

The prayer of the Angrongnians.

Their prayers thus ended, suddenly they perceiued their enemies comming towards them thorow the Vines, to win the top of the mountaine of Angrongne. In the meane time the Prior of S. John, and Jacomell, were within the Temple of Angrongne, and communed with the Rulers touching an agreement. These were sent thither by the Lord of Trinitie to keepe the people occupied. To bee short, the combat began in diuers places, and endured for a long space in the passages of Angrongne. The poore Waldoys, being but few in number, and some of them hauing but slings and Crosse-bowes, were sore pressed with the multitude of their enemies. At length they retired to the top of the mountaine, where they defended themselues vntill night.

Combat between the L. of Trinitie and the Waldoys.

When they had found a place where they might withstand their enemies still pursuing them, they returned themselues, and slew diuers of them, and hurt many. When the euening came, the enemies rested, and were about to incamp themselues, there to sup and lodge all night. Which thing when the Angrongnians perceiued, they fell to prayer, desiring God to assist and succour them: but the Enemies flouted them and laughed them to scorne.

They hold the policie of this poore people.

Then the poore people deuised to send a Drumme into a little valley hard by. And as they were making their prayers vnto God, and the drumme sounded in the valley, the Lord of Trinitie caused his souldiers, which were about to incampe themselues, to remoue thence: which was a great vantage vnto the poore people, which now were sore wearied with trauell, all wet with sweating, and very thirstie, and in great perill, if God had not giuen them some little breathing time. Many of the enemies that day were slaine, and many hurt, of the which very few escaped. Insomuch that they reported that the shot was poysoned; which this poore simple people neuer vsed to doe in all these warres. Of the Angrongnians that day there were but three slaine, and one hurt, which afterwards was well healed againe. This combat gaue great courage to the Waldoys, and sore astonished the Aduersaries. The same time the army retiring burnt many houses, and made great spoyle as they went, destroying also the Vines which were in the presses.

God's holy helpe in time of need.

The said Lord of Trinitie with his army incamped in a village beyond Moure, in the valley of Luserne, at the foot of the hill, betweene Angrongne and the other townes of the valley of Luserne, which professed the Gospell. They of the said Village were alwayes sore against the Waldoys, and haters of true religion, and were glad of this outrage and violence done against the Professors thereof: but they had their iust plague, for they were all destroyed. After this the said Lord of Trinitie caused the Fortresse to bee built againe, which the Frenchmen had raced, and placed there a garrison, and after sent another to the Fort of Villars, which is of the Valley of Luserne; and another he sent to the Fortresse of Perouse, and a fourth garrison hee placed in the Castle of Saint Martin. They of Angrongne (seeing themselues to be now as it were in a sea of troubles) after they had recommended themselues vnto God by prayer, and committed their cause vnto him, sent to them of Perouse, Saint Martine, and of Pragela, for aid and succour: Which sent them all the helpe that they were able.

Gods secret iudgement in helping his, and punishing his enemies.

The next day following, there came Letters to Angrongne from the Lord of Trinitie: The effect whereof was this, That hee was sorie for that which was done the day before, and that hee came not thither to make warre against them, but only to view if it were a place conuenient to build a Fort therein to serue the Duke. Furthermore, That his Souldiers seeing the people assembled, as it were to defie them, vpon that occasion onely were stirred vp to giue assault, and to set vpon them. Also, That hee was sorie that such spoyle was made of their goods, and such hurt done by fire. But if they would shew themselues obedient to the Duke, hee had good hope that all should be well, and trusted some good agreement should bee made. The Angrongnians answered, that they were marueilously agrieued to be so assaulted, spoyled, and tormented by the subiects of their Liege and naturall Prince: And as they had oftentimes before offered themselues to bee more obedient and faithfull to their soueraigne prince the Duke, than any of all his subiects besides; so yet they still offred the same obedience. Also they most humbly besought him, not to thinke it strange if they, being constrained by such extreme necessitie, defended themselues. Finally, as touching their religion, they affirmed that it was the pure Word of God, euen as it was preached by the Prophets and Apostles; and the same which their Predecessors had obserued for certaine hundred yeares past. Moreouer, That the cause was not concerning the goods of the world, but the honour and glorie of God, the saluation or destruction of the soules both of them and theirs. And therefore it were much better for them to die all together, than to forsake their Religion. And yet if it might be proued vnto them by good demonstration out of the Word of God, that they were in errour; not by force of armes, by bloud and fire, they would then yeeld themselues with all obedience: most humbly beseeching him, and all other the Lords of the countrey of Piedmont, to be their intercessors and Aduocates to the Duke in this behalfe.

A craftie message of the L. of Trinitie to the Angrongnians.

The Angrongnians answer to the message.

Upon Monday being the fourth day of November, the Lord of Trinitie sent his Army to Villars and Tailleret. The lesser company ascended towards Villars. The people seeing their Enemies approching, after they had called vpon God with feruent prayer, strongly defended

The towne of Villars assaulted.

themselues, and slew many: many also were hurt and the rest fled. The other companie ascended towards Tailleret. And although they of that place were but few in number, and that part of the army the greater, yet making their prayers vnto God, and commending their cause vnto him, they defended themselues likewise valiantly.

In the meane season they of Villars, being emboldened by their late victorie, came to assist their neighbours, and being assembled together they courragiously pursued their enemies, and put them to flight. In this pursuit it chanced (which here is not to bee forgotten) that this poore people, by an ambush of their enemies which came another way, were suddenly enclosed on euery side, and like to bee destroyed: but yet they all escaped, and not one of them was slaine, onely three were hurt, which were soone cured againe. On the enemies side there were so many slaine, that they were laid together by whole cart-loads. This was the reward of those which were desirous to shed innocent blood. The same day, the Inhabitants of Sanson, neere to Roccapiata,, assembled in great number together, and went to a rich mans house of Roccapiata, and spoyled all that he had. Certain of Roccapiata (in number not past seuen ene) vnderstanding this, set vpon them, and soone put them to flight, took away their drum, and forced them to leaue their bootie behind them.

God giueth victorie to his seruants.

The iust reward vpon the Lords enemies.

After that the Lord of Trinitie had receiued the Letters of the Angrongnians, hee sent vnto them his Secretarie, named Christopher Gallaut (which said himselfe, that he fauoured the veritie of the Gospell) accompanied with a Gentleman of the said valley. Whose charge was to cause the chiefe rulers to send certain to commune with the same Lord of Trinitie, saying, that hee had good tidings to declare vnto them; and moreouer, that he would deliuer them a safe conduct to come and goe. Whereupon they sent foure vnto him; whom he entreated very courteously, and rehearsed vnto them, how the Duke at his departure from the court told him, that although the Pope, the Princes, and Cities of Italy, yea his owne Councell were fully resolued that of necessitie they of the said religion should bee destroyed, yet notwithstanding God otherwise put into his minde, and that he had taken counsell of God, what he should doe in this matter: that is, that hee would vse them gently. Furthermore, hee declared vnto them, that the Dutches bare them good affection, and fauoured them very much, and that he had commended their cause vnto the Duke, perswading with him, to haue regard to that poore people, and that their religion was ancient and old, with many such other things. Moreouer, they had, said he, great friends in the Dukes court, not doubting but if they should send certaine to the court with a supplication, they should obtaine more than they themselues would require; and hee for his part would employ himselfe in their affaires, to the vttermost of his power: and so he promised that hee would retire himselfe with his armie. This hee seemed to speake vnfainedly. The people desiring but to liue peaceably in their religion, and vnder the obedience of their Prince, were content to follow his counsell.

Gallaut a false brother.

Deep dissimulation in a crafty papist.

The Dutches a fauourer of the Angrongnians.

About this season they of Angrongne perceiued that a part of the armie ascended the hill of Tailleret (which is the halfe way betweene Angrongne, and those of the valley of Luserne) and the other part had already gotten a way, which led to the Medow of Toure, by the which they of Angrongne might easily haue beene enclosed. Therefore they sent certaine immediatly to keepe the way, who soone after encountred with their enemies and obtained the victorie, pursuing and chasing them to their campe, not without great losse of their men. The number of their enemies slaine, was not knowne: for their custome was immediatly to carry away those which were slaine. Not one of Angrongne perished that day, nor yet was hurt. It was feared that this combate would haue hindred the agreement. But the Lord of Trinitie could well dissemble the matter, and excused that dayes iourney, putting the fault vpon them of Tailleret, whom hee charged to haue slaine certaine of his men in the high way, and amongst other his Barbar.

A combat betweene the Angrongnians and the persecutors.

The craftie dissimulation of the Lord of Trinitie.

On Saturday following, being the ninth of November, the said Lord of Trinitie sent againe for them of Angrongne, to consult with them touching the agreement, vsing the like communication as before: and added thereunto, that in token of true obedience they should carry their armour into two of the houses of the chiefe rulers, not fearing but it should be safe: for it should remaine in their owne keeping, and if need were, they should receiue it againe. Also, that he vpon Sunday (which was the next day) would cause a Masse to be sung within the Temple of S. Laurence in Angrongne, accompanied with a very few, and thereby the Dukes wrath would bee allwaged.

The next morning hee went into the Temple (whereat they were sore agreeued, albeit they could not withstand him) his armie marching afore him: and hauing caused a Masse to be sung, hee desired to see the medow of Toure, so much spoken of, that thereof he might make a true report vnto the Duke: and thither the Rulers, with a great troupe of his owne men, went: the residue of his companie remained behinde, the which spoyled certaine houses, and seized the armour which they had deliuered vp before: but they found no great store, for the people had taken away the greatest part thereof. The said Lord being entred into the Medow of Toure, the people began to make a commotion. Whereof hee hauing intelligence returned immediately. All that day hee shewed himselfe very courteous to all whom hee met.

The people in the meane time perceiued themselues to bee in great danger, and were sore moued at the sight of the army, the spoyle of the souldiers, the taking away of their armour, but especially because the said Lord of Trinitie had viewed the medow of Toure, foreseeing his traiterous meaning and purpose. A few dayes after the said Lord of Trinitie sent his Secretarie Gallaut to Angrongne, to talke with them concerning the agreement, and to make a full resolution thereof: which was read in the assembly by the Secretarie, the summe whereof was this: That the people of Angrongne submitted themselues to render all honour and reuerence to God according to his holy Word, and all due obedience to the Duke their soueraigne prince: to whom they should send certaine men to demand pardon of him, concerning their bearing of armour in their extreme necessitie, and humbly to beseech him that hee would suffer them to liue peaceably in their religion, which was according to the word of God, not compelling them to doe any thing against their conscience; as it appeareth more amply in the supplication, which after this the Angrongnians made, and caused to be read before the Secretarie in the open assembly, the which here ensueth.

Behold the double dealing and dissimulation of the papists to bring their hooked purpose to passe.

¶ *To the most excellent and worthy Prince, the Duke of Savoy, &c. our Soueraigne Lord and naturall Prince.*

MOst noble and renowned Prince, wee haue sent certaine of our men vnto your highnesse, to give testimonie

The supplication of the Angrongnians to the Duke.

testimonie of our humble, hearty, and unfeigned obedience unto the same, and with all submission desire pardon, touching the bearing of armour by certaine of our people in their extreme necessitie, and for all other our trespasses, for the which your soveraigne grace might conceive any offence against us.

Lawfull request of the Arrongnians to be after Gods word.

Secondly, to desire in most humble wise your said highnesse, in the name of our Lord Iesus, that it would please the same, to suffer us to live with freedome of conscience in our religion, which also is the religion of our Ancestors, observed for certaine hundred yeares past. And wee are perswaded, that it is the pure Gospell of our Lord Iesus, the only veritie, the word of life and salvation, which wee professe. Also, that it may please your most gracious clemencie not to take in ill part, if wee, fearing to offend and displease God, cannot consent unto certaine traditions and ordinances of the Church of Rome, and herein to have pittie upon our poore soules, and the soules of our children: to the end that your highnesse bee not in any wise charged in the just judgement of God for the same, where all men must appeare to answer for their doings.

On our part, wee protest that wee will seeke nothing but to bee the true servants of God, to serve him according to his holy Word; and also to bee true and loyall subjects to your Highnesse, and more obedient then any other, being alwayes ready to give our goods, our bodyes, our lives, and the lives of our children, for your noble grace, as also our religion teacheth us to doe: onely wee desire that our soules may bee left at libertie, to serve God according to his holy Word.

And wee your poore humble subjects shall most heartily pray our God and Father, for the good and long prosperitie of your Highnesse, for the most vertuous Lady your wife, and for the noble house of Savoy.

To this supplication they of Saint John, of Rocapiata, of S. Bartholomew, and of Perouse, with those of the valley of Luserne, did agree. For it was concluded, that the agreement made should extend to all the confederates of the same religion. Whiles they were treating of this agreement, the Lord of Trinitie vered cruelly them of Tailleret, under this pretence, because they had not presented themselues to treat of this agreement. He tormented them after this sort: first he commanded that all their armour should bee brought before him, and then they, on their knees, should aske him pardon, because they came not to treate of the agreement with the rest: which notwithstanding the most part of them did. Then hee commanded them to attend upon him, to enroll all the names of those which would be of the foresaid agreement.

He wretched killing of the L. of Trinitie amongst them of Tailleret.

Whereupon the next morning the chiefe of the houlholders went to the village named Bouuets, the place appointed thereunto, and when they had heard a sermon, and called upon God, they began to write their names. The enrolling of their names not being fully ended, word was brought, that the souldiers had gotten the top of the mountaine, and had taken all the passages; whereat they of Tailleret were sore amazed, and ranne with all speed to defend their wiues and children. Some they saued, the most part with their goods, were in their enemies hands already. At this time, with sacking, spoiling, and burning they did much mischiefe.

The Papists the breakers of promise made.

After this the Lord of Trinitie sent word to them which were fled, that, if they would returne, hee would receiue them to mercie. The poore people for the most part, trusting on his promise, returned to Bouuets, and yet the next morning the souldiers came thither, to apprehend them and their Ministers, and beset the place on euery side. Such as were swift of foot, and could shift best, escaped, but very hardly. The rest were all hurt or taken, and yet they all escaped by a marueilous meanes: For it happened that there was an old man which could not runne fast, to whom one of the souldiers came with a naked sword in his hand to haue slaine him. The old man, seeing the imminent danger, caught the souldier by the legges, ouerthrew him, and drew him by the heeles downe the hill.

Examples of Gods marueilous protection for his seruants in time of need.

The souldier cried out, Helpe, helpe, this villaine will kill mee. His fellowes, hearing him crie, made haste to rescue him: But in the meane time the old man escaped. The rest, seeing what the old man had done, tooke heart of grace, and albeit their armour and weapons were taken from them, yet with stones and slings they so beat and discomfited their enemies, that for that present time they carried no prisoners away.

The day following the souldiers, returning to the said Tailleret, robbed, spoyled, and carried away all that they could find and so continued three dayes together: which was very easie for them to doe, because the poore men, fearing lest they should bee charged with violating the agreement, made no resistance, but retired towards Villars.

The fourth day the said Lord of Trinitie, to torment the poore Taillerets yet more cruelly, sent his armie againe before day to the mountaine, and into the same place, and because the people of the sayd Village were retyred towards Villars, and scattered about the borders thereof in the high mountaines, the Souldiers not yet satisfied with spoyling and sacking the rest that they found in the sayd Tailleret, ranging about the confines thereof, rauened and made hauocke of on euery side of whatsoeuer they could lay hands on, taking prisoners both men and women, which were loden with carriage.

The village of Tailleret sacked and spoiled.

The poore prisoners were cruelly handled. Amongst other there was one, whose eare a souldier of Montdeuis, in a raging furie, bit cleane off, with these words; I will carry, said hee, the flesh of these wicked heretiques with me, into my Countrey. They of Villars also complained of the great cruelty that was shewed vnto them, during the time of the agreement.

The cruelty of papists.

The which when the Lord of Trinitie vnderstood, to make a shew that hee was offended therewith, hee came to his Souldiers (which were so weary that they could scantly goe, not with fighting, but because they were so heauily loden with spoyle, that they were not able to carry it) and pretending to be in a great choler, some he beat, and somethings also of a small value hee caused to be restored, but all the rest was kept backe and carried away. The same day, two women, the mother and the daughter, were found in a Caue in the mountaine, wounded to death by the Souldiers, and died immediatly after. So likewise a blind man, a hundred yeares of age, which was fled into a Caue with his sonnes daughter being eighteene yeares old, which fed him, was slaine by the Enemies, and as they would haue forced the maiden, she escaped from them, and fell from the top of the mountaine, and died.

Two women the mother and the daughter martyrs.

The grandfather and his neece died martyrs.

At that time also a great companie of women of Tailleret and Villars were taken as they fled, with their goods, and brought to the Campe, and sent away emptie. There was at the same time a certaine souldier which promised the Lord of Trinitie to finde out the Minister of Tailleret, and to deliuer him into his owne hands. And to bring his purpose to passe, hee neuer ceased vntill

A wicked persecutor killed with stones.

hée had found him, and after that he pursued him a long time. But as he was pursuing and chasing him, certaine at vnawares comming out of the mountaine, rescued the poore minister, and killed the souldier with stones.

But this especially is to bée noted, that during these troubles diuers of the papists had sent their daughters into the mountaines vnto the Waldoys to be kept, fearing lest they should haue bene rauished by the souldiers, being wholly giuen ouer as to all cruelties and rapine, so to all villanie and abomination, by whom they were before threatned to be so abused.

All this being done, the said Lord of Trinitie caused the head officers and chiefest of the people to assemble together, and declared vnto them, that the maintaining of the army was a great charge to the Duke, and that it was meet that they should beare the one halfe of the charges. For this cause he demanded of them twentie thousand crownes. But by the meanes of the Secretarie Gallaut, who was promised a hundred crownes for his wine (that is to say for a bribe) foure thousand of those twentie were abated, so that they granted vnto him sixténe thousand, of the which summe, the Duke released the one halfe. Then the Lord of Trinitie pressed this poore people to deliuer the eight thousand out of hand, to pay the souldiers their wages (as he said) and so withdraw his armie. The yeare before corne was excéeding deare, for a sacke was commonly sold for 6. crownes, yea, and some for 8. crownes, and also they had very little corne growing vpon their mountaines: wherefore they were now very bare of money. But they being in this perplexitie, and desiring nothing more than to liue in peace and quietnesse, went about to sell their cattell, to pay this money. But the L. of Trinitie had giuen out a commandement, that none should buy any cattell of the Waldoys, without his licence. Then licence was giuen out to certaine to buy great store of cattell, and that for a small price: and the common bruite was, that he had part of the gaine. When the money was payed, yet the armie notwithstanding retired not.

The poore Waldoys pressed at 16. thousand crownes.

The papists false of promise.

After this the L. of Trinitie cõmanded the Waldoys to surrender vp all their armour, to furnish the Dukes forts, otherwise he threatned to send his souldiers among them, and indéed he constrained many so to doe. Then hee demanded moreouer the eight thousand crownes, which the Duke had remitted, and constrained them to promise the payment thereof. After that, hee commanded that the Ministers should be sent away, vntill the matter were determined before the Duke, otherwise hee would send his souldiers to dislodge them out of hand: whereupon, with one common assent and accord, they determined that their Ministers should withdraw themselues for a space, vntill the army were retired: which was not done without maruellous sighes, and lamentation, and teares. At that season there fell such abundance of snow, that the like had not bin séen of a long time before: so that the people were constrained to make a way with great trauell and paine, through the top of the mountaine of saint Martine, for their Ministers to passe. Now thought the Lord of Trinitie so to haue enclosed them, he keeping the plaine, and the mountaines being couered so thicke with snow, that by no meanes they should haue escaped his hands. But the people caused them to passe the top of the mountaine, and at their departure there flocked out of euery quarter great multitudes to the village of Boby, and came together in a secret place there, called le Puis, not without great griefe and sorrow: For they found them altogether in teares and mourning, that their Ministers should so be taken from them, and they now left as lambs amongst wolues.

The care of the Waldoys for their ministers.

The army was aduertised that the Ministers were assembled together, and incontinent a great troupe of harquebuses were at hand, which sought them euen to the very top of the mountaine, insomuch that if they had remained there but one houre longer, they had bene all taken. From that time for certaine dayes after they did nothing but range about in all places, seeking for the Ministers, and there was no house, chamber, caue, nor secret corner, into the which they did not enter, vnder pretence to séeke the Ministers. There was neither chest, nor any thing else so strong, but they brake it open, saying, that the Ministers were hidden therein, and by that meanes they tooke, spoyled, and carried away whatsoeuer they would.

Gods prouidence for his ministers.

The Lord of Trinitie promised oftentimes, that although it were forbidden to all the Ministers to preach, yet the minister of Angrongne should bee excepted: and furthermore sent the said minister word, that if hee would demand any thing of the Duke, it should be granted him. Whereupon, the said minister made this request, that the poore people might liue peaceably in their religion. A while after he sent for the same minister to conferre with him priuatly vpon certaine points of religion. The minister went vnto him, hauing thereto the consent of the people. The Lord of Trinitie propounded vnto him three points. The first concerning the supremacie of the Pope; the other concerned transubstantiation. Of the which two points the minister then immediatly declared his opinion, and hee séemed to agree thereunto, and required him to put the same in writing. The last (which was his whole drift) was to perswade the minister to goe to the Dukes court, and there to defend the cause of the people, alledging certaine reasons to perswade him so to doe. Whereunto the minister answered, that he was bound to God and his Church, and if it seemed conuenient to the ministers and people that hee should goe, hee would bee content to doe the same, and thereof hee promised to send him answer immediatly, with the which answer he seemed to be contented.

Marke here faire pretence and traiterous meaning of L. of Trinitie which by and after seeketh death of the good minister.

Shortly after, the foresaid Lord, and tarrying for an answer, sent his army to the temple of saint Laurence in Angrongne, pretending to sing a Masse there, and suddenly the souldiers besieged the ministers house. The minister being warned thereof allaied to escape. The souldiers attempted nothing by force, but vsed gentle perswasions to the contrarie, for there were not yet many of them. But the minister pushed on further, and the souldiers followed him halfe a mile, but fearing the people durst goe no further. The minister withdrew himselfe into the rocks vpon the mountaine, accompanied with fiue other. The armie was by and by at his heeles, and sought a good while in the houses and cottages on euery side, cruelly handling the people whom they tooke, to make them confesse where their minister was, spoiling their houses, taking some prisoners, and beating other some: but yet they could not learne of them where their minister was. At the length they espied him amongst the rockes, where they thought to haue enclosed him, and so they pursued him in the rockes, all couered with snow, vntill it was night, and could not take him. Then they returned and spoiled his house and diligently searched out all his bookes and writings, and carried them to the Lord of Trinitie in a sacke, who caused them all to be burnt in his presence; supposing (as it well appeared) that the letters which he had sent to Angrongne, touching the agreement, should bee with the rest burnt: for he did not the like in the other ministers houses. That day they spoyled fortie houses in Angrongne, brake their mills, and carried away all the corn and meale that they found.

The minister of Angrongne sued of the souldiers.

The minister house spoiled.

Fortie houses in Angrongne spoiled.

About midnight the souldiers returned with torch-light to the ministers house to séeke him, and searched euery corner. The next morning commandement

dement was giuen to the Rulers of Angrongne, that within twentie foure houres they should deliuer their minister, or else Angrongne should bee put to the fire and sword. The Rulers answered, that they could not so doe, for they knew not where hee was, and the souldiers had chased him ouer the mountaine. After certaine dayes, when the souldiers had burned houses, spoiled the people, broken their mils, and done what mischiefe they could, the army retired. Notwithstanding the Lord of Trinitie left garrisons in the forenamed fortresses, but all at the costs and charges of the Waldoys: the which garrisons, not contented with their wages, spoyled continually. Upon a night fiue souldiers went with torches to a rich mans house of Angrongne, and spoyled the same. The good man of the house hardly escaped with life by the top of the house, for there were twelue pellets shot off at him. Whereof one touched his face, and strooke his hat from his head, without any further hurt.

Gods holy protection in saluing his seruants.

The Rulers of Angrongne, which were gone to the Fortresse to carry thither victuals and money, were by the souldiers retained, and in despight of them and the people caused a Masse to be sung before them, and forced them to be present at it: and because they would not kneele downe to it, they were beaten almost to death. The one of them was sent againe for more money; the other with great perill of his life leapt ouer the walls, and being pursued to Angrongne escaped.

The rulers of Angrongne beaten almost to death for not kneeling to the masse.

Certaine dayes after a certaine company of souldiers came vnto the middest of Angrongne, as though they would haue passed through, and called for meat and drinke. The poore men brought that they had vnto them in a close court. When they had eaten and dronken, they caused the women to auoyd, and then bound 14. of those which had brought them victuals, by two and two together, and led them away. Their wiues and children, perceiuing this, so fiercely pursued them with stones, that they were faine to let goe ten of their prisoners for hast, and had much adoe to saue themselues. The other foure they led away to the Fortresse; of the which two were ransomed: the other two were hanged vp by the feet and the hands, and hauing tormented them almost to death, they released them for a great summe of money. The one of the which died the next night: the other lay sicke without hope of life a long time after, and his flesh fell from his hands and his feet, and thereof he became lame, and after that his fingers fell off also. In like manner did the other garrisons entreat the villages adioyning vnto them.

Crelty shewed for vnkindnesse.

See how God defendeth his seruants standing in our owne defence. The martyrs of Angrongne.

The garrison of Loure and of Villars, being assembled together in a night, went to Tailleret, to the place called Bouuets, and breaking in at the windowes & tops of the houses, breaking open the doores, sacking and spoyling all that they could lay hands of, tooke also fourteene prisoners, and bound them two and two together by the armes, and so led them to the Fortresse of Loure. But two which were escaped, whiles the souldiers were taking other, set vpon them which led the prisoners, and so valiantly assaulted and beat them with stones, that they forced them to let goe twelue of the prisoners, the which tumbling and rolling themselues downe the mountaine, hauing their hands bound behind their backes, and fastened two and two together by the armes, were contented rather so to die, than to bee carried to the Fortresse: and yet in the end they escaped. The other two which were led to the Fortresse were cruelly tormented, and in the end, the one of them the Captaine strangled with his owne hands, who was very young, and but a child: The other which was about threescore yeares of age, whose name was Doull Gemet, suffered a strange and cruell death: for when they had bound him, they tooke a kind of beasts which liue in horse-dung,

See again how God defendeth his people, standing in their defence against the bloudy spills.

The martyrs.

Barbarous kind of torment vsed against a martyr of the Lord called Doull Gemet, by the cruell papists.

called in French Escarbote, and put them vnto his nauell, couering them with a dish, the which within short space pierced into his belly, and killed him. These and the like, more than barbarous cruelties, haue been reuealed by the souldiers themselues.

The poore Waldoys were yet in great captiuitie and distresse, but especially because they had not the preaching of Gods Word amongst them, as they were wont to haue; and therefore taking to them a good courage, they determined to begin preaching againe, albeit secretly, for two principall causes: The one for feare of mouing the Duke, and hindering the voyage of their messengers, hauing yet some hope of good successe. The other, that no occasion might be giuen to the souldiers of further trouble and courage, for that was it which they especially desired. Also they of Angrongne were fully determined, as soone as their messengers were returned from the Duke, to preach openly, what newes soeuer they brought, were they good or euill; and furthermore, not to be contributaries to the finding of the garrison, neither yet to suffer the same to enter into Angrongne.

Be wise like Serpents.

The messengers which were sent to the Duke, being at Vercelle, were there detained six weeks, and all that while were cruelly handled by the Popish Doctors, and were constrained by force and violence to promise to returne to the Masse. Furthermore, they would haue constrained them to promise the same in the behalfe of the rest, but they would not. After they were presented to the Duke, the Secretarie Gattaut tooke the supplication of the Waldoys out of the messengers hands, and deliuered another. After they had presented themselues to the Duke, and asked pardon for bearing of armour, they were constrained also to craue pardon of the Popes Legat; which at the beginning they would in no case doe. Now when these messengers were returned, bringing these wofull newes, and the people vnderstood that there was a new commandement giuen out, that they should returne to the Masse: also that the Popish Preachers were appointed, and ready to come vnto them, and they commanded to goe to fetch them and entertaine them accordingly; there was wonderfull lamentation, weeping, and mourning for this great calamitie.

The messengers of the Angrongnians cruelly entreated.

A new commandement to the Angrongnians to goe to Masse.

Hereupon, they of the valley of Luserne and of Boby, being assembled together, by one assent sent two ministers, with certaine other of the people, to the churches of Pragela (which be in the Countrey of Dolphine) to signifie vnto them the pittous estate of the poore Churches of the valleys of Piedmont, to haue their counsell and aduice how to preuent the great dangers at hand, if it were possible. For this cause they fell all to prayer, and after they had long called vpon God, desiring his grace, and the spirit of discretion and counsell, well to consider of those weightie and vrgent affaires wherewith they were oppressed; in the end it was concluded, that all the people dwelling in the said valleys and mountaines of Piedmont, and those of Dolphine should ioyne in a league together. Whereupon they all promised by Gods grace and assistance to maintaine the pure preaching of the Gospell, and administration of the holy Sacraments; the one to aid and assist the other, and to render all obedience to their superiours, so farre as they were commanded by the Word of God. Moreouer, that it should be lawfull for none of the said Valleys to promise or conclude any thing touching the estate of Religion, without the consent of the rest of the valleys. And for more sure confirmation of the said League, certaine of the Ministers and Elders of the Churches of Dolphine were sent to the Valley of Luserne, to vnderstand if they would giue their consent hereunto, and ratifie the same.

Gods assistance in time of need.

These messengers, the Ministers and others of

Dol-

The people of Piedmont brought into great distresse.

Dolphine, being arriued in the euening at the village of Boby, and the people being there assembled, word was brought that the next day euery householder should appeare in the Counsell-house, to know whether they would returne to the Masse or no: and that they which would receiue the masse should quietly enjoy their houses, and they which would not, should be deliuered to the Iustices, and condemned to bee burned, or sent to the gallies. Wherefore the people was brought to this extremitie, either to die or flee, or else to renounce God. To flee seemed to them best, if the great snow had not let them; wherefore seeing themselues in such distresse, they most gladly consented to the league. After this they exhorted one another, saying; For as much as we shall be all called for to morrow, to renounce and forsake our God, and reuolt againe to Idolatrie, let vs now make solemne protestation, that wee will vtterly forsake the false Religion of the Pope, and that we will liue and die in the maintenance and confession of Gods holy Word. Let vs all goe to morrow into the Temple, to heare the Word of God, and after let vs cast downe to the ground all the Idols and Altars. To this euery man agreed, saying, Let vs so doe; yea, and that the very same houre in the which they haue appointed vs to be at the Councell house.

Images and Altars broken downe in the Church of Boby.

The next day after they assembled themselues in the Church of Boby, and as soone as they came into the Temple, without any further delay, they beat downe the Images, and cast downe the Altars. After the Sermon, they went to Villars to doe the like there. By the way they encountred with a band of souldiers, which were going to spoile a village named Le Vall Guichard, and to take the poore Inhabitants prisoners. The souldiers, seeing them so ill appointed, mocked them, and discharged their hand-guns vpon them, thinking at the first brunt to haue put them to flight. But they valiantly defended themselues, and with stones chased them euen to the fortresse. When they came to Villars, they beat downe their Images and Altars, and afterwards besieged the fortresse, and demanded the prisoners which were there detained.

Images and Altars cast downe in the Church of Villars.

The same day the Iudge of Luserne, called Podesta, went to the Counsell-house, to enroll the names of those which would returne to the Masse; but seeing what was done, hee was sore affraid, and desired the people to suffer him to returne quietly; which they willingly granted vnto him. Diuers Gentlemen also of the Valley came thither with the Iudge, to make their poore Tenants to forsake God: but seeing the tumult, they were faine to flee into the Castle, where they and the garrison were besieged ten daies together, not without great danger of their liues. The second day of the siege, the Captaine of Toure went with a company of souldiers, thinking to raise the siege; but they were by those that kept the passages either slaine or discomfited. As much was done the third day. The fourth day he returned with three bands, and with the garrison of Toure, which caused a furious combat: wherein many of the enemies were slaine, and a great number hurt, and yet of those that besieged the Fort there was not one man hurt.

God giueth victory to his seruants.

Another combat betweene the Waldoys and their enemies.

In the time of this siege they attempted diuers meanes to take the said Fortresse, but without Ordnance it was impossible so to doe: wherefore they were now past all hope of winning it. Moreouer, the Lord of Trinitie, returning with his army, was come to the valley of Luserne, and the next day after might easily haue raised the siege. Wherefore when the Garrison (not knowing that the Lord of Trinitie was so neere) desired that they might depart with bag and baggage, they granted their request. In this siege halfe of the souldiers were slaine, and many were hurt, as well with harquebuses as with stones. During this siege, the souldiers for lacke of water were constrained to make their bread with wine, which tormented their stomacks, and caused great diseases. Here is not to be forgotten, that the souldiers, which a while before did so cruelly persecute the poore Ministers, seeking by all meanes possible to destroy them, were now faine to pray them to saue their liues, and to promise them that they should haue no hurt, and also to safe-conduct them into a sure place; neither would they depart vntill they had promised them so to doe. Which the Ministers did promise and also performe verie willingly. Then the souldiers, seeing themselues much beholden to the Ministers so gently dealing with them, gaue them great thankes, and promised them in recompence thereof all the pleasure that they could shew them. The same night the Fortresse was raced.

Note how the Ministers of the Gospell pray for their enemies and pardon doing good euill.

The second day of February the Lord of Trinitie camped at Luserne, and placed a garrison in the Priorie of Saint Iohn, a village of the Waldois, betweene Luserne and Angrongne. The next day in the morning the said Lord of Trinitie sent word vnto them of Angrongne, that if they would not take part with the rest, they should be gently handled. All the weeke before they were solicited by him to consent to the same, but they would giue no answer. The same day they of Angrongne and the rest of the vallies fully agreed and determined to defend their Religion by force, and that the one should aid the other, and no agreement to be made by any one without the consent of the rest. About noone the Lord of Trinitie marched with his army by Saint Iohn, to enter into the borders of Angrongne by a place called La Sonnillette, where they had fought before. The people had made certaine bulwarkes of earth and stone, not past three foot high, where they defended themselues valiantly against their enemies, which assailed them diuers wayes. When the enemies were so wearie that they could fight no longer, they put fresh souldiers into their places: so that the combat endured vntill night, and all that day the army could not enter into the borders of Angrongne. Many of the enemies were slaine, and a great number hurt; and but two of Angrongne slaine, of whom the one was slaine by his owne follie, because hee was too greedie vpon the spoyle. The army, being now well beaten and tired, rested a while, to make themselues stronger for a further mischiefe.

The fortresse gotten by the Angrongnois.

God comforteth his Seruants to defend their Religion by force.

Another combat betweene the Lord of Trinitie and the Angrongnois.

God giueth victory against his people.

The Friday following, which was the seuenth of February, at the breake of the day, the army marched towards Angrongne by fiue seuerall places. The people of Angrongne were not yet assembled, and none there were to resist, but only a few which kept the watch: the which seeing their enemies comming vpon them in so many places, and perceiuing that they went about to enclose them, after they had valiantly fought for a space, they recoiled by little and little to a high place called La Casse, where the combat was renewed with a greater fiercenesse than before. But the Lord of Trinitie seeing the losse of his men, and aboue all, that one of great credit and authoritie in the Dukes Court was wounded to death, blew a retreat, and descended to Angrongne (the people being fled to the meadow of Toure) and there spoyled and burnt all the wines, victuals, and the rest of the goods that he could find; so that in a short space he had burned about a thousand houses of Angrongne.

Another combat betweene the Lord of Trinitie and the Angrongnois.

The iust hand of God vpon his enemies.

And here is not to be forgotten, that they oftentimes set fire vpon the two temples of Angrongne, where the Word of God was preached; but they could neuer burne them. So did they also to the ministers house, which notwithstanding remained whole, the houses round about being all consumed with fire. That day none of Angrongne was slaine or hurt, sauing onely one that was hurt in his thigh.

A notable miracle of God stopping the Temples of the fire from burning.

There

There were in all Angrongne but two that were enemies to the Word of God, which that ſame day were ſlaine by the ſouldiers, not in the combat, but for their riches which they had about them, as they were running away. The one of them was a very couetous wretch, and had great ſtore of gold and ſiluer, and would ſpend nothing, either to helpe himſelfe, or ſuccour others: no not his poore parents. All this was ſpoyled by the ſouldiers, with a hundred or two hundred Crownes beſides, which he had about him. Beſides theſe two there was not one of Angrongne ſlaine that day. All the reſt of the people retired to the meadow of Toure, the ſituation whereof wee will here declare, for the better vnderſtanding of that which followeth.

Lots againe the cruel worke of God. Vnkindneſſe to parents rightly warded.

Toure is a little valley vpon the borders of Angrongne, inuironed about with mountaines: two miles in length, but very narrow. On both ſides, and in the middeſt thereof there bee about two hundred ſmall Houſes and Cottages: alſo meadowes, paſtures for cattell, ground for tillage, trees, and goodly fountaines. On the South ſide and the North the mountaines are ſo high, that no man can that way approch vnto the ſaid valley. On the other coaſts a man may enter by ſeuen or eight wayes. This place is not paſt two miles from Angrongne. The way thither is very narrow, and till to paſſe by becauſe of the hills which be on both ſides. There is also a riuer hard by, but very ſmall, but the bankes thereof bee very high in many places. The people had carried thither very few victuals, partly becauſe the way was ſo ill, and alſo through the ſudden returne of the army.

The meadow of Toure deſcribed.

The enemies driuen back.

In the meane time the L. of Trinitie, after he had now twice aſſaulted Angrongne, ſent certaine to burne Roſa, and to diſcouer the wayes which led to the valley of Luſerne: but the ſouldiers were driuen backe foure dayes together by thoſe which kept the paſſages. Whereupon he ſent his whole Army, whom they valiantly withſtood from the morning till night. Then they of Luſerne ſent new aide. During this combat, an ambuſhment of ſouldiers deſcended from the top of the mountaine, by a place ſo hard to paſſe by, that no man would haue ſuſpected it. The poore people, ſeeing themſelues ſo inuironed of their enemies, ſaued themſelues, ſome running through the middeſt of their enemies, and other ſome into the rockes.

Poore Chriſtians run through the pikes.

The Enemies being entred into Roſa, conſumed all with fire and ſword. The reſidue of the people fled by the ſecret way leading to the valley of Luſerne, and wandred all that night vpon the mountaines full of ſnow, laden with their ſtuffe, carrying their little infants in their armes, and leading the other by the hands, with great paine and trauell. When they of the Valley ſaw them, they ran vnto them, praiſing God for their deliuerance, for they thought they had bin all ſlaine. Albeit this poore people were here in ſuch great extremitie, yet they were ioyfull, and comforted themſelues, without any lamentation or mourning, except the little poore Infants which cried out for cold.

The Angrongnois with their young infants flie into the mountaines.

The Valdoys agayne aſſaulted by the Lord of Trinitie.

A few dayes after, the Lord of Trinitie entred into the valley of Luſerne by three ſeuerall wayes; that is to ſay, by Roſa, by the plaines, and by the ſides of Taillaret. They which kept the paſſages at the firſt reſiſted their enemies valiantly, but perceiuing that they were aſſailed on euery ſide, they retired to Villars, and there defended themſelues a while. But becauſe they ſaw that their enemies had already paſſed the plaine, and gotten aboue Villars towards Boby; they gaue ouer, and left Villars, and fled into the mountaines. The ſouldiers being entred, burned houſes, and ſlew all that they could find. The poore people which were fled into the mountaines, ſeeing the village on fire, prayſed God, and gaue him thankes, that had made them worthie to ſuffer for his name, and for his cauſe; and alſo they were glad to ſee the village on fire, leſt that their Enemies ſhould encampe there themſelues. Then the ſouldiers in great rage mounted the hills on euery ſide, purſuing the poore people in great furie: but a few of them, after they had ardently called vpon God, tooke courage, and beat backe their Enemies to Villars. This done, the army retyred.

Few dayes after, the meadow of Toure was aſſaulted by three ſeuerall wayes on the Eaſt ſide. The combat dured a long ſeaſon, where diuers of the Enemies were hurt, and many ſlaine. But none of this poore people were ſlaine that day, only two were hurt, which were ſoone healed againe. But to declare the conflicts, aſſaults, skirmiſhes, and alarmes, which were at Angrongne and other places thereabout it were too long: for breuities ſake it ſhall be ſufficient to touch the moſt principall, and thoſe which are moſt worthie of memorie.

On Saturday, which was the fourteenth day of Februarie, the people which were in the vppermoſt part of the meadow of Toure perceiued that a companie of ſouldiers were aſcended vp the hill to Angrongne, and burning the reſt of the houſes there: they doubted that it was a policie of their enemies to draw them thither, and in the meane time to ſet on them behinde, and ſo to winne the meadow of Toure from them. Therefore they ſent onely fiue harquebuſes againſt thoſe ſouldiers: the which hauing the higher ground, and not eſpied of their Enemies, diſcharged their guns all together. Whereupon incontinent the ſouldiers fled, albeit no man purſued them. Whether they fled of policie or for feare, it was not knowne.

The wicked flieth when no man purſueth him.

Shortly after, they of the ward of the meadow of Toure, which were in the watch on the top of the mountaine (becauſe euery morning there was a Sermon made, whereunto the people reſorted, and they might ſee a farre off round about them) eſpied a troupe of ſouldiers marching on that ſide of the hill which is betweene the Eaſt and the North, and ſoone after that diſcouered another companie, which marched on the North ſide towards the ſayd troupe. The firſt were aſcended an houre before the other, and fought on the top of the mountaine called Melele, but they were ſoone diſcomfited: and becauſe they could not runne faſt by meanes of the deepe ſnow, and difficultie of the wayes, in fleeing they fell often downe vpon the ground. Whileſt they that purſued them were earneſt in the chaſe, and had taken from them their Drumme: behold, there came certaine vnto them, crying out, that the other troupe was entred into the meadow of Toure, by meanes whereof they gaue ouer the chaſe, or elſe not one of their enemies had eſcaped, as they which were there reported for a truth. Not one of Angrongne was ſlaine or hurt.

The perſecutors purſued.

The other troupe, which came by the North ſide, tooke a high hill in the top of the mountaine, the which ſeemed to be almoſt inacceſſible, by reaſon of the ſnow and ice which was there. The chiefeſt of this companie were Lodouicke of Montell (which had beene before Maiſter of the Campe in the Kings warres) and Charles Truchet. When they were come to the top of the hill, they cauſed ſeuen ſouldiers to goe downe the hill, and to view the way, and to ſee whether the troupe might deſcend that way or no. Theſe ſeuen went downe almoſt to the houſes. They ſent alſo other to occupie the reſt of the high places which were neere to the foot of the hill and the rockes. In the meane time the Miniſters, and the people which were in the midſt of the valley of the meadow, ſaw all this, and were much diſcouraged therewith: wherefore they fell to prayer, and called vpon God ardently, not without great ſighes, lamentation, and teares, euen vntill night.

Gods people fight with prayer.

The Seuen Spies, which came downe to diſcouer the wayes, cried vnto their Captaine Truchet;

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Come downe, come downe Seigniour Charles, this day Angrongne shall be taken. The other cryed to them againe, Ascend, ascend, and returne, or else you shall be slaine euery one of you. Immediately issued out fiue against these spies, and tooke certaine and chased the rest. The first of the fiue which set upon them, cast two of them downe vpon the ground with a forke of fire. Soone after, eight of Angrongne issued out against the whole troupe, which was wonderfull to see them goe with such courage and boldnesse, to assaile such a multitude, and it seemed that they should haue bene all destroyed and hewne in pieces. The first of the eight went a good way before the other, to discouer the enemies, and carried a great staffe, which they call a rancon, as is somewhat bigger than a Halbert. The other followed, by two and two together, with Harquebuses. These eight went from rocke to rocke, from hill to hill about the mountaine, and chased their enemies valiantly. Then came twelue other, the which ioyning with the rest fought with a wonderfull courage, and made great slaughter of their enemies. Soone after there came from the Valley of Luserne an hundred harquebuses, with one of their Ministers, according to their manner, which were wont to send out a Minister withall, as well for prayer and exhortation, as to keepe the people in order, that they exceed not measure, as it came to passe that day.

The courage of Gods people against their enemies.

A conflict betweene the Angrongnians and the enemies.

At the length they saw them also comming, which returned from the discomfiture of the former troup, making a great noise, and hauing a drumme sounding afore them, which they had taken from their enemies; which ioyned with them of the valley of Luserne, and hauing made their earnest prayer vnto God, immediatly they came to succour the other that now were encountering valiantly with their enemies. Then the enemies seeing such a company marching against them, with such courage and boldnesse; after the other had once called vpon God, their hearts were so taken from them, that suddenly they fled, and as soone as the other began to pray, they began also to flie. But because they could not well saue themselues by running away, they turned backe twice, and fought, and some in the meane time fled.

The marueilous workes of the Lord.

He that carried the Rancon, and discouered the enemies, was but a very young and a simple man, and was esteemed to be one that could doe nothing but (as they say in their language) handle La Sappe, that is to say, a hatchet, and kept cattell: and yet he, with those that followed, so discomfited the enemies, that it was wonderfull to behold. He brake his great Rancon with laying load vpon them; and after that he broke also foure of their owne swords in pursuing of them. There was a boy of eightene yeares of age, and of small stature, which alone slue the Lord of Monteil, master of the campe (as is said) to the King: wherewith the enemies were marueilously astonished and discouraged. Another simple man, who, a man would haue thought, durst not once haue looked Charles Truchet in the face (because he was a very big man, strong and puissant, and one of the chiefest captaines of the whole army) threw downe the sayd Truchet with the stroke of a stone. Then a young man leapt vpon him, and slew him with his owne sword, which was foure fingers broad, and cleft his head in pieces.

Dauid with his sling killeth Goliah.

The cruelty of this wretched Truchet against this poore people appeareth before in this story.

This Truchet was one of the principall authors of this war, and one of the chiefest enemies of true religion, and of the poore Waldoys, that could then be found. It was sayd also, that he vaunted and promised before to the sayd Lord of Trinitie, that he would deliuer into his hands the medow of Toure. But God soone brought his proud brags to naught. And for his spoyling, pilling, and polling of the poore people, he lay spoyled and naked like a beast in the wilde mountaine of Angrongne. Two of the chiefest among them offered to pay a great summe of Crownes for their ransome, but they could not be heard. They were pursued more than a mile, and were so discomfited, that they fled without any resistance, and if the night had not let them, they had pursued them further.

The minister, when he saw the great effusion of bloud, and the enemies to flee, cryed to the people, saying, that it was enough, and exhorted them to giue thankes vnto God. They which heard him, obeyed, and fell to prayer: but they which were further off, and heard him not, chased their enemies till darke night. Insomuch, that if the rest had done the like, very few of their enemies had escaped. That day they had spoyled their enemies of a great part of their armour and munition. So God restored in this combat and in others, to the poore Waldoys, the armour which the Lord of Trinitie had taken from them before. Thankes were giuen to God in euery place; and euery man cried, Who is hee which seeth not that God fighteth for vs? This victorie gaue great courage to the poore Waldoys, and greatly astonished the enemies.

God fighteth for his people.

Pharaohs heart remaine indurate.

The eighteenth of Februarie, The Lord of Trinitie, not satisfied with burning and destroying the greatest part of Villars, returned to burne all the little villages round about, which pertaine to the same, and especially to pursue the poore people, which were fled vp into the mountaines, and diuiding his armie into three parts, he entred by three seuerall wayes aboue mentioned. The two first companies ioyned together betweene Villars and Boby, hauing a great companie of horsemen. From thence they went to seeke the people which were in the Mountaine of Combe, by such a way as they did not suspect, and where there were no warders to defend the place. Notwithstanding, the warders which were next, seeing their enemies ascending that way, speedily ranne before them, and calling vpon God for his aide and succour, they set themselues against their enemies: and albeit they were but thirtie in number, yet they valiantly beat them backe twice, comming out of their bulwarkes, that is to say, certaine houses which at that time serued them for that purpose, albeit they were not made to that vse. Many of the enemies were slaine at those two combats, and not one of the other side. The Lord of Trinitie, seeing his men so fiercely driuen backe, sent out the greatest part of his armie, which were esteemed to be about fifteene hundred men. There came also about an hundred to succour the warders. The combate was very cruell and fierce. At length the poore people were assaulted so vehemently, that they were faine to forsake their bulwarks, losing two of their men. Then the enemies thought all to be theirs, and blew their trumpets, triumphing that they had put the people to flight. But the people, retiring not past a stones cast, tooke courage, and crying all together to the Lord for succour, they turned themselues to the face of their enemies. and with great force and power they hurled stones at them with their slings.

The Waldoys againe driue their enemy backe.

After this the enemies rested themselues a while, and by and by after they gaue a furious assault, but yet they were againe mightily resisted. Yet once againe the enemies rested, and in the meane time the people fell to prayer, calling vpon God all together, with their faces lifted vp towards heauen; which fraied the enemies more than any thing else. After this, they gaue yet another great assault, but God by the hands of a few driue them backe. Yea God here shewed his great power euen in the little children also, which feruently called vpon God, threw stones at their enemies, and gaue courage also vnto the men. So did also the women, and the vulgar sort, that is to say, those which were meet for no feares of warre, remaining vpon the mountaine;

taine, and beholding these furious combats, kneeled vpon the ground, and hauing their faces lifted vp towards heauen, with teares and gronings they cried; Lord helpe vs. Who heard their prayers.

After that these three assaults were giuen, there came one vnto them crying; Be of good courage, God hath sent those of Angrongne to succour vs. He meant, that they of Angrongne were fighting for them in another place, that is to say, towards Tailleret, where the third part of the army was. The people perceiuing that they of Angrongne were come to that place to succour them, began to cry; Blessed be God, who hath sent vs succour: they of Angrongne be here, they of Angrongne be here to succour vs. The enemies hearing this were astonished, and suddenly blew a retreit, and retired into the plaine.

That troup which was gon towards Tailleret diuided themselues into three companies. The first marched by the side of the mountaine, burning many houses, and ioyned with the maine army. The second companie, which was of seuen score, marched higher, thinking to take the people at vnwares. But they were by seuen men strongly resisted and driuen backe. The third company attained the top of the mountaine, thinking to inclose the people; but as God would, they of Angrongne, which came to succour them, encountred with them, and with great force put them to flight.

They of Villars, of whom mention is made before, after they had refreshed themselues with a little bread and wine (for the most part of them had eaten nothing all that day) chased their Enemies till it was almost night, so fiercely, that the master of the campe was faine to send to the Lord of Trinitie (which was at Toure) for succour, or else all would haue bene lost. Which he did; and immediately he rode with all speed to Luserne, to saue himselfe, hearing the alarme which was giuen at Saint John by those of Angrongne, and fearing lest the way should haue bene stopped. The army retired with great difficultie (notwithstanding the new aid which was sent them) and with great losse of men. One of their Captaines confessed since, that if they had bene pursued any further, they had fled all that night long. Since that time they neuer returned againe into the valley of Luserne.

On Monday, being the seuententh of March next following, the Lord of Trinitie, to be reuenged of those of the medow of Toure, assembled all the force that he could make with the Gentlemen of the Countrey. Insomuch that whereas before his army was commonly but foure thousand, it was now betweene fiue and seuen thousand: and secretly in the night season hee incamped with part of his army in the middest of Angrongne, from whence the poore inhabitants were fled before. The nert morning, after the Sermon and prayers were ended, they perceiued the other part of the army to be incamped at the foot of the mountaine of Angrongne on the East side. Soone after they perceiued how both parts of the armie coasted the hils side, the one towards the other, being such a multitude, so glittering in their harnesse, & marching in such array, that the poore people at the first were astonished thereat. Notwithstanding, the assembly fell down vpon their knees three or foure times, crying, Helpe vs, O Lord; beseeching him to haue regard to the glory of his holy name, to stay the effusion of bloud, if it were his good pleasure, and to turne the hearts of their enemies to the truth of his holy gospell. These two parts of the army ioyned together nere to the bulwarks of the medow of Toure, and gaue the assault in three seuerall places. One of the bands mounted secretly by the rockes, thinking to haue inclosed the people in their bulwarkes. But as soone as they which kept the bulwarke below had espied them, they forsooke the place, and marched strait towards them; and as they marched, they met with the aid which was sent vnto them from the valley of Luserne, very luckily, and coming as it were from heauen: which ioyning together soone discomfited their enemies with stones and harquebuses. They pursued them fiercely in the rockes, and vexed them wonderfully, because the rockes are so steepe that no man can ascend or descend without great paine and difficultie. The Captaine of this band was named Valerian of Virgill, a man very expert in the affaires of war. He at his going out of his lodging threatned that he would do great and terrible things that day. His Vollerie hearing that, said vnto him; Mounsieur, if our religion be better than theirs, you shall haue the victorie; but if theirs be better than ours, you shall not preuaile. Shortly after, the Captaine was brought againe into his Inne, so wounded and so feeble, that hee was not like to liue. Then said his Vollerie vnto him; Mounsieur, it is now well seene that their religion is better than ours.

The proud threats of Haman.

There was also another band which kept the top of the hill, to assault the bulwarks from thence. The middle-most bulwarke was then assaulted, in the which were very few to defend the same: the which seeing the number of their enemies, retired backe, leauing therein but fiue onely to defend it. There was a huge rocke not farre from the foresaid Bulwarke, behinde the same a great number of the enemies were hid. And anon there issued out two Ensignes, assuring themselues to winne the Bulwarke; but immediatly one of their Ensigne-bearers was wounded to death. Whereupon many reculed backe. The other set vp his Ensigne vpon the Bulwarke. They which were within had neither halberd, nor any other long weapon, but onely one pike, and the same without any iron; the which one of the fiue tooke, and threw downe the Ensigne, and manfully beat back the scalers, and threw them downe to the ground. Diuers of the Enemies were entred into the Bulwarke by a doze below, and slew one of the fiue which kept the middle part of the Bulwarke. The other foure looked to bee destroyed out of hand. Then one of the foure chased away those which had entred below, with stones: and the other three, leauing their hand-gunnes, defended themselues likewise with great stones: and perceiuing the band which was on the rocks to flee, they tooke courage, and withstood their enemies valiantly till their companions were returned from the chase.

The Bulwarke manfully defended.

In the meane time the Bulwarke which was vpon the side of the mountaine was furiously assailed by the one halfe of the army. Those that were within suffered their Enemies to approch nere to the Bulwarke, without any gunnehot or other defence: whereat the Enemies much maruelled: but when they were euen at hand, they fell vpon them, some with throwing of stones, some with rolling downe mighty stones, and some with harquebuses. There was a huge stone rolled downe, which passed throwout the whole army, and slew diuers. The souldiers at that time had won a little cottage nere to the said Bulwarke, which did much hurt to the poore men. But among them one deuised to rolle downe a great huge stone against the Cottage, which so shooke it, and amazed the souldiers, that they thought they had bin all destroyed, and incontinent they fled, and neuer would enter into it againe.

Behold the artillerie of this simple people, and with what weapons they fought.

Then the souldiers made certaine fences of wood, fiue foot long, three foot broad, and of the thicknesse of three boords: but they were so sore vexed with the shot of the harquebuses, that they were faine to lay all those fences aside. The Miners also made others of earth for the souldiers. But all these policies of the Enemies auailed them nothing: for the slaughter was so great, that in diuers places you might haue seene three lying dead one vpon another,

ther. God so wrought with the poore Christians, that the shot of two harquebuses slew foure men. It was sayd for a certaine, that the shot of an harquebuse came so nere the Lord of Trinities head, that it brake a wand which he bare in his hand, and made him to retire six score paces backward, and seeing his souldiers in such great numbers murthered and wounded on euery side, he wept bitterly. Then he retired the rest of his armie. That day he thought assuredly to haue entred into the medow of Toure. Moreouer, he was determined, if that dayes journey had not succeeded, to incampe thereby, and the next morning very early to renew the assault. Many Gentlemen and others came thither to see the discomfiture of the poore Waldoys: and likewise those of the plaine looked for nothing, but to heare the piteous ruine and desolation of this poore people. But God disposed it otherwise. For the Lord of Trinitie had much adoe to saue himselfe and his: and seeing the mischiefe, which they intended to doe vnto others, was fallen now vpon their owne heads, they were wonderfully astonished. They of the plaine also, when they saw the number of the dead bodies and the wounded to be so great (for from noone vntill the euening they ceased not to carry them away) were likewise exceedingly dismaied. Albeit they carried not away all; for there were many that lay neere to the Bulwarkes, which the people couered with winding-sheets the next morning. The souldiers themselues confessed to them of the medow of Toure, that if they had pursued them, they had beene all slaine, they were so tired and cleane out of heart.

The Lord of Trinitie with his army driuen backe.

The papists astonished and dismaid on euery side, by the wonderfull iudgement of God.

Many maruelled why the people did not follow the armie, but especially the souldiers, seeing the great discomfiture which they had done, and that they had gotten such vantage of them already, but this was done for two causes. The one was, because they had alreadie determined not to follow the armie being once retired, to auoid the effusion of bloud, meaning onely to defend themselues. The other cause was, for that they were wearie, and had spent all their munition: For many of them had shot off about thirtie times, and none of them vnder twentie, spending great store both of pellets and haile shot. The rest of the armie retired, crying with a loud voyce, God fighteth for them, and we doe them wrong.

Gods people auoid the shedding of bloud.

The next day one of the principall captaines of the army surrendred his charge to the Lord of Trinitie, saying vnto him, that he would neuer fight against this people any more, and vpon that he departed. It is a maruellous thing, and worthie of perpetuall memorie, that in that combate there were but two of the Waldoys slaine, and two hurt. Through the whole country of Piedmont euery man said, God fighteth for them. One of the Captaines confessed, that he had beene at many fierce assaults and combats, and sundrie battels well fought, but yet he neuer saw souldiers so faint-hearted and amazed: yea, the souldiers themselues told him, they were so astonished, that they could not strike. Moreouer, they said, that this people neuer shot, but they hurt or killed some of the souldiers. Some other said, that the ministers by their prayers conjured and bewitched them, that they could not fight: and indeed wonderfull is it, and maruellous are the iudgements of God, that notwithstanding so many combats and conflicts, so great assaults and aduentures, so much and so terrible shot, continually made against this poore people, yet all in a manner came to no effect: so mightily Gods holy power wrought for his people. Insomuch that, for all the said combats, skirmishes, and so many conflicts, of all the Angrongnians there were but nine onely that miscaried, and the whole number of those that were slaine were but onely foureteene persons.

God fighteth for his people.

Only 14. of all the Waldoys slaine in all these conflicts.

Where also is to be noted, not without great admiration, how few there were, and those also but poore silly sheepheards and neat-heards, to incounter with such a mightie power, of so strong and braue souldiers comming against them with weapon and armour, being so well furnished and appointed with munition, as they were in all points accordingly; and the other on the contrary side being vnarmed, and vnprouided of all abilliment of warre, hauing for their defence for the most part nothing else but Slings and Stones, and a few Harquebuses.

The ninth day of March there was a hot skirmish at Angrongne. For three companies of souldiers went to Angrongne, to burne and spoile all that remained, and to destroy the wiues which were hidden in the ground. Where, amongst themselues, they mocked and flouted the poore people, saying, These Lutherane Waldoys are valiant fellowes behind their bulwarkes: but if they had beene in the plaine field, they had beene well canuased. After this it chanced that thirtie of the Waldoys went and assailed these foresaid companies in the plaine field. They fought a long season, and that so nere, that some of them fought hand to hand. In this conflict one of those of Angrongne wrestled with a Captaine of the enemies, strong and mightie, and cast him downe vpon the ground. Many of the souldiers were slaine, and many hurt. But of the Angrongnians there was but one slaine, and another hurt a little, which notwithstanding gaue not ouer to fight manfully. Then the souldiers, seeing the losse of their men, retired suddenly.

Another skirmish betwixt the enemies and the Angrongnians.

After that, the Lord of Trinitie sent two gentlemen of the Valley of Luserne to them of Angrongne, to feele them if they would come to any agreement. To whom answer was made, that they would stand to their first answer. From that time he sent very often to intreat of the agreement: but what his meaning was, it might well appeare. For when the poore people hoped for some agreement, they were most furiously assaulted. Vpon this, there was a day assigned in the Valley of Luserne, to conferre touching the agreement with certaine men pertaining to the Lord of Raconis, and the safe conduct was promised and granted.

Note the subtile of pope.

The night afore the Ministers and Rulers of Angrongne should take their journey, they perceiued a company of souldiers going vp a hill, by the which they of Angrongne should passe, and hid them in houses on the wayes side, thinking to take at vnwares them of Angrongne, which were sent to treat of the agreement. But they, hauing intelligence of this conspiracie, watched and warded. It was an easie matter, as diuers thought, that night to haue taken the Lord of Trinitie, and haue spoiled his whole campe. But they of Angrongne and Luserne would not execute this enterprise, lest thereby they should offend God, and passe the bounds of their vocation, taking vpon them no more but to defend themselues.

Behold the craftie Trinitie, how he pretendeth agreement, to destroy the poore people.

Dauid spared king Saul.

At that time a pitifull case happened in the Medow of Toure. The Lord of Raconis, seeming to be sorrie for this warre, sent into the medow of Toure an honest man of Briqueras, named Frances of Gilles, to take aduice what meanes were best to further the agreement. Who, hauing consulted with the Ministers and Rulers, returned homeward that day according to his masters commandement, and hauing sent backe one which conducted him, was murdered some after at the foot of Angrongne, by two of Angrongne which otherwise seemed to be honest, and of good parentage. Soone after, one of the two, which had committed this fact, entred into the medow of Toure, and was immediatly apprehended and bound. Yee confessed the fact without any further delay. Immediatly the o-

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ther also was taken.

The Waldoys were marueilously troubled and agreeued with this fact, and wrote to the Lord of Raconis, declaring vnto him the whole circumstance of the fact, and that they had the offendours in ward, and that if it would please him to send certaine to examine the matter, they for their part would so execute iustice in the punishment of them, that their innocencie to all men should appeare. The Lord of Raconis wrote vnto them that they should deliuer vnto him the offendors, and that hee would doe such iustice vpon them, as the cause required. To the which they of Angrongne answered, that vpon three conditions they should be deliuered according to his request. First, that the prisoners should be compelled to doe nothing against their consciences; and as touching religion, nothing should be spoken vnto them, but out of the word of God. Secondly, that speedie and sharpe iustice should bee executed vpon them; and that hereafter this should bee no prejudice to the liberties and priuileges of the people of Angrongne. The third, that the execution of them should bee vpon the borders of Angrongne, for an example to all other. This being accorded with one assent (yea without contradiction of their parents) they sent them prisoners, accompanied with fiftie gunners, to the Confines of Luserne, and there deliuered them into the hands of the Lord of Raconis. This redounded to the great commendation of them of Angrongne.

Cruell dealing of the Angrongnois.

After this, the Lord of Trinitie, hauing left certaine garrisons about Angrongne, and the Valley of Luserne, went to Perouse neere to the Valley of Saint Martine, to succour the garrison there, being in great danger, and there remained a moneth. During which time, they of Angrongne, and of the Valley of Luserne, liued in more quietnesse than afore: but yet they were much afflicted, by reason of the scarcitie of victuals which sore pressed them, and namely those of the medow of Toure, for they were spoiled of their victuals. This poore people liued with milke and with herbes, hauing very little bread. But afterwards, when they were euen like to bee famished, God of his goodnesse sent them better succour, both of corne and bread than they had before. The enemies thought to haue taken the medow of Toure by famine: for they tooke away the victuals that were to be had in all places round about. Euery houshold was suffred to haue no more than should suffaine them that day, and that also was very little; to the end that they should not succour this poore people.

Greeuelle of the Angrongnois.

God's mercie towards his poor.

After that the Lord of Trinitie, being returned from Perouse to Luserne, sent certaine to intreat of an agreement, and required to commune with some of the people. Then they began to consult and deuise by all meanes, how they might come to some good agreement. But on Munday, being the seuententh day of Aprill, by breake of day, he sent certaine bands of Spaniards, which he had there, with the garrison of Toure, to the mountaine of Mailleret, by the way which leadeth to the medow of Toure, on the South side. They murdered men, women, and children of Mailleret, whom they found in their beds. Then they marched on along vpon the mountaine, towards the Medow of Toure. Anon after, the people perceiued two other companies of souldiers, marching by Angrongne by two seuerall wayes, to assault the medow of Toure. In the morning as soone as they rose, they blew their hornes, for they saw the Spaniards already entred. When they had made their prayers, euery man ran to meet the enemies; some on the East side, and the other on the South. They which first resisted the Spaniards (who were already past the bulwarkes) were in the beginning but twelue gunners, and a few other, whom they caused to goe vp to the hill, and roll downe great stones. These twelue, hauing found a fit place for their purpose to stay the Spaniards, began to shoot off their harquebuses at them.

How this bloody wretch pretending agreement, peace, and vnitie, sought by all meanes the destruction of this poore people.

The people of Mailleret cruelly murdered of the Spaniards.

The Spaniards beaten backe.

The Trumpets of the Waldoys.

The Spaniards seeing themselues so sore assaulted both aboue and beneath, and the place so narrow and so strait, recoyled backe, and retired as fast as they could by the same way by the which they came. If they had tarried a little longer, they had beene enclosed betweene the two mountaines: which place was so strait, that they could not haue escaped. The people chased them vnto their campe, which was at Toure. As they fled, they found often some Forts, where they did resist for a little while, but they were alway beaten out. In this combate God gaue victorie to the poore Waldoys, and great slaughter of the Spaniards; where also bely many of them were sore hurt and wounded.

God giueth victory to the Waldoys against the Spaniards.

The said Lord of Trinitie sent vnto the Spaniards, that they should not faint and giue ouer, but stick to it like men, and he would shortly send them succour: but they would not. Those of the Valley of Luserne, hearing of this conflict, came in the meane time to helpe their neighbours. Amongst other, there was one slaine in that battell, for whom the Lord of Trinitie much lamented, saying, that he would rather haue lost a whole band than that man. The other two companies, which marched by Angrongne, perceiuing the Spaniards to be so beaten and put to flight, and seeing also those of the medow of Toure comming to encounter with them, retired in hast. Vpon that, the Lord of Trinitie went to Cauors, three miles from Luserne, being in a great perplexitie: and as hee was about to send succour to the Spaniards, hee heard the sound of a drumme aboue Luserne, and suspected that there was an armie of the Waldoys comming against him. Vpon this diuers of the souldiers fled away by the plaine, crying that all was lost. It was certainely reported, that if the Waldoys had pursued the armie, as they might easily haue done, the campe had that day beene chased out of Luserne. The poore people lacked no courage so to doe: for albeit they had neither eat nor dranke all the day before, and had sore trauelled and fought; yet they said, that if they had but a little refreshed themselues with a morsell of bread, and a glasse of wine, they durst take vpon them to enter into the campe of their enemies.

God taketh the hearts from his enemies.

God giueth courage to the poore Waldoys.

The mischieuous purpose of Trinitie staied by the prouidence of God.

Within a few dayes after, They of Angrongne were aduertised by the Lord of Trinities letters, that hee fully determined to cut downe their trees and vines, and destroy their corne being on the ground. And furthermore, that two Forts should bee builded at Angrongne. The day was assigned, and horsemen appointed, with all speed to execute this mischieuous enterprise. The poore people thought that they should bee assailed as sore as euer they were, and fight as hard as euer they did before. But God preuented this cruell attempt. For the night afore that this should be executed, The Lord of Trinitie receiued certain letters from the Duke, which staid this enterprise. They of the medow of Toure being aduertised that the Lord of Trinitie did now intend to send ordnance to beat downe the bulwarks which were made of stones, they made a bulwarke of earth, which was in compasse about 500. paces; which they might easily see from Luserne. They of the medow of Toure told the Lord of Trinities men, that if they brought any artillerie, they should not so soone carry it away againe; and shortly the ordnance was sent backe againe.

The Waldoys send a supplication to the Dutches.

About this season, the chiefe rulers & ministers of the Waldoys requested earnestly the L. of Raconis to present a supplication which they had made to the Dutches of Sauoy: for they had intelligence, that she was sore offended, that her subiects were so cruelly handled. In which supplication they declared the equity of their cause, protesting all due obedience to the duke their soueraigne L. and if it might be proued by

The Waldoys offer to be iudged by the word of God.

the pure word of God that they held any errour, they would with all humble submission receiue correction, and be performed, humbly beseeching her grace to appease the displeasure which the Duke had conceiued against them, by the vntrue surmises of their aduersaries; and if there were any thing wherein they had offended him, they most humbly craued his gracious pardon.

The Lord of Trinitie sore sicke.

About this time the Lord of Trinitie, by sicknesse, was in great danger of his life. Soone after the supplication was deliuered, the Dutchesse sent an answer to the Waldoys, by the said Lord of Raconis. The effect thereof was, That she had obtained of the Dukes grace all that they demanded in their supplication, vpon such conditions as the said Lord Raconis would propound vnto them. But when they vnderstood that the said conditions were very rigorous, they sent another supplication vnto the Dutches, wherein they humbly besought her grace to bee a meane that the said conditions and articles might bee moderated; which articles here follow.

Another supplication sent to the Dutches.

First, That they should banish their Ministers.

Secondly, That they should receive the Masse, and other Ceremonies of the Romish Church.

Thirdly, That they should pay a ransome to the souldiers for certaine of their men which they had taken.

Fourthly, That they should assemble and preach no more as they were wont to doe

Fifthly, That the Duke would make fortresses at his pleasure in all that countrey, with other like things.

The Supplication of the Dutchesse.

The people made humble request in this their last supplication, That it would please the said Dutches to giue the Duke her husband to vnderstand, how that these conditions were strange and rigorous. And as for their parts, although they had good triall of their Ministers, that they were good men and fearing God, of sound doctrine, of good life and honest conuersation; yet neuerthelesse they were contented so to doe, if he would giue leaue to some of them to remaine: requesting this, that it might be permitted vnto them to chuse some other good Ministers in their places, before they departed, lest that their Churches should remaine without Pastors.

The conditions whereunto the Waldoys did agree and consent.

Concerning the Masse and other ceremonies of the Church of Rome, if the Duke should cause them to be ministred in their parishes, they neither would nor could withstand the same, and for their part, they would doe no injurie or violence to those that should minister them, or be present thereat: notwithstanding they besought him, that they might not be constrained to be present themselues at the ministration thereof, or to pay any thing to the maintenance of the same, or else to yeeld either fauour or consent thereunto.

As touching the ransome which was demanded of them for their prisoners, considering the extreme pouertie that they were in, and the great calamities and damages, which they had suffered, it was to them a thing vnpossible. Yea, if his highnesse were truely informed what losse they had sustained, by burning, spoiling, and sacking of their houses and goods, without all mercie or pittie, hee would not onely not require of them any such thing, but as a gracious and mercifull Prince, he would succour and support them, that they might be able to maintaine their poore families, whom they nourished (as they were bound to doe) to the seruice of God, and of their said Lord and prince: and therefore they desired that it might please him, that their poore brethren remaining in captiuitie and prison, and such as were sent to the gallies for the profession of their religion, might speedily bee deliuered, and set at libertie.

As for their assemblies and preachings, they were contented that they should be kept onely amongst themselues, in their accustomed places and in other valleys aforesayd, where any assembly of the faithfull should be, which were desirous to heare the preaching of the Gospell.

Touching the Fortresses, forasmuch as by those which were already made they had suffered great molestations and troubles as well concerning their goods, as also their religion; they were assured that if he should build vp new Forts, they should neuer bee able to abide the troubles, miseries, and calamities that would follow thereupon; and therefore they most humbly desired the said Dutchesse to be so good and gracious vnto them, as to obtaine of the Duke, that he would accept their persons in the stead of Forts; and that, seeing those places were by nature and of themselues strong and well fortified, it might please their said Lord the Duke to receiue them into his protection and safegard: and by the grace and assistance of God they would serue him themselues for such walls and forts, that hee should not need to build any other. And because many of these which dwelt neere about them had robbed and spoyled them, not onely of their household goods and such other things, but also driuen away their cattell; that it might please him to giue them leaue to recouer the sayd goods by way of iustice, and to buy againe that which the souldiers had sold, and that for the same price for the which it was sold.

Briefely, they also besought their said Lord, that it may please him to be so gracious vnto them, as to grant them a confirmation of all their franchises, immunities and priuiledges, as well generall as particular, giuen vnto them as well by him, as by his predecessors: and likewise of those which as well they as their ancestors had bought of their Lords, and to receiue them, as his most humble and obedient subjects, into his protection and safegard.

And because in time past, in the stead of good and speedie justice, all iniquitie was committed by those that had the administration of Justice in their valleyes, and forsomuch as their purses were emptied and punished rather than the malefactors, that it might please him to giue order that such justice might be done amongst them; whereby the wicked might be punished with all seueritie, and the innocent defended and maintained in their right.

Torment of conscience in [illegible] from the [illegible]

Finally, forasmuch as diuers of this poore people (being astonished at the comming of the army, and fearing lest they should not onely be spoyled of all their goods, but also they with their wiues and children bee vtterly destroyed) made promise against their consciences, to liue according to the traditions of the Church of Rome; they were maruellously troubled and tormented in spirit; and did nothing but languish in that distresse. Wherefore they humbly besought the said Dutchesse to take pittie vpon them, and to obtaine that they might not bee compelled to doe any thing against their conscience; and moreouer, that it might please the Duke to permit them to liue in libertie and freedome of conscience; also, that all their poore brethren banished for the cause of religion, might returne home to their houses; and that all confiscations, and penalties made against them, might bee abolished. And for their part, they promised to giue all due reuerence and honour to God and his holy Word, and to be true and faithfull subjects vnto their Lord and prince. Yea, more than any other. Underneath the said supplication there was written:

Your

Your faithfull and humble subjects, the poore afflicted of the vallies of Luserne, Angrongne, S. Martin, and Perouse, and generally all the people of the Waldoys, which inhabite the countrie of Piedmont.

After that this supplication was vieiwed and read of the said Dutchesse, shee so perswaded with the Duke, that answer was made with these conditions, declared in these articles following.

Conclusions and Articles, lastly agreed upon betweene the right honourable Lord of Raconis on the part of the Dukes Highnesse, and them of the Vallies of Piedmont, called the Waldoys.

The compositiō & agreement vpō conditions betweene the D. & the Waldois. Iurdon pro. ted

THat there shall shortly bee made Letters Patents by the Dukes highnesse, by the which it may appeare that hee hath forgiuen and pardoned them of the Valleyes of Angrongne, Boby, Villars, Valquichard, Roza, Tailleret, La Rua de Bonet (bordering vpon Toure) Saint Martin, Perouse, Roccapiata. Saint Bartholomew, and all such as haue aided them; of all such faults as they haue committed, as well in bearing armour against his highnesse, as against the Lords and certaine other Gentlemen whom he retained and kept in his protection and safegard.

ermons and ongregations mitted. e parish of Villars.

That it shall be lawfull for them of Angrongne, Boby, Villard, Valquichard, Roza, (members of the Valley of Luserne) and for them of Rodoret, Mazcele, Manaillan, and Salsa, members of the Valley of Saint Martin) to haue their congregations, sermons, and other ministeries of their religion, in places accustomed.

That it shall be lawfull for them of Villars (members of the Valley of Luserne) to haue the same, but that, onely vntill the time that his Highnesse doth build a Fort in the same place. But whilest the said Fort is in building, it shall not be lawfull to haue their preachings and assemblies within the said precinct of the place, but it shall bee lawfull for them to build a place for that purpose nere at hand, where they shall thinke good, on that side towards Boby. Nevertheless it shall be permitted to their Ministers to come within the precinct aforesaid, to visite the sicke, and exercise other things necessarie to their religion, so that they preach not, nor make any assembly there.

he parish of Villeret, La Rua de Bonet.

It shall be also permitted to them of Villeret, La Rua de Bonet, bordering vpon Toure, to haue their Sermons and assemblies in places accustomed, so that they enter not for that purpose into the rest of the confines of Toure.

he Valleyes of Luserne and Martin.

That it shall not be lawfull for the said members of the Valleyes of Luserne and Saint Martin, to come to the rest of their borderers, nor any other of his highnesse dominions: nor to haue their preachings, assemblies, or disputations, out of their owne borders, hauing libertie to haue them therein. And if they be examined of their faith, it shall be lawfull for them to answer without danger of punishment in body or goods.

e parish of erouse.

The like shall be lawfull for them of the parish of Perouse, which at this present are fled because of the said religion, and were wont to haue their assemblies, and preachings, and other ministeries according to their religion, at the place called le Puis: so that they come not to other places and borders of the said parish.

e parish of Pinachia.

It shall bee permitted to them of the parish of Pinachia, of the Valley of Perouse, which at this present bee fled because of the said religion, and were wont to goe to Sermons and assemblies, and other ministeries of that religion, to haue the like, onely at the place called le Gzandoubion.

The parish of S. Germain.

It shall be permitted to them of the parish of S. Germain, of the Valley of Perouse, and to them of Roccapiata, which at this present are fled because of the said religion, and continue in the same; to haue one onely Minister, which may the one day preach at Saint Germain, at the place called l'Adzmilleur, and the other day at Roccapiata, at the place called Vandini onely.

Order for villages being far from the parish Church.

It shall be permitted to all them of the townes and villages of the said Valleyes, which at this present are fled, and continue in the said religion, notwithstanding any promise or abjuration made before this warre against the said religion, to repaire and returne to their houses with their houlholds, and to liue according to the same, going and comming to the Sermons and assemblies which shall bee made by their Ministers in the places aboue specified, so that they obey that which is aboue said.

And because that many of the said townes and villages dwell out of the precinct of the preaching, hauing need to be visited, and of other things according to their said religion, their Ministers, which dwell within the precinct, shall bee suffered without prejudice to visite and duely aide them of such ministeries as shall be necessarie for them, so that they make no sermons or assemblies.

The parish of Weane, and S. Bartholomew.

By especiall grace it shall bee permitted to all them of the Valley of Weane, and them of Saint Bartholomew, neighbours to Roccapiata, and are fled and continue in the said religion, peaceably to enjoy the grace and liberties granted in the next article before, so that they obserue all which they before promise to obserue.

The goods of the Waldoys restored.

The goods already seized as forfeit shall bee restored to all the Inhabitants of the said Valleyes, and to all that are fled and continue in the said religion, as well of them of the said Valleyes, as of Roccapiata, Saint Bartholomew, and of Weane, so that they be not seized for any other cause than for the said religion, and for the warre present and lately past.

It shall bee lawfull for them aforesaid to recouer by way of iustice, of their neighbours, their moueable goods and cattell, so it be not of souldiers: and that which hath beene sold they shall also recouer by way of iustice, so that they restore the price for which it hath been sold. Their neighbours shall haue the like against them.

The liberties restored.

All their Franchises, freedomes, and priuiledges, as well generall as particular, granted as well by his highnesse predecessors, as by himselfe, and obtained of other inferiour Lords, whereof they shall make proofe by publike writing, shall be confirmed vnto them.

The said Valleyes shall bee prouided for, to haue good iustice ministred vnto them, whereby they may know they are kept in safegard by his Highnesse, as well as all his other Subiects.

The inhabitants of the said Valleyes shall make a roll of all the names and surnames of all them of the said Valleyes, which are fled for religion, as well such as haue abiured as other, to the end they may bee restored, and maintained in their goods and houlholds, and enioy such grace and benefits as their Prince and Lord hath bestowed on them.

And insomuch as it is known to every man, that the Prince may build fortresses in his country, where it shall please him without contradiction, nevertheless to take all suspition out of the mindes of the aforesaid Waldoys, it is declared, that if at any time hereafter his highnesse will make a

Fort of Villars, the Inhabitants of the said place shall not be constrained to beare the charges, but onely, as they shall thinke good, louingly to ayde their Prince. Which Fort being builded (by Gods ayd) a gouernour and Captaine shall therein be appointed, which shall attempt nothing but the seruice of his Highnesse, without offence of the inhabitants either in their goods or consciences.

It shall be lawfull for them, before the discharging of their Ministers, such as it shall please his Highnesse to haue discharged, to chuse and call other in their steads: so that they chuse not Master Martine de Pragela, minist. of the Waldoys. in their steads: so that they chuse not Master Martine de Pragela, nor change not, from one place to another of the said valleys, any of them which bee discharged.

The Masse, and other Seruice after the vsage of Rome, shall be kept in all the parishes of the sayd Valleys, where the Sermons, assemblies, and other ministeries of their Religion are made; but none shall be compelled to be present thereat, nor to minister ayd or fauour to such as shall vse that Seruice. Masse set vp, but none compelled to come to it.

All the expences and charges borne by his Highnesse in this warre shall be forgiuen and released to them for euer: also the 8000. Crownes wherein the Inhabitants of the sayd valleys were behind, as part of sixténe thousand Crownes, which they had promised in the warre passed. And his Highnesse will command that the writings for that cause made shall be annulled and cancelled.

All the prisoners shall bée rendered and restored which shall be found to be in the hands of the souldiers, paying ransome reasonable, according to their goods, as they shall bée seased: and those which shall be adiudged to be wrongfully taken shall be released without ransome. Their Prisoners restored by ransome reasonable.

Likewise all they of the said Valleyes, which for religion and not for other causes are detained in the gallies, shall bs released without ransome. The captiues in gallies restored.

Finally, it shall bée lawfull for all them of the said Valleyes, them of Meane, Roccapiata, and Saint Bartholmew, of what degrée, estate, and condition soeuer they be (except Ministers) to accompany and dwell, and to bee in daily conuersation with the rest of his Highnesse Subiects, and to tarry, goe and come in all places of his Highnesse Countrey, to sell and buy, and vse all Trades of Merchandise, in all places in his Highnesse Countrey, as before is said, so that they preach not, nor make any assemblies or disputations, as wee haue before said: and that they which bee of the limits dwell not out of them: and they which be of the townes and villages of the said valleyes dwell not out of them nor of their borders: and in so doing they shall not be molested by any meanes, and shall not be offended nor troubled in body or goods; but shall remaine vnder the protection and safegard of his Highnesse. The liberty of Traffique granted.

Furthermore, his Highnesse shall set order to stay all troubles, inconueniences, secret conspiracies of wicked persons, after such sort, that they shall remaine quietly in their Religion. For obseruation whereof, George Monastier, one of the Elders of Angrongne, Constantion Dialestini, otherwise called Rembaldo, one of the Elders of Villars, Pirrone Arduino, sent from the communaltie of Boby, Michael Ramondet, sent from the Communaltie of Tailleret and of La Rua de Bouet bordering vpon Toure, John Malenote, sent from certaine persons of Saint John, Peter Paschall, sent from the Communaltie of the valley of Saint Martine, Thomas Romam of Saint Germaine, sent from the Communaltie of the same place, and of all the valley of Perouse, promise for them and their Communalties seuerally, that the contents of these conclusions aforesaid shall bee inuiolately kept; and for breach thereof doe submit themselues to such punishment as shall please his Highnesse: The Elders of the valleys of Piemont.

promising likewise to cause the chiefe of the Families or the communalties to allow and confirme the said promise.

The honourable Lord of Raconis doth promise, that the Dukes highnesse shall confirme and allow the foresaid conclusions to them both generally and particularly, at the intercession and speciall fauour of the noble Ladie the Princesse. The Lord of Raconis. The Lady princesse Interceder for the Waldoys.

In testimonie whereof, the foresaid Lord of Raconis hath confirmed these present Conclusions with his owne hand, and the Ministers haue likewise subscribed in the name of all the said valleyes; and they which can write, in the name of all their Communalties.

At Cauor, the fifth day of June, 1561.

Philip of Savoy,
Francis Valla, Minister of Villars.
Claudius Bergius, Minister of Tailleret.
Georgius Monasterius.
Michael Raymundet.

THis accord being thus made and passed, by the meanes of the Dutchesse of Sauoy, the poore Waldoys haue bene in quiet vntill this present: and God of his infinite goodnesse, hauing deliuered them out of so many troubles and conflicts, hath set them at libertie, to serue him purely and with quietnesse of conscience.

Wherefore there is none at this present (except he be altogether blind or senceless) but hée séeth and well perceiueth that God would make it knowne by experience to these poore Waldoys, and all other faithfull people, that all things turne to the best to them which loue and feare him. For by all these afflictions which they suffered (as is before rehearsed) this good heauenly Father hath brought them to repentance and amendment of life. Hée hath effectually taught them to haue recourse to his Fatherly mercie, and to embrace Iesus Christ for their only Sauiour and Redeemer. All things turne to the best to them that loue the Lord.

Furthermore, hee hath taught them to tame the desires and lusts of the flesh, to withdraw their hearts from the world, and lift them vp to heauen, and to be alwayes in a readinesse to come to him, as vnto their most louing and pittifull Father. To be short, hee hath sent them to the schoole of his children, to the end they should profit in patience and hope; to make them to mourne, weepe, and crie vnto him. And aboue all, he hath made them so often to proue his succours at time of need, to see them before their eyes, to feele and touch them with their hands (as a man would say) after such sort, that they haue had good occasion, and all the Faithfull with them, neuer to distrust so good a Father, and so carefull for the health of his children; but to assure themselues, that they shall neuer bee confounded, what thing soeuer happen.

And yet to see this more manifestly, and that euery man may take profit thereof, it shall bee good to vnderstand what this poore people did whiles they were in these combats and conflicts. So soone as they saw the army of their enemies approch, they cried all together for ayd and succour to the Lord; and before they came to defend themselues they fell to prayer, and in fighting lifted vp their hearts and sighed to the Lord. As long as the enemies were at rest, euery one of these poore people on their knees called vpon God. When the combat was ended they gaue him thankes for the comfort and succour which they had felt. In the meane time the rest of the people with their ministers made their heartie prayer vnto God, with sighes and teares, and that from the morning vntill the euening. When night was come they assembled againe together: They which had fought rehearsed the wonderfull ayd and succour which God had sent The behauiour of these good men in their persecutions.

them,

them, and so all together rendered thankes vnto him for his fatherly goodnesse. Alwayes hee changed their sorrow into ioy. In the morning trouble and affliction appeared before them, with great terrour on all sides: but by the euening they were deliuered, and had great cause of rejoycing and comfort.

This poore people had two terrible enemies, warre, and famine, which kept them vnder in such sort, that a man would haue thought they had beene vtterly lost and destroyed. But God of his endlesse mercie deliuered them from such dangers, and restored them to their houses, where they remained afterwards in peace and quietnesse; and all they, which had declared themselues to be their open enemies, were brought to confusion, as well those which sought to get their goods, as those which onely desired to shed their blood. For proofe whereof, the onely example of two Gentlemen of the Valley of Luserne shall suffice. These not onely moued cruell warre against their poore tenants and others, but most shamefully spoyled them, and tooke intollerable fines of all those that disobeyed their edicts to keepe a good conscience.

Warre and famine two enemies against the poore.

Example of Gods fauour vnto his seruants, and continuall reward for their obedience.

Besides this, they went about to seize all their goods as forfeit; waiting to haue the whole forfeiture thereof themselues. And for this cause they did not onely incense the Duke with false reports, and with grieuous complaints and accusations against these poore Waldoys: but also pursued the same so long and with such charges, that they were faine to sell their inheritance, in hope to bring their purpose to passe, and to enjoy that goodly prey, which they thought could not escape their hands. But in the end for their reward they got nothing but shame and confusion.

And as for the monkes and priests which by such meanes thought to aduance themselues, and to bring their trumperie to estimation, they haue lost the little rule which they had ouer that people, and are confounded, and their religion brought in disdaine. Thus God beateth downe those which exalt themselues aboue measure, and maketh his aduersaries to fall into the pits which they themselues haue made. Let vs pray vnto him therefore, that it would please him likewise to stretch out his puissant arme at this day to maintaine his poore Church now afflicted, and to confound all the deuices of Sathan and his members, to the aduancement of his glorie and kingdome.

The conclusion of the Storie.

The conclusion of the story of the idol and Angrongne. Merindol and Cabers in Spaine vnder the French king. Angrongne and hers in Piemont vnder the D. of Sauoy. The cruelty of the aduersaries.

And thus hast thou, Christian Reader, for thy erudition and comfort the storie and doings discoursed, concerning these two countries both of Prouince and also of Piedmont, the one being subiect vnder the dominion of France, the other belonging to the Duke of Sauoy. In the which two foresaid regions and countries how long the Gospell of Christ hath continued (euen from the time of the first Waldenses) the Historie it selfe declareth.

Furthermore, what iniuries and wrongs haue beene done against them for the Gospels sake, what rigour and crueltie hath beene shewed of the aduersarie part: againe, for their part, what patience in their suffering, what constancie in their doctrine, what truth in their words, and simplicitie in their deeds, what obedience towards their Magistrates, and faith toward God they haue vsed; and finally, how miraculously and mightily God hath fought for his people, and confounded the enemies, the said Historie may giue thee full knowledge and experience.

Patience of the martyrs.

Wherein this thou hast moreouer, for thy more learning, to note and consider with thy selfe, besides many other memorable things in this storie contained, how vnwilling this people were at first, and what remorse of conscience they had for their obedience toward their Magistrates, to lift vp any hand or finger for their owne defence. And therefore many of them being slaine and cruelly murthered, as willingly offering their throates without any resistance to the cruell hands of their enemies, the rest were compelled to flie into the mountaines, being spoyled of house, victuall, and weapon, onely to saue their poore liues with flying (which otherwise they would not with resisting) in rockes and caues, thinking there rather to perish by famine, than to vse that defence for themselues, which nature giueth to euery brute beast to helpe it selfe, as it may, against violence and iniurie. Yet these poore Waldoys refusing all resistance, and laying downe their owne weapon (for obedience sake) yea not lifting vp their owne hands to defend their own heads, onely vsed the poore shift of flying from their enemies, till at length the rage of those bloudie persecutors, satisfied with no bloud, nor contented with any reason, ceased not still most furiously to infest them, yea to take also the mountaines from them, which had taken from them their houses before; neither yet permitting them to liue with the wild beasts in the desert, which could not liue in their townes at home, till at length by extreme necessitie, the prouidence of God so working with them, they were compelled to turne their faces, and to take those weapons, which the ground gaue vnto their hands. And with those stones so marueilously the God of hosts wrought for his people, that they beat, banquished, and ouerthrew their aduersaries, they confounded their pride, they abated their malice, and at last stayd the intollerable rage of their persecution. So mercifully and victoriously the Lord God omnipotent fought with his people, or rather for his people, they but turning almost their faces to their enemies, no otherwise than hee fought in times past with Iosua against the heathen, with the Israelites against the Philistimes, with the Macchabees against Antiochus and the Syrians.

Then they which are in Iewrie, let them flie into the mountaines. Luk. 21.

The waldoys compelled to defend themselues.

Note how the Lord blessed the Waldoys, flying to their owne defence.

This Historie carrying with it a true narration of things done in the said countrey of Piedmont, and written as it seemeth by certaine of the ministers, which were at the doing thereof, with the like faith and simplicitie we haue collected, partly out of the Italian, partly out of the French tongue: for in both languages it is written, although in the French tongue it is much more largely discoursed, which booke most principally herein we haue followed. The Title whereof thus beginneth, Histoire des perfections & Guerres faits contre le peuple appelle Vaudoys, &c.

Ex hist. Gallic. & Italica.

Now that wee haue finished these forraine historyes, concerning such matters as haue beene passed in other realmes and nations, of Germanie, Italy, Spaine, France, and Sauoy: consequently it remaineth, after this digresse, to returne and reduce our storie againe to our owne countrey matters, here done and passed at home, after that first wee shall haue added one forreine storie more concerning the martyrdome of a Christian Iew, which suffered about these yeares in Constantinople, among the Turkes, in this wise as followeth.

The story of a Christian Iew in Constantinople martyred by the Turkes.

A Iew Christened and martyred at Constantinople, Anno 1528.

TO these forraine martyrs aforesayd we will also adioyne the historie of a certaine Iew, who in the yeare of our Lord,

Persecutors. | Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.

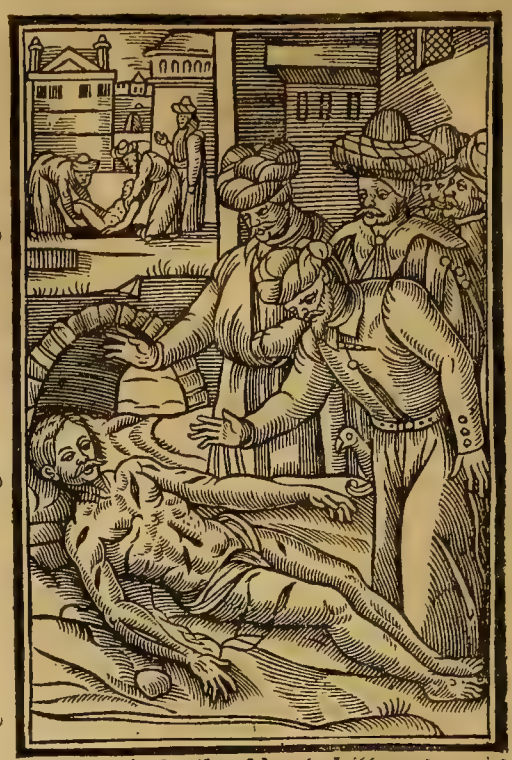
{Anno 1521.}

A Christian Jew Martyr.

The Turkes of Constantinople.

1528. dwelling in the Citie of Constantinople, and there receiuing the Sacrament of Baptisme, was conuerted, and became a good Christian. When the Turkes vnderstood hereof, they were vehemently exasperated against him, that he forsaking his Iewishnesse should bee regenerate to the faith of Christ: and fearing lest his conuersation should be a detriment to their Mahometicall law, they sought meanes how to put him to death; which in short time after they accomplished. And for the greater infamie to be done to the man, they cast his dead corps into the streetes, commanding that no man should bee so hardie as to burie the same.

Wherein the maruellous glorie and power of Christ appeared. For the dead corps, lying so by the space of nine dayes in the midst of the streetes, retained so his native colour, and was so fresh, without any kind of filthinesse or corruption, and also not without a certaine pleasant and delectable sent or odour, as if it had bene lately slaine, or rather not slaine at all. Which when the Turkes beheld, they were thereat maruellously astonied; and being



The martdome of a Christian Iew.

greatly afraid, they themselues took it vp, and carried it to a place neere without the towne, and buried it.

HAuing thus comprehended the troubles and persecutions of such godly Saints, and blessed Martyrs, which have suffered in other forreine Nations above mentioned, here now ending with them, and beginneth the eighth Booke, wee are, God willing, to returne againe to our owne matters, and to prosecute such acts and records, as to our owne countrey of England doe appertaine. In the processe whereof, among many other things, may appeare the marvellous worke of Gods power and mercie in suppressing, and banishing out of this Realme, the long usurped supremacie of the Pope: also in subverting and overthrowing the houses of Monkes and Friers, with divers other matters containing to the reformation of Christs true Church and religion. All which things as they have beene long wished, and greatly groaned for in times past of many godly learned men: so much more ought wee now to rejoyce and give God thankes, seeing these dayes of reformation, which God hath given us. If Iohn Husse, or good Ierome of Prague, or Iohn Wicklife before them both, or Willlam Brute, Thorpe, Swinderby, or the Lord Cobham; If Zisca with all the companie of the Bohemians, if the Earle Reymundus with all the Tholossians, if the Waldoys, or the Albingenses, with infinite other had beene either in these our times now, or else had seene then this ruine of the Pope and revealing of Antichrist, which the Lord now hath dispended unto us, what joy and triumph would they have made? wherefore now beholding that thing which they so long time have wished for, let us not thinke the benefit to be small, but render therefore most humble thankes to the Lord our God: who by his mightie power, and brightnesse of his Word, hath revealed this great enemie of this so manifestly to the eyes of all men, who before was hid in the Church so colourably, that almost few Christians could espie him. For who would ever have judged or suspected in his minde, the Bishop of Rome (commonly received and beleeved, almost of All men, to be the Vicar and Vicegerent of Christ here in earth) to bee Antichrist, and the great adversarie of God, whom Saint Paul so expressely prophesieth of in these later dayes to be revealed by the brightnesse of the Lords comming, as all men now for the most part may see it is come to passe? wherefore to the Lord and Father of lights, who revealeth all things in his due time, be praise and glory for ever. Amen.

The contents of the booke following.

Antichrist long hid, and now reuealed.

The end of the seventh Booke.

The eighth Booke, continuing the historie of English matters appertaining to both States, as well *Ecclesiasticall*, as *Civill* and *Temporall*.

Martyrs of Coventry.

Persecutors.

Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.

Mistresse Smith, widow.
Robert Hatchets a shoomaker.
Archer a shoomaker.
Hawkins a shoomaker.
Thomas Bond a shoomaker.
Wrigsham a Glover.
Landsdale a Hosier.
At Coventry, Anno 1519.

Mist. Smith, Hatchets, Archer, Hawkins, Thom. Bond, Wigsham, Landsdale, martyrs.

Simon Mourton, the Bishops Sumner.

THe principall cause of the apprehension of these persons was, for teaching their children and family the Lords prayer and ten Commandements in English, for which they were vpon Ashwednesday taken and put in prison, some in places vnder the ground, some in chambers and other places about, till Friday following.

The Lords prayer in English forbidden of the Bishop.

The Bishop of Coventry.

Then they were sent to a Monasterie called Wackelfock Abbey, sir miles from Couentrie. During which time their children were sent for to the Gray Friers in Couentry, before the Warden of the said Friers, called Frier Stafford: who straitly examining them of their beléefe, and what heresies their fathers had taught them, charged them vpon paine of suffering such death as their fathers should, in no wise to meddle any more with the Lords Prayer, the Créed, and Commandements in English.

Frier Stafford, Warden.

When done, vpon Palme Sunday the fathers of these children were brought back againe to Couentry, and there the week next before Easter were condemned for relapse (because most of them had borne fagots in the same city before) to be burned.

Onely Mistresse Smith was dismissed for that present, and sent away. And because it was in the euening, being somewhat darke, as shee should goe home, the forsaid Simon Mourton

Persecutors.

Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.

the Sumner offered himselfe to goe home with her. Now as hee was leading her by the arme, and heard the ratling of a scroll within her sléeue; Yea, saith he, what haue yée here? And so toke it from her, and espied that it was the Lords Prayer, the

Seuen godly Martyrs in Couentrie burned.

Articles of the faith, and the ten commandements in English. Which when the wretched Sumner vnderstood; Ah sirrha, said he, come, as good now as another time: and so brought her backe againe to the Bishop, where she was immediatly condemned, and so burned with the six men before named, the fourth of Aprill, in a place thereby called the little parke, Anno 1519.

Wil. Smith condemned for hauing the Lords prayer in English.

Anno 1521.

Robert Silkeb.
At Coventry, Anno 1521.

Rob. Silkeb. martyr.

In the same number of these Countrey men aboue rehearsed was also Robert Silkeb, who at the apprehension of these, as is aboue recited, fled away, and

Persecutors. | Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.

and for that time escaped. But about two yeares after he was taken againe, and brought to the said city of Couentry, where he was also burned the morrow after hee came thither, which was about the thirteenth day of Januarie, Anno 1521.

Thus, when these were dispatched, immediately the Sheriffes went to their houses, and tooke all their goods and cattell to their owne vse, not leauing their wiues and children any parcell thereof to helpe themselues withall. And forsomuch as the people began to grudge somewhat at the crueltie shewed, and at the vnjust death of these innocent Martyrs, the Bishop, with his officers and Priests, caused it to bee noysed abroad by their tenants, Seruants, and Farmers, that they were not burned for hauing the Lords Prayer and the Commandements in English, but because they did eat flesh on Fridayes and other fasting dayes. Which could not be proued either before their death or after, nor yet was any such matter greatly objected to them in their examinations. The witnesses of this history be yet aliue, which both saw them and knew them. Of whom one is by name Mother Hall, dwelling now in Bagington, two miles from Couentry. By whom also this is testified of them, that they aboue all other in Couentry pretended most shew of worship and deuotion at the holding vp of the Sacrament, whether to colour the matter, or no, it is not knowne. This is certaine, that in godlinesse of life they differed from all the rest of the City: neither in their occupying would they vse any oath, nor could abide it in them that occupied with them.

Testimony of this storie.

Note how these martyrs holding with the popish sacraments, yet were burned of the papists only for a few scriptures in English.

Anno 1527.

Iames Beton Archb. of S. Andrews.

The storie of M. Patricke Hamelton, in Scotland.

M. Hew Spens, Deane of Divinitie in the Vniversitie of S. Andrew.

Of this Philip Lantgraue of Hesse, read before.

M. Io. Weddel, Rector of the Vniversitie.

Of the Vniuersitie of Marpurge read before.

Iames Simpson, Officiall.

Patricke Hamelton, At S. Andrews in Scotland, Anno 1527.

PAtricke Hamelton a Scottish man borne, of an high and noble stock, and of the kings bloud, young, and of flourishing age, and excellent towardnesse, of twentie three yeares, called Abbat of Ferme, first comming out of his countrey with three companions, to seeke godly learning, went to the Vniuersitie of Marpurge in Germanie, which Vniuersitie was then newly erected by Philip Lantgraue of Hesse: where hee vsing conference and familiaritie with learned men, namely with Franciscus Lombertus, so profited in knowledge, and mature judgement in matters of religion, that hee through the incitation of the said Lambert was the first in all that Vniuersitie of Marpurge which publikely did set vp conclusions there to be disputed of, concerning Faith and Workes: arguing also no lesse learnedly than feruently vpon the same. What these propositions and conclusions were, partly in his Treatise hereafter following, called Patricks Places, may appeare.

Th. Ramsay, Chanon, and Deane of the Abbey of S. Andrews.

Allane Meldrum, Chanon.

Ioh. Greson, principall of the Blacke-Friers.

Ioh. Dillidaffe, Warden of the gray-friers.

Mart. Balbur Lawyer.

Iohn Spens, Lawyer.

Alex. Yong, Bachelor of divinitie, chanon.

Io. Annand, Chanon.

Frier Alex. Chambel, Prior of the Blacke Friers, &c.

Thus the ingenious wit of this learned Patricke increasing daily more and more in knowledge, and inflamed with godlinesse, at length began to reuolue with himselfe touching his returne into his countrey, being desirous to impart vnto his countrey: men some fruit of the vnderstanding which hee had receiued abroad. Whereupon, persisting in his godly purpose, hee tooke one of the three which hee brought out of Scotland, and so returned home without any longer delay. Where hee not sustaining the miserable ignorance and blindnesse of that people, after hee had valiantly taught and preached the truth, and refelled their abuses, was first accused of heresie, and afterward constantly and stoutly sustaining the quarrell of Gods Gospell, against the high-priest and Archbishop of Saint Andrewes, named James Beton, was cited to appeare before him and his Colledge of Priests, the first day of March, Anno 1527. But he being not onely forward in knowledge, but also ardent in spirit, not tarrying for the houre appointed, preuented the time, and came very early in the morning before he was looked for, and there mightily disputing against them, when hee could not by the Scriptures bee conuicted, by force hee was oppressed: and so the sentence of condemnation being giuen against him, the same day after dinner, in all the hot haste, hee was had away to the fire, and there burned; the King being yet but a child, which thing made the Bishops more bold. And thus was this noble Hamelton, the blessed seruant of God, without all just cause, made away by cruell Aduersaries, yet not without great fruit to the Church of Christ; for the graue testimonie of his bloud left the veritie and truth of God more fired and confirmed in the hearts of many, than euer could after be pluckt away: insomuch that diuers afterward, standing in his quarrell, sustained also the like martyrdome, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall appeare, as place and time shall require.

The godly [illegible] of M. Hame[illegible] towards his Countrey.

The marty[illegible]dome and [illegible]ring of M[illegible]trick Hame[illegible]

In the meane season we think good to expresse here his Articles, and order of his processe, as wee receiued them from Scotland, out of the Registers.

The

The articles and opinions objected against Master Patricke Hamelton, by Iames Beton Archbishop of Saint Andrewes.

rticles out of e Registers.

That man hath no free will.
That there is no Purgatory.
That the holy Patriarkes were in heauen before Christs passion.
That the Pope hath no power to lose and bind: neither any Pope had that power after Saint Peter.
That the Pope is Antichrist, and that euery Priest hath the power that the Pope hath.
That Master Patricke Hamelton was a Bishop.
That it is not necessarie to obtaine any buls from any Bishop.
That the vow of the Popes religion is a vow of wickednesse.
That the Popes lawes beof no strength.
That all Christians, worthie to bee called Christians, doe know that they bee in the state of grace.
That none be saued, but they are before predestinate.
Whosoeuer is in deadly sinne, is vnfaithfull.
That God is the cause of sin, in this sense, that is, that he withdrawetb his grace from men, whereby they sinne.
That it is diuellish doctrine to enjoyne to any sinner actuall penance for sinne.
That the sayd Master Patricke himselfe doubteth whether all Children, departing incontinent after their Baptisme, are saued or condemned.
That auricular confession is not necessarie to saluation.

¶ These Articles aboue written were giuen in, and laid against M. Hamelton, and inserted in their registers, for the which also he was condemned, by them which hated him to death. But other learned men, which communed and reasoned with him, doe testifie, that these Articles following were the very articles, for the which he suffered.

hi Articles o thinke more en collected.

1 Man hath no freewill.
2 A man is onely iustified by faith in Christ.
3 A man so long as hee liueth, is not without sinne.
4 Hee is not worthy to bee called a Christian, which beleeueth not that hee is in grace.
5 A good man doth good workes: good workes doe not make a good man.
6 An euill man bringeth forth euill workes: euill workes, being faithfully repented, doe not make an euill man.
7 Faith, hope, and charitie be so linked together, that one of them cannot be without another in one man in this life.

And as touching the other Articles, whereupon the Doctours gaue their Iudgements, as diuers doe report, hee was not accused of them before the Bishop. Albeit in priuate disputation hee affirmed and defended the most of them.

Here followeth the sentence pronounced against him.

he sentence a gainst M. Patricke Hamelton.

CHristi nomine invocato: Wee Iames, by the mercie of God, Archbishop of Saint Andrewes Primate of Scotland, with the counsell, decree, and authoritie of the most reverend fathers in God, and Lords, Abbats, Doctours of Theologie, professors of the holy Scripture, and masters of the Vniversitie, assisting us for the time, sitting in judgement within our Metropolitane Church of Saint Andrewes, in the cause of hereticall pravitie, against master Patricke Hamelton, Abbat or pensionary of Ferne, being summoned to appeare before us, to answer to certaine Articles affirmed, taught, and preached by him, and so appearing before us, and accused, the merits of the cause being ripely weighed, discussed, and understood by faithfull inquisition made in Lent last past: Wee have found the same Master Patricke many wayes infamed with heresie, disputing, holding and maintaining divers heresies of Martin Luther, and his followers, repugnant to our faith, and which are alreadie * condemned by generall Councells, and most famous Vniversities. And hee being under the same infamie, wee decerning before him to bee summoned and accused upon the premisses, hee of evill mind (as may bee presumed) passed to other parts forth of the Realme, suspected and noted of heresie. And being lately returned, not being admitted, but of his owne head, without licence or priviledge, hath presumed to preach wicked heresie.

* Condemned by Councels and Vniversities but here is no mention of the Scripture.

Wee have found also, that hee hath affirmed, published, and taught divers opinions of Luther, and wicked heresies, after that hee was summoned to appeare before us and our counsell: That man hath no free will: That man is in sinne so long as hee liveth: That children, incontinent after their baptisme, are sinners: All Christians, that bee worthie to bee called Christians, doe know that they are in grace: No man is justified by workes, but by faith onely: Good workes make not a good man, but a good man doth make good workes: that faith, hope, and charitie are so knit, that hee that hath the one hath the rest, and hee that wanteth the one of them wanteth the rest, &c. with divers other heresies and detestable opinions: and hath persisted so obstinate in the same, that by no counsell nor perswasion hee may bee drawne there-from to the way of our right faith.

Note here that these articles agree not with the articles in the Register before mentioned.

All these premises being considered, wee having God and the integritie of our faith before our eyes, and following the counsell and advice of the professors of the holy Scripture, men of Law, and other assisting us for the time, doe pronounce, determine, and declare the said Master Patricke Hamelton, for his affirming, confessing, and maintaining of the foresaid heresies, and his pertinacitie (they being condemned alreadie by the Church, generall Councels, and most famous Vniversities) to bee an hereticke, and to have an evill opinion of the faith, and therefore to bee condemned and punished like as wee condemne, and define him to bee punished, by this our sentence definitive, depriving and sentencing him to bee deprived of all dignities; honours, orders, offices, and benefices of the Church; and therefore doe judge and pronounce him to be delivered over unto the secular power, to bee punished, and his goods to be confiscate.

Molues in Lambs skinne.

M. Patrick giuen to the secular power.

This our sentence definitive was given and read at our Metropolitane Church of S. Andrewes, the last day of the moneth of Februarie, Anno 1527. being present the most reverend Fathers in Christ, and Lords, Gawand, Bishop of Glasgaw, George, Bishop of Dunkelden, Iohn Bishop of Brecham. William Bishop of Dunblane, Patricke Prior of Saint Andrewes, David Abbat of Abirbrothoke, George Abbat of Dunfermeling, Alexander, Abbat of Caunbuskineth, Henry Abbat of Lendors, Iohn Prior of Peterweme, the Deane and Subdeane of Glasgow, M. Hugh Spens, Thomas Ramsay, Allane Meldrun, &c. In the presence of the Clergy and the people.

After the condemnation and martyrdome of this true Saint of God was dispatched by the Bishops and

and Doctors of Scotland, the Rulers and Doctors of the Universitie of Louaine, hearing thereof, received such joy and consolation at the shedding of that innocent bloud, that for the abundance of heart they could not stay their pen to utter condigne thankes, applauding and triumphing in their Letters sent to the foresaid Bishop of Saint Andrewes, and Doctors of Scotland, at the worthie and famous deservings of their atchieved enterprise in that behalfe; as by the tenour of their sayd Letter may appeare, which here followeth.

¶ *The copy of a Letter congratulatorie, sent from the Doctors of Lovaine to the Archbishop of Saint Andrewes and Doctors of Scot-land, commending them for the death of M. Patricke Hamelton.*

A letter of thankes, sent from Louaine to them of Scotland for shedding the bloud of Patricke Hamelton.

YOur excellent vertue (most honourable Bishop) hath so deserved, that albeit wee bee farre distant both by Sea and Land, without conjunction of familiaritie, yet wee desire with all our hearts to thanke you for your worthie deed, by whose workes that true Faith, which not long agoe was tainted with heresie, not onely remaineth unhurt, but also is more confirmed. For as our deere Friend Master Alexander Galoway, Chanon of Aberden, hath shewed us the presumption of the wicked heretique Patricke Hamelton, which is expressed in this your example, in that you have cut off when there was no hope of amendment, &c.

What ioy the papists make in spilling the bloud of Christians.

The which thing as it is thought commendable to us, so the manner of the proceeding was no lesse pleasant, that the matter was performed by so great consent of so many States, as of the Clergie, Nobilitie, and vulgar people, not rashly, but most prudently, the order of Law being in all points observed. Wee have seene the sentence which yee pronounced, and alway doe approve the same, not doubting but that the Articles which bee inserted are erroneous: so that whosoever will defend for a truth any one of the same, with pertinacitie, should be esteemed an enemie to the Faith, and an adversarie to the holy Scripture. And albeit one or two of them appeare to bee without errour, to them that will consider onely the bare words; as for example; Good workes make not a good man, but a good man worketh good workes; yet there is no doubt but they containe a Lutheran sense, which in a manner they signifie; to wit, that workes done after faith and justification make not a man the better, nor are worthie of any reward before God. Beleeve not that this example shall have place only among you, for there shall be among externe Nations which shall imitate the same, &c.

If ye could shew to what place of the Scripture, we would gladly heare you.

The Universitie of S. Andrewes was founded about the yeare of our Lord 1516. in the raigne of king James the first, who brought into Scotland out of other countreys two Doctors of Divinitie, and eight Doctors of Decrees: with divers other. Hect. Boet. lib. 16. cap. 17.

Certainly yee have given us great courage, so that now wee acknowledge your Vniversitie, which was founded according to the example of our Vniversitie of Lovane, to bee equall to ours, or else above; and would God occasion were offered of testifying our mindes toward you. In the meane time let us labour with one consent, that the ravening Wolves may bee expelled from the sheepfold of Christ, while wee have time. Let us studie to preach to the people more learnedly hereafter, and more wisely. Let us have Inquisitours, and espiers of Bookes containing that doctrine, especially that are brought in from farre countries, whether by Apostative Monkes, or by Merchants, the most suspected kind of men in these dayes. It is sayd, That since Scotland first embraced the Christian Faith, it was never defiled with any heresie. Persevere therefore, being moved thereunto by the example of England your next neighbour, which in this most troublous time is not changed, partly by the working of the Bishops, among the which * Roffensis hath shewed himselfe an Evangelicall Phœnix, and partly of the King, declaring himselfe to bee another Matthias of the new Law, pretermitting nothing that may defend the law of his Realme. The which if your most renowned King of Scotland will follow, hee shall purchase to himselfe eternall glory. Further, as touching the condigne commendation due for your part (most reverend Bishop) in this behalfe, it shall not bee the least part of your praise, that these heresies have beene extinct sometimes in Scotland, you being Primate of Scotland, and principall author thereof: albeit that they also which have assisted you, are not to be defrauded of their deserved praise; as the reverend Bishop of Glasgow, of whose erudition wee have here given us partly to understand, and also the reverend Bishop of Aberden, a stout Defender of the Faith, together with the rest of the Prelats, Abbats, Priors, and professors of holy Scripture. Let your reverend fatherhood take this little testificate of our duty toward you in good part, whom wee wish long and happily well to fare in Christ.

* He meane Fisher B. of Rochester, wrote agai Oecolampa and Luther; at length w beheaded fo treason K. Henry 8 is here a P thias, when maketh wit you, but wh he put down Pope and h Abbies, the ye make him heretike.

From Lovaine, Anno 1528. Aprill 21.

By the Masters and Professors of Theologie in the Vniversitie of Lovaine.
Yours to command.

IN this Epistle of the Louanian Doctors I shall not need (gentle Reader) to note vnto thee, what a pernitious thing in a Commonwealth is blind ignorance, when it falleth into cruell hearts. Which may well be compared to a sword put into the hands of one that is both blind and mad. For as the blind man, having no sense to see and judge, knoweth not whom hee striketh: so the mad man, being cruell and furious, hath no compassion in sparing any. Whereupon it happeneth many times with these men, as it did with the blind furious Pharisees, that as they having the sword of authoritie in their hands, in stead of malefactors and false Prophets, slew the true Prophets of God, and at last crucified the King of glory: so these Catholique Louanians, and followers of their Wellias of Rome, take in their hands the sword of Jurisdiction, who neither seeing what to spare, nor caring whom they smite, vnder the stile and pretence of heretiques, murther and blasphemie, without mercie, the true preachers of the Gospell, and the holy annointed of the Lord.

But to returne to the matter againe of M. Hamelton; here is moreover to be observed, as a note worthie of memorie, that in the yeare of our Lord 1564. in the which yeare this present historie was collected in Scotland, there were certaine faithfull men of credit then alive, who being present the same time when M. Patricke Hamelton was in the fire, heard him to cite and appeale the blacke-frier called Cambell, that accused him to appeare before the high God, as generall Judge of all men, to answer to the innocencie of his death, and whether his accusation was just or not, betweene that and a certaine day of the next moneth, which hee there named. Moreover, by the same witnesse it is testified, that the said Frier died immediatly before the said day came, without remorse of conscience that he had persecuted the innocent. By the example whereof diuers of the people the same time much mused, and firmely beleeued the doctrine of the foresaid Maister Hamelton to bee good and just.

A marvellous example of a iust punish upon the acc of M. Hamilton.

Hereunto I thought good to adjoyne a certaine godly and profitable Treatise of the said M. Patrick Hamelton, written first by him in Latine, and afterward translated by John Frith into English; which he names Patrickes places; not vnprofitable in my mind, to bee seene and read of all men, for

A treatise of M. Patric Hamelton, ted Patrick Places.

for the pure and comfortable doctrine contained in the same, as not onely by the treatise it selfe may appeare, but also by the preface of the said John Frith, prefixed before, which also I thought not inconuenient to insert with the same, as here followeth.

A briefe treatise of M. Patricke Hamelton, called Patricks places, translated into English by Io. Frith, with the Epistle of the said Frith prefixed before the same, as followeth.

John Frith vnto the Christian Reader.

The preface of Frith before Patricks Places.

BLessed bee God the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, which in these last dayes and perillous times hath stirred up in all countries witnesses unto his Sonne, to testifie the truth unto the unfaithfull, to save at the least some from the snares of Antichrist, which leade to perdition, as yee may here perceive by that excellent and well learned young man, Patricke Hamelton, borne in Scotland of a noble progenie: who to testifie the truth sought all meanes, and tooke upon him priesthood (even as Paul circumcised Timothie, to winne the weake Iewes) that hee might bee admitted to preach the pure word of God. Notwithstanding, as soone as the Chamberlaine and other Bishops of Scotland had perceived that the light began to shine, which disclosed their falsehood that they conveyed in darkenesse, they layd hands on him, and because hee would not denie his Saviour Christ at their instance, they burnt him to ashes. Neverthelesse, God of his bounteous mercie (to publish to the whole world what a man these monsters have murthered) hath reserved a little Treatise, made by this Patricke, which if yee list, ye may call Patricks Places: for it treateth exactly of certaine Common places, which knowne, ye have the pith of all Divinitie. This Treatise I have turned into the English tongue, to the profit of my Nation: to whom I beseech God to give light, that they may espie the deceitfull pathes of perdition, and returne to the right way which leadeth to life everlasting. Amen.

Patricks Places.

The doctrine of the Law.

Patricks place. What the Law is.

THe Law is a doctrine that biddeth good, and forbiddeth euill, as the commandements doe specifie here following.

The ten commandements of God.

1 Thou shalt worship but one God.
2 Thou shalt make thee no Image to worship it.
3 Thou shalt not sweare by his Name in vaine.
4 Hold the Sabbath day holy.
5 Honour thy father and thy mother.
6 Thou shalt not kill.
7 Thou shalt not commit adulterie.
8 Thou shalt not steale.
9 Thou shalt not beare false witnesse.
10 Thou shalt not desire ought that belongeth to thy neighbour.

A vision of the commandements. Exod. 20.

All these commandements are briefely comprised in these two here under ensuing.

Thoue of God. Thoue of our neighbour. Math. 22.

Love thy Lord God with all thine heart, with all thy soule, and with all thy minde. This is the first, and great commandement. The second is like unto this, that is, love thy neighbour as thy selfe. On these two Commandements hangeth all the Law and the Prophets.

Certaine Generall propositions proved by the Scripture.

The first proposition.

He that loueth God loueth his neighbour.

The first proposition. Probation. I Iohn 4.

This proposition is proved I Iohn 4. If a man say, I love God, and yet hateth his brother, he is a lyer. He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seene, how can hee love God whom hee hath not seene?

The second proposition.

He that loueth his neighbour as himselfe, keepeth all the commandements of God.

The second proposition. Probation. Matth. 7. Rom. 13.

This proposition is proved Mat. 7. Rom. 18. Whatsoever yee would that men should doe to you, even so doe to them. For this is the Law and the Prophets, Matth. 7.

Hee that loveth his neighbour, fulfilleth the Law. Thou shalt not commit adulterie: Thou shalt not kill: Thou shalt not steale: Thou shalt not beare false witnesse: Thou shalt not desire, &c. and if there bee any other commandement, all are comprehended in this, saying, Love thy neighbour as thy selfe, Rom. 13. Rom. 13.

All the Law is fulfilled in one word, That is, love thy neighbour as thy selfe. Galathians the fifth. Galath. 5.

¶ *Argument.*

Bar- Hee that loveth his Neighbour keepeth all the Commandements of God. Romans 13. Maior.
ba- Hee that loveth God, loveth his neighbour. I Ioh. 4. Minor.
ra. Ergo, he that loveth God keepeth all the commandements of God. Conclusion.

The third proposition.

He that hath faith loueth God.

The third proposition. Probation. Iohn 16.

My Father loveth you, because you love me, and beleeve that I come of God. Iohn 16.

¶ *Argument.*

Bar- He that keepeth the Commandements of God hath the love of God. Maior.
ba- Hee that hath faith keepeth all the Commandements of God. Minor.
ra. Ergo, he that hath faith loveth God. Conclusion.

The fourth proposition.

He that keepeth one commandement of God, keepeth them all.

The fourth proposition. Probation. Hebr. 11.

This proposition is confirmed, Heb. 11. It is impossible for a man without faith to please God, that is, to keepe any one of Gods commandements as hee should doe. Then whosoever keepeth any one commandement hath faith.

¶ *Argument.*

Bar- Hee that hath faith keepeth all the Commandements of God. Maior.
ba- He that keepeth one Commandement of God hath faith. Minor.
ra. Ergo, hee that keepeth one Commandement, keepeth them all. Conclusion.

The fifth proposition.

He that keepeth not all the Commandements of God

The fifth proposition.

God, keepeth not one of them.

Argument.

The law requireth perfect obedience. Enthimema. Hee that keepeth one commandement of God, keepeth all.
Ergo, he that keepeth not all the Commandements of God, keepeth not one of them.

The fifth proposition or assertion.

The fifth Proposition.

¶ It is not in our power to kepe any one of the Commandements of God.

Argument.

Maior. Bar- It is unpossible to keepe any of the Commandements of God, without grace.
Minor. ro- It is not in our power to have grace.
Conclusion. co. Ergo, it is not in our power to keepe any of the Commandements of God.

And euen so may you reason concerning the Holy Ghost and faith, forasmuch as neither without them wee are able to kepe any of the Commandements of God, neither yet be they in our power to haue. Non est volentis neque currentis, &c. Rom.9.

The seuenth proposition. The office of the law.

The Seventh Proposition.

¶ The Law was giuen vs to shew our sinne.

By the Law commeth the knowledge of sinne; Rom.3. I knew not what sinne meant, but through the law: for I had not knowne what lust had meant, except the law had said, Thou shalt not lust. Without the law sinne was dead, that is, it moued me not, neither wist I that it was sinne, which notwithstanding was sinne, and forbidden by the law; Rom.7. Rom.7.

The eighth proposition.

The eighth Proposition.

¶ The law biddeth vs doe that thing which is impossible for vs.

¶ Argument.

Maior. Da- The keeping of the Commandements is to us unpossible.
Minor. ri- The law commandeth to us the keeping of the Commandements.
Conclusion. i. Ergo, the law commandeth unto us that is unpossible.

Obiection.

Obiection.

But thou wilt say; Wherefore doth God bid vs doe that is vnpossible for vs?

Answer. The law ordained to bring vs to Christ.

Answer.

I answer, to make thee know that thou art but euill, and that there is no remedie to saue thee in thine owne hand: and that thou maiest seeke remedie at some other: for the Law doth nothing else but command thee.

The Doctrine of the Gospell.

The Doctrine of the Gospell.

Luke 2. THe Gospell is as much to say in our tongue, as good tydings; like as these be hereunder following, and such other.
Iohn 4. Christ is the Sauiour of the World.
Luke 2. Christ is the Sauiour.
Rom.5. Christ died for vs.
Rom.4. Christ died for our sinnes.
1 Pet.2. Christ bought vs with his blood.
Apoc. 1. Christ washt vs with his blood.
Galat.1. Christ offered himselfe for vs.
Esay 53. Christ bare our sinnes on his backe.
1 Tim.1. Christ came into this world to saue sinners.
1 Ioh.3. Christ came into this World to take away our sinnes.
1 Tim.2. Christ was the price that was giuen for vs and our sinnes.
Rom.8. Christ was made debtor for vs.
Coloss.2. Christ hath payed our debt, for he died for vs.
1 Cor.7. Christ made satisfaction for vs and our sinnes.
1 Cor.1. Christ is our righteousnesse.
1 Cor. 1. Christ is our sanctification.
Ephe.2. Christ is our redemption.
Christ is our peace.
Rom.5. Christ hath pacified the Father of heauen for vs.
Christ is ours and all his. 1 Cor.3.
Christ hath deliuered vs from the Law, from the Diuell, and from hell. Coloss.2.
The Father of heauen hath forgiuen vs our sinnes, for Christs sake. 1 Ioh.1.
Do any such other like to the same, which declare vnto vs the mercie of God.

The nature and office of the Law and of the Gospell.

THe Law sheweth vs our sinne. Rom.3.
The Gospell sheweth vs remedie for it. Ioh.1.
The Law sheweth vs our condemnation. Rom.7.
The Gospell sheweth vs our redemption. Coloss.1.
The Law is the word of ire. Rom.4.
The Gospell is the word of grace, Acts 14.
The Law is the word of despaire. Deut.27.
The Gospell is the word of comfort. Luke 2.
The Law is the word of vnrest. Rom.7.
The Gospell is the word of peace. Eph.6.

¶ A Disputation betweene the Law and the Gospell; where is shewed the difference or contrariety betweene them both.

The contraryation of the law, and of the Gospell.

THe Law saith, Pay thy debt.
The Gospell saith, Christ hath payd it.
The Law saith, Thou art a sinner, despaire, and thou shalt be damned.
The Gospell saith, Thy sinnes are forgiuen thee, be of good comfort, thou shalt be saued.
The Law saith, Make amends for thy sinnes.
The Gospell saith, Christ hath made it for thee.
The Law saith, The father of heauen is angry with thee.
The Gospell saith, Christ hath pacified him with his blood.
The Law saith, Where is thy righteousnesse, goodnesse, and satisfaction?
The Gospell saith, Christ is thy righteousnesse, thy goodnesse, satisfaction.
The Law saith, Thou art bound and obliged to me, to the Diuell, and to hell.
The Gospell saith, Christ hath deliuered thee from them all.

The doctrine of Faith.

The Doctrine of faith.

FAith is to beleeue God, like as Abraham beleeued God, and it was imputed vnto him for righteousnesse.
To beleeue God, is to beleeue his Word, and to recount it true that he saith.
He that beleeueth not Gods Word, beleeueth not God himselfe.
He that beleeueth not Gods word counteth him false and a lyer, and beleeueth not that hee may and will fulfill his Word, and so hee denieth both the might of God, and God himselfe.

The ninth proposition.

The ninth Proposition.

¶ Faith is the gift of God.

Argument.

Maior. Da- Every good thing is the gift of God.
Minor. ri- Faith is good.
Conclusion. i. Ergo, Faith is the gift of God.

The tenth proposition.

The tenth Proposition.

¶ Faith is not in our power.

Argument.

Maior. Da- The gift of God not is in our power.
Minor. ri- Faith is the gift of God.
Conclusion. i. Ergo, Faith is not in our power.

The eleuenth proposition.

The eleuenth Proposition.

¶ He that lacketh faith cannot please God.

Without faith it is unpossible to please God; Rom.14.

Rom. 14, all that commeth not of faith is sinne; for without faith can no man please God, Heb. 11.

Induction.

Hee that lacketh faith trusteth not God, hee that trusteth not God, trusteth not his word; hee that trusteth not his Word holdeth him false and a lyer, hee that holdeth him false and a lyer beleeveth not that hee may doe that hee promiseth, and so denieth he that hee is God.

Ergo, a primo ad ultimum, he that lacketh faith cannot please God.

If it were possible for any man to doe all the good deeds that euer were done, either of men or angels, yet being in this case it is impossible for him to please God.

The twelfth proposition.

¶ All that is done in faith pleaseth God.

Right is the VVord of God, and all his workes in faith, Psal. 33.

Lord thine eyes looke to faith: That is as much to say, as, Lord thou delightest in faith, Ier. 5.

The thirteenth proposition.

¶ Hee that hath faith is just and good.

Argument.

He that is a good tree bringing forth good fruit, is iust and good.

Hee that hath faith is a good tree bringing forth good fruit.

Ergo, he that hath faith is just and good.

The fourteenth proposition.

¶ Hee that hath faith, and beleeueth God, cannot displease him.

Induction.

Hee that hath faith beleeveth God; hee that beleeveth God beleeveth his word; hee that beleeveth his word wotteth well that he is true and faithfull, and may not lye, knowing that he both may and will fulfill his word.

Ergo, a primo ad ultimum, hee that hath faith cannot displease God, neither can any man doe a greater honour to God, than to count him true.

Obiection.

Thou wilt then say, that theft, murther, adultery, and all vices please God.

Answer.

Nay verily; for they cannot be done in faith: for a good tree beareth good fruit, Mat. 7. 12.

The fifteenth proposition.

¶ Faith is a certainty or assuredneſſe.

Faith is a sure confidence of things which are hoped for, and certainty of things which are not seene. Hebrewes, 11.

The same spirit certifieth our spirit, that wee are the the children of God, Rom. 8. Moreover, hee that hath faith wotteth well that God will fulfill his word. VVhereby it appeareth, that Faith is a certainty or assuredneſſe.

A man is justified by faith

ABraham beleeued God, and it was imputed vnto him for righteousneſſe, Rom. 4.

Wee suppose therefore, that a man is iustified by faith, without the deeds of the Law, *Rom. 3. Gal. 2.

Hee that worketh not, but beleeueth on him that iustifieth the wicked, his faith is counted to him for righteousneſſe. Rom. 4.

The just man liueth by his faith, Abac. 2. Rom. 1.

Wee wot that a man is not iustified by the deeds of the Law, but by the faith of Iesus Christ, † wee beleeue in Iesus Christ, that wee may be iustified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the Law, Gal. 2.

What is the faith of Christ.

THe faith of Christ is to beleeue in him, that is, to beleeue his word, and beleeue that hee will helpe thee in all thy need, and deliuer thee from all euill.

Thou wilt aske mee, What word? I answer The Gospel.

Hee that beleeueth in Christ shall bee saued, Marke 16.

Hee that beleeueth the Sonne hath euerlasting life, Ioh. 3.

Verily I say vnto you, hee that beleeueth in mee hath euerlasting life. Ioh. 6.

This I write vnto you, that you beleeue on the Sonne of God, that yee may know how that you haue eternall life, I Iohn 5.

Thomas, because thou hast seene mee, therefore hast thou beleeued: Happy are they which haue not seene, and yet haue beleeued in mee, Ioh. 22.

All the Prophets to him beare witnesse, that whosoeuer beleeueth in him shall haue remission of their sinnes, Act. 10.

What must I doe that I may be saued? The Apostles answered: Beleeue in the Lord Iesus Christ, and thou shalt be saued, Act. 16.

If thou knowledge with thy mouth that Iesus is the Lord, and beleeuest with thine heart that God raised him from death, thou shalt be safe, Rom. 10.

He that beleeueth not in Christ shall bee condemned.

Hee that beleeueth not the Sonne shall neuer see life, but the ire of God bideth vpon him, Iohn 3.

The Holy Ghost shall reproue the world of sinne, because they beleeue not in me, Ioh. 16.

They that beleeue in Iesus Christ are the sonnes of God.

Yee are all the sonnes of God, because yee beleeue in Iesus Christ, I Iohn 3.

Hee that beleeueth that Christ is the sonne of God is safe, Iohn 1.

Peter said, Thou art Christ the sonne of the liuing God. Iesus answered and said vnto him; Happy art thou Simon the Sonne of Ionas, for flesh and blood hath not opened to thee that, but my father that is in heauen, Mat. 16.

Wee haue beleeued and know that thou art Christ the sonne of the liuing God.

I beleeue that thou art Christ the sonne of God, which should come into the world [illegible] 11.

These things are written that [illegible] **might beleeue, that Iesus is Christ the sonne of God, and that yee in beleeuing might haue life,** Iohn 20.

I beleeue that Iesus is the Sonne of God, Act. 8.

The sixteenth proposition.

Hee that beleeueth the Gospel beleeueth God.

Argument.

He that beleeveth Gods Word beleeveth God.

The Gospel is Gods word.

Ergo, hee that beleeveth the Gospel beleeveth God.

To beleeue the Gospel is this, That Christ is the Sauiour of the world, Iohn 4.

Christ is our Sauiour, Luke 2.

Christ bought vs with his blood, Heb. 13. I Pet. 1. Apoc. 5.

Christ washed vs with his blood, Apoc. 1.

Christ offered himselfe for vs, Heb. 9.

Christ bare our sinnes on his owne backe, &c. I Pet. 2.

The seuenteenth proposition.

¶ He that beleeueth not the Gospel beleeueth not God.

Argument.

He that beleeveth not Gods word, beleeveth not not God himselfe.

Minor. Conclus.

ri- The Gospel is Gods word.
o. Ergo, hee that beleeveth not the Gospel beleeveth not God himselfe; and consequently hee that beleeveth not those things above written, and such other, beleeveth not God.

The 18. proposition.

The eighteenth proposition.

He that beleeueth the Gospel shall be saued.

Goe yee into all the world, and preach the Gospel unto every creature: hee that beleeveth and is baptised shall be saved: but hee that beleeveth not shall be condemned, Marke 16.

A comparison between faith & incredulity.

¶ A comparison betweene faith and incredulity.

Faith is the root of all good.
Incredulity is the root of all euill.
Faith maketh God and man good friends.
Incredulity maketh them foes.
Faith bringeth God and man together.
Incredulity sundreth them.
All that faith doth pleaseth God.
All that incredulity doth displeaseth God.
Faith onely maketh a man good and righteous.
Incredulity only maketh him vnjust and euill.
Faith maketh a man a member of Christ.
Incredulity maketh him a member of the Deuill.
Faith maketh him inheritour of heauen.
Incredulity maketh a man the inheritour of hell.
Faith maketh a man the seruant of God,
Incredulity maketh him the seruant of the Deuill.
Faith sheweth vs God to be a sweet father.
Incredulity sheweth him a terrible Judge.
Faith holdeth stiffe by the word of God.
Incredulity wauereth here and there.
Faith counteth and holdeth God to be true.
Incredulity holdeth him false and a lyer.
Faith knoweth God.
Incredulity knoweth him not.
Faith loueth both God and his neighbour.
Incredulity loueth neither of them.
Faith onely saueth vs.
Incredulity only condemneth vs.
Faith extolleth God and his deeds.
Incredulity extolleth her selfe and her own deeds.

Of hope.

What hope is.

Hope is a trusty looking after the thing that is promised vs to come as wee hope after the euerlasting joy, which Christ hath promised vnto all that beleeue in him.

We should put our hope and trust in God alone, and in no other thing.

It is good to trust in God and not in man, Psalme 118.

Hee that trusteth in his owne heart is a foole, Prov. 28.

It is good to trust in God, and not in princes. Psal. 118.

They shall be like vnto the Images which they make, and all that trust in them. Psal. 115.

He that trusteth in his owne thoughts doth vngodly, Prov. 12.

Cursed is hee that trusteth in man, Ier. 17.

Bid the rich men of this world that they trust not in their vnstable riches, but that they trust in the liuing God, 1 Tim. 6.

It is hard for them that trust in money to enter into the kingdome of heauen. Luke 18.

Moreouer we should trust in him onely, that may helpe vs, God onely may helpe vs; therefore wee should trust in him onely.

Well are they that trust in God, and woe to them that trust not in him. Psalm. 2, Ier. 17.

Well is that man that trusteth in God, for God shall be his trust. Psalme 14. Eccles. 34.

He that trusteth in him shall vnderstand the verity. Sap. 3.

They shall all reioyce that trust in thee: they shall euer bee glad, and thou wilt defend them, Psalme 5.

Of Charity.

The rule of charity.

Charity is the loue of thy neighbour. The rule of Charity is this; Doe as thou wouldest bee done to: for Christ holdeth all alike, the rich, the poore, the friend and the foe, the thankefull and vnthankefull, the Kinsman and Stranger.

A comparison betweene Faith, Hope, and Charity.

A difference tweene Faith hope, and charity.

Faith commeth of the word of God, Hope commeth of faith, and Charity springeth of them both.

Faith beleeueth the word; Hope trusteth after that that is promised by the word; Charity doth good vnto her neighbour, through the loue that it hath to God, and gladnesse that is within her selfe.

Faith looketh to God and his word; Hope looketh vnto his gift & reward; charity looketh on her neighbours profit.

Faith receiueth God; Hope receiueth his reward; Charity loueth her neighbour with a glad heart, and that without any respect of reward.

Faith pertaineth to God only; Hope to his reward, and Charity to her neighbour.

The Doctrine of workes.

No manner of workes make us righteous.

What good workes doe.

Wee beleeue that a man shall be iustified without workes, Rom. 3.

No man is iustified by the deeds of the Law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, and wee beleeue in Jesus Christ that wee may be iustified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law: for if righteousnesse come by the law, then died Christ in vain, Gal. 2.

That no man is iustified by the law is manifest; for a righteous man liueth by his faith, but the law is not of faith. Acts 17.

Workes doe make vs righteous.

Moreouer, sith Christ the maker of heauen and earth, and all that is therein, behoued to die for vs, wee are compelled to grant that we were so far drowned and sunken in sin, that neither our deeds, nor all the treasures that euer God made or might make, could haue holpen vs out of them: therefore no deeds nor workes may make vs righteous.

No workes make us unrighteous.

Argumentum a contrario sensu.

If any euill workes make vs vnrighteous: then the contrary workes should make vs righteous. But it is proued that no workes can make vs righteous: therefore no workes make vs vnrighteous.

Workes makes us neither good nor evill.

Works make vs neither good nor euill before God.

It is proued that workes neither make vs righteous nor vnrighteous: therefore no workes make vs either good or euill; for righteous and good are one thing, and vnrighteous and euill likewise one.

Good workes make not a good man, nor euill workes an euill man: but a good man bringeth forth good workes, and an euill man euill workes.

Good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor euill fruit the tree euill: But a good tree beareth good fruit, and an euill tree euill fruit

The goodness the tree goeth before his fruit.

A good man cannot doe euill workes, nor an euill man good workes: for a good tree cannot beare

beare euill fruit, nor an euill tree good fruit.

A man is good ere he doe good workes, and euill ere he doe euill workes: for the tree is good ere it beare good fruit, and euill ere it beare euill fruit.

¶ Every man, and the workes of man, are either good or evil,

God fruits are sign of a good tree but not the use thereof.

EVery tree, and the fruits thereof, are either good or euill. Either make yee the tree good, and the fruit good also, or else make the tree euill, and the fruit of it likewise euill, Mat. 12.

A good man is knowne by his workes: for a good man doth good workes, & an euill man euill workes. Yee shall know them by their fruit; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an euill tree euill fruit. A man is likened to the tree, and his workes to the fruit of the tree.

Beware of the false Prophets, which come to you in sheps clothing, but inwardly they are rauening wolues: Ye shall know them by their fruits, Luke 7.

¶ None of our workes either save us or condemne us.

Obiection.

Answer.

IF workes make vs neither righteous nor vnrighteous, then thou wilt say, it maketh no matter what we doe. I answer; If thou doe euill, it is a sure argument that thou art euill, and wantest faith. If thou doe good, it is an argument that thou art good, and hast faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an euill tree euill fruit. Yet good fruit makes not the tree good, nor euill fruit the tree euill; so that man is good ere he doe good deeds, and euill ere he doe euill deeds.

Faith maketh a good man good.

¶ The man is the tree, his workes are the fruit.

FAith maketh the good tree, and incredulity the euill. Tree: such a tree, such fruit, such a man, such workes. For all things that are done in faith please God, and are good workes: and all that are done without faith displease God, and are euill workes.

To say that our workes doe saue vs, is to deny that Christ is our Sauiour.

Whosoeuer beleeueth or thinketh to bee saued by his workes, denieth that Christ is his Sauiour, that Christ died for him, and all things that pertaine to Christ. For how is he thy Sauiour, if thou mightest saue thy selfe by thy workes, or whereto should he dye for thee, if any workes might haue saued thee.

What is this to say, Christ died for thee? Verily that thou shouldest haue died perpetually; and Christ to deliuer thee from death died for thee, and changed thy perpetuall death, into his owne death: for thou madest the fault, and hee suffered the paine, and that for the loue hee had to thee before thou wast borne, when thou hadst done neither good nor euill.

Now seeing hee hath paid thy debt, thou needest not, neither canst thou pay it; but shouldest be damned if his blood were not. But sith hee was punished for thee, thou shalt not be punished.

Finally, he hath deliuered thee from thy condemnation and all euill, and destroyeth nought of thee, but that thou wilt acknowledge what hee hath done for thee, and beare it in mind, and that thou wouldst helpe other for his sake both in word and deed, euen as he hath holpen thee for nought, and without reward.

O how ready would we be to helpe other, if we knew his goodnesse and gentlenesse toward vs, he is a good & a gentle Lord, for he doth all for nought. Let vs, I beseech you, therefore follow his footsteps, whom all the world ought to praise and worship. Amen.

¶ Hee that thinketh to be saued by his works calleth himselfe Christ.

No Sauiour but Christ.

FOr hee calleth himselfe the Sauiour, which pertaineth to Christ only.

What is a Sauiour, but hee that saueth? and hee saith, I saued my selfe, which is as much to say as, I am Christ; for Christ onely is the Sauiour of the world.

¶ We should doe no good workes for the intent to get the Inheritance of heaven, or remission of sinne,

No remission but in Christ.

FOr whosoeuer beleeueth to get the inheritance of heauen, or remission of sinne, through workes, hee beleeueth not to get the same for Christs sake; and they that beleeue not that their sinnes are forgiuen them, and that they shall be saued for Christs sake, they beleeue not the Gospel: for the Gospel saith, You shall be saued for Christs sake, your sins are forgiuen for Christs sake.

Hee that beleeueth not the Gospell, beleeueth not God. So it followeth, that they which beleeue to be saued by their workes, or to get remission of their sinnes by their owne deeds, beleeue not God, but recount him as a Lyer, and so vtterly deny him to bee God.

Obiection.

Thou wilt say, Shall wee then doe no good deeds?

Answer.

Good workes excluded not to be left vndone, but not to iustifie vs, when they are done.

I say not so, but I say wee should doe no good workes to the intent to get the inheritance of heauen, or remission of sinne. For if wee beleeue to get the inheritance of heauen through good workes, then wee beleeue not to get it through the promise of God. Or if wee thinke to get remission of our sinnes by our deeds, then wee beleeue not that they are forgiuen vs, and so wee count God a Lyer. For God saith; Thou shalt haue the inheritance of heauen for my Sonnes sake: Thy sinnes are forgiuen thee for my Sons sake: and you say; It is not so, but I will winne it through my workes. Thus you see I condemne not good deeds, but I condemne the false trust in any workes; for all the workes wherein a man putteth any confidence, are therewith poysoned, and become euill.

Not the doing of good workes but the trusting in good workes condemned.

Wherefore thou must doe good workes, but beware thou doe them not to deserue any good through them; for if thou doe, thou receiuest the good not as the gifts of God, but as debt to thee, and makest thy selfe fellow with God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought. And what needeth he any thing of thine, which giueth all things, and is not the poorer?

Therefore doe nothing to him, but take of him, for he is a gentle Lord, and with a gladder will giueth vs all that wee need, then wee can take it of him; if then wee want ought let vs thanke our selues.

Presse not therefore to the inheritance of heauen through presumption of thy good workes; for if thou doe, thou countest thy selfe holy and equall to God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought; and so shalt thou fall as Lucifer fell for his pride.

FINIS.

¶ Certaine briefe notes or declarations upon the foresaid places of Master Patricke.

Notes.

THis little Treatise of Master Patricks Places, albeit in quantity it bee short, yet in effect it comprehendeth matter able to fill large volumes, declaring to vs the true doctrine of the Law, of the Gospel, of faith, and of Workes, with the

The law and the Gospel, how they are to be joyned, and how to be separated.

nature and properties, and also the difference of the same. VVhich difference is thus to bee understood, that in the cause of Salvation, and in the office of justifying, these are to be removed and separated asunder, the law from the gospel, and faith from workes: otherwise, in the person that is justified, and also in order of doctrine, they ought commonly to goe necessarily together.

Therefore, whersoever any question, of doubt riseth of Salvation, or our justifying before God, there the law and all good works must be utterly excluded and stand apart, that grace may appeare free, the promise simple, and that faith may stand alone, which faith alone without law or works, worketh to every man particularly his salvation, through meer promise, & the free grace of God. This word particularly, I adde, for the particular certifying of every mans heart, privatly and peculiarly, that beleeveth in Christ. For as the body of Christ is the cause efficient of the redemption of the whole world in generall: so is faith the instrumentall cause, by which every man applieth the said body of Christ particularly to his owne salvation. So that in the action and office of justification, both law and workes here be utterly secluded and exempted, as things having nothing to doe in this behalfe. The reason is this, for seeing that all our redemption universally springeth onely from the body of the Sonne of God crucified, then is there nothing that can stand us in stead, but that only wherewith this body of Christ is apprehended. Now, forsomuch as neither the law nor workes, but faith onely is the thing which apprehendeth the body and death of Christ, therefore faith only is that matter which justifieth every soule before God, through the strength of that object which it doth apprehend. For the object only of our faith is the body of Christ, like as the brasen Serpent was the object only of the eyes of the Israelites looking, and not of their hands working: by the strength of which object, through the promise of God, immediatly proceeded health to the beholders. So the body of Christ, being the object of our faith, striketh righteousnesse to our soules, not through working, but beleeving only.

Grace free. Promise simple. Faith alone. Particularly.

The body of Christ is the efficient cause of our redemption in generall. Faith is the instrumentall cause of every mans particular salvation.

Note the object of faith. Faith with her object only saveth. A similitude betweene the brasen serpent and Christs body.

Thus you see how faith, being the onely eye of our soule, standeth alone with her object in case of justifying; but yet nevertheless, in the body she standeth not alone: for besides the eye, there be also hands to worke, feet to walke, eares to heare, and other members moe, every one convenient for the service of the body. and yet there is none of them all that can see, but onely the eye. So in a Christian mans life, and in order of doctrine, there is the Law, there is repentance, there is hope, charity, and deeds of charity; all which in life and in doctrine are joyned, and necessarily doe concurre together, and yet in the action of justifying there is nothing else in man, that hath any part or place but onely faith apprehending the object which is the body of Christ Iesus for us crucified, in whom consisteth all the worthinesse and fulnesse of our salvation, by faith, that is, by our apprehending and receiving of him according as it is written, Iohn 1. VVhosoever received him hee gave them power to bee made the sonnes of God, even all such as beleeved in his name, &c. Also Esa. 53. And this iust servant of mine in the knowledge of him shall iustifie many, &c.

Faith is only the eye of the soule which looketh to Christ.

As many as received him, to them he gave power, &c. Iohn 1.

And he by the knowledge of him shall iustifie many, &c. Esay 53.

Argument.

Da- Apprehending and receiving of Christ only maketh vs justified before God, Joh. 1.
ti. Christ only is apprehended and received by faith.
si. Ergo, faith onely maketh vs justified before God.

Argument.

Ba- Justification commeth onely by apprehending and receiving of Christ, Esay 53.
ro- The law and workes doe nothing pertaine to the apprehending of Christ.
co, Ergo, the law and workes pertaine nothing to Justification.

Argument.

Ce- Nothing which is vnjust of it selfe can justifie vs before God, or helpe any thing to our justifying.
la- Euery worke wee doe is vnjust before God, Esay 64.
re, Ergo, no worke that wee doe can justifie vs before God, nor helpe any thing to our justifying.

All our righteousnesse, is filthy cloute Esay 64.

Argument.

Ca- If workes could any thing further our justification, then should our workes something profit vs before God.
me- No workes, doe the best wee can, doe profit vs before God. Luke 17.
stres. Ergo, no workes that wee doe can any thing further our Justification.

When yee haue done all that commanded you, say ye are vnprofitable seruants: Luke 17 Without me ye can doe nothing. Iohn 15

Argument.

Ba- All that wee can doe with God, is only by Christ Iohn 15.
ro- Our workes and merits be not Christ, neither any part of him.
co- Ergo, our workes and merits can doe nothing with God.

Argument.

Da- That which is the cause of condemnation, cannot be the cause of justification.
ri- The Law is the cause of condemnation, Ro. 4.
i. Ergo, it is not the cause of Justification.

The law worketh anger. Rom. 4.

A consequent.

Wee are quit and deliuered from the law, Ro. 7.
Ergo, we are not quit and deliuered by the Law.

Now are we quit and deliuered from the law, being dead to that wherein we were holden. Rom. 7.

Forsomuch therefore as the truth of the scripture in expresse words, hath thus included our salvation in faith onely, wee are enforced necessarily to exclude all other causes and meanes in our Iustification, and to make this difference betweene the Law and the Gospel, betweene faith and workes, affirming, with the Scripture and word of God, that the Lavv condemneth us, our workes doe not availe us, and that faith in Christ onely justifieth us. And this difference and distinction ought diligently to be learned and retained of all Christians, especially in conflict of conscience betweene the Law and the Gospel, faith and workes, grace and merits, promise and condition, Gods free election and mans free-will: so that the light of the free grace of God in our salvation may appeare to all consciences, to the immortall glory of Gods holy name, Amen.

The order and difference of places.

The Gospel.	Faith.	Promise.	
		Gods free election.	
	Grace.		
The Law.	VVorkes	Condition.	
	Merits.	Mans freewill.	

Antithesis. The law and the Gospel discerned.

The difference and repugnance of these foresaid places being well noted and expended, it shall give no small light to every faithfull Christian, both to understand the Scriptures, to judge in cases of conscience, and to reconcile such places in the old and new Testament, as else may seeme to repugne, according to the rule of Saint Augustine, saying, Distingue tempora, & conciliabis scripturas, &c. Make distinction of times, and thou shalt reconcile the Scriptures, &c. Contrariwise where men bee not perfectly in these places instructed, to discerne betweene the Law and the Gospel, betweene faith and workes, &c. So long they can never rightly establish their minds in the free promises of Gods grace: but walke confidently without order, in all matters of religion. Example whereof wee have too much in the Romish Church, who confounding these places together without distinction, following

ing no method, haue peruerted the true order of Christian doctrine, and haue obscured the sweete comfort and benefit of the Gospell of Christ, not knowing what the true vse of the Law nor of the Gospell meaneth.

¶ In the doctrine of the Law three things to be noted.

In the Law therefore three things are to bee considered. First, what is the true vigour and strength of the Law, which is, to require full and perfect obedience of the whole man, not onely to restraine his outward actions, but also his inward motions, and inclinations of will and affection from the appetite of sinne. And therefore saith Saint Paul, The Law is spirituall, but I am carnall, &c. Rom. 7. Whereupon it riseth this proposition; That is not in our nature and power to fulfill the Law. Item, the Law commandeth that which is to vs vnpossible, &c.

2 The second thing to bee noted in the doctrine of the Law, is, to consider the time and place of the Law, what they bee, and how farre they extend. For as the surging seas haue their banks and barres to keepe them in; so the Law hath his times and limits, which it ought not to passe. If Christ had not come and suffered, the time and dominion of the Law had beene euerlasting. But now seeing Christ hath come, and hath died in his righteous flesh, the power of the Law against our sinfull flesh doth cease. For the end of the Law is Christ: Rom. 10. that is, the death of Christs body is the death of the Law to all that beleeue in him: so that whosoeuer repenteth their sinnes, and flee to the death and passion of Christ, the condemnation and time of the Law to them is expired. Wherefore this is to bee vnderstood as a perpetuall rule in the Scripture, that the Law with all his sentences and iudgements, whersoeuer they are written, either in the old Testament or in the new, doe euer include a priuie exception of repentance and beleefe in Christ, to the which alwayes it giueth place, hauing there his end, and can proceed no further: according as Saint Paul doth say; The Law is our Schoolemaster vntill Christ, that wee might bee justified by faith: Gal. 3.

Moreouer, as the Law hath his time how long to reigne, so also it hath his proper place, where to reigne. By the reigne of the Law here is meant the condemnation of the Law: for as the time of the Law ceaseth when the faith of Christ in a true repenting heart beginneth; so hath the Law no place in such as bee good and faithfull, that is, in sinners repenting and amending, but onely in them which bee euill and wicked. Euill men here I call such, which walking in sinnefull flesh, are not yet driuen by earnest repentance to flee to Christ for succour. And therefore saith Saint Paul, To the iust man there is no law set, but to the vnjust and disobedient, &c. I Tim. 1. By the just man heere is meant, not hee which neuer had disease, but hee who knowing his disease seeketh out the physition, and being cured, keepeth himselfe in health, as much as hee may, from any mo surfets. Notwithstanding hee shall neuer so keepe himselfe, but that his health (that is his new obedience) shall alwayes remaine frail and vnperfect, and shall continually need the physition. Where by the way these 3. things are to bee noted, first the sickenesse it selfe: secondly, the knowing of the sickenesse: thirdly, the physition. The sickenesse is sinne. The knowing of the sickenesse is repentance, which the Law worketh. The physition is Christ. And therefore although in remission of our sinnes repentance is joyned with faith, yet it is not the dignitie or worthinesse of repentance that causeth remission of sinnes but onely the worthinesse of Christ, whom Faith onely apprehendeth; no more than the seeling of the disease is the cause of health, but onely the physition. For else when a man is cast and condemned by the Law, it is not repentance that can saue or deserue life, but if his pardon come, then is it the grace of the Prince, and not his repentance that saueth.

Repentance is ioyned with Faith, yet is it no cause of saluation.

The third point to bee considered in the doctrine of the Law, is this: that wee marke well the end and purpose why the Law is giuen, which is not to bring vs to saluation, nor to worke Gods fauour, nor to make vs good: but rather to declare and conuict our wickednesse, and to make vs feele the danger thereof, to this end and purpose, that wee seeing our condemnation, and being in our selues confounded, may bee driuen thereby to haue our refuge to Christ the sonne of God, and to submit our selues to him, in whom onely is to bee found our remedie, and in none other. And this end of the Law discreetly ought to bee pondered of all Christians. Otherwise they that consider not this end and purpose of the Law, fall into manifold errors and inconueniences. First, they peruert all order of Doctrine. Secondly, they seeke that in the Law which the Law cannot giue. Thirdly, they are not able to comfort themselues, nor other. Fourthly, they keepe mens soules in an vncertaine doubt and dubitation of their saluation. Fiftly, they obscure the light of Gods grace. Sixthly, they are vnkinde to Gods benefits. Seuenthly, they are injurious to Christs passion, and enemies to his Crosse. Eighthly, they stop Christian liberty. Ninthly, they bereaue the Church, the Spouse of Christ, of her due comfort, as taking away the Sun out of the World. Tenthly, in all their doings they shoot at a wrong marke: for where Christ onely is set vp to bee apprehended by our faith, and so freely to justifie vs; they leauing this justification by faith, set vp other markes, partly of the Law, partly of their owne deuising, for men to shoot at. And here commeth in the manifest and manifold absurdities of the Bishop of Romes Doctrine, which (the Lord willing) wee will rehearse, as in a Catalogue heere following.

The 3. point to bee noted in the Doctrine of the Law.

Inconueniences that rise in not knowing the true end of the Law.

Errors and absurdities of the Papists, touching the Doctrine of the Law and of the Gospell.

1 They erroneously conceiue opinion of saluation in the Law, which onely is to bee sought in the faith of Christ, and in no other.

Errors in the Popes doctrine concerning the doctrine of the Law.

2 They erroneously doe seeke Gods fauour by workes of the Law: not knowing that the Law in this our corrupt nature worketh onely the anger of God. Rom. 3.

3 They erre also in this, that where the office of the Law is diuers and contrary from the Gospell, they without any difference confound the one with the other, making the Gospell to bee a Law, and Christ to be a Moses.

This article resisteth against this place of John 1. The law is giuen by Moses: grace and verity by Jesus Christ.

4 They erre in diuiding the Law vnskilfully into three parts, into the law Naturall, the law Morall, and the law Euangelicall.

What is the whole seruice of God in the Popes Church but onely an heape of ceremonies?

5 They erre againe in diuiding the law Euangelicall into precepts and counsels, making the precepts to serue for all men, the counsels onely to serue for them that bee perfect.

6 The chiefe substance of all their teaching and preaching resteth vpon the workes of the Law, as may appeare by their Religion, which wholly consisteth in mens merits, traditions, lawes, canons, decrees, and ceremonies.

This article resisteth against this Scripture, Go and preach the Gospell to euery creature: He that beleeueth, &c. But they preach as though Christ had said, Goe and preach the law to euery creature.

7 In the Doctrine of saluation, of remission, and iustification, either they admit the law equally with the Gospell, or else, cleane secluding the Gospell, they teach and preach the Law, so that little mention is made of the Faith of Christ, or none at all.

This article is contrary to the place Rom. 8. That which the law could not performe in the behalfe of our weake flesh, &c. Rom. 8.

8 They erre in thinking, that the law of God requireth nothing in vs vnder paine of damnation, but only our obedience in externe actions: as for the inward affections and concupiscence they esteeme but light matters.

9 They, not knowing the true nature & strength of the Law, do erroneously imagine that it is in mans power to fulfill it.

This article repugneth against the place, Gal. 2. For if righteousnesse come by the law, then Christ died in vaine.

10 They erre in thinking, that it is in mans power not only to keep the Law of God, but also to performe more perfect workes than be in Gods Law commanded, and these they call the workes of perfection. And hereof rise the workes of supererogation, of satisfaction, of congruitie and condignitie, to store vp the treasure-house the Popes Church, to be sould out to the people for money.

This article saoureth of the pride of the pharisie, which said, I am not like this publican.

11 They erre in saying, that the state monasticall is more perfect for keeping the counsels of the gospell, than other states bee in keeping the law of the gospell.

This article repugneth against this place, They bind heauie burdens and grieuous to beare & lay them on mens shoulders: Matth. 23. Woe to you Scribes & Pharisies, which for the doctrines of men transgresse the commandements of God.

12 The counsels of the gospell they call the vowes of their religious men, as profound humilitie, perfect chastitie, and wilfull pouertie.

13 They erre abhominably, in equalling their lawes, and constitutions with Gods law, and in saying, that mans law bindeth vnder paine of damnation, no lesse than Gods law.

14 They erre sinfully, in punishing the transgressors of their lawes more sharply than the transgressors of the law of God, as appeareth by their Inquisitions, and their Canon Law, &c.

15 Finally, they erre most horribly in this, that where the free promise of God ascribeth our saluation onely to our faith in Christ, excluding workes: they contrarie ascribe saluation onely, or principally to workes and merits, excluding faith. Whereupon ariseth the application of the sacrifice of the Masse, Ex opere operato, for the quicke and dead, application of the merits of Christs passion, in Bulls, application of the merits of all religious Orders, and such other mo, aboue specified more at large in the former part of this history.

☞ Here follow three cautions to be observed and auoyded in the true vnderstanding of the law.

The first Caution.

Three cautions to bee auoided concerning the right vnderstanding of the law.

FIrst, that wee, through the misunderstanding of the Scriptures, doe not take the Law for the Gospell, nor the Gospell for the Law, but skilfully discerne and diligently the voice of the one from the voyce of the other. Many there bee, which reading the booke of the new Testament, doe take and vnderstand whatsoeuer they see contained in the said booke, to bee onely and merely the voice of the gospell. And contrariwise, whatsoeuer is contained in the compasse of the old Testament, that is, within the Law, Stories, Psalmes, and Prophets, to bee onely and merely the word and voice of the Law. Wherein they are deceiued; for the preaching of the Law and of the Gospell are mixed together in both the Testaments, as well the old as the new. Neither is the order of these two doctrines to bee distinguished by books and leaues, but by the diuersitie of Gods spirit speaking vnto vs. For sometimes in the old Testament God doth comfort, as hee comforted Adam with the voyce of the Gospell. Sometimes also in the new Testament hee doth threaten and terrifie, as when Christ threatned the Pharisies. In some places againe, Moses and the Prophets play the Euangelists: insomuch that Hierome doubted whether hee should call Esay a Prophet or an Euangelist. In some places likewise Christ and the Apostles supply the part of Moses: And as Christ himselfe vntill his death was vnder the law (which law hee came not to breake, but to fulfill) so his Sermons made to the Iewes, runne all for the most part vpon the perfect doctrine and workes of the Law, shewing and teaching what we ought to doe by the right Law of iustice, and what danger ensueth in not performing the same. All which places though they be contained in the booke of the new Testament, yet are they to be referred to the doctrine of the law, euer hauing in them included a priuy exception of repentance and faith in Christ Iesus. As in example, where Christ thus preacheth;

What place of the Scripture are to bee referred to the law, and what to the Gospell.

Blessed bee they that be pure of heart, for they shall see God, &c. Mat. 5. Againe; except yee bee made like these children yee shall not enter, &c. Mat. 18. Item, But hee that doth the will of my Father shall enter into the kingdome of heauen, &c. Matth. 7. Item, the parable of the vnkinde seruant, iustly cast into prison for not forgiuing his fellow, &c. Mat. 18. The casting of the rich Glutton into hell, &c. Luke 16. Item, he that denieth me here before men, I will denie him before my Father, &c. Luke 12. With such other places of like condition. All these (I say) pertaining to the doctrine of the Law, do euer include in them a secret exception of earnest repentance, and faith in Christs precious bloud. For elie, Peter denied, and yet repented. Many Publicans and Sinners were vnkinde, vnmercifull, and hard hearted to their fellow seruants, and yet many of them repented, and by faith were saued, &c, The grace of Christ Iesus worke in vs earnest repentance, and faith in him vnfeigned, Amen.

Matth. 5. Matth. 18. Matth. 7 Matth. 18 Luke 16. Luke 12.

Briefely, to know when the Law speaketh, and when the Gospell speaketh, and to discerne the voice of the one from the voice of the other, this may serue for a note: That when there is any morall worke commanded to bee done, either for eschewing of punishment, or vpon promise of any reward temporall or eternall, or else when any promise is made with condition of any worke commanded in the law there is to bee vnderstood the voice of the law. Contrarie, where the promise of life and saluation is offered vnto vs freely, without all our merits, and simply without any condition annexed, of any law, either naturall, ceremoniall, or morall: all those places, whether they be read in the old Testament or in the new, are to be referred to the voice and doctrine of the Gospell. And this promise of God freely made to vs by the merits of Iesus Christ, so long before prophecied to vs in the old Testament, and afterward exhibited in the new Testament, and now requiring nothing but our faith in the Sonne of God, is called properly the voice of the Gospell, and differeth from the voyce of the Law in this, that it hath no condition adioyned of our merits, but onely respecteth the merits of Christ the Son of God, by whose faith onely wee are promised of God to be saued and iustified according as wee reade, Rom. 3. The righteousnesse of God commeth by faith in Iesus Christ, in all and vpon all that doe beleeue, &c.

The promise of the Gospell without condition. Free without merits. Simple without condition.

Rom. 3

The voice of the Gospell sounded sometimes in the old Testament.

The voice of the law sometimes is vsed in the new Testament.

The second caution or danger to bee auoided, is, that we now knowing how to discerne rightly betweene the Law and the Gospell, and hauing intelligence not to mistake the one for the other, must take heed againe that wee breake not the order betweene these two, taking and applying the Law where the Gospell is to bee applied, either to our selues or toward other. For albeit the Law and the Gospell many times are to bee ioyned together in order of doctrine; yet case may fall sometimes, that the Law must bee vtterly sequestred from the Gospell. As when any person or persons doe feele themselues with the Maiestie of the law and iudgement of God so terrified and oppressed, and with the burthen of their sins ouerweighed and throwne downe into vtter discomfort, and almost euen to the pit of hell, as happeneth many times to soft and timorous consciences of Gods good seruants; when such

The second caution.

Who the law to whom the Gospell belongs

such mortified hearts doe heare, either in preaching or in reading, any such example or place of the scripture which pertaineth to the Law, let them thinke the same nothing to belong to them, no more than a mourning weed belongeth to a marriage feast: and therefore removing vtterly out of their minds all cogitation of the Law, of feare, of iudgement, and condemnation, let them onely set before their eyes the Gospell, the swæt comforts of Gods promise, free forgiuenesse of sinnes in Christ, grace, redemption, liberty, rejoycing, Psalmes, thankes, singing, and a Paradise of spirituall iocundity, and nothing else; thinking thus with themselues, that the Law hath done his office in them already, and now must needs giue place to his better, that is, must needs giue roome to Christ the sonne of God, who is the Lord and Master, the Fulfiller and also the Finisher of the Law, for the end of the Law, is Christ. Rom. 10.

The third danger to bee auoided, is, that we doe not vse or applie, on the contrarie side, the Gospell in stead of the Law. For as the other before was euen as much as to put on a mourning gown in the feast of a marriage: so is this but euen to cast pearles before swine. Wherein is a great abuse among many. For commonly it is seene that these worldly epicures and secure Mammonists, to whom the doctrine of the Law doth properly appertaine, do receiue and applie to themselues most principally the sweet promises of the Gospell: and contrariwise, the other contrite and bruised hearts, to whom belong onely the ioyfull tidings of the Gospell and not the Law, for the most part receiue and retaine to themselues the terrible voice and sentences of the Law. Whereby it commeth to passe, that many do rejoyce where they should mourne; and on the other side many do feare and mourn where they need not. Wherefore to conclude, in priuate vse of life, let euery person discreetly discerne betweene the law & the gospell, and aptly apply to himselfe that which hee seeth conuenient.

And againe, in publike order of Doctrine, let euery discreet preacher put a difference betweene the broken heart of the mourning sinner, and the vnrepentant worldling, and so conioyne both the Law with the Gospell, and the Gospell with the Law, that in throwing downe the wicked euer he spare the weake hearted; and againe, so spare the weake, that hee doe not encourage the vngodly. And thus much concerning the conjunction and difference betweene the Law and the Gospell, vpon the occasion of M. Patricks places.

Persecutors. | Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.

Henry Foreſt. At Saint Andrewes in Scotland.

Within few yeares after the martyrdome of Maister Patrick Hamelton, one Henry Forest, a young man borne in Lithquow, who a little before had receiued the orders of Bennet and Collet (as they terme them) affirmed and said, that Maister Patricke Hamelton died a martyr, and that his articles were true: for the which he was apprehended, and put in prison by James Beton Archbishop of S. Andrewes. Who, shortly after, caused a certaine Frier, named Walter Laing, to heare his confession. To whom when Henry Forest in secreet confession had declared his conscience, how hee thought Maister Patrick to be a good man, and wrongfully to bee put to death, and that his articles were true and not heretical, the Frier came and vttered to the Bishop the confession that hee had heard, which before was not throughly knowne.

The Frier vttereth the confession of Henry Foreſt.

Whereupon it followed, that his confession being brought as sufficient probation against him, he was therefore conuented before the Councell of the Clergie and Doctours, and there concluded to be an Heretick, equall in iniquitie with Maister Patricke Hamelton, and there decreed to bee giuen to the secular Iudges to suffer death.

When the day came of his death, and that he should first bee degraded, and was brought before the Clergie in a green place, being betweene the Castle of Saint Andrewes and another place called Monymaill, as soone as hee entred in at the doore, and saw the face of the Clergie, perceiuing whereunto they tended, hee cried with a loud voice, saying, Fie on falsehood, Fie on false Friers, reuealers of confession: after this day, let no man euer trust any false Friers, contemners of Gods word, and deceiuers of men. And so they proceeding to degrade him of his small Orders of Bennet and Collet, he said with a loud voice, Take from me not onely your owne Orders, but also your owne Baptisme, meaning therby whatsoeuer is besides that which Christ himselfe instituted, whereof there is a great rabblement in Baptisme. Then after his degradation, they condemned him as an Heretick equall with Maister Patricke afore said: and so hee suffered death for his faithfull Testimony of the truth of Christ and of his Gospell, at the North Church stile of the Abbey Church of Saint Andrew, to the intent that all the people of Anguish might see the fire, and so might bee the more feared from falling into the like Doctrine, which they terme by the name of Heresie. Ex Scripto Testimonio Scotorum.

Frier Walter Laing, bewraier of the confession of this Henry Foreſt.

Fie on false Friers.

James Beton Archb. of S. Andrewes.

Persecutors. | Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.

James Hamelton, brother to Maister Patricke.
Katharine Hamelton.
A wife of Lieth.
Dauid Straton.
Maister Norman Gurley.

Within a yeare after the martyrdome of Henry Forest, or thereabout, was called James Hamelton of Lynclitgow, his sister Kath. Hamelton, the spouse of the Captain of Dunbar, also another honest woman of Lieth, Dauid Straton of the house of Lawristone, & M. Norman Gurley. These were called to the Abby Church of Halyrowdhouse in Edinburgh

James Hay, Bishop of Rosse and Commissioner of Iames.

James Hamelton. Katharine Hamelton his sister. A wife of Lieth persecuted D. Straton, M. Norman Gurley. Maister

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
	Edenburg by James Hay bishop of Rosse, Commissioner to James Beton Archbishop, in presence of King James the fift of that name: who, vpon the day of their accusation, was altogether clad in red apparell. James Hamelton was accused as one that maintained the opinion of Walter Patrick his brother. To whom the King gaue counsell to depart, and not to appeare: for in case hee appeared, hee could not helpe him; because the Bishops had perswaded him; that the cause of heresie did in no wise appertaine vnto him. And so James fled, and was condemned as an heretick, and all his goods and lands confiscate, and disposed vnto others.
Beton Archbishop of S. Andrewes.	
A great heresie in the popes Church, that no workes can saue vs but the workes of Christ.	Katharine Hamelton his sister appeared vpon the scaffold, and being accused of an horrible heresie, to wit, that her owne workes could not saue her, shee granted the same: and after long reasoning betweene her and M. John Spens the Lawyer, she concluded in this manner; Worke here, worke there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly, that no kind of workes can saue mee, but onely the workes of Christ my Lord and Sauiour. The King hearing these words, turned him about and laught, and called her vnto him, and caused her to recant, because shee was his Aunt, and she escaped.
Master Iohn Spens, Lawyer.	
A great heresie to say Christ helpe, and not our Lady.	The woman of Lieth was detected hereof, that when the Midwife in time of her labour bad her say, Our Lady helpe me; shee cryed, Christ helpe me, Christ helpe me, in whose helpe I trust. Shee also was caused to recant, and so escaped without confiscation of her goods, because she was married.
Against purgatory.	Master Norman Gurly, for that hee said there was no such thing as Purgatory, and that the Pope was not a Bishop, but Antichrist, and had no iurisdiction in Scotland.
	Also Dauid Straton, for that hee said there was no Purgatory, but the passion of Christ, and the tribulations of this world: and because that when Master Robert Lawson Vicar of Eglesgrig asked his tithe fish of him, he did cast them to him out of the Boat, so that some of them fell into the sea. Therefore hee accused him, as one that should haue said, that no tithes should bee payd. These two because after great solicitation made by the King they refused to abiure and recant, were therefore condemned by the Bishop of Rosse as heretikes, and were burned vpon the greene side betweene Lieth and Edenburg, to the intent that the inhabitants of Fiffe seeing the fire, might be stricken with terrour and feare, not to fall into the like, Ex eodem scripto.
	¶ And thus much touching those Martyrs of Scotland that suffered vnder James Beton, Archbishop of S. Andrewes. After whom succeeded Dauid Beton in the same Archbishoprick, vnder whom diuers other were also martyred, as hereafter (God willing) in their order shall appeare.

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
	Thomas Harding, an aged father dwelling at Chesham in Buckinghamshire.
	At Chesham in Buckinghamshire, An. 1553.
Iohn Longland bishop of Lincolne	Thomas Harding dwelling at Chelham in the County of Buckingham, with Alice his wife, was first abiured by William Smith, Bishop of Lincolne, Anno 1506. with diuers other moe, which the same time, for speaking against idolatry and superstition, were taken and compelled, some to beare fagots, some were burned in the cheeke with hot yrons, some condemned to perpetuall prison, some thrust into Monasteries, and spoyled cleane of all their goods, some compelled to make pilgrimage to the great Blocke, otherwise called our Lady of Lincoln, some to Walsingham, some to Saint Romuld of Buckingham, some to the Rood of Wendouer, some to Saint John Shorne, &c. Of whom mention is made in the Table before.
Rowland vicar of great Wickam, the bishops chaplaine.	Of this Thomas Harding much rehearsall hath beene made before. Thomas Harding martyr
	First, this Thomas Harding, with Alice his wife, being abiured and enjoyned penance, with diuers other moe, by William Smith Bishop of Lincolne, afterward by the said Bishop was released againe in the yeare of our Lord 1515. of all such penance as was enjoyned him and his wife at their abiuration, except these three articles following, and were discharged of their badges, or signes of their fagot, &c. Onely this penance following the Bishop continued, sub pœna relapsi.
	First, That neither of them during their life should dwell out of the parish of Amersham.
	Item, that either of them during their life should fast bread and ale every Corpus Christi Even. It was by that they it not put to bread and ter.
	Item, that either of them should during their lives, upon Corpus Christi day every yeare goe on Pilgrimage to Asherige, and there make their offerings, as other people did, but not to doe penance. Also they were licensed by the said Bishop to doe their Pilgrimage at Asheridge, on Corpus Christi Even, or Corpus Christi day, or some other, upon any cause reasonable.
	This penance being to them enjoyned Anno, 1555. they obserued till the yeare of our Lord 1522. saue onely in the last yeare the aforesaid Alice his wife omitted her Pilgrimage going to Asherige vpon Corpus Christi day. Also the said Thomas Harding, being put to his oath to detect other, because hee contrary to his oath dissembled, and did not disclose them, was therefore enjoyned, in penance for

Persecutors. | Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdome.

for his perjury, to beare vpon his right sleeue, both before and behind, a badge, or patch of greene cloath or silke embroidered like a fagot during his whole life, vnlesse hee should be otherwise dispensed withall. And thus continued hee from the yeare 1522, vntill the yeare, 1532.

At last the said Harding in the yeare aboue said 1532. about Easter Holy-dayes, when the other people went to the Church to commit their wonted idolatry, tooke his way into the woods, there solitarily to worship the true liuing God, in spirit and truth. Where, as hee was occupied in a booke of English prayers, leaning, or sitting vpon a stile by the woods side, it chanced that one did espie him where he was, and came in great haste to the officers of the towne, declaring, that he had seene Harding in the woods looking on a booke. Whereupon immediatly a rude rabble of them, like madde men, ran desperately to his house to search for bookes, and in searching went so nigh, that vnder the boords of his floore they found certaine English bookes of holy Scripture. Whereupon this godly father with his bookes was brought before John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, then lying at Wooburne. Who with his chaplains, calling father Harding to examination, began to reason with him, proceeding rather with checkes and rebukes, than with any sound arguments. Thomas Harding, seeing their follie and rude behauiour, gaue them but few words, but fixing his trust and care in the Lord did let them say what they would. Thus at last they sent him to the Bishops prison, called little ease, where hee did lie with hunger and paine enough for a certaine space, till at length the bishop, sitting in his tribunall seat like a potestate, condemned him for relapse to bee burned to ashes, committing the charge and ouersight of his martyrdome to Rouland Messenger, vicar of great Wickham. Which Rouland at the day appointed, with a rabble of other like to himselfe, brought father Harding to Chetham againe. Where, the next day after his returne, the said Rouland made a Sermon in Chetham Church, causing Thomas Harding to stand before him all the preaching time: which Sermon was nothing else, but the maintaining of the iurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, and the state of his Apostolicall See, with the Idolatry, fantasies & traditions belonging vnto the same. When the Sermon was ended, Rouland tooke him vp to the high Altar, and asked, whether hee beleeued that in the bread, after the consecration, there remained any other substance than the substance of Christs naturall body borne of the Virgin Mary. To this Thomas Harding answered, The articles of our belief doe teach vs, That our Sauiour Christ was borne of the Virgin Mary, and that hee suffered death vnder Pilat, and rose from death the third day: that hee then ascended into heauen, and sitteth on the right hand of God in the glory of his father.

Then was he brought into a mans house in the towne, where hee remained all night in prayer and godly meditations. So the next morning came the foresaid Rouland againe, about ten of the clock, with a company of bills and staues, to lead this godly father to his burning. Whom a great number both of men and women did follow. Of whom many bewayled his death, and contrary, the wicked reioyced thereat. He was brought forth, hauing thrust in his hands

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a little crosse of wood, but no idoll vpon it. Then he was chained vnto the stake, and desiring the people to pray for him, and forgiuing all his enemies and persecutors, he commended his spirit to God, and tooke his death most patiently and quietly, lifting vp his hands to heauen, saying, Iesus receiue my spirit.

When they had set fire on him, there was one that threw a billet at him, and dashed out his braines, of what purpose he so did, it is not knowne; but as it was supposed, that he might haue forty dayes of pardon, as the Proclamation was mas made at the burning of William Tilsworth aboue mentioned: Whereas proclamation was made the same time, That whosoeuer did bring a fagot or a stake to the burning of an heretick, should haue fourty dayes of pardon. Whereby many ignorant people caused many of their children to beare billets and fagots to their burning.

Forty dayes of pardon for bringing fagots to burne good men.

In fine, when the sacrifice and burnt offering of this godly martyr was finished, and hee burnt to ashes, in the Dell, going to Botley, at the North end of the towne of Chetham, Rouland the Ruler of the rout commanding silence, and thinking to send the people away, with an Ite, missa est, with a loud voyce said to the people these words, not aduising belike, what his tongue did speake: Good people, when ye come home, doe not say that you haue beene at the burning of an heretike, but of a good true Christian man; and so they departed to dinner, Rouland with the rabble of other priests much rejoycing at the burning of this good man. After dinner they went to Church to Euensong, because it was Corpus Christi euen, where they fel to singing and chanting, with ringing, and piping of the Organs. Well was hee that could reach the highest note, so much did they rejoyce at this good mans burning. Yee should haue beene burned on the Ascension euen, but the matter was deferred vnto the euen of Corpus Christi, because they would honour their bready Messias with a bloody sacrifice. Thus Thomas Harding was consumed to ashes, hee being of the age of sixty yeares and aboue. Ex testmon. Scrip. cinium Amarshemensium.

I find in the Records of Lincolne, about the same time, and in the said countrey of Buckingham Shire, in the which the foresaid Thomas Harding did suffer, that diuers other for the like doctrine were molested and troubled, whose names with their causes hereunder followeth.

Mistresse Alice Doly.

Alice Doly accused.

Elizabeth VVighthill.

Doctor London.

Elizabeth Wighthill being brought before Doctour London, in the parsonage at Staunton Harecourt, and there put to her oath, deposed against mistresse Alice Doly her mistresse, that that the said mistris Doly, speaking of John Hacker of Colmanstreet in London, Waterbearer, said, that he was very expert in the Gospels, and all other things belonging to diuine seruice, and could preasse and declare it, and the Pater noster in English, as well as any Priest, and it would doe one good to heare him: saying moreouer, that shee would in no case that this-

Perſecutors. | Martyrs, and the cauſes of their martyrdome.

this were knowne, for hurting the poore man: commanding moreouer the ſaid Elizabeth, that ſhee ſhould tell no man hereof; affirming at that ſame time, that the foreſaid Packer could tell of diuers prophecies, what ſhould happen in the Realme.

Againſt Pilgrimage.

Ouer and beſides, the forenamed Elizabeth depoſed, that the ſaid Miſtris Doly her Miſtreſſe ſhewed vnto her that ſhee had a booke which held againſt pilgrimages: and after that, ſhee cauſed Sir John Booth parſon of Battwell, to read vpon a booke, which he called Legenda aurea; and one Saints life hee read, which did ſpeake againſt pilgrimages. And after that was read, her miſtreſſe ſaid vnto her; Lo daughter, now yee may heare as I told you, that this booke ſpeaketh againſt pilgrimages.

Againſt Images.

Furthermore, it was depoſed againſt miſtreſſe Doly by the ſaid Elizabeth, that ſhee being at Sir William Barentens Place, and ſeeing there in the Cloſet Images new gilded, ſaid to the ſaid Elizabeth; Looke here be my Lady Barentens gods. To whom the ſaid Elizabeth anſwered againe; that they were ſet for remembrance of good ſaints. Then ſaid ſhee, If I were in an houſe where no Images were, I could remember to pray vnto Saints as well as if I did ſee the images. Nay (ſaid the other) Images doe prouoke deuotion. Then ſaid her miſtreſſe; Yee ſhould not worſhip that thing that hath eares and cannot hear, and hath eyes and cannot ſee, and hath mouth and cannot ſpeake, and hath hands and cannot feele.

Item, the ſaid miſtreſſe Doly was reported by the ſaid partie, to haue a booke containing the twelue Articles of the Creed, couered with boords and red couering. Alſo another blacke booke, which ſhe ſet moſt price by, which Booke ſhee kept euer in her Chamber, or in her coffer, with diuers other bookes. And this was about the yeare of our Lord 1520. Ex Regiſtro Lincoln.

¶ Note here, good Reader, in this time, which was aboue 46. yeares agoe, what good matter here was to accuſe and moleſt good women.

Roger Hachman, at North-Stoke in Oxfordſhire, Anno 1525.

Roger Hatchman accuſed.

VVill. Smith, of Northſtoke in Oxfordſhire.

Againſt this Roger Hachman it was layed by depoſitions brought in, That hee ſitting at the Churchale at Northſtoke, ſaid theſe words; I will neuer looke to be ſaued for any good deed that euer I did, neither for any that euer I will doe, vnleſſe I may haue my ſaluation by Petition, as an Outlaw ſhall haue his pardon of the King; and ſaid, that if hee might not haue his ſaluation ſo, hee thought hee ſhould bee loſt. Ex Regiſt. Lincoln.

Tho. Ferrar.

Perſecutors. | Martyrs, and the cauſes of their martyrdome.

Robert VVeſt, Prieſt of Saint Andrew Vnderſhaft, at London, Anno 1529.

Roger Ell... cauſed.

Doctor Wharton, Chancellor Tonſtall Biſhop of London.

Againſt this Robert Weſt, Prieſt, it was obiected, That hee had commended Martin Luther, and thought that hee had done well in many things, as in hauing Wife and Children, &c.

Item for ſaying, that whereas the Doctors of the Church haue commanded Prieſts to ſay Mattens and Euenſong, they had no authority ſo to doe. For the which hee was abiured, and was enioyned penance. Ex Regiſt.

Iohn Ryburne, at Roſhborough, Anno 1530.

Iohn Ryb... accuſed.

It was teſtified againſt John Ryburne, by his ſiſter Elizabeth Ryburne, being put to her oath, That ſhee comming to him vpon the Aſſumption Euen, found him at ſupper with butter & egges, and being bid to ſit down and eate with him, hee anſwered, that it was no conuenient time then to eate. To whom ſhee ſaid againe, That God neuer made ſuch faſting dayes: but you (quoth ſhee) are ſo farre in Limbo Patrum, that you can neuer turne againe. And in further communication, when ſhee ſaid that ſhe would goe on pilgrimage to the holy croſſe at Wendouer; he ſaid againe, that ſhee did naught: For there is neuer a Kep (ſaid hee) that you ſet in going on pilgrimage, but you goe to the Dinell; and you goe to the Church to worſhip that the Prieſt doth hold aboue his head, which is but bread; and if you caſt it to the mouſe hee will eat it; and ſaid, that hee would neuer beleeue that the prieſt hath power to make his Lord.

Doctor Morgan.

Item, it was teſtified by another ſiſter named Alice Ryburne, That ſhe, being with her brother in a Cloſe called Brimmers Cloſe, heard him ſay theſe words; That a time ſhall come when no elenation ſhall bee made. Whereunto ſhee anſwering againe, asked; And what ſeruice ſhall wee haue then? He ſaid; That ſeruice that wee haue now. Furthermore, the ſaid John Ryburne was accuſed vpon theſe words, for ſaying that the ſeruice of the Church was naught, becauſe it was not in Engliſh: For, ſaid he, if wee had our Pater noſter in Engliſh, wee would ſay it nine times againſt once now, &c. Ex Regiſtro Lincoln. Fol. 300.

A prophi...

¶ Note here out of the Records of the Regiſter, that in this examination of John Ryburne, firſt his two ſiſters, then his owne wife, and at laſt his owne father were called before John Longland, Biſhop of Lincolne, and compelled by oath to depoſe againſt him.

Siſter a... brother, ... againſt h...

Iohn

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
	Iohn Eaton, Cecily his wife, at Rosthborough, An. 1530.
Iohn Longland bishop of Lincolne.	Iohn Eaton, and Cicily his wife, of the parish of Spin, were detected by Richard Ryburne, that they were marked of certaine in the parish on the Sunday then last past, in the sacring time, to hold downe their heads, and would not looke vpon the Sacrament.
Richard Ryburne.	Item, in the feast of exaltation of the holy crosse, when the bels did ring solemnly, betweene Wattens and high Walde, for saying in a Butchers house, What a clappering of bels is here?

Item, the said Iohn Ryburne was detected of Richard his father, for saying these words: The Priests doe nought, for they should say their service in English, that euery man may know it.

Item, for these words speaking to one of his sisters: The Sacrament of the Altar is not as they take it to be. But if it be, as I trust, wee shall see none of them holden vp one of these dayes, ouer the priests head, &c.

Item, for saying that the blood of our Lord Iesus Christ hath made satisfaction for all ill deeds that were done, or should be done, and therefore it was no need to goe on pilgrimage. It was also layed to his charge, and confessed by himselfe, that hee had Iesus Gospels in English, and that hee was present in the house of Iohn Taylor, when one Iohn Simons read to them a lecture out of the Gospel of the passion of Christ, the space of two houres.

Item, for saying that Images were but Idols, and it was Idolatry to pray to them.

For saying moreouer, that at sacring time hee kneeled downe, but he had no deuotion, nor beleeued in the Sacrament. Item, that the popes authority and pardon cannot helpe mans soule, and it was but cast away money, that is giuen for pardons: For if wee aske pardon of our Lord Iesus, hee will giue vs pardon euery day.

Thomas Lound priest, who had beene with Luther two yeares, being afterward cast into the Fleet at London, was a great instructer of this Iohn Ryburne.

	Iohn Simonds.
	It was layed against Iohn Simonds, for saying that men doe walke all day in Purgatory in this world, and when they depart out of this world, there are but two wayes, either to hell or to heauen.
	Item, hee sayd, that Priests should haue wiues.
	It was reported by the confession of the said Io. Simonds, That hee conuerted to his doctrine eight Priests, and had polpen two or three Friers out of their orders.
	William Wingrave,

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
	Tho. Hawkes of Hichenden.
	Robert Hawkes of Westwicome.
	Iohn Taylor.
	Iohn Hawks.
	Thomas Herne of Cobshill.
	Nicolas Field.
	Richard Deane.
	Thomas Clerke the younger.
	William Hawkes of Chesham.
	Anno, 1530.
Iohn Longland bishop of Lincolne.	These persons with other, were examined, excommunicated, and abiured, for being together in Iohn Taylors house at Hichenden, and there hearing Nicolas Field of London to read a parcell of Scripture in English vnto them, who there expounded to them many things: That they which went on pilgrimage were accursed: That it booted not to pray to Images, for they were but stocks made of wood, and could not helpe a man: That God Almighty biddeth vs worke, as well one day as another, sauing the Sunday: for six dayes he wrought, and the seuenth day hee rested: That they needed not to fast so many fasting dayes, except the Embring dayes: for hee was beyond the Sea in Almany, and there they vsed not so to fast, nor to make such Holydayes.
	Item, that Offerings doe no good, for they haue them that haue no need thereof. And when it was answered againe by one, that they maintained Gods seruice: May, said Nicholas, it maintaineth great houses, as Abbeys and other.
	Item, that men should say their Pater noster, and Ave Maria, in English, with the Creed, and declared the same in English.

Item, that the Sacrament of the Altar was not as it was pretended, the flesh, blood, and bone of Christ, but a Sacrament, that is, a Typicall signification of his holy body.

To William Wingraue moreouer it was obiected, that hee should say, that there was no Purgatory: and if there were any Purgatory, and euery masse that is sayd should deliuer a soul out of Purgatory, there should bee neuer a soule there: for there bee moe masses sayd in a day, then there bee bodies buried in a moneth.

	Simon Wisedome of Burford.
Iohn Longland bishop of Lincolne.	Simon Wisdome of Burford was charged in iudgement, for hauing three bookes in English, one was the Gospels in English, another was the Psalter, the third,

Diuers accused for hearing the Scriptures read in English.

Ex eod. Regist. fol. 323.

Simon Wisedome abiured.

Persecutors. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdome.

third was the summe of the holy Scripture in English.

Iames Algar of Aiger, Anno, 1530.

James Algar abiured.

It was articulated and obiected to James Aiger, first, that hee speaking to a certaine Doctour of Diuinity, named Aglonby, said, that euery true Christian man liuing after the lawes of God, and obseruing his commandements, is a Priest as well as he, &c.

Doctor Prin, Commissary to the Bishop of Lincolne.

Item, that hee said, that hee would not haue his executours to deale any penny for his soule after his death; for hee would doe it with his owne hands while hee was aliue; and that his conscience gaue him, that the soule, so soone as it departeth out of the body, goeth straight either to heauen or hell.

Item, when Doctor Aglonby aforesaid had alledged to him the place of Saint Matthew, the xvi. Thou art Peter, &c. hee answered him againe with that which followeth in the gospel after, Get thee after mee Sathan, &c.

Item, the said James, hearing of a certaine Church to be robbed, said openly, it made no great force, for the Church hath enough already.

Iohn French, of Longwitam. At Longwitam, Anno, 1530.

John French abiured.

Against Iohn French likewise these three articles were obiected.

1 That hee beleeued not the body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, to bee in the Sacrament.

2 That hee was not confessed to any Priest of long time.

3 That Priests had not power to absolue from sinnes, &c.

For the which, hee likewise, with the other, was troubled, and at length compelled also with them to kneele downe, and to aske his holy Catholicke Fathers and Mothers of Rome blessing.

But what stand I here numbring the sand? For if all the Register bookes were sought, it would bee an infinite thing to recite all them which through all the other Dioceses of the Realme in these dayes, before and since, were troubled and pursued for these and such like matters. But these I thought for examples sake here to specifie, that it might appeare what doctrine it is, and how long it hath beene in the Church, for the which the Prelates and clergy of Rome haue iudged men heretikes, and so wrongfully haue molested poore simple Christians.

Now, passing from the abiurations of those poore men, we will something speake (God willing) of the life and doings of the contrary part, who were their persecutors, and chiefe rulers then of the Church, to the intent that by those rulers it may better bee discerned and iudged, what manner of church that was, which then so persecuted the true doctrine of Christ, and members of his Church.

A briefe discourse concerning the Storie of Thomas Wolsey, late Cardinall of Yorke, by way of digression; wherein is to be seene and noted the expresse Image of the proud vaine glorious Church of Rome how farre it differeth from the true Church of Christ Iesus.

Cardinall Wol.

ALthough it be not greatly pertinent vnto this our Historie, nor greatly requisite, in these so weighty matters entreating of Christs holy martyrs, to discourse much of Thomas Wolsey Cardinall of Yorke: Notwithstanding for so much as there be many, which being carried away with a wrong opinion, and estimation of that false glittering Church of Rome, doe thinke that holinesse to be in it, which indeed is not: to the intent therefore that the vaine pompe and pride of that ambitious Church, so farre differing from all pure Christianity & godlinesse, more notoriously may apeare to all men, and partly also to refresh the Reader with some variety of matter, I thought compendiously to expresse the ridiculous and pompous qualities, and demeanour of this foresaid Thomas Wolsey, cardinall and Legat of Rome, in whom alone the Image and life of all other such like followers and professours of the same Church may be seene and obserued. For like as the Lacedemonians in times past were accustomed to shew and demonstrate drunken men vnto their children, to behold and looke vpon, that through the foulenesse of that vice they might enflame them the more to the study and desire of sobriety: euen so it shall not bee hurtfull sometimes to set forth the examples which are not honest, that others might thereby gather the instructions of better and more vpright dealing.

Exampl Lacedem

Wherefore thou shalt note here (good Reader) in this Historie, with all iudgement, the great difference of life and conuersation betweene this church and the other true humble Martyrs and seruants of God, whom they haue and doe yet persecute. And first to beginne with the first meeting and comming in of this Cardinall, and his fellow Cardinall Campeius into England: It was about the time, when Pope Leo, intending to make warre against the Turkes, sent three Legats together from Rome, whereof one went into Germany, another into France, Laurentius Campeius was appointed to come into England. When he was come to Callis, and that the Cardinall of Yorke had vnderstanding thereof, he sent certaine bishops and doctors, with as much speed as hee could, to meet the Legat, and to shew him, that if hee would haue his ambassage effect, hee should send in post to Rome, to haue the said Cardinall of Yorke made Legat, and to bee ioyned with him in Commission. Which thing hee much affected, misdoubting lest his authority thereby might perhaps bee diminished through the coming of the Legat; and therefore required to bee ioyned with him in like degree of the embassage. Campeius being a man light of beliefe, and suspecting no such matter, gaue credit vnto his words and sent vnto Rome with such speed, that within thirty dayes after the Bull was brought to Callis, wherein they were both equally ioyned in Commission: during which time the Cardinall of Yorke sent

Camp into E

Card Wol to be equal lion Peius

to

to the Legat at Callis red cloth to cloath his ser-
uants withall, which at their comming to Callis
were but meanly apparelled.

When all things were ready, Campeius passed
the seas and landed at Dober, and so kept forth his
iourney toward London. At every good towne as
they passed he was receiued with procession, accom-
panied with all the Lords and gentlemen of Kent.
And when he came to Blacke heath, there met him
the Duke of Northfolke, with a great number of
Prelats, Knights, and Gentlemen, all richly ap-
parelled, and in the way he was brought into a
rich tent of cloth of gold, where he shifted himselfe
into a Cardinals Robe furred with Ermines, and
so took his Mule, riding toward London. Now
marke the great humility in this Church of the
Pope, and compare the same with the other Church
of the Martyrs, and see which of them is more Gos-
pell-like.

This Campeius had eight mules of his owne,
laden with diuerse farthels and other preparation.
The Cardinall of Yorke, thinking them not suffici-
ent for his estate, the night before he came to
London, sent him twelue Mules more, with empty
coffers couered with red to furnish his carriage
withall. The next day these twenty Mules were led
through the city, as though they had beene loden
with treasures, apparell, and other necessaries, to
the great admiration of all men, that they should
receiue a Legate as it were a God, with such and
so great treasure and riches. For so the common
people doth alwayes iudge and esteeme the maiesty
of the Clergy, by no other thing than by their out-
ward shewes and pomp: but in the middest of this
great admiration there haped a ridiculous specta-
cle, to the great derision of their pride and ambition.
For as the Mules passed thorow Cheapeside, and
the people were pressing about them to behold and
gaze (as the manner is) it happened that one of
the Mules breaking his collar, that he was led in,
ran upon the other Mules, whereby it happened,
that they so running together, and their girts being
loosed, ouerthrew diuers of their burdens, and so
there appeared the Cardinals gay treasure, not
without great laughter and scorne of many, espe-
cially of boyes and girles, whereof some gathered
up peeces of meat, other some pieces of bread and
rosted egges, some found horseshoes and old boots,
with such other baggage; crying out; Behold here
is my Lord Cardinals treasure. The Mulitters
being therewithall greatly ashamed, gathered to-
gether their treasure againe as well as they could,
and went forward.

About three of the clock at afternoone, the twen-
ty ninth day of July, the Cardinall himselfe was
brought thorow the city, with great pomp and so-
lemnity, vnto Pauls Church, where when he had
blessed all men with the Bishops blessing (as the
manner is) he was guided forth vnto the Cardi-
nall of Yorks house; where he was receiued by
the said Cardinall, and by him on the next day, be-
ing Sunday, was conducted vnto the King, to ful-
fill his Embassage against the Turke, which might
haue destroyed all Hungary, in the meane time
whiles they were studying with what solemnity to
furnish out their Embassage.

When the Cardinall of Yorke was thus a Le-
gate, he set vp a court, and called it the Court of
the Legate, and proued Testaments, and heard
causes, to the great hinderance of all the bishops
of the Realme. He visited Bishops, and all the
Clergy, exempt, and not exempt: and vnder co-
lour of reformation, he got much treasure, and no-
thing was reformed, but came to more mischiefe:
for by example of his pride, Priests and all spiritu-
all persons waxed so proud, that they ware velvet
and silke, both in gownes, iackets, doublets, and
hoses, kept open lechery, and so highly bare them-
selues, by reason of his authorities and faculties,
that no man durst once reproue any thing in them,
for feare to be called heretike, and then they would
make him smoke, or beare a fagot. And the Car-
dinall himselfe was so elated, that he thought him-
selfe equall with the King: and when he had said
Masse, he made Dukes and Earles to serue him of
wine with a lay taken, and to hold the bason at the
Lauatories.

Furthermore, as he was Embassador sent to
the Emperour at Brussels, he had ouer with him
the great Seale of England, and was serued with
his seruitors kneeling on their knees, and many no-
blemen of England waiting upon him to the great
admiration of all the Germanes that beheld it:
such was his monstrous pomp and pride. Ex Para-
lip. Ab. Vrsp.

Ex Paralip. Abb. Vrsp.

This glorious Cardinall in his tragicall doings
did exceed so farre all measure of a good subiect, that
he became more like a Prince than a Priest; for
although the King bare the sword, yet he bare the
stroke, making (in a manner) the whole realme to
bend at his beck, and to dance after his pipe. Such
practices and fetches he had, that when he had well
stored his own coffers, first he fetched the greatest
part of the Kings treasure out of the realme, in
twelue great barrels full of gold and siluer, to serue
the Popes warres: and as his abarritious minde
was neuer satisfied in getting, so his restlesse head
was so busie, ruffling in publike matters, that he
neuer ceased, before he had set both England,
France, Flanders, Spaine, and Italy together by
the eares.

The climing of cardinall Wolsey.

Cardinall Wolsey a great causer of warres.

Thus this Legate well following the steps of
his master the Pope, and both of them well decla-
ring the nature of their religion, vnder the pretence
of the Church practised great hypocrisie, and vnder
the authority of the King he vsed great extortion,
with excessiue tares and loanes, and valuation of
every mans substance, so pilling the Commons
and merchants, that every man complained, but
no redresse was had. Neither yet were the Church-
men altogether free from the pillar and pollar, from
the pilling and polling (I meane) of this Cardi-
nall, who vnder his power Legantine gaue by pre-
uentions all Benefices belonging to spirituall per-
sons: by which, hard it is to say, whether he purcha-
sed to himselfe more riches, or hatred of the Spiri-
tualty. So farre his licence stretched, that he had
power to suppresse diuerse Abbeyes, Priories, and
Monasteries; and so he did, taking from them all
their goods, moueables and vnmoueables, except
it were a little pension, left onely to the heads of
certaine houses. By the said power Legantine he
kept also generall Visitations thorow the realme,
sending Doctor Iohn Alein his Chapleine, riding
in his gowne of velvet, and with a great traine,
to visit all religious houses. Whereat the Friers
obseruants much grudged, and would in no wise
condescend thereunto: wherefore they were openly
accursed at Pauls Crosse, by Frier Forrest one
of the same Order: so that the Cardinall at length
prevailed both against them and all other. Against
whom great disdaine arose among the people, per-
ceiuing how he by visitations, making of Abbats,
probats of Testaments, granting of faculties, Li-
cences, and other pollings in his Courts Legan-
tine, had made his treasure equall with the Kings,
and yet every yeare hee sent great summes to
Rome. And this was their daily talke against the
Cardinall.

The pilling and polling of the cardinall.

The friers obseruants accursed of the cardinall. Of Frier Forest Vid. infra.

Ex Hallo. an. 17. Reg. Henric. 8.

Besides many other matters and griefuances
which stirred the hearts of the commons against
the Cardinall, this was one, which much pinched
them, for that the said cardinall had sent out certain
straite commissions in the kings name, that every
man should pay the fifth part of his goods. Where-
upon, these followed great muttering amongst the

commons, in such sort, that it had almost growne to some riotous commotion or tumult, especially in the parts of Suffolke, had not the dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke with wisdome and gentlenesse slept in and appeased the same.

Ex Hallo, an. 19. Reg. Hen. 8.

Another thing that rubbed the stomacks of many, or rather which moued them to laugh at the cardinall was this, to see his insolent presumption, so highly to take upon him, as the kings chiefe counseller, to set a reformation in the order of the kings houshold, making and establishing new ordinances in the same. He likewise made new officers in the house of the Duke of Richmond, which was then newly begun. In like manner he ordained a councell, and established another houshold for the lady Mary, then being Princesse: so that all things were done by his consent, and by none other. All this, with much more, toke he upon him, making the king beleeue that all should be to his honor, and that he needed not to take any paine, insomuch that the charge of all things was committed unto him: whereat many men smiled, to see his great folly and presumption.

Hampton Court given to the king.

At this time, the cardinall gaue the king the lease of the Manor of Hampton Court, which he had of the Lord of Saint Johns, and on which he had done great cost. Therefore the king againe, of his gentle nature, licenced him to lie in his Manor of Richmond, and so he lay there certaine times. But when the common people, and especially such as were King Henry the seuenths seruants, saw the Cardinall keep house in the royall Manor of Richmond, which King Henry the seuenth so much esteemed, it was a marvell to heare how they grudged, saying, See a Butchers dog lie in the manor of Richmond. These with many other opprobrious words were spoken against the cardinall, whose pride was so high, that he regarded nothing: yet was he hated of all men.

The cardinall ruffling in matters and warres of Princes.

And now to expresse some part of the ruffling practises and busie intermedlings of this cardinall in princes warres, first here is to be noted, that after long warres betweene England and France, 1524. (in the which warres King Henry, taking the Emperours part against Francis the French king, had waged with his money the duke of Bourbon, and a great part of the Emperours army, to inuade and disturbe certaine parts of France) it happened that the French king, comming with his army toward Millaine at the siege of Pauia, was there taken by the Duke of Bourbon, and Vicero of Naples, and so led prisoner into Spaine.

Francis the French King taken prisoner.

The French king prisoner a yeere and a halfe.

Where note by the way, that all this while the Cardinall held with the Emperor, hoping by him to be made Pope: but when that would not be, he went clean from the Emperor, to the French king, as the Lord willing you shall heare.

After this victory gotten, and the French king being taken prisoner, who remained in custody about a yeere and halfe: at length through great labour and sollicitation, as well of other, as namely of the Cardinall, and king Henry, an order was taken, and conditions propounded betweene the French king and the Emperour; among which conditions it was agreed, that they should resist the Turkes; and oppresse the Lutherans: and so was the king set at liberty, leauing behinde him his two eldest sonnes for pledges. But shortly after he reuoked his oath, being absolued by the bishop of Rome, and said that he was forced to sweare, or else he should neuer haue been deliuered. Which was An. 1526. Pope Clement the seuenth, seeing the French king restored to liberty, and mildoubting the puissance and domination of the Emperour in Italy so neere vnder his nose, absolueth the French King from his oath: also toyneth together a confederacy of Venetians and other princes against the emperor, bearing great hatred against all them that any thing fauoured the Emperours part, especially the family of Columna in Rome, which family was then Imperiall; and therefore to shew his hatred against them, he said to Pompey, Cardinall of the same family, in threatning words, That he would take away his Cardinals hat. To whom it was answered againe of the Cardinall, That if he so did, he would put on a helmet, to ouerthrow the popes triple Crowne. Whereby it may appeare here by the way, what holinesse and vertue lieth in the Pope and Cardinals of that Catholike See of Rome.

The an... the Cat... to the P...

The po... creth up...

Thus the false pope, vnder the lying title of Holinesse, was the Father of much mischiefe and of great warres, which after ensued. For the duke of Bourbon, and other of the Emperours captaines, hauing intelligence of the Popes purpose and confederacie, gathered their army together, and after much bloodshed and fighting, about Millain, Pauia, and Cremona, at length they approched and bent their siege against Rome, and after three sharp assaults obtained the city, with the whole spoile thereof: where also they besieged the foresaid Pope with his cardinals, in the mount of Adrian, and tok him prisoner: An. 1527. As touching the cause of the besieging of Rome, now you haue heard: for the manner of the taking of Rome, and of the Pope, the order thereof is thus described in Hall, and other.

The sacking of Rome, and taking of Pope Clement.

The t... Rome.

THe Emperors army departing from Florence to the City of Seynes, where they lost their ordnance, toke counsell there to goe to Rome, and so much they trauelled by night and day commonly passing forty miles day and night (their good will was such) that the sixth day of May with banners displayed they came before the city of Rome, being Saturday; the same day, and on Sunday, the Romans made bulwarks, ramparts, and other defences, and layed ordnance on the wals, and shot at them without fiercely.

Ex P... ip... Abba...

The Duke of Bourbon determined that it was not best to lie still without, and be slaine with ordnance, considering that they were all naked people, and without great ordnance; wherefore he determined to take the chance, and to giue the assault, and so manfully they approched the wals betweene the Burgo Novo, and old Rome. But the Romans valiantly defended them with hand-guns, pikes, stones, and other weapons, so that the enemies were faine to retreat. Then the Romans were glad and set many faire banners on their towers and bulwarkes, and made great shouts: which the Duke of Bourbon seeing cried to a new assault. Then the Drumslades stroke, and euery man with a ladder mounted: and at the first encounter, againe the Romans put them a little back: which the duke of Bourbon perceiuing, cried, God, and the Emperour. Then euery man manfully set on. There was a sore fight, many an arrow shot, and many a man felled, but at last the Emperors men got the wall, and betweene euery assault fell a mist, so that they within could not see what part they without would assaile; which was profitable to the Emperors party. At the three assaults were slaine three hundred Switzers of the Popes Guard. In this last assault was the Duke of Bourbon stricken in the thigh with a handgun, of the which he shortly died in a chappell of S. Sist, whither his souldiers had brought him: and this chance notwithstanding, the army entred into Rome, and tok the Popes Palace, and set up the Emperours armes.

The... Bour... woun...

The same day that these three assaults were made

made, pope Clement passed little on the Emperors army: for he had accursed them on the Saturday before, and in his curse he called the Almains Lutherans, and the Spaniards Hurreines or Moores: and when he was hearing of Masse, suddenly the Almains entred into the Church, and slue his guard and divers other. He, seeing that, fled in all haste by a priby way to the castle of Saint Angell: and all they that followed him that way, and could not enter, were slaine, and if he in that fury had bene taken, he had ben slaine. The Cardinals and other prelats fled to the castle of Saint Angell, over the bridge, where many of the common people were overpressed and troden downe as they gave way to the cardinals and other estates, that passed toward the castle for succour.

The Cardinall of Senes, of Selarine, of Tudertine, of Jacobace and of the Valle, tarried so long, that they could not get to the castle for the multitude of the people: wherefore they were compelled to take another house, called the palace of Saint George, where they kept themselves for a while as secretly as they might. You must understand, that through the city of Rome runneth a famous river called Tyber: and on the one side of the river standeth the castle of Saint Angell, or the Borough of Saint Angell: and the other side is called Burgo Novo, or the new Borough. This bridge is called the bridge of Sirte, which lieth directly before the castle. At the end of this bridge was a wonderfull strong bulwarke, well ordinanced and well manned. The Emperours men, seeing that they could doe nothing to the Pope, nor to that part of the city, but by the bridge, determined to assault the bulwarke, and so, as men without feare, came on the bridge, and the Romans so wel defended themselves, that they slew almost foure thousand men. That seeing the Prince of Orenge, and the Marquesse of Gnasto, with all speed gave assault, and notwithstanding that the Romans shot great ordinances, hand-guns, quarels, and all that might be shot: yet the Imperiall persons never shrank, but manly entred the bulwarke, and slew and threw down out of the lopes all the Romans that they found, and after raced the bulwark to the ground. The Pope was in the castle of S. Angell, and beheld this fight, and with him were foure and twenty Cardinals, of which one called the Cardinall Sanctorum quatuor, or the Cardinall of Pouch, was slain and with him were one thousand prelats, and priests, five hundred Gentlemen, five hundred soldiers: wherefore immediately the captains determined to lay siege to the castle of S. Angell, lest they within might issue out, and turne them to damage: wherefore suddenly a siege was planted round about the castle. In the meane season, the souldiers fell to spoile. Never was Rome so pilled, either of the Goths or Vandals; for the souldiers were not content with the spoile of the citizens, but they robbed the Churches, brake up the houses of close religious persons, and overthrew the cloysters, and spoiled virgins, and ravished married women. Men were tormented if they had not to give every new asker or demander: some were strangled, some were punished by the priby members, to cause them to confesse their treasure. This wodnesse continued a great while, and some man might think that when they had gotten so much, then they would cease and be quiet, but that was not so, for they played continually at dice, some five hundred, some a thousand Ducats at a cast: and he that came to play laden with plate, went againe almost naked, and then fell to riffing againe. Many of the citizens, which could not patiently suffer that veration, drowned themselves in Tyber. The souldiers daily, that lay at the siege, made iests of the pope. Somtime they had one riding like the Pope with a whore behind him, somtime he blessed, and

T. Pope curseth his enemy.

T. pope flieth.

Tl cardinals retyred.

Bulwarke the Romans defended and lost.

Castle of S. Angell defended.

Rome spoiled.

Pope mocked scornfully in sight before the face.

somtime he cursed, and somtime they would with one voice call him Antichrist: and they went about to undermine the castle, and to have thrown it down on his head, but the water, that environeth the castle, disappointed their purpose.

In this season the Duke of Urbine, with fifteene thousand men, came to aid the pope: but hearing that Rome was taken, he tarried forty mile from Rome, till he heard other word. The Marquesse of Saluce, and Sir Frederico de Bodso, with fifteene thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen, were at Viterbe the tenth day of May: where they hearing that the city of Rome was taken, also tarried. The Cardinall of Colume came with an army of Neapolitanes to helpe the Emperors men: but when he saw the cruelty of the souldiers, he did little to help them, but he hated them much.

The pope besieged and taken.

The bishop of Rome was thus besieged till the eight Ides of July; at which day he yelded himself for necessity and penury of all things in the castle; and then he was restored to give Graces, and grant Buls as he did before: but he tarried still in the castle of S. Angell, and had a great number of Almaines and Spaniards to keepe him: but the Spaniards bare most rule in the castle, for no man entred nor came out of the castle but by them. When the moneth of July came, corne began to faile in Rome, and the pestilence began to ware strong: wherefore the great army removed to a place called Narbia, forty miles from Rome, leaving behinde them such as kept the bishop of Rome.

War & pestilence in Rome.

When they were departed, the Spaniards never were contented till they had gotten the Almaines out of the castle of S. Angell, and so they had the whole custody of the pope. And thus much for the sacking of Rome. Ex Paralip. Abbat. Vrsper.

When the Cardinall here in England heard how his father of Rome was taken prisoner, he began to stirre coales, and hearing of his captivity, he laboured with the king all that he might, to stirre him up to fight with the said Pope against the Emperor, and to be a defender of the Church: which if he would do, the Cardinall perswaded him that he should receive great reward at Gods hand. To whom the King answered againe, and said in this manner; My lord I more lament this evill chance, than my tongue can tell: but where you say I am the Defender of the faith, I assure you, that this warre betweene the Emperor and the pope is not for the faith, but for temporall possessions and dominions; and now sith Pope Clement is taken by men of warre, what should I doe? My person nor my people cannot rescue him; but if my treasure may help him, take that which seemeth to you most convenient.

The cardinall desireth him for the pope.

The pope fighteth for temporall possessions.

Thus the Cardinall, when he could not obtaine at the kings hands what he would, in stirring him up to mortall warre, he made out of the kings treasure twelve score thousand pounds, which he carried over the Sea with him. After this, the Cardinall sent his commission as Legate, to all the Bishops, commanding fastings, and solemne processions to be had, wherein they did sing the Letany after this sort; Sancta Maria, ora pro Clemente Papa, Sancte Petre, ora pro Clemente Papa, and so forth all the Letany.

Twelve score thousand pounds conveyed out of England, by the cardinall. A new found Letany of the Lord Cardinals making.

This Cardinall, passing the seas with the foresaid summes of money, departed out of Callis, accompanied with Cuthbert Tunstall Bishop of London, the Lord Sands the Kings Chamberlaine, the Earle of Darby, Sir Henry Guildford, and Sir Thomas More, with many other Knights and Squires, to the number of twelve hundred horse, having in his carriage foure score wagons, and three score Moyles and sumpter horses.

Marre waged by the Cardinall.

It were long to discourse in this place the manifold abuses and treasons which he practised when he came to the French Court at Amias, converting the great sums of money, which before you heard he had obtained of the King for the relieſe and ransome of Pope Clement, which at that time was prisoner in the emperors army, and bestowing the same in the hiring of souldiers, and furnishing out the French Kings army; appointing also certaine English Captaines, in the King of Englands name, to goe against the Emperor, to rescue the Pope: all which army was paid with the King of Englands money.

Besides that, he privily by his letters caused Clarentius, King of the Armes, to ioyne with the French Herauld, and openly to defie the Emperor; whereby there began great displeasure to rise betweene the Emperor and the King; but that the Emperor of his politike nature would take no occasion of displeasure against the K. of England.

The crafty practice of the Cardinall.

Now againe hee uttered another of his practices: for upon the said defiance, the Cardinall surmising and whispering in the Kings eare, that the Emperor had evill intreated and imprisoned the Kings Embassadors in Spaine, caused Hugo de Mendoza, the Emperors Embassador in England, to be attached, and put in safe kéeping, and his house with all his goods to be seized. Which so remained, untill that manifest Letters came of the gentle intreaty of the Kings Embassadors in Spaine, and then he was againe set at liberty. When as the Embassador complained hereof to the Cardinall, he laid all the fault upon Clarentius; saying also, that Clarentius had defied the Emperor, without the Kings knowledge, at the request of the Herauld of France: wherefore at his returne he should lose his head at Calis. Whereof Clarentius being advertised by the Captaine of Baion, in his returne tooke shipping at Bullen, and so privily came into England, and, by meanes of certaine of his friends of the Kings privy chamber, he was brought into the Kings presence before the Cardinall knew of it. Whereas he shewed unto the king the Cardinals Letters of Commission, and declared the whole order and circumstance of their gentle entreaty. When the King heard the whole circumstance thereof, and had a while mused thereupon, he said; O Lord Jesus, he that I trusted most, told me all these things contrary. Well Clarentius, I will no more be so light of credence hereafter; for now I sée well ỹ I habe bẽn made beléebe ỹ thing ỹ was never done: & from that time forward the K. never put any more confidence or trust in the Cardinall.

The Cardinal set Clarentius to defie the Emperour, & afterwards would be excused by his death.

The cause why the Cardinall should beare the Emperor all this malice and grudge, after some writers, appeareth to be thus. At what time as Pope Clement was taken prisoner, (as is before said) the Cardinall wrote unto the Emperour, that he should make him Pope. But when he had received an answer that pleased him not, he waxed furious mad, and sought all meanes to displease the Emperor, writing very sharply unto him many menacing letters, that if he would not make him Pope, he would make such a ruffling betwéene Christian Princes, as was not these hundred yéers before, to make the Emperor repent, yea though it should cost the whole realme of England.

The Cardinals proud threats against the Emperour.

Whereunto the Emperor made answer in a little book, imprinted both in Spanish and Dutch, answering unto many menacings of the Cardinall, and divers of his articles; but specially to that his ruffling threat, wherein he menaced him, that if he would not make him Pope, he would set such a ruffling betwixt Christian Princes as was not this hundred yéres, though it should cost the whole Realme of England. Whereunto the Emperour answering againe, biddeth him looke well about him, lest through his doings and attempts he might bring the matter in that case, that it should cost him the realme of England in déed.

The Emperours answer unto the Cardinals threats.

You have heard before, how that when Pope Clement was prisoner in the Emperors army, the Cardinall required the King, because he did beare the title of Defender of the faith, that he would rescue the Pope. Also what the Kings answer was thereunto, and what summes of money he had obtained of the King. Now, because you shall not also be ignorant, by what meanes, and upon what occasion this title of the Defender of the faith was given unto the King, we thinke it good somewhat to say in this place. When as Martin Luther had uttered the abhomination of the Pope and his clergy, and diverse bookes were come into England, our Cardinall, here thinking to finde a remedy for that, sent immediately unto Rome for this title of Defender of the Faith: which afterward the Vicar of Croyden preached, that the Kings Grace would not lose it for all London and twenty miles about it. Neither is it marvell; for it cost more than London and forty miles about it, considering the great summes which you have heard the Cardinall obtained of the King for the Popes relieſe, besides the effusion of much innocent blood.

The title defender faith.

When this glorious title was come from Rome, the Cardinall brought it unto the Kings Grace at Grænwich; and though that the King had it already, and had read it, yet against the morning were all the Lords and Gentlemen that could in so short space be gathered, sent for, to come and receive it with honor. In the morning the Cardinall gat him thorow the backside into the Friers Observants, and part of the Gentlemen went round about, and welcomed him from Rome: part met him halfe way, and some at the Court gate. The K. himself met him in the hall, and brought him up into a great chamber, where was a seat prepared on high for the King and the Cardinall to sit on whiles the Bull was read. Which pompe all men of wisdome and understanding laughed to scorne.

The glorious vanity of Cardinall laughed to scorne.

This done, the king went to his chappel to hear Masse, accompanied with many Nobles of his realme, and Embassadors of sundry Princes. The Cardinall being revested to sing Masse, the Earle of Ellez brought the bason of water, the Duke of Suffolke gave the allay, and the Duke of Norfolk held the towell, and so he proceeded to masse. When masse was done, the Bull was againe published, the trumpets blew, the shalms and sackbuts played in honour of the Kings new title. Then the king went to dinner, in the middest whereof the King of Heralds and his company began the largesse, crying; Henricus, Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ & Franciæ, Defensor Fidei, & Dominus Hyberniæ. Thus were all things ended with great solemnity.

The Kings title augmented.

Not much unlike to this was the receiving of the Cardinals Hat; which when a ruffian had brought unto him to Westminster under his cloke, he cloathed the messenger in rich array, and sent him back againe to Dover; appointing the Bishop of Canterbury to meet him, and then another company of the Lords and Gentlemen, I wot not how often, before it came to Westminster; where it was set upon a cupboord, and tapers round about it, so that the greatest Duke in the land must make courtesie thereunto, and to his empty seat, hee being away.

The ecclesiastical receiving the Cardinall hat.

And forsomuch as wee are in hand with the acts and doings of Cardinall Wolsey, among many other things which of purpose we overpasse, this is not to bee exempted out of memory, touching his uncourteous or rather churlish handling of Richard Pacte, Deane of Pauls. This Pacy, being the Kings Secretary for the Latine tongue, was of such ripenesse of wit, of learning and eloquence, also in forrain languages so expert, that for the one he was thought most meet to succéed after John Colet

The ecclesiastical dealing of Cardinall Wolsey against Richard Pacte Deane of Pauls.

Colet, in the Deanry of Pauls: beside which he was also preferred to the Deanry of Exceter. For the other, he was sent in the kings affaires Ambassadour to Venice. Which function there he so discharged, that it is hard to say whether he procured more commendation or admiration among the Venetians, both for dexterity of his wit, and specially for the singular promptnesse in the Italian tongue, wherein he seemed nothing inferior, neither to Peter Vanne here in England, the kings Secretary for the Italian tongue, nor yet to any other, which were the best in that tongue in all Venice. For opinion and fame of learning, he was so notoriously accepted, not onely here in England with Linacre, Grocinus, More, and other, but also knowne and reported abroad in such sort, that in all the great heape of Erasmus Epistles, he wrote almost to none so many, as he wrote to this Richard Pacie.

Richard Pacie Ambassadour at Venice.

As the said Pacie was resident Embassadour at Venice, the king having war the same time with Francis the French king (as is afore rehearsed) through the conducting of the Duke of Bourbon, whom he then waged with his expences, sent commandement to Pacie to give attendance to the Duke of Bourbon, concerning the receit of that money, and other necessities and exploits to that expedition appertaining. In the meane while, as the French king with his army, and the Duke of Bourbon were approching in battell together, neare about the city of Pavia, it so happened (some think through the crafty packing of the Cardinall) that the Kings money was not so ready as it was looked for. By reason whereof, the Duke of Bourbon, perceiving his souldiers about to shrink from him to the French king for lacke of paiment, called to him the Embassadour, complaining unto him, how the king of England had deceived him, and broke promise with him, to his great dishonour and utter undoing, &c. Pacie then being sure of the kings will, and suspecting the crafty fetch of the Cardinall, desired the Duke not to take discomfort, nor any diffidence of the kings assured promise, excusing the delay of the money as well as he could, by intercipation, or other causes by the way incident, rather than for any lacke of fidelity on the Kings behalfe: adding moreover, that if it would please him happily to proceed, as he had couragiously begun, he should not stay for the kings money: so sure he was of the Kings mind therein, that he would supply the lack of that paiment upon his owne credit, among his friends at Venice, and so he did. Whereupon the souldiers, being sufficiently satisfied with paiment of their wages, proceeded forth with the Duke unto the battell. In the which battell the foresaid French king, the same time before the city of Pavie, was taken prisoner, as is before declared. Which being eftsoons known to the king of England, Pacie had both condigne thanks for his faithfull service, and also his money repayed againe with the uttermost, as he well deserved. But as the land and the renowned praise of men for their worthy prowesses, commonly in this world never goe unaccompanied with some privy canker of envy and disdaine following after, so the singular industry of Pacie, as it wan much commendation with many, so it could not avoid the secret sting of some serpents. For the conceived hatred of this Cardinall so kindled against him, that he never ceased, till first he brought him out of the kings favour, and at last also out of his perfect wits.

The Duke of Bourbon was reuolted from the K. of Englands money.

The Duke of Bourbon displayed the kings mocke.

Richard Pacie by the meanes of the French king was taken.

The Cardinall hated Pacie.

The occasion how he fell beside himself, was this, for that the Cardinall after the death of pope Adrian hoping no lesse but that he should have bene advanced unto the papacy, and yet missing thereof, he supposed with himselfe the fault chiefly to rest in Pacies negligence, by whose great wit and learning, and earnest meanes and sute, he thought easily he might have atchieved and compassed the triple crowne. Wherefore he seeing it otherwise come to passe, and inflamed against Pacie for the same, wrought such wayes and meanes, that by the space almost of two yeares, Pacie continuing at Venice, had neither writting from the king, nor his Councell, what he should do; nor yet any manner of allowance for his diet (although he wrote, and sent letters for the same to England very often) for the Cardinall had altogether incensed the king against him. Whereupon the said Pacie took such an inward thought and conceit, that his wits began to faile him, he being notwithstanding in sure favor among the senators of Venice, that neither for gold nor silver he could there have lacked. By some it was reported, that the Venetian Legat here in England, comming to the Cardinall, required if he would command any thing to the English Embassadour at Venice. To whom he should answer againe in high words, saying, Paceus decepit Regem. Which words comming to Pacies eares, so deeply pierced his stomacke, that he fell quite beside himselfe. I heard it moreover of another thus testified, who had a brother the same time dwelling with Pacie: that the Cardinall, about the returning of Pacie from Venice, sent him a letter so powred (with what spices I cannot tell) that at the reading thereof Pacie, being then in the fields, fell suddenly in such a mighty running for the space of two miles, that his servants had much adoe to take him, and bring him home.

The Cardinal practiseth against Pacie.

Pacie in great credit with the Venetians.

The Cardinal falsly beliefth Pacie.

Pacie distraught of his wits.

This piteous case of Pacie was not a little lamented by the whole senate, and chief learned men in Venice, insomuch that the king was not onely certified thereof by Thomas Lupset (who then was chiefe man about Pacie, and his Secretarie for that Embassage) but also the said Senate of Venice wrote, in such sharpe and vehement wise, unto their Embassadour then being in England, that he should signifie unto the king touching Pacies case, that thereby the king knowing the truth, and the whole circumstance of the matter, was not a little sorrowfull therefore. Whereupon Pacie was forthwith sent for home, and when he came to England, he was commanded by the king to be specially well tended and to lack no keeping. Insomuch that, within a small processe of time, he was prettily well come againe to his wits, and began to study the Hebrew tongue with Wakefield, so that (the Cardinall then being absent) such waies were found by his friends, that he was brought to the king, lying then at Richmond, where he and the king secretly communed together by the space of two houres and more, not without great reioycing to the king as it was perceived, to see him so well amended, and returned to himselfe againe, giving likewise strait charge and commandement, that hee should lacke nothing. The Cardinall being then not present, when he heard of this, fearing least hee had disclosed somewhat to the king, which he would not have knowne, and doubting that the king should cast his favour againe unto Pacie, began within a while after to quarrell, and picke matters, and to lay certaine things to Pacies charge, whereas he rather should have cleared himselfe of those things which Pacie laid unto him before the king, which was contrary to all good forme and order of iustice. For where the king had willed the Cardinall to purge himselfe of those things which Pacie had rightly charged him withall, he sitting in iudgement with the D. of Norfolke, and other states of the realme, not as a defendant, but as a iudge in his own cause, so bare out himselfe and weighed down Pacie, that Pacie was commanded to the tower of London as prisoner: where he continued by the space of two

Pacie prettily recovered.

Pacie brought to the kings speech.

Pacie commanded to the tower by the Cardinall.

Pacie discharged out of the tower.

Pacie commanded to the Tower by the Cardinall. Pacie discharged out of the Tower.

yeares, or thereabout, and afterward by the kings commandement was discharged. But he, being there prisoner, was therewith so deadly wounded and stricken, that he fell worse from his wits than ever he was before, being in such a phrensie or lunacie, that to his dying day he never came perfectly to himselfe againe. Notwithstanding, this in him was no perpetuall phrensie, but came by fits; and when the fit was past, he could lok on his book, and reason and talke handsomly, but that now and then he shewed his disease. And thus much betwen the Cardinall and Pacie.

The Cardinals labour to be Pope.

By the story of Pacie, and also by other passages above mentioned, ye may partly conceive how greedy this Cardinall was to be made Pope. Touching which matter here by the way something to intreat, first it is to be understood, that forsomuch as Pacie either would not or could not serve the Cardinals purpose herein, he thought to accomplish his desire by other meanes, and namely by

Stephen Gardener ambassador at Rome for the King & the Cardinall.

Stephen Gardener, who was then shortly after sent Ambassador to Rome by the King and the Cardinall, in the time of Pope Clement the seventh; and that for two spectall causes: one was about the divorcement, the other for promoting the Cardinall to be Pope. As touching the divorcement we will speak (the Lord willing) hereafter. In the mean time, as concerning the advancement of the Cardinall, great labour was made, as in letters may appeare, sent from the Cardinall to the said Stephen Gardener; in the which Letters he did solicite the said Gardener, by all means to pursue the suit, willing him to stick for no cost, so farre as six or seven thousand pounds would stretch; for more he said he would not give for the triple crown. Mark here (Christian Reader) what an holy catholike Church this is, which rather may be called a Burse or Mart of Merchants (ne quid dicam durius) than any true forme of a Church.

Many both of his, and also of the kings letters, I could here insert; but for growing of the Volume, I let them passe. One for examples sake, sent by the cardinall to Gardener, another also from the King to the said Gardener, shall at this time suffice concerning this matter. And first the copie of the Cardinals ambitious Letter here in forme followeth.

The copie of an ambitious Letter written by Tho. Wolsey Cardinall of Yorke, unto Stephen Gardener, one of King Henries Orators in the Court of Rome, for the procuring of the Papall dignity to the said Cardinall.

A letter of the Cardinall to Stephen Gardener lieger at Rome.

MAster Stephen, albeit ye shall be sufficiently, with your Colleagues, by such Instructions as be given to Mounsieur Vincent, informed of the Kings minde and mine, concerning my advancement unto the dignity Papall, not doubting but that for the singular devotion which you beare towards the King and his affaires, both generall and particular, and perfect love which ye have toward me, ye will omit nothing that may be excogitate to serve and conduce to that purpose: yet I thought convenient, for the more fervent expression of my minde in that behalfe, to write unto you (as to the person whom I doe most entirely trust, and by whom this thing shall be more pithily set forth) these few words following of mine owne hand, I doubt not but ye doe profoundly consider as well the state wherein the Church and all Christendome doth stand now presently, as also the state of this realme, and of the Kings secret matter; which if it should be brought to passe by any other means than by the authority of the Church, I account this Prince and realme utterly undone. Wherefore it is expedient to have such a one to be pope and common father of all Princes, as may, can, and will give remedy to the premisses. And although I account my self much unable, and that it shall be now incommodious in this mine old age to be the said common father; yet when all things be well pondered, and the qualities of all the Cardinals well considered (*absit verbum jactantiæ*) there shall be none found that can and will set remedy in the foresaid things, but onely the Cardinall of Yorke, whose good will and zeale is not to you, of all men, unknowne. And were it not for the reintegration of the state of the Church and See Apostolike to the pristine dignity, and for the conducing of peace amongst Christian Princes, and especially to relieve this Prince and realme from the calamities that the same be now in, all the riches or honour of the world should not cause me, *Ne dum aspirare, sed ne consentire*, to accept the said dignity, although the same with all commodities were offered unto me.

Crafty practices to serve ambitious purposes. O fained hypocrisie.

Neverthelesse, conforming my selfe to the neeessity of the time, and the will and pleasure of these two Princes, I am content to approve all my wit and study, and to set forth all means and wayes, *Vt benefaciam rebus Christianitatis*, for the attaining of the said dignity. For the atchieving and attaining whereof, forasmuch as thereupon dependeth the health and wealth, not only of these two Princes and their realmes, but of all Christendome, nothing is to be omitted that may conduce to the said end and purpose. Wherefore, Master Stephen, since you be so plainely advertised of my minde and intent, I shall pray you to extend *Omnes nervos ingenii tui, ut ista res ad effectum produci possit, nullis parcendo sumptibus, pollicitationibus, sive laboribus: ita ut hominum videris ingenia & affectiones, sive ad privata, sive ad publica, sic accommodes actiones tuas. Non deest tibi & collegis tuis amplissima potestas, nullis terminis aut conditionibus limitata seu restricta; & quicquid feceris, scito omnia apud hunc regem & me esse grata & tuta. Nam omnia (ut paucis absolvam) in tuo ingenio & fide reposuimus. Nihil superest aliud scribendum, nisi quod supplex orem, ut omnes actiones tuas secundet Deus opt. maximusque, & ex corde vale.*

Ex ædibus meis Westmonast. vij. Febr.

Tutæ salutis & amplitudinis cupidissimus,

T. Ebor.

Pelike the Cardinall he lacketh good neighbours, seeing he is compelled to praise himself. You may for say so, before we will believe you.

Stephen Gardener the Cardinals trust factor.

After this Letter of the Cardinall, consequently here insueth another Letter of the King, to the foresaid Stephen Gardener, and other his orators at Rome; containing such instructions and documents as they should practise with the Cardinals of Rome, in canvasing for the said Thomas Wolsey Cardinall of Yorke to be elected Pope, if Pope Clement were dead: or if he were not dead, yet at least to instruct them what to do when he should die.

The contents of the Letter, albeit they include no great matter worthy our knowledge, nor greatly necessary for our story, yet for the ridiculous manner of the handling, and curious secretaryship thereof, full of glorious affectation, I thought it not here unmeet for the studies and appetites of some, to exemplifie the same, or at least to make the Reader some passtime by the way, in beholding the glorious stile of this vaine-glorious Cardinall, being suteable to his glorious life. The Copie of the Letter, bearing the name of the King, but indeed savouring altogether of the Cardinals device and swelling veine, doth thus proceed in forme and stile as followeth.

Instructions

Mark the title and you shall see that it is all one with the Cardinals former Letter, which hee falsly wrote with his own hand.

¶ *Instructions sent by the Kings highnesse, to his trusty Counsellers and servants, M. Stephen Gardener, Doctor of both Lawes, Sir Francis Bryan, Sir Gregory de Cassalis Knight, and M. Peter Vanne the Kings Secretary for the Italian tongue, his Embassadors in the Court of Rome, for the Election of the Cardinall of Yorke to the Papacy, if Pope Clement were dead.*

Instructions in the kings name to his Legates at Rome.

FIrst whereas a good season since the depeach of Master Stephen Gardener, an Ambassiate towards the Court of Rome, the Kings highnesse by sundry wayes hath beene advertised of the death of our holy father the Pope Clement of that name the seventh, whose soule Iesus pardon, by meane whereof the charge heretofore committed by his Grace unto his Oratours, to have beene now executed with the said late Pope, cannot at his hands take effect, his highnesse pondering and profoundly considering the present state of Christendome, miserably and piteously afflicted with the Intestine warres, dissentions, and discords, reigning amongst the Princes of the same, and how the dignitie of the See Apostolike, by such trouble and persecution, as hath beene inferred thereunto these yeeres passed, is not a little diminished and empaired, like to come to a totall ruine, if by the help and assistance of good and vertuous princes the ambition of those, which study the extermination thereof, be not in time represt: considering furthermore, that as well to conduce the rest and tranquility in Christendome, as to restore, repaire, and reintegrate the state, authority, and reputation of the said see Apostolike, nothing is more requisite and necessary, than that such a head and common father be now, at this time of vacation of the dignitie Papall, provided and elected to succeed in the same, as both may, can, and will purvey to the restauration of the said see, and hath, and may have, the assistance of such vertuous and puissant princes, as tender the defence, maintenance and increase of the dignity aforesaid, and that may meet with the inordinate ambition of the Emperor, who nothing more studieth, than for his owne exaltation to suppresse the Church and See Apostolike: remembring also the high importance of the Kings great and weighty cause of matrimony, committed to the charge of the said orators, and how manifold dangers, and irreparable damages depend upon the tract, delay, or disappointment thereof, which by no way or meane can bee conduced to the kings purpose and desire by the authority of the Church, but only by speciall, assured and perfect favour of the head of the same Church; his highnesse also being as loth as any living prince or person may be, to recurre unto other refuge, succor or remedy in the said cause, than to the authority of the see Apostolike, if his grace may there finde the favour and benignity that to his merits towards the same be correspondent; of which favour his highnesse should be clearly deprived and frustrate, in case the election of the future Pope should passe upon any person, of whome his grace were not perfectly assured: his highnesse for the respects and considerations before specified, perceiving his good brother and perpetuall allie the French king, in the said intention, to be unite, knit, and in all actions and doings of importance assuredly combined unto his grace, proceeding together in one will, mind purpose, and conformity, hath by good and mature deliberation, studied, devised, and excogitate with himselfe who were and might be the most able, meet, and convenient person, having the qualities before specified, to be advanced at this time, unto the said dignity Papall. And finally when his grace hath well revolved with himselfe all the respects and considerations aforesaid, noting also all things meet to bee regarded in every of the Cardinals of the church of Rome, both present now in the court there, and absent from the same; it cannot be found that there is any person sufficiently furnished with the requisites before specified, but only the most reverend father in God, and his most trustie counsellor, the Lord Legat Cardinall, Archbishop of Yorke, Primate and Chancellor of this Realme. Who being well knowne to have as fervent a zeale, study, mind, and desire to the universall weale, repose and tranquillity of Christendome, to the reintegration, and restauration of the dignity, authority, reputation, and rights of the Church and See Apostolike, to the suretie, weale, and exaltation of the Kings highnesse, the French King and other their confederates, and finally to the perfection of the kings said great and weighty cause, whereupon dependeth the surety of his Royall person, succession, realme, people, and dominions, as any person living can or may have: and that the said most reverend father hath the fast assured favour herein of the said French King (who of his owne meere motion hath franckly and liberally offered unto him all that by himselfe, his friends, his power, his agents, or otherwise he may, or can possibly doe for his advancement to the said dignity Papall) is the person who for his singular vertue, his entire devotion to peace and restauration of the said See, the excellency of his wisedome, learning, and experience, the magnanimity in his actions and doings, the dignity wherein hee is already constituted, the promotions which hee hath attained, the substance that he is of, his reputation, his conduite, his diligence, his dexterity, his discretion, his policy, and finally, the notable and high favour that the Kings highnesse, and the said French King beare unto him, is onely he, that being called unto the said dignity Papall, may, can, and will meet with the inordinate ambition of the said Emperour, and consequently with establishment of tranquillity amongst Christian princes, and is by the assistance of his friends, meet, convenient and able to succour, relieve, and clearely to repaire the piteous jacture and decay, that the Church and see Apostolike hath so long suffered, and to defend the same from the eminent danger now apparent to ensue if the said Emperour, who (as the Kings highnesse is ascertained) determined in the beginning of Ianuary now passed to take his journey towards Rome, should take upon this vacation of the said see, (chanced, as is upon many evident presumptions to bee thought, by some detestable act committed for the said late popes destruction) now by force, violence, cautele, blandishing promises or otherwise, have the election to proceed at his will, favor, and devotion; wherby having a pope at his arbitrate, either he should not faile to usurpe and take upon him the rights, provents, and patrimony of the Church, using him as his chaplain and vassall, or else by little and little utterly to exclude and extinguish him and his authority.

The totall ruine of the Apostolike Papacie God send it.

He meaneth the matrimony betwen King Henry 8. and Queen Katharine, his brother Arthurs late wherher it was lawfull or no.

See how this prelate is all in his exaltation.

The Thrasonicall praise of the Cardinall.

Note this cause

The Cardinal is most meet to bee Pope, because hee can best bridle the Emperour.

That is after his owne desire.

For this cause, if ever it were expedient that good Christian Princes look to the tuition, maintenance, defence, and continuance of Christs Church, faith, and religion, now is it the time, above all other, to provide and beware by all waies possible, lest the same neglected, forgotten, and not in time relieved, be brought unto extreme *ruine. And therefore the Kings highnesse having singular and speciall trust and confidence in the wisdomes, discretions, fidelities, diligences, and circumspections of his said Orators (to whom no part of the premisses is unknowne, nor how necessary, and in any wise expedient it shall be for perfection of the kings said great and weighty (*) matter to them committed, to have the said Lord Legat of Yorke, and

* If his usurped authority were clean extinct, the faith and religion of Christ should stand and flourish much better.

(*) By this weighty matter here, is meãt the cause of the kings divorce.

and none other, advanced to the said dignity papal) willeth, desireth, ordaineth, and expressly chargeth and commandeth his said orators, and every of them, no lesse to employ, endeavour, and determine themselves, to solicite, set forth, further promote, labour and conduce the advancement of the said Lord Legate of Yorke to that dignity, than they would that thing, which the Kings highnesse most highly, next God and his soule, with all earnestnesse and fervent mind doth, above all other things, covet and desire, and also no lesse than they would the speedy obtaining and perfection of all such things, touching the kings said weighty matter committed to their charges: the making or marring whereof, the said late Pope being now deceassed, consisteth only in the advancement of the said Lord Legate of Yorke to the dignity papall.

For (as the kings said embassadors may by their wisedomes well thinke and consider) the same must of necessity come, and fortune either to one that is an assured friend to his grace and the French king, or to one that is a manifest enemie to them, favouring the Emperors part, or to one indifferent and meane betweene both. And if it should chance upon a manifest enemie, it is evident that the kings desire at his hand were meerely impossible to be had, and never were to be attained that way. If it should come to one being indifferent and meane betweene both, it is more than notorious that his grace, at the lest, should be contained with faire words and promises, and yet such respect should be had to the Emperour, that finally under hope of obtaining something, there should bee no more, but tract, delay, and finally no maner fruit nor effect: wherof experience hath already been seen in one that had cause to be more friendly to the king, than indifferent or meane betweene both, and yet how long the matter hath depended, is to the kings said Embassadors well knowne. So that of necessity this thing must bee conduced to one that is an assured friend. Then noting substantially the things necessary to concurre in such a friend both for the weale of Christendome, the reliefe of the Church, the firme adhering to the kings highnesse and the French king with other their confederats, and the perfit conducing of the kings great matter which suffereth no tract, delay, or negative; it shall be found, that there is none other for this purpose, but onely the said Lord Legate of Yorke.

The kings said Embassadours shall therefore plant the foundation of all their studie, labour, and sollicitation, onely to that purpose. And for the better introduction of the waies and meanes, how this thing shall bee sollicited; they shall receive herewith a schedule, wherein is mentioned and noted by name, how many, and what Cardinals of likelyhood shall be present at the election, and how many and which of the other shall be absent. Semblably, how many of them, that be like to bee present, may bee thought to bee friends to the Kings highnesse and the French King, whose names in the said schedule bee noted with A. and how many are thought to be imperiall, whose names be noted with B. In the same schedule bee also set out the number, and names of those that be thought to be neutrall or indifferent, marked with N. And furthermore, they bee first mentioned therein, which bee thought most like to aspire to that dignitie.

A signifieth the Cardinalls of the Kings and the French K. side.
B. signifieth the Cardinalls of the Emperors side. But here is never a C. to signifie any Cardinals on Christs side.

Herein bee many things well to bee regarded. First the number of the cardinals that are like to bee present, which (as is thought here) shall not exceed nine and thirty. Secondly, that to have election to the Kings purpose, shall be requisite to have two parts of the three of the said number, which two parts must bee twenty six. Then is it to bee noted, that they which bee thought to bee friends to the Kings highnesse and the French king be in number 20. So that if they may be made sure to the Kings devotion, there shall lacke but sixe of the number, which shall suffice to make the election: which number the Kings said Embassadors shall move, winne, and attaine, either of them that bee thought to bee indifferent, or some other.

In the conducing whereof two waies be specially to be remembred. One is if the cardinals present, having God and the Holy Ghost before them shal be minded (as to their duty appertaineth) to have respect to the present calamity of the Church and all Christendome, intending the relefe, succour and restauration of the same, and to preserve themselves, and the dignitie of the See Apostolike, then looking profoundly upon the state of the things, they cannot faile * facily of themselves to find and perceive, that to conduce their purpose there is only the said Lord Legat of Yorke. And in this case it is verily to be thought, that very reason it selfe and their owne conscience shall leade them like vertuous Fathers, to have their principall respect hereunto; and (particular affections set apart) to accord and agree without difficulty to that which so manifestly is knowne to be the thing, above all other, expedient. Nevertheless, because percase humane fragilitie suffereth not all things to be pondered, trutinate, and weighed in just ballance, but that (as we be men) errors may runne, unlesse then remedy be provided: it appertaineth in matter of so high importance, to the comfort and relefe of all Christendom, to succour the infirmity that may chance, not for corruption, or to any perverse, unlawfull, or evill intent, but rather, to helpe to the lackes and defaults, which by such fragility might else take place; and therefore expedient it shall be that the kings said orators, to so notable a purpose where they shall perceive the consideration and respect, wherunto reason leadeth, to be in any part to be aided or supplyed, do the same with pollicitations of promotions, spirituall offices, dignities, rewards of money, or other things, such as to them shall seeme meete to the purpose; inculking into the mindes of such persons as shall bee requisite, first what things the said Lord Legate of Yorke shall leave, if hee should bee advanced to the said dignity, which be such as, the establishment of his state considered, be far more to his commodity (if he should regard his private weal) than to enter into this dangerous storme, and troublous tempest, for the relefe of the Church and all Christendom; whereunto (his said private weale set apart) hee is totally devoted and dedicate, to the exposition of his body, blood, and life, glad and ready with the sacrifice thereof to do service to God, his Church, his faith and religion: which said promotions, the kings highnesse finding cause, given unto him by the gratitude and conformity of his friends, will not faile to bestow to their benefit, besides large rewards, to have this so vertuous an act brought to perfection. For pollicitation whereof, the Kings said Embassadours bee furnished at this time with ample commission, as by the same they shall perceive: The effect whereof they shall execute without exception, as by their wisdomes shall be thought convenient: so alwayes as it bee done with such circumspection, as that there may be appearance of good fruit to ensue. And semblably they bee furnished with letters, as well to the colledge of Cardinals in general, as to them all that be like to be present in particular: which they shal now deliver to the best furtherance and advancement of their purpose, not sparing to declare unto them the liberalitie of the said L. legat of York, the substance that he is of, the assured assistance that he shall have of these princes and their confederates, whereby he shal be able, above any other that they

As though the Popes electi had any thi to doe with holy Ghost.

* Hee might well have sa easily as fac if it had pl sed him · t our grosse termes are low for t high prelate here comm ly you may (

Yea sir, n ye speak to purpose. Now wee gin to feel when ye bi pour bribes rewards o money.

can

can deuise, to reward, promote, aduance, and recompence his friends to the uttermost; assuring them that these two Princes will not faile also highly and in the best sort to consider their gratitudes, with any thing that they may excogitate to their profits & promotions, or any of their friends. So that by this meane, and with such good pollicitations, grounded upon a lawfull, honourable, and just cause (and not upon any corrupt or indue intent, to conduce things to sinister purpose) the kings said Oratours by their good policies shall attaine the perfect and sure good will of a great many of them, and by that way shall with good dexterity combine and knit those, which will adhere hereunto, in a perfect fastnesse, and in an indissoluble knot, firmely to sticke and hold together, without variation or declining from their purpose, for any persuasion, practice or meane, that can be made to the contrary. Which thing surely to be provided, and such a knot of twenty, eighteene, or at the least (if it may be) of sixteene Cardinals to be had, is in any wise expedient. For they, persisting in their determination, shall not faile to impeach, that no adverse part can have a ful number to make a due and lawfull election. And yet they, being found in a constantnesse to this good purpose, shall by little and little allure and bring other unto them, so as the residue perceiving so great a towardnesse, and fearing a sufficient number to accede without them, and thereby the election to passe against their wils, shall percase be the more prone and ready to come unto that party: whereunto nothing should of reason sooner move them, than the verie respect to the infinite goodnesse, that thereby to themselves in particular, and the universall Church and Religion in generall, is apparent to ensue.

Nevertheless, if leaving the direct way they will be abused with any other incantations, or for private ambition persist in contending for themselves, then is it evident, they search nothing more than the ruine of the See Apostolike. In which case other wayes be to bee devised, and their * indue demeanor to be remedied and resisted. For this cause, and to be sure in all events, the Kings said orators shall by their wisedomes finde the meanes to have some fast and sure persons in the Conclave, such as may not onely practise and set forth things there to the purpose, but also give such knowledge outward, as the Kings said Orators may thereby the better know how to order their proceedings. And amongst other it is thought, that Mounsieur de Vaulx, one of the French Embassadours (whom the French King hath commanded expresly to further this matter by all the meanes to him possible) should bee one to enter the said Conclave, not as an Embassadour, but as the minister of some cardinall, friend of the French king. And semblably Sir Gregory de Cassalis, who for his wisedome, conduit, language, acquaintance, and other good qualities, may doe excellent good in that behalfe.

And in this matter it is to bee considered, that since this election, in the person of the said Lord Legat of Yorke, by one way or other suffereth no negative, albeit the kings highnesse trusteth that the same shall have his course directly: yet if, for lacke of grace or intendment, there should bee any despaire thereof, other waies be to bee provided. And for that cause to shew the said Oratours secretly (there is a protestation passed by the Cardinalls being in England and in France, according to a copy which the said orators shall receive herewith, which is and shall be kept secret, unlesse then by the indue proceeding used in the election, the same shall need to be published. So that the kings said Orators, now advertised thereof, shall note for a speciall ground, that if it shall appeare that the election cannot be had in the person of the said Lord Legate of Yorke; the band and number unite and knit together to the kings devotion, in finding none other remedy, must be instructed beforehand in that case to persist in their determination, and when time shall be, by reason of such despaire, to protest, grounding the same their protestation upon such respects, as cannot lacke to bee introduced for the avoiding of the extreme danger by the pertinacitie and wilfulnesse of the adverse Cardinals, imminent to the ruine of the Church, and of all Christendome. Which protestation may before hand bee couched and devised by the said Master Stephen Gardener, and by the policie of the said Mounsieur de Vaulx, and Sir Gregory, be set forth in time convenient: and thereupon the Cardinals of the kings and the French kings adherents to depart the Conclave; whereby, repairing to some other sure place, they, with the residue of the Cardinals absent, may proceed to such an election, as may be to Gods pleasure, the weale of his Church and faith, and of all Christendome, any election that this by pertinacity may ensue at Rome notwithstanding.

And to the intent the Cardinals may be the better animated to finish the said election to the kings desire, the kings said oratours shall, as they see good, offer them a presidie of two or three thousand men to be in the city of Rome for the time of the same election: which if they will accept, the said oratours shall see furnished, taking money by exchange and otherwise, for their entertainment, as shall be requisite. Which money, or any other that they shall take for conducing this the kings purpose, shall be truly repaied, with (*) inpesse and all requisites that they shall assigne. And semblably, lest terrours or dread of the Imperials in Naples should induce the Cardinals to any errour, the French king hath ordained, that Seignior Reuzio shall lie in a presidie between the army of Naples and the city of Rome. Like as the Viscount of Tureine is also commanded to lie on the other side, and semblably the Venetians. So that by those meanes not onely they shall bee out of all feare of the Imperials, but also in the more devotion of these two Princes: which shall much conferre to the kings purpose, and embolden the Cardinals favouring the desire of these two Princes, both to persist in their deliberation, and also in time of extreme despaire to protest and depart, as is aforesaid.

And because nothing should withdraw the mindes of the Cardinals from this purpose, who percase might thinke that the said Lord Legate of Yorke being elected, would not repaire to the Court of Rome, but ( ) demore in Avinion, or some other place out of Italy, the kings said Embassadours shall remove all such suspitions, by two evident arguments and reasons. One is, That the said Cardinall of Yorke, advanced to that dignitie, must thereby leave all other his promotions, and consequently should be dispurveyed of any habitation, place, or convenient living, if remaining in another strange countrey, hee should deferre to come unto Rome, where should bee the place of his See and entire living. Wherefore if it were far from reason to thinke, that he, which hitherto for his estate had lived in such abundance, should bee so pusillanime for his promotion, to bring himselfe into condigne penurie and povertie, or to live in place private, to the hinderance of his honour, profit, or reputation. Secondly, the thing principally moving him to be contented, at these Princes requests, to change his state present, is the fervent zeale he hath to expone his study, travell, labour, substance, wit, body, blood, and life, in the quarrell of Gods Church, faith, and of Christendome, which is too high an exception, and a ground to be taken to remain and lie in a corner or private

place;

Well bid and he a good Chapman.

Thou must imagine here good Reader, i be no corruption, but honorable pollication.

To accede that it to come.

Other shifte, if the worst fall. That is, not it.

The case of the Cardinall must have no negative, so ther he is of his gaine.

Secret threatnings to the Cardinals to cause them to assent with the Cardinall Yorke.

Probisio against the Cardinals, if they will not condescend to the cardinall of Yorke.

Note these proceedings in chusing popes.

(*) Search here thy dictionaries good reader, for this eloquence passeth my intelligence.

* *Demorari*, that is to say, tarry. The 1 reason.

Pusillanime. i. Pusillo animo: that is, weake hearted. The second reason.

place: but that rather than he would suffer so high an exception to be found in him, he would expone all that he might do: who having the assistance of these two Princes, should not faile (God willing) to passe directly to his See, with honour and comfort unto all Italy, and the discouragement of the party that would be adverse thereunto. And therefore the Cardinals should not need to feare any such thing, but might be well assured to have his presence there to their comfort, in all celerity and diligence possible.

The Cardinall dreameth that he is pope already.

The Cardinall casteth all his nets to catch the triple crowne.

Furthermore, to the intent the Kings said Embassadors may have all the friends that may be to this purpose, expedient it shall be, that they, with the Venetians, the Florentines, the Duke of Ferrare, and other whom they shall think good to win unto their party, use the wayes that may best conduce thereunto. And amongst other, forasmuch as they which depended upon the Cardinall de Medices shall doubt in this case to be reject, the Kings said Orators shall inculke unto them the singular devotion and speciall favour that the said Lord Legat of Yorke hath alwayes borne unto their family; assuring them that hee will take them in no further distance of entire love, than they were with Pope Leo, Clement, or any other. And semblably, they shall put the Florentines in comfort of the exclusion of the governance of the said Family de Medices in Florence, and of their enjoying of their liberty. Likewise putting the Cardinals in perfect hope of recovery of the patrimonies of the Church; to containe the Venetians in good trust of a reasonable way to be taken for Sarvia and Ravenna, to their contentment; and also to shew the Duke of Ferrare, how the said Lord Legate was the meane of the conjunction of him in league with the French King, with assured promise of his continuance in as much love and favour as he may beare unto him, in all his causes and affaires. And thus, having those folks to their friends, whose Oratours shall have the uttermost custody of the Conclave, and the Kings Embassadors and the French Embassadors being in the interior parts thereof, they, being so amply instructed and furnished, shall not faile (God willing) by one or other of the said two wayes, and specially by the direct election at Rome, if it be possible, or at the least, by the way of the said protestation and departure of the Cardinals, to conduce the Kings purpose in the said election to the desired end. In the doing whereof, albeit there is no doubt but that the French Orators will joyne with them sincerely, to the perfection of the premisses, *in omne eventum*, it shall be well done, that the Kings said Oratours have a substantiall and politike regard to the proceedings of the same French Oratours, lest that if percase they should finde any dispaire in the election to passe in the person of the said Lord Legat of Yorke, they making some other Cardinals to their side for the advancement of any of them to the said dignity, should be the more strange, aliene, or peradventure refuse to come unto the said protestation and departure out of the Conclave: which is the onely remedy and refuge (the Cardinals persisting in their wilfulnesse) to interrupt, disappoint, infringe, and make void their election.

Two faces in one Cardinals hat.

How politike the children of this world be in their generation.

One other thing there is to be well noted by the said Embassadors, and by them to be inculcate in the mindes of the Cardinals; that if any manner of difficulty shall be made by the Imperials to condescend unto this election upon the said Lord Legat of York; and that they of the Emperors part would refuse all wayes of good order and reason, proceeding to any election without the consent of the residue that would protest, they may be sure that unto their sinister and indue way they should have no Prince or Potentate adherent, but onely the Emperour and his brother, and that the other part should have the rest of all Christendome, that is to say, the Kings Highnesse, the French King, the King of Hungary, Polonie, Scotland, and Denmarke, with the Venetians, the Dukes of Ferrare, Millan, the Florentines, and the rest of all Italy; besides the Merchants of the Almain or Hans, and other leagues being in the dominion of the said king of Polonie: and over that, the King of Portugal, who is loth and sorie to see the Emperor to come to so great a height as he aspireth unto. So that, having these mighty and noble puissances to their assistances and the corroboration of their act, it is facile to think the other could be of no validity, nor have or take any manner of place: which is no small ground whereupon the said Cardinals may be the better animate to the Kings and the French Kings said devotion, and therefore it is better to be imprinted in their minds accordingly.

Gives ag[ainst] the Empe[ror]

Finally, if the Kings said Orators, endeavouring themselves to the conducing of the said election in the person of the said L. Legat of York, should at the last finde, that there were none other difficulty, but onely that the election in his person being totally desperate, the same were conducible to the Cardinall Campeius: then, rather than all should faile, if the other could by no means be brought to passe, the Kings pleasure is, that being assured it may, the other lacking, be conduced to the same Cardinall Campeius, they take such way as in that case the protestation be forborne: and for the last refuge, if the other may not be, the election at the least to passe in the person of the said Cardinall Campeius: whereof there is no appearance, considering that the respects, for the which the said L. Legat of Yorke should by the Kings and the French Kings meanes be brought hereunto, doe for the greatest part faile and cease by the election of any other than himselfe, which is in this case to be remembred accordingly.

Thus be the kings said orators instructed, as far as mens reason can here devise, what is to be done for conducing the Kings purpose to effect, knowing wel of what importance the thing is, & what consequences depend upon it, namely, for the perfection of the Kings high and weighty matter, which, otherwise than by election of the said L. Legate of Yorke, hath no manner way to be conduced by authority of the see Apostolike: there resteth no more but that they, who well know the same great matter, do suffer no nay nor repulse, but by the election in the person of the said L. Legat, do imploy the uttermost that in their hearts, powers, wits, bodies, and minds may be, to the perfection thereof, wherby they shall do the greatest service that can be for this time excogitate to do, unto their prince, deserve immortall laud, thankes, and praise, and be sure to consecute thereby such reward, as shall be to their comforts, rejoyce, and honour, besides manifold other notable goodnesses, whereof they shall be the procurers and soliciters, to their merit perpetuall. All which they may be sure shall be considered accordingly.

By this [elec]tion, [the] common [ca]s of Rome canvasin[g] the pope[s].

Out of the Originall, subscribed by King Henry the eighth his own hand.

Epilog[ue]

In these so great labors, pursuits, and travels of the King and of the Cardinall, as in these their instructions above inserted may appeare, thou hast for thine instruction (loving Reader) to note and learne, how man purposeth one thing, and how God disposeth another. For the Kings purpose was to have the Cardinall and Legat of Yorke placed in the See Papall, thinking by that meanes, if this Cardinall had bene Pope, the cause of his divorce more easily might be compassed, which otherwise he thought unpossible to contrive. But God omnipotent, which only is

Man pur[poseth] and God dispo[seth]

Is not here an holy election, meet for such an holy seat.

is director of all affaires, brought it otherwise to passe, not as the king devised, but after his owne wisedome; so that both the divorcement was concluded, and yet neither Cardinall Wolsey made Pope, nor yet pope Clement was dead. Yea, so he ruled the matter, that notwithstanding pope Clement was alive, yet both the divorce proceeded, and also the popes authority was thereby utterly extinct and abolished out of this realme of England, to the singular admiration of Gods wondrous workes, and perpetuall praise to his mercifull godnesse. Of which divorcement, and suppressing of the popes authority, we have likewise to make declaration. But first, as we have begun with the Cardinal of Yorke, so we will make an end of him. That done, we will (God willing) addresse our selves to other matters of more importance.

As the Embassadours were thus travelling in Rome to promote the cardinall to be pope, although the Pope was not yet dead, in the meane time the Cardinall played the popish persecutor here at home. For first, he sitting in his Pontificalibus in the Cathedrall Church of Pauls, under his cloth of estate of rich cloth of gold, caused Frier Barnes, an Augustine Frier, to beare a fagot, for certaine points which he called heresie. Also he caused the same time two merchants of the Stilyard likewise to beare fagots for eating flesh on a Friday. At the which time, the bishop of Rochester made a Sermon in reproofe of Martin Luther, who had before written against the power of the bishop of Rome. This Bishop in his sermon spake so much of the honor of the pope and his Cardinals, and of their dignity and preheminence, that he forgot to speak of the Gospell which he toke in hand to declare; which was about the yeare of our Lord 1526.

rier Barnes ith two erchants of e Stilyard, used by the ardinall to are fagots.

After this, the said Cardinall likewise, An. 1528. and in the moneth of November, sitting at Westminster as Legate, called before him the whole clergy, and there promised that all abusions of the Church should be amended: but there nothing else was done, save onely he caused to be abiured, Arthur Bilney, Geffrey Lome, and Garret, for speaking against the popes authority, and his pompous pride. Of whom more shall be said (the Lord assisting us) hereafter. And this was Anno 1528.

The yeare next following, which was An. 1529. began the question of the Kings marriage to be revived. Whereupon cardinall Campeius was sent againe into England from Rome, for the hearing and debating of the matter. Who then with Cardinall Wolsey, consulting with the king, although at first he seemed with his fellow cardinall to incline unto the kings disposition, yet afterward perceiving the sequell of the case, whither it tended, so farre, as peradventure might be the occasion of a blot to ỹ court of Rome, and might shake perhaps the chaire of the popes omnipotent authority, as well in other cases like, if this case were throughly decided by learning and truth of Gods word: He therefore slipping his neck out of the collar, craftily shifted himselfe out of the Realme, before the day came appointed for determination, leaving his subtill fellow behinde him, to weigh with the King in the meane time, while the matter might be brought up to the court of Rome. The King thus seeing himselfe disappointed, fooled with false promises, and craftily doubled withal by the cardinals, and at last, after so many delayes and long expectation, nothing to be concluded, was sore agrieved in his mind with them, but especially with Cardinall Wolsey, whom he had before so highly exalted, and promoted to so many great dignities, as to ỹ archbishoprick of Yorke, the bishoprick of Winchester, of Duresme, the Abbey of S. Albans, besides the Chancellorship of England, & many other high

he occasion f the Cardials fall.

he cause of e Kings marage with his rothers wife, is danges to the ope for this: f it were awfull, then dispensatf Pope Ju. was void: if were lawful, the the judgeents of so ny Universies were

he King reeved by the ch cardinals.

romes and preferments in the realme; which caused him clerly to cast him out of his favor, so that after that time he never came more to the kings presence, Ex Hallo.

A counsell of the nobles cal led.

Then followed first a counsell of the nobles, called the first of October. During the which counsell all the Lords and other the kings counsell, agreeing together, resorted to Windsor to the king, and there informed the king, that all things which he had done almost, by his power Legantine, were in the case of Præmunire, and provision: and that the Cardinall had forfeited all his Lands, tenements, goods and cattels to the king: wherefore the king willing order to him, according to the order of his lawes, caused his Atturney, Christopher Hales, to sue out a writ of Præmunire against him, in the which he licensed him to make an Atturney.

The cardinall cast in the Præmunire.

The cardinall deprived of the chancellorship.

And further the seventeenth day of November, he sent the two Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke to his palace at Westminster, to fetch away the great seale of England; which he was loth to deliver, if there had bene any remedy; but in conclusion, he delivered it to the two Dukes, which delivered the same to doctor Taylor, master of the Rolls, to carry it to the king; which he so did the next day.

Stephen Gardener the Kings Secretary.

Besides this, the King sent Sir William Fitzwilliams, knight of the Garter, and treasurer of his house, and Doctor Stephen Gardener, newly made Secretary, to see that no goods should be embezelled out of his house: and further ordained, that the Cardinall should remove to Asher beside Kingstone, there to tarry the kings pleasure, and to have all things delivered to him, which were necessary for him, but not after his old pompous and superfluous fashion; for all his goods were seized to the kings use. When the seale was thus taken from the Cardinall, the Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, with many Earles, Bishops, and Barons, came unto the Starre-chamber the nineteenth day of October: where the Duke of Norfolke declared, that the Kings highnesse for diverse and sundry offences had taken from him his great Seale and deposed him of all offices: and lest men might complaine for lacke of justice, he had appointed him and the Duke of Suffolke, with the assent of the other Lords, to sit in the Starre-chamber, to heare and determine causes indifferently; and that of all things the kings pleasure and commandement was, that they should keepe their hands close from any rewards taking, or maintenance: and so that week they sate in the Starre-chamber, and determined causes.

The cardinals goods seized to the King.

A few dayes after, in the same moneth, the Cardinall removed out of his house called Yorke place, with one crosse, saying, That he would he had never borne more, meaning that by his crosse which he bare as Legat, which degree taking was his confusion, as you see openly: and so he toke his barge, and went to Putney by water, and there tok his horse and rode to Asher, where he remained till Lent after.

The Cardinals removing from Yorke place.

During which time, he being called on for an answer in the Kings Bench to the Præmunire, for giving benefices by prevention, in disturbance of mens inheritance, and divers other open causes in the Præmunire, according to the Kings licence, constituted John Scute and Edmond Jenney, Apprentises of the Law, his Atturneyes, which by his owne warrant signed with his hand, confessed all things concerning the said sute, for they were too open to be cloked or hidden; and so judgement was given, that he should forfeit all his Lands, Tenements, goods, and cattels, and should be out of the Kings protection; but for all that, the King sent him a sufficient protection, and of his gentlenes left to him the bishopricks of Yorke and Winchester, and gave to him plate and stuffe convenient for his degree;

degrée; and the Bishoprieke of Duresme he gave to Doctor Tunstall Bishop of London, and the Abbey of S. Albans he gave to the prior of Norwich: and to London he promoted D. John Stokesley, then Embassador to the Universities, for the marriage, as you heard before. For all this kindenesse shewed to the Cardinall, yet still he maligned against the King, as you shall hereafter perceive. But first we will proceed in the course of these matters, as they passed in order.

Doctor Tunstall bishop of Duresme. John Stokesly made bishop of London.

A parliament called.

The next yeare following, which was Anno 1350. in the moneth of November was summoned a generall Parliament, to be holden at Westminster. In the which yeare, about the three and twentieth day of October, the King came to his Manor of Greenwich, and there much consulted with his Counsell, for a meet man to be his Chancellor, so that in no wise he were a man of the spiritualty: and so after long debate, the King resolved himselfe upon Sir Thomas Moze Knight, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, a man well learned in the tongues, and also in the Common law; whose wit was fine, and full of imaginations; by reason whereof he was a little too much given to mocking, more than became the person of Master Moze. And then on the Sunday, the foure and twentieth day of the same moneth, the King made him his Chancellor, and delivered him the great Seale: which Lord Chancellor the next morrow after was led into the Chancery by the two Dukes of Northfolk and Suffolk, and there sworne, and then the mace was borne before him.

Sir Thomas Moze made Lord chancellor of England.

Of this fall of the Cardinall, and of the placing of Sir Thomas Moze in the Chancellorship, Erasmus in an Epistle to John Vergera thus writeth: The Cardinall of York hath so offended the kings mind, that he being turned out of his goods and all his dignities, is committed not to prison, but to a certain lordship of his, with 30 servants or keepers to give attendance upon him. Many and sundry complaints are commenced against him, so that he is not like to escape with his life. Such is the dalliance of fortune, of a Schoolemaster to be made a King. For so he reigned more like a King than the King himselfe. He was dreaded of all men, he was loved but of a few, almost of none. A little before he was apprehended, he caused Richard Pacie to be cast into the Tower. Also he threatened my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; Salomon saith, That before the fall of man his spirit shall be elevated. The Archbishop of Canterbury was called or restored to be chosen Lord Chancellor, which is the chiefest office in all that realme; but he excused himselfe by his age, as being not able to weeld such a function. Wherefore the said office was bestowed upon Thomas Moze, no lesse to the reioycing of many, than that the other was displaced from it. These newes my servant brought me out of England, &c. Ex Epist. Erasm. ad Ioan. Vergeram.

Ex Erasm.

By this archbishop he meaneth William Warham.

You heard before, how a Councell of the Nobles was appointed by the King in the moneth of October, to assemble in the Starre-chamber about the Cardinals matter: and also how a parliament was summoned to begin in the month of November, in the yeare following, Anno 1530. At the beginning of which Parliament, after that M. Moze the new Chancellor had finished his Oration, the Commons were commanded to chuse them a speaker, who was Thomas Audley Esquire, and Atturney to the Duchie of Lancaster. Thus the parliament being begun the first day of the foresaid moneth of November, at Westminster, where the king with all the Lords were set in the parliament Chamber, the Commons, after they had presented their Speaker, assembled in the nether house, began to commune of their griefes; wherewith the Spiritualty had before time grievously oppressed them, contrary both to all right, and to the law of the realme, and specially were sore moved with these six great causes.

A parliament summoned in November, An. 1530.

Thomas Audeley speaker of the parliament.

Six grievances of the commons against the clergy.

¶ Grievances against the Clergie of England.

1 The first, for the excessive fines which the Ordinaries take for probates of Testaments, insomuch that sir Henry Guilford, knight of the Garter, and Controller of the Kings house, declared in the open Parliament, of his fidelity, that he and other being Executors to Sir William Compton, knight, paid for the probate of his Will, to the Cardinall and the Archbishop of Canterbury, a thousand Marks sterling. After this declaration were shewed so many extortions done by Ordinaries for probates of Wills, that it were too much to rehearse.

Excessive fine for probates of testaments.

A thousand marks for the probate of one testament.

2 The second cause was, the great polling and extreme exaction which the spirituall men used, in taking of corps, presents, or Mortuaries: for the children of the dead should all die for hunger and go a begging, rather than they would of charity give to them the silly cow which the dead man ought, if he had but onely one, such was the charity of them.

The unreasonable exaction of the clergy for mortuaries.

3 The third cause was, that Priests being surveyers, stewards, and officers to Bishops, Abbats, and other spirituall Heads, had & occupied farmes, granges, and grasing in every countrey, so that the poore husbandmen could have nothing but of them, and yet for that they should pay dearely.

Farmes and Granges in priests hands.

4 The fourth cause was, that Abbats, Priors, and spirituall men kept Tan-houses, and bought and sold woll, cloth, and all manner of merchandise, as other temporall Merchants did.

Monks and priests merchants.

5 The fifth cause was, because the spirituall persons promoted to great benefices, and having their livings of their flock, were lying in the court in Lords houses, and take all of their Parishioners, and nothing spent on them at all: so that for lack of residence both the poore of the parish lacked refreshing, and universally all the parishioners lacked preaching and true instructions of Gods Word, to the great perill of their soules.

Beneficed men take of their flock, but give nothing.

6 The sixth cause was, because one Priest, being little learned, had ten or twelve Benefices, and was resident on none, and many wel learned schollers in the Universitie, which were able to preach and teach, had neither Benefice nor exhibition.

Pluralities of benefices.

These things before this time might in no wise be touched, nor yet talked of by any man, except he would be made an heretike, or lose all that he had: for the Bishops were Chancellors, and had all the rule about the King, so that no man durst once presume to attempt any thing contrary to their profit or commodity.

But now when God had illuminated the eyes of the King, and the time so served, that men more boldly durst expresse with voice such grudges as they had long conceived in their heart against the Clergy; the Burgesses of the Parliament appointed certaine of the Common house, men learned in the Law, to draw one bill of the probates of Testaments, another for Mortuaries, and the third for non-residence, pluralities, and taking farmes by spirituall men.

Three bils drawne out against the order of the clergy.

And first to the bill of Mortuaries being drawn, and being also passed the Common house, and sent up to the higher, the spirituall Lords shewed a faire face, saying, that assuredly Priests and Curates take more than they should, and therefore it were well done to take some reasonable order. Thus they spake, because it touched them but little.

The first bill for mortuari

After this, within two dayes, was sent up the second Bill, concerning probates of Testaments: which Bill, because it touched their profit somwhat neere, both the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all other Bishops in generall began to frowne and grunt;

The second for probate of testaments.

grunt: insomuch as Doctor Iohn Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, standing vp in the Parliament chamber, openly protested, that such bills were sent vp from the Common house, tending to no other thing, but to the destruction of the Church: which Church being downe, the glory then of the whole Kingdome (said he) must néeds fall; desiring therefore the Lords, for Gods sake, to take example by the Kingdome of Bohemia. For as it was then with the people there, so now what say the Commons here, but, Downe with the Church? And all this (said he) séemeth to be onely for lacke of faith. When these words were reported to the Commons of the lower House, what the Bishop had said, in noting all their doings to bee for lacke of faith, they tooke the matter grieuously, so to be estéemed of the Bishop for no better than heretiques; vnderstanding moreouer, how that he by those slanderous words went about to perswade the Lords Temporall against them, and so to ouerthrow the two Bills by them passed before, as yée haue heard.

Fisher charging the commons with lack of faith.

A grudge of the Commons, in the lower house, against Fisher Bishop of Rochester.

Whereupon, after long debate, it was at length agréed by the said Commons; that Thomas Audley their Speaker, with thirty of the chiefe of that House, should be sent to the King; being then in his Palace at Westminster, before called Poore Place: where they eloquently declared, what a dishonour to the King and the Realme it was, to say that they which were elected for the wisest men of all the Shires, Cities, and Boroughs within the realme of England, should be declared in so noble and open presence, to lacke faith, which was equiualent to say that they were Infidels, and no Christians, as ill as Turkes or Saracens: so that what paine or study soeuer they tooke for the Commonwealth, or what acts or lawes soeuer they made or stablished, should be taken as lawes made by Painims and heathen people, and not worthy to bee kept by Christian men: wherefore they most humbly besought the Kings highnesse to call the said bishop before him, and to cause him to speake more discréetly of such a number as was in the Common house.

The King not being well contented with the saying of the Bishop, yet gently answered the Speaker, and sent them away. Who immediately sent for the Archbishop of Canterburie, and sir other bishops, and Rochester also, signifying vnto them the grudge of the Commons. The Bishop of Rochester, excusing himselfe, answered, that he in so saying meant onely the doings of the Bohemians to be for lacke of faith, and not the doing of them that were in the Common house. Which saying was confirmed by the Bishops there present, which had him in great reputation. And so by that onely saying the King accepted his excuse, and therefore sent word to the Commons by Sir William Fitzwilliams Knight, Treasurer of his houshold. Which blind excuse pleased the Commons nothing at all.

The King not cormed with the Bishop of Rochester.

The Bishops of it.

After this, diuers assemblies were kept betwéene certaine of the Lords, & certaine of the Commons, for the bills of the probates of Testaments, and Mortuaries. The Temporaltie layd to the Spiritualtie their owne Lawes and constitutions: and the spiritualtie for defended them by prescription and vsage. To whom it was thus answered by a Gentleman of Grayes Inne; The vsage hath euer bèn of Théeues, to rob on Shooters hill: Ergo, is it lawfull? With this answer the spirituall men were for offended, because their doings were called robberies: but the temporall men stood still by their sayings, insomuch that the said Gentleman said to the Archbishop of Canterbury; that both the exaction of probates of Testaments, and the taking of Mortuaries, as they were vsed, were open robberie and theft. After long disputation, the Temporall Lords began to leane to the Commons: but for all that the bills remained vnconcluded for a time.

Difference betwéene the laity and spiritualty as it certaine questions.

Lawe made by not euill things lawfull.

Mortuaries, as they were vsed, were but little from theft.

It followed shortly after in the Parliament, that a Bill was assented to by the Lords of the Higher House, and sent downe to the Commons in the lower house, and by them also with much labour agréed vnto, of whom the most part were the kings seruants. In the which Bill it was required and concluded, that the King should bée released of all such loane of money which he had borrowed of his subiects in the fiftéenth yéere of his raigne. The passing of which bill went sore against the stomacks of the poore Commons: for many reckt vpon it, counting and passing it ouer one to another for good debt, as if it had bène ready money in their purses. Wherefore the King, to gratifie them againe, granted to them a generall pardon of all offences, onely certaine great offences and debts excepted. Also he aided them for the redresse of their griefes against the spiritualtie, and caused two new Bills to be made indifferently, both for the probates of the Testaments, and Mortuaries: which bils were so reasonable, that the spirituall Lords assented to them all, though they were sore against their mindes, and in especiall the probate of testaments sore displeased the Bishops, and the Mortuaries sore displeased the Parsons and Vicars.

Redresse of the griefes of the Commons.

After these Acts thus agréed, the Commons make another Act for pluralities of Benefices, non-residence, buying and selling, and taking of Farmes by spirituall persons. Which Act so displeased the spiritualtie, that the Priests railed on the Commons of the lower house, and called them heretiques and schismaticks: for the which diuers Priests were punished.

This Act was sore debated aboue in the Parliament Chamber, and the Lords spirituall would in no wise consent. Wherefore the King perceiuing the grudge of the Commons, caused eight Lords and eight of his Commons to meet in the Star-Chamber at an afternoone, and there was sore debating of the Cause, in so much that the Temporall Lords of the vpper House which were there tooke part with the Commons against the spirituall Lords, and by force of reason caused them to assent to the Bill, with a little qualifying. Which Bill the next day was wholly agréed to in the lords house, to the great reioycing of the Lay people, and to the great displeasure of the spirituall persons.

The third bill of the commons for pluralities, &c.

And thus much concerning these Bills against the Clergie by the way: now to returne to the Cardinall againe. During the time of the said Parliament, there was brought downe to the Commons the booke of Articles which the Lords had put vp to the King against the Cardinall. The chiefe Articles were these.

¶ Articles obiected against Cardinall Wolsey.

Articles against the Cardinall.

1 FIrst, That he without the Kings assent had procured himselfe to be Legat, by reason whereof hee tooke away the right of all Bishops and spirituall persons.

2 In all writings that hée wrote to Rome, or to another Prince, hée wrote, Ego & Rex meus, I and my King, as who would say, that the King were his seruant.

3 That hée slandered the Church of England to the Court of Rome: For his suggestion to bée Legate, was to reforme the Church of England, which (as hée wrote) was Facta in reprobum sensum.

4 Hee without the Kings assent carried the Kings great Seale with him into Flanders, when he was sent Embassadour to the Emperour.

5 Without the Kings consent he sent commission to Sir Gregorie de Cassalis, Knight, to conclude a league betweene the King and the Duke of Ferrarie.

6 That he, hauing the French pockes, presumed to come and breathe on the King.

7 That he caused the Cardinalls hat to be put on the Kings coyne.

8 That he had sent innumerable substance to Rome, for the obtaining of his Dignities, to the great impouerishment of the realme. With many other things which are touched more at large in Chronicles.

These Articles, with many moe, being read in the Common house, were confessed by the Cardinall, and signed with his hand. Also there was shewed another writing sealed with his seale, by the which he gaue to the King all his moueables and vnmoueables.

You haue heard hitherto declared, how the Cardinall was attainted in the Præmunire, and how he was put out of the office of the Chancellor, and lay at Asher: which was in the yeere of our Lord. 1530.

{ Anno } { 1530. }

The next yeare after, in the Lent season, the King, by the aduice of his Councell, licensed him to goe into his diocesse of Yorke, and gaue him commandement to keepe him within his Diocesse, and not to returne Southward, without the Kings speciall licence in writing.

So he made great prouision to goe Northward, and apparelled his seruants newly, and bought many costly things for his houshold. But diuers of his seruants at this time departed from him to the Kings seruice, and in especiall Thomas Crumwel, one of his chiefe Councell, and chiefe doer for him in the suppression of Abbeyes. After that all things necessarie for his journey were prepared, hee tooke his journey Northward, till he came to Southwell, which was in his Diocesse, and there he continued that yeare, euer grudging at his fall, as you shall heare hereafter: but the lands which hee had giuen to his College in Oxford and Ipswich were now come to the Kings hands, by his attainder in the Præmunire: and yet the King of his gentlenesse, and for fauour that he bare to good learning, erected againe the Colledge in Oxford, and where it was named the Cardinalls Colledge, hee called it the Kings Colledge, and indued it with faire possessions, and ordained new Statutes and ordinances; and because the Colledge of Ipswich was thought to bee nothing profitable, therefore hee left that dissolued.

The Cardinals Colledge now called Christs Colledge in Oxford.

Notwithstanding that the Cardinall of Yorke was thus attainted in the Præmunire, (as is aboue mentioned) yet the King being good vnto him, had granted him the Bishoprickes of Yorke and Winchester, with great plentie of substance, and had licensed him to lie in his Diocesse of Yorke, where he so continued the space of a yeare. But after, in the yeere following, which was 1531. he being in his Diocesse, wrote to the Court of Rome, and to diuers other princes, letters in reproch of the king, and, as much as in him lay, he stirred them to reuenge his cause against the King and his realme: insomuch that diuers approbrious words against the King were spoken to Doctor Edward Kærne, the Kings Orator at Rome. And it was said to him, That for the Cardinals sake the King should haue the worse speed in the sute of his matrimony. The Cardinall also would speake faire to the people, to winne their hearts, and declared euer that he was vnjustly and vntruly ordered. Which faire speaking made many men beleeue that he said true. And to gentlemen hee gaue great gifts to allure them vnto him; and to be had in more reputation among the people, he determined to be installed or enthroniſed at Yorke with all the pompe that might be, and caused a throne to bee enacted in the Cathedrall Church, in such a height and fashion, as was neuer seene, and sent to all the Lords, Abbats, Priors, Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen of his Diocesse, to be at his Manor of Cawood the sixth day of November, and so to bring him to Yorke with all manner of pompe and solemnitie.

The Cardin proud iourne toward Yor

The King, which knew his doings and priuie conueyance, all this yeare dissembled the matter, to see what he would do at length, till that he seeing his proud heart so highly exalted, that he would bee so triumphantly installed, without making the King priuy, yea, and in a manner in disdaine of the King, thought it not meet nor conuenient to suffer him any longer to continue in his malicious and proud purposes and attempts. Wherefore he directed his Letters to the Earle of Northumberland, willing him with all diligence to arrest the Cardinall, and to deliuer him to the Earle of Shrewsburie, great Steward of the Kings houshold. When the Earle had seene the Letters, hee with a conuenient number came to the manor of Cawood the fourth day of November; and when hee was brought to the Cardinall in his chamber, he said to him, My Lord, I pray you take patience, for here I arrest you. Arrest me, said the Cardinall? Yea, said the Earle, I haue a commandement so to doe. You haue no such power, said the Cardinall, for I am both a Cardinall, and a Legat De Latere, and a Peere of the Colledge of Rome, and ought not to be arrested by any temporall power; for I am not subject to that power: wherefore if you arrest me I will withstand it. Well, said the Earle, here is the Kings Commission (which hee shewed him) and therefore I charge you to obey. The Cardinall somewhat remembred himselfe, and said: Well my Lord, I am content to obey: but although that I by negligence fell into the punishment of the Præmunire, and lost by the law all my lands and goods, yet my person was in the Kings protection, and I was pardoned that offence; wherefore I marueil why I now should be arrested, and specially considering that I am a member of the See Apostolike, on whom no temporall man ought to lay violent hands. Well, I see the King lacketh good counsell. Well, said the Earle, when I was sworne warden of the Marches, you your selfe told mee, that I might with my staffe arrest all men vnder the degree of a King; and now I am more stronger, for I haue a commission so to do, which you haue seene. The Cardinall at length obeyed, and was kept in a priuy chamber, and his goods seized, and his officers discharged: and his Phylition called Doctor Augustine was likewise arrested, and brought to the tower by Sir Walter Welch one of the Kings Chamber. The sixth day of November hee was conueyed from Cawood to Sheffield Castle, and there deliuered to the Earle of Shrewsburies keeping till the Kings pleasure were knowne. Of this attachement was much communing among the Common people; wherefore many were glad; for hee was not in the fauour of the Communaltie.

The Cardin arrested.

The cardinall complaineth to the Pope, of the King.

When the Cardinall was thus arrested, the king sent Sir William Kingston Knight, Captaine of the Gard, and Constable of the tower of London, with certaine Yeoman of the Guard to Sheffield, to fetch the Cardinall to the Tower. When the Cardinall saw the Captaine of the Guard hee was sore astonished, and shortly became sicke; for then he perceiued some great trouble toward him: and for that cause men said, that he willingly tooke so much

The Cardi brought by ward Lond

much quantitie of a strong purgation, that his nature was not able to beare it. Also the matter that came from him was so blacke, that the staining thereof could not bee gotten out of his blankets by any meanes. But sir William Kingston comforted him, and by easie journeyes he brought him to the abbey of Leycester the seuen and twentieth day of Nouember; where for very feeblenesse of nature, caused by purgations and vomits, he died the second night following, and in the same Abbey lieth buried.

The Cardinall commeth to his end.

It is testified by one, yet being aliue, in whose armes the said Cardinall died, that his body being dead was blacke as pitch, also was so heauie, that six could scarce beare it. Furthermore it did so stinke aboue the ground, that they were constrained to hasten the Buriall thereof in the night season, before it was day. At the which buriall, such a tempest with such a stinch there arose, that all the torches went out, and so hee was throwne into the tombe, and there was laied.

By the ambitious pride and excessiue worldly wealth of this one Cardinall, all men may easily vnderstand and judge what the state and condition of all the rest of the same order (whom we call spirituall men) was in those dayes, as well in all other places of Christendome, as especially here in England, where the princely possessions and great pride of the Clergie did not onely farre passe and exceed the common measure and order of subiects, but also surmounted ouer kings and princes, and all other estates, as may well appeare by his doings and order of his estate, aboue described.

The pride of the Cardinall.

Amongst other acts of the foresaid Cardinall, this is not to be forgotten, that hee founded a new Colledge in Oxford, for the furniture whereof hee had gathered together all the best learned he could heare of: amongst which number were these; Clark, Tindall, Sommer, Frith, and Tauerner, with other moe: which holding in assembly together in the Colledge, were accounted to be heretikes (as they called them) and thereupon were cast into a prison of the Colledge, where salt fish lay, through the stink whereof the most part of them were infected, and the said Clarke being a tender young man, and the most singular in learning amongst them all, died in the same prison, and other in other places in the towne also, of the same infection, deceased.

He died in the Cardinals lodge in prison.

And thus hauing detained the Reader enough, or rather too much, with this vaine-glorious Cardinall, now we will reduce our storie againe to other more fruitfull matter, and, as the order of time requireth, wee will first begin with master Humfrey Mummuth, a vertuous and a good Alderman of London, who in the time of the said cardinall was troubled, as in the story here followeth.

The trouble of Humfrey Mummuth Alderman of London.

The story of Mr frey Mummuth.

MAster Humfrey Mummuth, was a right godly and sincere Alderman of London, who in the dayes of Cardinall Wolsey was troubled and put in the Tower, for the Gospell of Christ, and for maintaining them that fauoured the same.

Articles ministred against Mr frey Mummuth by Bishop Stokesley.

Stockesley, then Bishop of London, ministred Articles vnto him, to the number of foure and twentie: as for adhering to Luther and his opinions; for hauing and reading hereticall bookes and treatises; for giuing exhibition to William Tindall, Roy, and such other; for helping them ouer the sea to Luther; for ministring priuie helpe to translate, as well the Testament, as other bookes into English; for eating flesh in Lent; for affirming faith onely to iustifie; for derogating from mens constitutions; for not praying to saints, not allowing pilgrimage, auricular confession, the Popes pardons, briefely, for being an aduancer of all Martin Luthers opinions, &c.

Hee being of these articles examined, and cast into the tower, at last was compelled to make his suite for purgation, writing to the foresaid Cardinall, then Lord Chancellor, and the whole Councell, out of the Tower. In the contents whereof he answered to the criminous accusation of them which charged him with certaine bookes receiued from beyond the Sea; also for his acquaintance with master Tindall. Whereupon he said, that he denied not, but that foure yeares then past hee had heard the said Tindall preach two or three Sermons at Saint Dunstons in the West, and afterward meeting with the said Tindall, had certaine communication with him concerning his liuing: who then told him that he had none at all, but trusted to be in the Bishop of London his seruice; for then hee laboured to be his Chaplaine. But being refused of the Bishop, hee came againe to the said Mummuth this examinate, and besought him to helpe him. Who the same time tooke him into his house for halfe a yeare: where the said Tindall liued (as he said) like a good priest, studying both night and day. He would eat but sodden meat by his good will, nor drinke but small single beare. He was neuer seen in that house to weare linnen about him, all the space of his being there. Whereupon the said Mummuth had the better liking of him, so that he promised him ten pound (as he then said) for his fathers and mothers soules, and all Christian soules; which money afterward he sent him ouer to Hamborow according to his promise. And yet not to him alone hee gaue this exhibition, but to diuers other moe likewise which were no heretikes: as to doctor Roylton, the Bishop of Londons Chaplaine, hee exhibited forty or fifty pounds: to Doctour Wodiall, Prouinciall of the frier Augustins, as much or more: to Doctor Watson the Kings chaplaine, also to other schollers, and diuers priests, besides other charges bestowed vpon religious houses, as vpon the Nunnerie of Denney, aboue fiftie pounds sterling bestowed, &c.

The purgation and answer of Humfrey Mummuth to the articles.

Tindal refused of Bishop Stokesly to be his chapleine.

The temperate conuersation of William Tindal.

And as touching his bookes, as Enchiridion, the Pater noster, de libertate Christiana, an English testament, of which, some William Tindall left with him, some hee sent vnto him, some were brought into his house, by whom he could not tell; these bookes, hee said, did lie open in his house, the space of two yeares together, he suspecting no harme to be in them. And moreouer the same bookes being desired of sundry persons, as of the Abbesse of Denny, a frier of Grenewich, the father confessor of Sion, he let them haue them, and yet he neuer heard frier, priest, or lay man find any fault with the said books. Likewise to doctor Watson, to Doctor Stockhouse, master Martin, parson of Totingbecke, he committed the perusing of the bookes of Pater noster, and de libertate Christiana, which found no great fault in them, but only in the booke De libertat. Christiana, they said there were things somewhat hard, except the Reader were wise.

Thus he excusing himselfe and moreouer complaining of the losse of his credit by his imprisonment in the tower, and of the detriments of his occupying, who was wont yerely to ship ouer fiue hundred clothes to strangers, and set many clothiers a worke in Suffolke and in other places, of whom he bought all their clothes, which were now almost all vndone; by this reason at length he was set at libertie being forced to abiure, and after was made knight by the King, and Sheriffe of London.

A notable example of patience in an Alderman.

Of this Humfrey Mummuth we read of a notable example of christian patience, in the sermons of M. Latimer, which the said Latimer heard in Cambridge of master George Stafford, reader of the Diuinitie lecture in that Vniuersitie. Who expounding the place of Saint Paul to the Romans, that we shall ouercome our enemie with well doing,

and so heape hot coles vpon his head, &c. brought in an example, saying, that he knew in London a great rich merchant (meaning this Humfry Mummuth) which had a very poore neighbour: yet for all his pouertie he loued him very well, and lent him money at his need, and let him come to his Table whensoeuer he would, It was euen at that time when Doctor Collet was in trouble, and should haue beene burnt, if God had not turned the Kings heart to the contrary. Now the rich man began to be a Scripture man, he began to smell the Gospell. The poore man was a Papist still.

It chanced on a time, when the rich man talked of the Gospell, sitting at his table, where he reproued popery and such kinde of things; the poore man being there present, tooke a great displeasure against the rich man, insomuch that he would come no more to his house; hee would borrow no more money of him as he was wont to doe before times, yea, and conceiued such hatred and malice against him, that he went and accused him before the Bishops. Now the rich man, not knowing of any such displeasure, offered many times to talke with him, and to set him at quiet. It would not be. The poore man had such a stomacke, that he would not vouchsafe to speake with him. If hee met the rich man in the street, he would go out of his way. One time it happened that hee met him so in a narrow street, that he could not auoyd but come neere him: yet for all this, the poore man (I say) had such a stomacke against the rich man, that hee was minded to go forward and not to speake with him. The rich man perceiuing that, caught him by the hand, and asked him, saying; Neighbour, what is come into your heart to take such displeasure with me? What haue I done against you? Tell mee, and I will bee readie at all times to make you amends.

Finally, hee spake so gently, so charitably, so louingly, and friendly, that it wrought so in the poore mans heart, that by and by he fell downe vpon his knees, and asked him forgiuenesse. The rich man forgaue him, and so tooke him againe to his fauour, and they loued as well as euer they did afore.

Ex concione Doct. Hugo. Latimeri.

Agree with thine enemie while thou art in the way with him. Matth. 5.

¶ The Historie of Thomas Hitten.

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
	Thomas Hitten, at Maidstone, An. 1530.
Will. Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury.	TOuching the memoriall of Thomas Hitten remaineth nothing in writing, but onely his name, saue that William Tindall in his Apologie against Moze, and also in another booke intituled, The practise of Prelates, doth once or twice make mention of him by way of digression. He was (saith he) a Preacher at Maidstone, whom the Bishop of Canterburie, William Warham, and Fisher Bishop of Rochester, after they had long kept and tormented him in prison with sundrie torments, and that notwithstanding hee continued constant, at the last they burned him at Maidstone, for the constant and manifest testimonie of Jesus Christ, and of his free grace and saluation. In the yeare of our Lord God, 1530.
Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.	

Thomas Hitten martyr.

The burning of Thomas Hitten.

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.
	Thomas Bilney. Arthur, which abjured, At Norwich, Anno 1531.
Cardinall Wolsey.	IN the story aboue passed of Cardinall Wolsey, mention was made of certaine whom the said Cardinall caused to abjure; as Bilney, Jefferey Lome, Garret, Barnes and such other, of whom we haue now (the Lord directing us) specially to entreat. This Thomas Bilney was brought vp in the Vniuersitie of Cambridge, euen from a child, profiting in all kind of liberall sciences, euen vnto the profession of both Lawes. But at the last hauing gotten a better Schoolemaster, euen the holy Spirit of Christ, who endued his heart by priuy inspiration with the knowledge of better and more wholesome things, hee came at the last vnto this point, that, forsaking the knowledge of mans Lawes, hee conuerted his study to those things which tended more vnto godlines than gainfulnesse.
Nix, Bishop of Norwich.	
Friers of Ipswich.	
Frier Bird.	
Frier Hodgkins.	
Doctor Stokes.	
Sir Thomas More.	Finally, as himselfe was greatly inflamed with the loue of true religion and godlinesse, euen so againe was in his heart an incredible desire to allure many vnto the same, desiring nothing more, than that hee might stirre vp and encourage any to the loue of Christ, and sincere religion. Neither were his labours vaine; for hee conuerted

Anno 1531.

Thomas Bilney martyr.

Thomas Bilney Bachelor of both lawes.

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdome.

Frier Brusierd
Frier Iohn Huggen, Prouinciall of the Dominicks.

Walter Latimer crosse-keeper in the Vniuersitie of Cambridge.

uerted many of his fellowes to the knowledge of the Gospel, amongst which number was Thomas Arthur, and maister Hugh Latimer: which Latimer at that time was crosse-keeper at Cambridge, bringing it forth vpon procession daies. At the last, Bilney forsaking the Vniuersitie went into many places, teaching and preaching, being associate with Arthur, which accompanied him from the Vniuersitie. The authoritie of Thomas Wolsey cardinall of Yorke, of whom ye haue heard before, at that time was great in England, but his pompe and pride much greater, which did euidently declare vnto all wise men the manifest vanitie, not only of his life, but also of all the Bishops and Clergie. Whereupon Bilney, with other good men, maruelling at the incredible insolencie of the clergie, which they could now no longer suffer or abide, began to shake and reproue this excessiue pompe of the clergie, and also to plucke at the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome.

Frier Geffrey Iulles.
Frier Iugworth.
M. William Ieket, Gentleman.
William Nelson.
Thomas Williams.

Bilney against the pride of the Pope, and of his Cardinals.

Then it was time for the Cardinall to awake, and spedily to looke about his businesse. Neither lacked he in this point any craft or subtiltie of a Serpent; for hee vnderstood well enough vpon how slender a foundation their ambitious dignitie was grounded, neither was he ignorant that their Luciferous and proud kingdome could not long continue against the manifest word of God; especially if the light of the Gospell should once open the eyes of men. For otherwise hee did not greatly feare the power and displeasure of Kings and Princes. Onely this hee feared, the voyce of Christ in his Gospell, lest it should disclose and detect their hypocrisie and deceits, and force them to come into an order of godly discipline: wherefore hee thought good spedily in time to withstand these beginnings. Whereupon hee caused the sayd Bilney and Arthur to bee apprehended and cast into prison, as before you haue heard.

Cardinall Wolsey with his complices, against Bilney and Arthur.

After this, the seuen and twentieth day of November, in the yeare of our Lord 1527. the said Cardinall accompanied with a great number of Bishops, as the Archbishop of Canterburie, Cuthbert of London, John of Rochester, Nicolas of Ely, John of Exceter, John of Lincolne, John of Bath and Wells, Henry of Saint Asse, with many other both Diuines and Lawyers, came into the Chapter-house of Westminster, where the said master Thomas Bilney, and Thomas Arthur were brought before them, and the sayd Cardinall there inquired of Walter Bilney, whether hee had, priuately or publiquely, preached or taught to the people the opinions of Luther or any other condemned by the Church, contrarie to the determination of the Church. Whereunto Bilney answered, that wittingly he had not preached or taught any of Luthers opinions, or any other, contrarie to the Catholique Church. Then the cardinall asked him, whether he had not once made an oath before, that hee should not preach, rehearse, or defend any of Luthers opinions, but should impugne the same euery where? He answered, that hee had made such an oath, but not lawfully. Which interogatories so minished, and answers made, the Cardinall caused him to sweare, to answer plainly to the articles and errours preached and set forth by him; as well in the citie and diocesse of London, as in the diocesse of Norwich and other places, and that he should doe it without any craft, qualifying or leauing out any part of the truth.

Thomas Arthur examined.

After he was thus sworne and examined, the sayd Cardinall proceeded to the examination of Master Thomas Arthur there present, causing him to take the like oath, that Master Bilney did. Which done, he asked of him whether he had not once told Sir Thomas More knight, that in the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very body of Christ? Which interrogatorie he denied. Then the Cardinall gaue him time to deliberate till noone, and to bring in his answer in writing. After noone, the same day, what time the examination of the foresaid Thomas Arthur was ended, the Cardinall and Bishops by their authoritie, Ex officio, did call in for witnesses, before Master Bilney, certaine men, namely, John Huggen, chiefe Prouinciall of the Friers preachers throughout all England, Geffrey Iulles, and Richard Iugworth, professours of Diuinitie of the same Order. Also William Ieket Gentleman, William Nelson, and Thomas Williams, which were sworne, that all fauour, hate, loue, or reward set apart, they should without concealing any falsehood, or omitting any truth, speake their mindes, vpon the Articles layd against him, or preached by him, as well within the diocesse of London, as the diocesse of Norwich: and because hee was otherwise occupied about the affaires of the Realme, hee committed the hearing of the matter to the Bishop of London, and two other Bishops there present, or to three of them, to proceed against all men, as well spirituall as temporall, as also against schedules, writings, and bookes, set forth and translated by Martin Luther, lately condemned by Pope Leo the tenth, and by all manner of probable meanes to enquire, and rote out their errours and opinions, and all such as were found culpable, to compell them to obiuration according to the law, or if the matter so required, to deliuer them vnto the secular power, and to giue them full power and authoritie to determine vpon them.

Bilney and Arthur brought before Cuthbert Bishop of London.

The seuen and twentieth of November, in the yeare aforesayd, the Bishop of London, with the Bishops of Ely and Rochester, came vnto the Bishop of Norwiches house, whereas likewise, Ex officio, they did sweare certaine witnesses against master Thomas Arthur, in like sort as they had done before against master Thomas Bilney, and so proceeded to the examination of master Arthur, which being ended vpon certaine interrogatories; the Bishop of London warned him by vertue of his oath, that he should not reueale his examinations, nor his answers, nor any part or parcell thereof.

Workes they neuer so secretly, yet God bringeth their practises to light at length.

The second day of December, the Bishops assembled againe in the same place, and sware more witnesses against master Bilney. That done they called for master Arthur, vnto whose charge they laid these Articles following.

Articles against Thomas Arthur.

1 IN primis, That hee exhorted the people in his prayers, to pray specially for those that now be in prison: which Article he denied.

Articles against Thomas Arthur.

2 That he sayd, though men bee restrained to preach now a dayes (which is against Gods lawes) yet I may preach: First by the authoritie of my L. Cardinall, for I haue his licence. Secondly by the authoritie of the Vniuersitie. Thirdly by the Pope. Fourthly, by the authoritie of God, where he saith, Euntes in mundum prædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ. By which authoritie euery man may preach, and there is neither Bishop nor Ordinarie, nor yet the Pope, that may make any law to let any man to preach the Gospell. This article he confessed that he spake.

Authoritie to preach.

3 When hee spake of Lawes, hee brought a si-

militude of crosses, set vp against the walls of London, that men should not pisse there. When there was but one Crosse, or a few more, men did reuerence them, and pissed not there; but when there was in euery corner a crosse set, then men of necessitie were compelled to pisse vpon the Crosses. So in like manner, when there was but a few holy and deuout lawes in the Church, then men were afraid to offend them. Afterward they made many lawes for their aduantage; and such as were pecuniarie those they doe obserue, and such as are not pecuniarie, those they call Palea, and regard them not: and so now adayes there are so many lawes, that whether a man doe ill or well, he shall be taken in the law. He confessed that he spake the very same, or the like words.

The multitude of lawes, make lawes to be contemned.

Palea in the Popes decrees.

4 Yea said, Good people, if I should suffer persecution for the preaching of the Gospell of God, yet there are seuen thousand more that would preach the Gospell of God as I doe now. Therefore good people, good people, (which words he often rehearsed as it were lamenting) thinke not that if these Tyrants and persecutors put a man to death, the preaching of the Gospell therefore is to be forsaken. This article he confessed, that he spake in like words and sence, saying that he made no mention of Tyrants.

The preaching of the Gospell is to be left for no persecution.

5 That euery man, yea euery Lay man is a Priest. Yea confessed that he spake such words, declaring in his Sermon, that euery Christian man is a Priest, offering vp the sacrifice of prayer. And if they did murmure against the Order of Priesthood, they did murmure against themselues.

6 That men should pray to no Saints in heauen, but onely to God; and they should vse no other mediator for them, but Christ Iesus our Redeemer onely. This article he denied.

Against Images.

7 He preached that they should worship no Images of Saints, which were nothing but stockes and stones. This he also denied.

8 Yea did preach vpon Whitsunday last, within the Vniuersitie of Cambridge, such, or like words and sentences: That a Batcheler of Diuinitie admitted of the Vniuersitie, or any other person hauing or knowing the Gospell of God, should goe forth and preach in euery place, and let for no man, of what estate or degree soeuer he were: and if any Bishop did accurse them for so doing, their curses should turne to the harme of themselues. Yea confessed this.

Arthur submitteth himselfe.

Which answers thus made and acknowledged, the said Master Arthur did reuoke and condemne the said Articles against him minstred, and submitted himselfe to the punishment and iudgement of the Church.

The third day of December, the Bishop of London with the other Bishops assembling in the place aforesaid, after that Bilney had denied vtterly to returne to the Church of Rome, the Bishop of London in discharge of his conscience (as he said) lest hee should hide any thing that had come to his hands, did really exhibit vnto the Notaries, in the presence of the said Master Bilney, certaine Letters, to wit, fiue Letters or Epistles, with one schedule in one of the Epistles, containing his Articles and answers folded therein, and another Epistle folded in manner of a booke, with six leaues; which all and euery one he commanded to bee written out and registred, and the originals to be deliuered to him againe.

Fiue letters of Bilney to the bishop of London.

Ex Regist. Londinensi.

This was done in the presence of M. Bilney, desiring a copy of them, and he bound the Notaries with an oath, for the safe keeping of the copies, and true registring of the same. Which articles and answers, with three of the same Epistles, with certaine depositions deposed by the foresaid witnesses, here follow truely drawne, partly out of his owne hand writing, and partly out of the Register.

¶ Interrogatories whereupon Master Thomas Arthur, and Master Bilney were accused and examined.

Interrogatories against Bilney and Arthur.

1 WHether they did beleeue with their hearts, that the assertions of Luther, which are impugned by the B. of Rochester were iustly and godly condemned; and that Luther, with his adherents, was a wicked and a detestable heretique.

Constitutions.

2 Whether they did beleeue, that the generall Councels and Ecclesiasticall constitutions, once receiued, and not abrogate againe, ought to be obserued of all men, euen for conscience sake, and not onely for feare.

3 Whether they did beleeue that the Popes Lawes were profitable and necessarie to the preferment of godlinesse, not repugnant to the holy Scriptures, neither by any meanes to be abrogate, but to be reuerenced of all men.

The Church.

4 Whether they did beleeue that the Catholike Church may erre in the faith or no: and whether they thinke that Catholike Church to be a sensible Church, which may be demonstrate and pointed out as it were with a finger; or that it is onely a spirituall Church, intelligible, and knowne onely to God.

Images.

5 Whether they thinke that the Images of Saints are Christianly set in the Churches, and ought to be worshipped of all true Christians.

Whether soules be already iudged.

6 Whether that a man may beleeue, without hurt to his faith, or note of heresie, the soules of Peter and Paul, and of our Lady, either to bee or not to be in heauen; and that there is yet no iudgement giuen vpon the soules departed.

7 Whether that a man may beleeue, without spot of heresie, that our Lady remained not alwayes a Virgin.

Breaking of fasting dayes sin.

8 Whether holy dayes and fasting dayes, ordained and receiued by the Church, may be broken by any priuate man, at his will and pleasure, without sinne or obstinacie.

9 Whether wee are bound to be obedient vnto Prelates, Bishops, and Kings, by Gods commandement, as we are vnto our parents.

10 Whether they beleeue that the Church doth well and godly in praying to the Saints.

Christ not only to be prayed to.

11 Whether they thinke that Christ only should be prayed vnto, and that it is no heresie, if any man affirme that Saints should not be prayed vnto.

12 Whether they do thinke all true Christians to be by like right Priests, and all those to haue receiued the keyes of binding and loosing at the hands of Christ, which haue obtained the Spirit of God, and onely such, whether they be lay men or Priests.

13 Whether they beleeue with their hearts, that Faith may be without workes and charitie.

Prayer in a mans owne tongue.

14 Whether they beleeue, that it is more agreeable to the faith, that the people should pray in their owne tongue, than in a learned vnknowne tongue; and whether they commend the prayer in a strange tongue or no.

15 Whether they would haue the Masses and Gospels openly to be read in Churches in the vulgar tongue rather than in the Latine tongue.

16 Whether they commend that children should onely be taught the Lords Prayer, and not the salutation of the Virgin, or Creed.

Beades.

17 Whether they doe thinke the wooden beades, which the common people doth vse, worthy to be denied or not.

18 Whether they do thinke the whole Scripture ought to be translated into English, or that it should bee more profitable for the people, than as it is now read.

Organs.

19 Whether they would haue the Organs and all

manner of songs to bee put out of the Church of God.

20 Whether they doe thinke that it pertaineth to the Bishops to punish any man with bonds or imprisonment, or that they haue any temporall power and authoritie.

21 Whether they thinke that constitution to be godly, that no man should preach in another mans Diocesse, without letters of commendation, and licence obtained of the Bishop.

Purgatorie. 22 Whether they thinke the vowes of religious men, and priuate religion, to be constitute and ordained by the Spirit of God, neither by any meanes to be repugnant to a free and perfect Christian life.

23 Whether they beleeue that wee should pray for the dead, or beleeue that there is a purgatorie, or that wee are bound, by necessitie of faith, to beleeue neither of them: but that it is free without sinne, either to beleeue it, or not to beleeue it.

Philosophie. 24 Whether they beleeue that morall philosophie and naturall, doe preuaile any thing for the better vnderstanding of the Scriptures, and for the exposition and defence of the truth.

25 Whether they thinke that the Popes indulgences and pardons are rather to bee reiected than receiued.

26 Whether it be contrarie to the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, that Christians should by any meanes contend in the law, to seeke any manner of restitution.

27 Whether they beleeue all things pertaining to Saluation and Damnation to come of necessitie, and nothing to be in our owne wills.

28 Whether they beleeue God to be the author of all euill, as well of the fault, as of the punishment.

Masse. 29 Whether they thinke Masse only to be profitable to him which saith it, and whether euery man may alter or leaue out the rite and order of the masse without any hurt of faith.

30 Whether they beleeue that there can be any morall vertues without the grace of Christian liuing; or that the vertues, which Aristotle hath set out, are rather fained.

31 Whether they thinke it heresie to teach the people, that it is free to giue riches vnto priests, or to any other poore man.

Images. 32 Whether they doe thinke it more Christianlike to take away the Images out of the Churches, or to permit them there to adore them and honour them.

33 Whether they thinke it the part of a Christian man, that preachers should exhort men to pilgrimage, or to the worshipping of reliques.

Reliques. 34 Whether that thou Thomas Bilney, being cited vpon heresie to appeare before my Lord Cardinall, and before the day of thy appearance, not hauing made thy purgation vpon those points that thou wast cited, hast preached openly in diuers churches of the Citie and Diocesse of London, without sufficient licence from the Bishop, or any other.

¶ Concerning the answers vnto these Articles (gentle reader) forsomuch as in the most part of them, Bilney with Arthur seemed to consent and agree (although not fully and directly, but by way and manner of qualifying) yet because hee did not expressely denie them, it shall not be needfull here to recite them all, saue onely such wherein hee seemed to dissent from them.

¶ To the first and second Articles hee answered affirmatiuely.

Answers to the Interrogatories as said. To the third he said, I beleeue that many of the Popes lawes are profitable and necessarie, and doe preuaile vnto godlinesse, neither in any point are repugnant vnto the Scriptures, nor by any meanes are to be abrogate, but of all men to bee obserued and reuerenced. But touching all those lawes I cannot determine: for, as for such as I haue not read, I trust notwithstanding they are good also; and as for those that I haue read, I did neuer reade them to the end and purpose to reproue them, but, according to my power, to learne and vnderstand them. And as touching the multitude of Lawes, Saint Augustine in his time did much complaine, and Gerson also, who maruelled, that hee could by any meanes liue in safetie amongst so many snares of constitutions, when as our forefathers, being pure before their fall, could not obserue one onely precept. Against the multitude of lawes.

To the fourth article he said, that the Catholike Church can by no meanes erre in faith, for it is the whole congregation of the elect, and so knowne onely vnto God, which knoweth who are his: otherwise no man should be ascertained of another mans saluation, or of his owne, but onely through faith and hope. For it is written, No man knoweth whether hee bee worthie of hatred or loue. It is also sensible, and may be demonstrate so farre forth as it is sufficient to establish vs in all things, that are to be beleeued and done: for I may truly say of the generall councell being congregate in the holy Ghost: Behold here the Catholike Church, denominating the whole by the most worthie part. The true church cannot erre in faith. Eccles. 9.

To the fifth Article hee answered affirmatiuely in these words; Cum sint libri Laicorum, adorare oportet, at non Imaginem, see Prototypon.

To the sixth Article he answered, that he did not beleeue that they are in heauen, being so taught by the Scriptures, and Holy Fathers of the Church.

To the seuenth Article he said, that it is not to be thought contrarie.

To the eighth Article, whether a man may not obserue the feasts and fasts of the Church prescribed; he thought that there is no man but he ought to obserue them.

To the ninth Article he said, that we are likewise bound as vnto parents.

To the foureteenth Article hee answered thus; The foureteenth Chapter of Saint Paul in his first Epistle to the Corinthians moueth me to beleeue, that it is best, that the people should haue the Lords prayer, and the Apostles Creed in English, so that their deuotion might the more bee furthered by the vnderstanding thereof; and also that thereby they might bee the more prompt and expert in the articles of their faith: of the which, it is to be feared, a great number are ignorant. Surely I haue heard many say, that they neuer heard speake of the resurrection of the bodie, and being certified thereof, but they became much more apt and readie vnto goodnesse, and more fearefull to doe euill,

To the fifteenth Article he said, hee would wish that the Gospels and Epistles should bee read in English, For I would (saith Paul) rather haue five words, &c. That the Church might bee edified, &c. And Chrysostome exhorteth his hearers to looke vpon bookes, that they might the better commit vnto memorie those things which they had heard. And saint Bede did translate Saint Johns Gospell into English. Scripture to be in English. I Cor. 14. Saint Johns Gospell translated into English by Bede.

Touching the eighteenth Article, for the translation of the Scripture into English, concerning the whole, hee did partly doubt. Notwithstanding hee wished that the Gospells and Epistles of the day might be read in English, that the people might bee made the more apt to heare Sermons. But here some will say, there might also be danger for error.

Where

Whereunto he answered; But good and vigilant pastors might easily helpe that matter, by adding the plaine interpretation of the Fathers in the margents in English, vpon the darke and obscure places, which would put away all doubts. O how great profit of soules should the vigilant pastors get thereby, which contrariwise through their slothfulnesse bring great ruine and decay.

How Christi. may goe to l law.

The Popes pardons iniurious to Christs passion.

To the five and twentieth article, as touching pardons, hee sayd, that as they be vsed, and haue too long beene, it were better that they should bee restrained, than that they should bee any longer vsed as they haue beene, to the injurie of Christs passion.

Touching the six and twentieth article, hee sayd, that it is not against the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles to contend in the law, so it be done with charitie, if Saint Augustine, and the reuerend father Marcus Marulus did not erre, which granted that libertie to the weake Christians: albeit the true Christians ought to giue eare vnto Saint Pauls saying, Why doe yee not rather suffer injurie? And to Christ himselfe, which sayth, Hee that would contend with thee in the law, and take away thy coat, give him thy cloke also. 1 Cor. 6.

Touching the eight and twentieth, he answered, That God is the author of the punishment onely, but not of the offence, as Basilius Magnus teacheth in his Sermon vpon these words of the Prophet; Non est malum in ciuitate quod non fecit dominus. And Saint Augustine in another place (as I remember) prayeth, That hee be not led into that temptation, that he should beleeve God to be the author of sin and wickednesse. Amos 3.

Here ensueth a briefe summarie or collection of certaine depositions, deposed by the severall witnesses aforenamed, upon certaine interrogatories, ministred unto them, for the enquirie of master Bilneyes doctrine and preaching.

Depositions against master Bilney.

FIrst it was deposed, that in his Sermon in Christs Church in Ipswich, he should preach and say, our Sauiour Christ is our mediatour betweene vs and the Father: what should we need then to seek to any Saint for remedie? Wherefore, it is great injurie to the blood of Christ, to make such petitions, and blasphemeth our Sauiour.

Heresie in the Popes Church to confesse Christ only to be our mediator.

That man is so vnperfect of himselfe, that he can in no wise merit by his owne deeds.

Also, that the comming of Christ was long prophesied before, and desired by the Prophets: But John Baptist, being more than a Prophet, did not onely prophecie, but with his finger shewed him saying, Ecce agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi. Then if this were the very Lambe, which John did demonstrate, that taketh away the sinnes of the world, what injurie is it to our Sauiour Christ: that to bee buried in Saint Francis cowle should remit foure parts of penance; what is then left to our Sauiour Christ, which taketh away the sins of the world? This I will iustifie to be a great blasphemie to the blood of Christ. Iohn 9.

Saint Frances cowle remits foure parts penance: & remaineth th for Christ to remit?

Also, that it was a great folly to go on pilgrimage, and that preachers in times past haue beene Antichrists; and now it hath pleased God somewhat to shew forth their falsehood and errors.

Against pilgrimage.

Also, that the miracles done at Walsingham, at Canterburie, and there in Ipswich, were done by the Diuell, through the sufferance of God, to blind the poore people: and that the Pope hath not the keyes that Peter had, except he follow Peter in his liuing.

Against blind miracles.

More-

Moreouer, it was deposed against him, that hee was notoriously suspected as an heretique, and twice pulled out of the pulpit in the Diocesse of Norwich.

Also it was deposed against him, that he should in the parish Church of Willesdon exhort the people to put away their gods of siluer and gold, and leaue their offerings unto them, for that such things as they offered haue beene knowne oftentimes afterward to haue bene giuen to whores of the Iewes. Also that Iewes and Sarazens would haue become Christian men long agoe, had it not bene for the idolatrie of Christian men, in offering of candles, wax, and money to stocks and stones.

The Idolatry of the Papists is left to the Iues and Turkes, why they are not conuerted.

Ouer and besides these cauilling matters, articulated, and deposed against him, here follow certain other Articles wherupon he was detected, gathered out of his Sermon which he preached in the parish Church of Saint Magnes, in Whitson weeke, in the yeare of our Lord, 1527.

¶ Certaine other Articles produced against Master Thomas Bilney.

Articles.

FIrst he said: Pray you onely to God, and not to Saints, rehearsing the Letanie; and when he came to Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis, he said, Stay there.

He said, that Christian men ought to worship God onely, and not Saints.

He said, that Christian people should set vp no lights before the Images of Saints: for Saints in heauen need no light, and the Images haue no eyes to see.

He said, as Ezechias destroyed the brazen Serpent that Moses made by the commandement of God; euen so should Kings and Princes now adaies destroy and burne the Images of Saints set vp in Churches.

Fortie good Popes since Christ.

These fiue hundred yeares there hath bin no good Pope, nor in all the times past we can find but fortie; for they haue neither preached, nor liued well, or conformably to their dignitie. Wherefore till now they haue borne the keyes of Simonie. Against whom, good people, we must preach and teach vnto you. For we cannot come to them; it is great pitie: they haue sore slandered the bloud of Christ.

The People haue vsed foolishly of late pilgrimages, which for them had bene better they had bene at home.

Many haue made certaine vowes, which bee not possible for them to fulfill, and those nothing meritorious.

The prophesie of Bilney.

The Preachers before this haue bin Antichrists, and now it hath pleased our Sauiour Christ to shew their false errours, and to teach another way and manner of the holy Gospell of Christ, to the comfort of your soules.

I trust that there shall and will come other besides me, which shall shew and preach to you, the same faith and manner of liuing that I do shew and preach to you, which is the very true Gospell of our Sauiour Christ, and the mind of the holy Fathers, whereby you shall be brought from their errours, wherein you haue bene long seduced: for before this there haue bin many that haue slandered you, and the Gospell of our Sauiour Christ, of whom spake our Sauiour, Matth. 18. Qui scandalizaverit unum de pusillis istis qui in me credit, &c.

These and many other such like depositions were deposed against him by the deponents and witnesses before sworne, which wholly to recite would bee too long and tedious: wherefore these shall suffice at this time, being the principall matters, and in manner the effect of all the rest. But now, before we will returne againe to the order of his examination, we thinke it good here to inserre a certaine Dialogue containing a communication betweene a frier named John Brusierd, and Master Thomas Bilney, which we haue thought meet for this place, because it was done in Ipswich, and also about the time of these examinations: the copy whereof wee haue written with the Friers own hand in Latine, the copy whereof in English here insueth.

A Dialogue.

¶ A Dialogue betweene Frier Iohn Brusierd and Master Thomas Bilney, in Ipswich, concerning worshipping of Images.

Brusierd.

A Dialogue betweene Bilney and frier Brusierd.

ALthough you haue blasphemed most pernitiously the immaculate Flocke of Christ with certaine blasphemies of yours, yet being moued partly with our gentle petitions, partly pitying your case and towardly disposition, I am come hither to talke with you secretly, before the rumour bee disclosed, vpon the consideration of the threefold errors which I see in you.

A great blasphemie among the friers to set vp Christ only to be our Mediatour.

First, for that when you began to shoot the dart of your pestiferous error, more vehemently than you ought, against the brest of the ignorant multitude, you seeme to poure vpon the ground the pretious bloud of Christ, as with a certaine vehement violence out of the miserable vessell of your heart. Whereas you said that none of the saints doe make intercession for vs, nor obtaine for vs any thing, you haue perilously blasphemed the efficacie of the whole Church, consecrated with the pretious bloud of Christ. Which thing you are not able to denie, especially seeing the same so incessantly doth knock at the gates of heauen, through the continuall intercession of the saints, according as in the seuenfold Letany manifestly appeareth to be seene.

One Mediatour and no mo.

Bilney. I maruell at you, and doubtlesse cannot maruell enough, but that the strong and vaine custome of superstitious men, thinking themselues not to be heard but in much babling, doth put an end to my admiration. For our heauenly Father knoweth what we haue need of before we aske. Also it is written, There is one Mediator of God and men, the Man Christ Iesus. If then there be but one Mediatour of God and men, the Man Christ Iesus, where is our blessed Lady? where is then saint Peter and other saints?

The Popes Kalender maketh mo mediators now, then were in the primitiue Church.

Brusierd. I suppose that no man is ignorant, but that the Diuines of the primitiue Church haue all affirmed to be one Mediatour betweene God and men. Neither could any at any time praise or pray to the saints, when as yet they liuing in the calamities of this body, and wrestling with the contrary winds of this world, were not yet come to the port of rest whereunto they were trauelling. Paul (I grant) did rightly affirme to be but one Mediatour of God and men, what time as yet there was no saint canonized or put into the Kalender. But now seeing the Church doth know, and doth certainly beleeue, through the vndoubted reuelations of God, that the blessed Virgin and other saints are placed in the bosome of Abraham, the therefore like a good mother hath taught, and that most diligently, vs her children, to praise the omnipotent Iesus in his saints; and also to offer vp by the same saints our petitions vnto God. Thereof it is that the Psalmist saith; Praise yee the Lord in his Saints. Rightly also doe we say and affirme, That Saints may pray for vs. One man may pray for another; Ergo much more may saints that doe enioy the fruition of his high Maiestie. For so it is written, God is my witnesse, whom I serue in my Spirit, in the Gospell of his Sonne, that without ceasing I remember you in my prayer alwayes for you, &c.

Note this argument, we must praise God in his Saints. Rom. 1.

Bilney. I maruell doubtlesse, that you a man learned are not yet deliuered out of the confuse dungeon of heresie through the helps of the holy Gospell: especially

especially seing that in the same Gospell it is written, Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever you aske the Father in my name, hee will give it unto you. Iohn 16.

Yee saith not, whatsoeuer ye aske the Father in the name of saint Peter, saint Paul, or other saints, but in my name. Let vs aske therefore helpe in the name of him, which is able to obtaine for vs of his Father whatsoeuer wee aske, lest peraduenture hereafter in the end of the world, at the strait iudgement, we shall heare, Hitherto in my name ye have asked nothing. In nomine meo.

Brusierd. Where ye maruell (with what mind, I cannot tell) that I being a learned man (as you say) am not deliuered yet from the confuse dungeon of heresie through the helpe of the Gospell: much more doe you, that are farre better learned than I, cause me to maruell at your foolish admiration. Neither can I chose but laugh at you, as one being rapt to the third heauen of such high misteries, and yet see not those things which be done here in the lower parts of terrene Philosophie: for what a ridiculous thing is it for a man to looke so long vpon the Sun, that he can see nothing else but the Sunne, nor cannot tell whither to turne him? Moreouer, what student is there in all Cambridge, be he neuer so young, that knoweth not, that the argument of authoritie, brought out negatiuely, hath no force? Argumentum ab authoritate destructiue.

Bilney. So as the Pharisées tooke Christ, you take my words, much otherwise than I meant.

Brusierd. Your words, which wander farre from the scope of Scripture, I doe not like. What is in your meaning, and lieth inwardly in your mind, I cannot tell.

Bilney. Such as invocate the helpe either of Christ, or of any other Saint, for any corporall infirmitie, to be deliuered from the same, may be well resembled to delicate patients, who being vnder the hand of physitions, and hauing medicines ministred against their diseases, not abiding the paine therof, rap all asunder: wherefore I say, no man ought to implore the helpe of God, or of any Saint * for corporall infirmitie. Praying for taking away temporall infirmities.

Brusierd. O most pernicious and perillous heresie of all that euer I haue heard. Thus you fleeing the smoke, fall into the fire, and, auoiding the danger of Scilla, you run vpon Charibdis. O heart of man wrapped in palpable darknesse. I will, master Bilney, that you would but once search and set out the first origine of these Rogation dayes: For so we read in the Church storie, that they were first ordained by pope Gregorie, with fasting, prayers, and holy processions, against the pestilence, by the infection of the ayre then raigning among the people. At what time the people then going in the procession, a certaine image like to our blessed Ladie, painted with the hands of saint Luke the Euangelist, did goe before them, about the which image, in the honour of the Virgin, Angels did sing this Antheme: Regina Cœli lætare, &c. O Queene of Heauen be glad. To the which Antheme, the pope also adioyned this, Ora pro nobis Dominum, &c. Pray to the Lord for vs. Wherefore, seeing the Angels did worship the image of the glorious Virgin Mary, in the honour of her; and seeing moreouer the holy father Pope Gregorie, with all the Clergie, did pray for corporall infirmitie, it appeareth manifestly that we ought to worship the saints and also to giue honor in a manner to their images: further also, to pray to Almighty God and all saints for corporall infirmitie, that we may bee deliuered from the same, so that they may say the like for vs, which is said in the Gospell, Send them away, because they crie after us. And although there bee infinite places inexpugnable to be alledged out of the holy scripture, wherwith we might easily resist this Scripture will applied. * Hee meaneth absolutely without condition. Scilla & Charibdis, be two dangerous rocks in the sea. By this church story hee meaneth beliue, Legenda aurea, otherwise called the legend of lies. The Popes letany at Rome.

your error: yet standing herewith content, as sufficient at this present, we will proceed now to your second pestiferous errour, wherein you, like an ingrate childe, goe about to teare out the bowels of your mother. For in that you say and affirme blasphemously, the Bishop of Rome to be the very Antichrist, and that his priuiledges haue no force against the gates of hell: in so saying, what doe you but like a most vnkind and vnnaturall child, spoyle your louing mother of all her treasures, and wound her being spoyled, and being wounded plucke out her bowels most miserably vpon the earth? But forsomuch as there is nothing so absurd, or so heretticall, but shall bee receiued of some itching eares: I would therefore now heare you declare, how hee sitteth in the Temple of God, as God, being exalted and worshipped aboue all that is named God, or how he sheweth himselfe as Lord in power and signes, and wonders deceitfull. Whether the Pope be Antichrist.

Bilney. Although incredulitie doth not suffer you, notwithstanding your learning, to vnderstand these things, yet I will goe about something to help your incredulitie herein, through the helpe of the Lord; beseeching you, that setting all superstition apart, you will vnderstand those things that are aboue. Doe ye know the Table of the ten Commandements?

Brusierd. According as the Catholicke Doctours doe expound them, I know them meanely: But how you doe expound them, I cannot tell.

Bilney. And doe you know also the constitutions of men, which are deuised onely by the dreames of men; whereunto men are so straitly bound, that vnder paine of death they are compelled to obserue them?

Brusierd. I know certaine sanctions of the holy Fathers, but such as you speake of to be deuised by mens dreames, I know none. 2 Thess.2 I Cor.3.

Bilney. Now then let vs set and compare these two together, and so shall you easily vnderstand the Bishop of Rome, whom they call the Pope, to sit in the Temple of God, as God, and to be extolled aboue all that is named God. It is written, The Temple of the Lord is holy, which is you. Therefore the conscience of man is the temple of the holy Ghost: in which Temple, I will proue the Pope to sit as God, and to be exalted aboue all that is called God. For who so condemneth the decalogue, or the Table of the Commandements of God, there is but a small punishment for him, neither is that punishment to death, but contrariwise, he that shall contemne or violate the constitutions, which you call the sanctions of men, is counted by all mens iudgement guilty of death. What is this, but the high Bishop of Rome to sit and raigne in the Temple of God, that is, in mans conscience, as God? The place of Saint Paul expounded concerning Antichrist sitting in the temple of God, &c. Signes and miracles wrought by illusions. Apocal.20

Brusierd. Although this exposition seemeth vnworthie for Christian eares, yet I would heare you further how he sheweth himselfe in signes and wonders deceitfull.

Bilney. These wonders (which they call miracles) be wrought daily in the Church, not by the power of God, as many thinke, but by the illusion of sathan rather, who (as the Scripture witnesseth) hath beene loose now abroad fiue hundred yeeres, according as it is written in the Booke of the Apocalyps, After a thousand yeares Sathan shall be set loose, &c. Neither are they to be called miracles of true Christian men, but illusions rather, wherby to delude mens mindes, to make them put their faith in our Lady, and in other Saints, and not in God alone, to whom be honour and glory for euer. * We read like saying another frie Augustine o Antwerpe t fied by Era mus in his pistles, who openly in the pulpit at An twerpe preaching to th people, with that Luther were there, he might bi out his throa with his tee So doing h would notht doubt with same bloudi teeth to rei to the altar, receiue the b of Christ. Erasm.epi lib.16. A obtrectato rem.

Brusierd. * But that I beleeue and know that God and all his Saints will take euerlasting reuengement vpon thee, I would surely with these nailes of mine bee thy death, for this horrible and enorme injurie against the precious bloud

blond of Christ. God saith, I will not the death of a Sinner, but rather that hee convert and live. And thou blaspheme̅st him, as though he should lay priuie snares of death for vs secretly, that wee should not espie them. Which if it were true, we might well say with Hugh de Saint Victore in this manner: If it be an error, it is of thee (O God) that we are deceiued; for these bee confirmed with such signes and wonders, which cannot be done but by thee. But I am assured it is vntrue and heretical: and therefore I will leaue this matter, and will talke with you concerning the merits of Saints. For once I remember, in a certaine Sermon of yours you said, that no saint, though his suffering were neuer so great, and his life most pure, deserued any thing for vs with God, either by his death or life. Which is contrarie to Saint Augustine.

God leadeth not to error but if left his scriptures, to lead vs into it.

Bilney. Christ saith one thing, Saint Austin another; whether of these two shall we beleeue? for Christ, willing to deliuer vs out of this darke dungeon of ignorance, gaue forth a certaine parable of ten Virgins, of which fiue were fooles, and fiue were wise. By the fiue foolish Virgins, wanting the oyle of good workes, hee meant vs all sinners. By the wise Virgins hee meant the company of all holy Saints. Now let vs heare what the fiue wise Virgins answered to the fiue foolish, crauing oyle of them; No (say they) lest peradventure we haue not sufficient for vs, and for you. Get you rather to them that sell, and buy of them to serue your turne.

Matth. 25. Saints haue not merits sufficient to themselues, much lesse to be to others.

Wherefore if they had not oyle sufficient for themselues and also for the other, where then be the merits of Saints wherewith they can deserue both for themselues and for vs? certes I cannot see.

Brusierd. You wrest the Scriptures from the right vnderstanding to a reprobate sence, that I am scarceable to hold mine eyes from teares, hearing with mine eares these words of you. Fare ye well.

¶ The submission of Master Thomas Bilney.

They commen̅ta gaine before the Bishop of London.

THe fourth day of December, the Bishop of London, with the other Bishops his assistants, assembled againe in the Chapter-house of Westminster; whither also Master Bilney was brought, and was exhorted and admonished to abiure and recant. Who answered, That he would stand to his conscience. Then the Bishop of London, with the other Bishops, Ex officio, did publish the depositions of the witnesses, with his articles and answers, commanding that they should be read. That done, the Bishop exhorted him againe to deliberate with himselfe, whether he would returne to the Church, and renounce his opinions, or no, and bad him to depart into a voyd place, and there to deliberate with himselfe. Which done, the Bishop asked him againe if he would returne. Who answered, Fiat iustitia & iudicium in nomine Domini. And being diuers times admonished to abiure, he would make no other answer, but, Fiat iustitia, &c. And, Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus & lætemur in ea. Then the Bishop after deliberation, putting off his cap, said; In nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritus sancti, Amen. Exurgat Deus & dissipentur inimici ejus: and making a crosse on his forehead and his breast, by the counsell of the other Bishops, he gaue sentence against M. Bilney, being there present, in this manner:

They denieth to recant. Psalme 118. In nomine Domini incipit omne malum.

I, by the consent and counsell of my brethren here present, do pronounce thee M. Bilney, who hast been accused of diuers articles, to be conuict of heresie; and for the rest of the sentence wee take deliberation till to morrow.

The fifth day of December the Bishops assembled there againe; before whom Bilney was brought: whom the Bishop asked if hee would yet returne to the vnitie of the Church, and reuoke his heresies which he had preached. Wherupon Bilney answered, that hee would not bee a slander to the Gospell, trusting that hee was not separate from the Church; and that, if the multitude of witnesses might bee credited, hee might haue thirty men of honest life on his part, against one to the contrary brought in against him: which witnesses the bishop said came too late; for after publication they could not be receiued by the Law. Then Bilney alleging the story of Susan and Daniel, the Bishop of London still exhorted him to returne to the vnitie of the Church, and to abiure his heresies, and permitted him to goe into some secret place, there to consult with his friends; till one of the clocke at the afternoone of the same day.

Bilney commented againe before the Bishop. Bilney refuseth againe to recant. Like bishops like lawes.

At afternoone the bishop of London againe asked him whether hee would returne to the Church, and acknowledge his heresies. Bilney answered, That hee trusted hee was not separate from the Church, and required time and place to bring in witnesses. Which was refused. Then the Bishop once againe required of him, whether he would returne to the Catholique Church. Whereunto he answered, that if they could teach and proue sufficiently, that he was conuict, he would yeeld and submit himselfe, and desired againe to haue time and space to bring in againe his refused witnesses, and other answer he would giue none

Bilney commented the third time. Bilneys witnesses refused.

Then the Bishop put Master Bilney aside, and tooke counsell with his fellowes; and afterward called in Master Bilney, and asked him againe whether he would abiure. But he would make no other answer than before. Then the Bishop, with the consent of the rest, did decree and determine, that it was not lawfull to heare a petition which was against the Law: and inquiring againe whether he would abiure, he answered plainly, No, and desired to haue time to consult with his friends, in whom his trust was. And being once againe asked whether hee would returne, and instantly desired thereunto, or else the sentence must be read, hee required the Bishop to giue him licence to deliberate with himselfe vntill the next morrow, whether hee might abiure the heresies wherewith hee was defamed, or no. The Bishop granted him that he should haue a little time to deliberate with Master Dancaster. But Bilney required space till the next morrow, to consult with Master Farmer and Master Dancaster. But the Bishop would not grant him his request, for feare lest he should appeale. But at the last the bishop inclining vnto him, granted him two nights respite to deliberate: that is to say, till Saturday at nine of the clock afternoone, and then to giue a plaine determinate answer, what hee would doe in the premisses.

Bilney denieth the third time to recant. Dancaster conferreth with Bilney.

The seuenth day of December, in the yeare and place aforesaid, the Bishop of London with the other Bishops being assembled, Bilney also personally appeared. Whom the Bishop of London asked, whether he would now returne to the vnitie of the Church, and reuoke the errours and heresies whereof hee stood accused, defected, and conuicted. Who answered, that now hee was perswaded by Master Dancaster and other his friends, he would submit himself, trusting that they would deale gently with him, both in his abiuration and penance. Then he desired that hee might reade his abiuration; which the Bishop granted. When he had read the same secretly by himselfe, and was returned, being demanded what he would do in the premisses, hee answered, That hee would abiure and submit himselfe, and there openly read his abiuration, and subscribed it, and deliuered it to the Bishop: which then did absolue him, and for his penance enjoyned him, That he should abide in prison appointed by the Cardinall, till he were by him released; and moreouer,

Bilney through infirmity, rather then by conuiction, recanteth.

M. Bilney inioyned penance.

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

ouer, the next day he ſhould goe before the proceſſion, in the Cathedrall Church of ſaint Paul, bareheaded, with a fagot on his ſhoulder, and ſhould ſtand before the preacher at Pauls croſſe all the ſermon time. Ex Regiſt. Lond.

Here forſomuch as mention is made before of fiue letters or epiſtles, which this good man wrote to Cuthbert Tonſtall Biſhop of London, and the ſaid biſhop deliuered vnto the regiſters, we thought good to inſert certaine thereof, ſuch as could come to our hands. The copie of which Letters, as they were written by him in Latine, becauſe they are in the former Edition to bee ſéene, and read in the ſame Latine, wherein he wrote them, it ſhall ſuffice in this booke to expreſſe the ſame onely in Engliſh. Concerning the firſt Epiſtle, which containeth the whole ſtorie of his conuerſion, and ſéemeth more effectuall in the Latine, than in the Engliſh, we haue exhibited it in the ſecond Edition, and therefore here haue onely made mention of the ſame briefely. The copie whereof beginneth thus.

Reuerendo in Chriſto patri D. Cuth. Tonſtallo, Londini Epiſcopo, T. Bilnæus Salutem in Chriſto, cum omni ſubjectione tanto præſuli debitam.

HOc nomine, pater in Chriſto obſervande, longe beatiorem me puto, quod ad tuæ Patetnitatis examinationem vocari me contigit. Ea enim eruditione es, ea vitæ integritate (quod omnes fatentur) ut ipſemet non poſſis (alioqui divinarum in te dotium æſtimator non admodum magnificus) quoties tibi ſuccurrit, quanta tibi gratis fecerit Deus, in illius laudes non Luke 1. erumpere, ac tecum in corde tacitus exclamare, fecit mihi magna qui potens eſt, & ſanctum nomen ejus. In talem nunc me judicem incidiſſe gratulor, ac Deo, qui moderatur omnia, gratiam pro virili habeo. Et quanquam (teſtis eſt mihi Deus) nullius in omnibus meis concionibus erroris mihi conſcius ſum, nedum hæreſeos aut factionis (quod calumniantur quidam, quæſtus ſui, quam animarum lucri avidiores) tamen ſupra modum lætor, divina (haud dubiè) benignitate proviſum eſſe, ut ob veritatis teſtimonium ad Tonſtalli tribunal ſiſterer: qui, ſi quis alius, optimè novit, nunquam defuturos Iannes ac Iambres, * Elymas magus. Act. 13. qui veritati reſiſtant: nunquam defuturos Elimates, qui conentur ſubvertere vias domini rectas; * Pythoniſſa. Act. 16. denique nunquam defuturos Demetrios, * Pythoniſſas, Balaamos, * Nicolaitas, * Cainos, Iſmaeles; * Nicolaita. Apoc. 2. qui omnes, cum quæ ſua ſunt, non que Ieſu Chriſti, auidiſſimè ſectentur & quærant, qui fieri poteſt ut Chriſtum ſincere ac ſimpliciter annunciatum perferant? Nam ſi populus ſemel in Chriſtum pro ſe paſſum ſolide ac pure confidere occœperit, ruent mox in verè fidelium pectoribus, quæcunque hactenus pro Chriſto amplexi ſunt. Tunc intelligent non hic aut illic Chriſtum eſſe, ſed regnum Dei in ſemet ipſis eſſe, Tunc intelligent patrem neque in montibus Samariæ, neque Hieroſolymis adorandum eſſe, ſed in omni loco, in ſpiritu & veritate. Ezech. 34. Quod ſi fit, actum de lucris ſuis putabunt beſtiæ agri, quorum intereſt impleri illud Ezechielis, 34. Diſperſæ ſunt oves meæ, eo quòd non eſſet paſtor, & factæ ſunt in devorationem omnium beſtiarum agri, & diſperſæ ſunt. Erraverunt greges mei in cunctis montibus, & in univerſo colle excelſo, & ſuper omnem faciem terræ diſperſi ſunt greges mei, & non erat qui requireret: non erat, inquam, qui requireret. Imo, ſi quis requirere velit, ac in cauſas Chriſti, unitatem dico fidei, errabundos reducere, mox inſurgunt nomine Paſtores, ſed revera Pſeudo paſtores veri Demetrii. lupi, qui non aliud de grege, quam lac, lanam, pellem, quærunt; animas cum ſuas, tum gregis permittentes diabolo. Inſurgunt inquam, ac Demetrii inſtar exclamant: Hic hæreticus ubique ſuader avertitque multam turbam, dicens, quod non ſunt dii qui manibus fiunt.

Hi ſunt, hi (pater colende) ſunt, qui, ſub prætextu perſequendi hæreticos, ventris ſui negotium agunt, inimici crucis Chriſti. Qui quidvis potius ferre poſſunt, quàm puram Chriſti pro peccatis noſtris crucifixi annunciationem. Hi ſunt, quibus Chriſtus æternam minatur damnationem, cum ait, Matth. 23. Væ vobis Scribæ & Phariſæi, Hypocritæ, qui claditis regnum cœlorum ante homines: vos enim non intratis, nec introeuntes ſinitis intrare. Hi ſunt, qui, cum ipſi aliunde aſcenderunt, alios intrare non ſinunt. Quod patet, quia ſi quis per me, inquit John 10. Chriſtus, introierit, ſalvabitur, & ingredietur, & egredietur, & paſcua inveniet: & hi non inveniunt paſcua (nunquam enim docent) & alios poſt ſe trahunt, ut non per Chriſtum, qui ſolus eſt oſtium per quod ad patrem pervenitur, ſed aliunde per opuſcula, quæ ovibus, tacito nonnunquam Chriſto, ſuadent, proponunt & injungunt, ad ſuum potius quæſtum, quam animarum ſalutem ſpectantes; hoc deteriores, quam I Cor. 3. illi qui ſuper Chriſtum fundamentum ædificant lignum, fœnum, ſtipulam. Iſti fatentur ſe Chriſtum Luke 8. ſcire, ſed factis negant. Denique hi ſunt medici illi, in quos mulier illa, annis duodecim ſanguinis profluvio vexata, omnia ſua conſumpſerat, nec adjumenti quicquam ſenſerat, ſed deterius ſe habebat, donec vix tandem ad Chriſtum venerat: quæ ſimulatq; fimbriam veſtimenti ejus in fide tetigerat, ſic ſanabatur, ut ſtarim in corpore id ipſum ſentiret. O mutationem dexteræ excelſi? quam & ego miſer peccator non ſemel ſenſi: qui tamen antea quam ad Chriſtum venire potui, ſic omnia mea inſumpſeram in ignaros medicos, indoctos confeſſionum auditores, ut parum mihi virium (alioqui natura imbecilli) reliquum fuerit, parum pecuniæ, ingenii item parum. Indicebant enim mihi jejunia, vigilias, indulgentiarum ac miſſarum emptiones, in quibus omnibus (ut nunc intelligo) ſua potius quærebant, quam ſalutem animæ meæ languentis.

Sed tandem de Ieſu audiebam, nimirum tum, cum novum Teſtamentum primùm ab Eraſmo ederetur. Quod cum ab eo Latinius redditum accepi, Latinitate potius quàm verbo Dei (quod tunc quidnam eſſet prorſus neſciebam) alectus, emebam, providentia (ſine dubio) Divina, ut nunc interpretor. Incidi prima (ut memini) lectione in hanc (ô mihi I Tim. 1. ſuaviſſimam Pauli ſententiam) I. ad Timo. I. Certus ſermo, & dignus quem modis omnibus amplectamur, quòd Chriſtus Ieſus venit in mundum ut peccatores ſalvos faceret, quorum primus ſum ego. Hæc una ſententia, Deo intus in corde meo (quod tunc fieri ignorabam) docente, ſic exhilaravit pectus meum, prius peccatorum conſcientia ſaucium ac pene deſperabundum, ut mox viſus ſim mihi, neſcio quantam intus tranquilitatem ſentire, adeò quòd exultaverunt oſſa humiliata. Poſtea Scriptura cœpit mihi dulcior eſſe melle ac favo: in qua paulatim didici omnes meos conatus, omnia jejunia, omnes vigilias, omnes miſſarum indulgentiarum redemptiones quæ ſine fiducia in Ieſum (qui ſolus ſalvum facit populum ſuum à peccatis ſuis) fierent; didici, inquam, hæc omnia nihil aliud fuiſſe, quàm (quod ait Auguſtinus) celerem curſum extra viam; quam perizomata illa ficulnea, quibus Adam & Eva verenda olim ſua fruſtra tegere conati ſunt: Nunquam prius tranquilitati quàm promiſſioni Dei de Serpentis capite, per mulieris ſemen Chriſtum, contendo credidiſſent: Nec ego prius à peccatorum aculeis ac morſibus ſanari potui, quam à Deo doctus eſſem illam lectionem, de qua loquitur Chriſtus, Iohan. 3. Sicut Moſes exaltavit ſerpentem in deſerto, ita exaltari oportet filium hominis, ut omnis qui credit in illum non pereat, ſed habeat vitam æternam. Divina Bilconverſio. John 3.

Hanc

Hanc tandem ſublimen lectionem, quam nullus docere poteſt niſi Deus qui hanc Petro revelavit, ubi pro modulo gratiæ Dei mihi datæ guſtare cœpi, rogavi Dominum ut augeret mihi fidem, ac tandem nihil magis optavi, quàm ut, ſic reddita mihi lætitia ſalutaris
Pſalm.24. ſui, ſpiritu me ſuo utcunque confirmaret, ut virtute nonnulla donatus ex alto, docerem iniquos vias ejus, quæ ſunt miſericordia & veritas, ut impii ad ipſum, per me olim impium, converterentur. Quod dum pro virili conor apud R. D. Cardinalem, ac tuam Paternitatem, blaſphematur in me (hæc eſt unica mihi in his tribulationibus fiducia) Chriſtus, quem pro virili doceo, factum nobis à Deo Patre ſapientiam, juſtitiam, ſanctificationem, redemptionem denique & ſatisfactionem. Qui factus eſt pro nobis peccatum, id eſt, hoſtia pro
1 Cor. 2. peccato, ut nos efficeremur juſtitia dei per illum. 2. Cor. 5. Qui factus eſt pro nobis maledictum, ut
2 Cor. 5. nos à maledicto legis redimeret. Et qui non venit ad vocandum Iuſtos, ſed peccatores ad pœnitentiam: juſtos in
Gal. 2. quam, qui ſe ſanos putant et falſo putant: (Omnes enim
Matth. 9. peccauerunt, et egent gloria dei, qua gratis remittit credẽtibus peccata per redemptionem quæ eſt in Chriſto Ieſu: Rom. 3.) quia omne genus humanum ſauciatum graviſſimè fuerat in eo, qui inter Hieruſalem & Hierico
Rom. 3. incidit, in latrones. Ideo pro virili doceo, ut omnes primum peccata ſua agnoſcant ac damnent, deinde eſuriant ac ſitiant juſtitiam illam, de qua Paulus loquitur, Rom. 3. Iuſtitia dei per fidem Ieſu Chriſti in omnes & ſuper omnes qui credunt in eum. Non eſt enim diſtinctio; omnes enim peccaverunt & egent gloria dei; juſtificantur autem gratis per gratiam ipſius, per redemptionem quæ eſt in Chriſto Ieſu. Quam qui eſuriunt ac ſitiunt, haud dubie ſic aliquando ſaturabuntur, quòd neque eſurient neque ſitient in æternum.

Sed quoniam hanc eſuriem ac ſitim extinguere ſolet humanæ juſtitiæ ſaturitas, quam parat potiſſimum opuſculorum noſtrorum electitiorum fiducia, qualia ſunt peregrinationes, veniarum redemptiones, cereorum oblationes, electa à nobis ieiunia, & interdum ſuperſtitioſa, denique qualeſcunque (ut vocant) voluntariæ de-
Luc. 4. 12. votiones, contra quæ loquitur Scriptura dei, Deut. 4. 12. Non facies quod tibi rectum videtur, ſed quod ego præcipio tibi, hoc tantum facito, nec addens nec minuens: ideo in quam huiuſmodi opuſculorum mentionem nonnunquam faci-; non ea (Deum teſtor) unquam damnans, ſed eorum abuſum reprehendens, legitimumque uſum parvulis manifeſtum faciens, hortans, ne ſic his adhæreant, ut his ſaturati (quod plerique faciunt) Chriſtum faſtidiant. In quo fœliciter valeat Paternitas tua. Et hæc omnium ſumma. Si indixeris mihi ut ſingula dilatem, non recuſabo, modo tempus mihi conceſſeris. Nam ſtatim hoc facere non eſt harum, quoad corpus, virium; paratus ſemper, ſic ubi lapſus fuero, meliora doceri.

Totus tuus,

T. Bilnæus.

The ſame in Engliſh

¶ To the Reverend Father in Chriſt, Cuthbert Biſhop of London, Thomas Bilney wiſheth health in Chriſt, with all ſubmiſſion due unto ſuch a Prelat.

IN this behalfe (moſt reuerend Father in Chriſt) I thinke my ſelfe moſt happy, that it is my chance to be called to examination before your reuerence, for that you are of ſuch wiſedomeand learning, of ſuch integrity of life (which all men do confeſſe to be in you) that euen your ſelfe cannot chuſe (if you doe not too lightly eſteeme Gods gifts in you) as often as you ſhall remember the great things which God hath done vnto you, but straightwayes ſecretly in your heart, to his high praiſe ſay, Hee that is mighty hath done great things unto mee, and holy is his name. I reioyce, that I haue now hapned vpon ſuch a Iudge, and with all my heart giue thankes vnto God, which ruleth all things.

And albeit (God is my witneſſe) I know not my ſelfe guilty of any error in my Sermons, neither of any hereſie or ſedition, which diuers doe ſlander me of, ſeeking rather their owne lucre and aduantage, then the health of ſoules: notwithſtanding I doe exceedingly reioyce, that it is fallen by Gods diuine prouidence, That I ſhould be brought before the tribunall ſeat of Tonſtall, who knoweth as well as any other, that there will neuer be wanting Iannes and Iambres, which will reſiſt the truth; that there ſhall neuer be lacking ſome * Elymas, which will goe about to ſubuert the ſtrait wayes of the Lord; and finally, that ſome Demetrius, * Pithoniſſe, Balaams, Nicolaites, Cains, and Iſmaels, will be alwayes at hand, which will greedily hunt and ſeeke after that which pertaineth vnto themſelues, and not that which pertaineth to Ieſus Chriſt. How can it then be, that they can ſuffer Chriſt to bee truly and ſincerely preached? For if the people begin once wholly in euery place to put their confidence in Chriſt, which was for them crucified, then straight-wayes that which they haue hitherto embraced in ſtead of Chriſt ſhall vtterly decay in the hearts of the faithfull. Then they ſhall vnderſtand that Chriſt is not in this place, or in that place, but the kingdome of God to bein themſelues. Then ſhall they plainely ſee, That the Father is not to be worſhipped, neither in the mount of Samaria, neither at Hieruſalem, but in all places, in ſpirit and truth. Which thing if it come once to paſſe, the beaſts of the field will thinke all their gaine and lucre loſt. In whom the ſaying of Ezechiel is fulfilled; My ſheepe are diſperſed becauſe they had no Shepherd, and are devoured of the beaſts of the field, and ſtrayed abroad: my flock hath erred and wandred in every mountaine, and upon euery high hill, and is diſperſed thorow-out all the earth, and there is no man which hath ſought to gather them together: no, there was no man which once ſought after them: but if any man would ſeeke to reduce theſe which were gone aſtray into the fold of Chriſt, that is, the vnity of Faith, by and by there riſe vp certaine againſt him, which are named Paſtors, but indeed are Wolues, which ſeeke no other thing of their flocke, but the milke, woll, and fell, leauing both their owne ſoules, and the ſoules of their flocke, vnto the Diuell.

Theſe men, I ſay, riſe vp like vnto Demetrius, crying out, This Heretick diſſwadeth & ſeduceth much people euery where, ſaying; that they are not gods which are made with hands. Theſe are they, theſe I ſay (moſt reuerend Father) are they, which vnder the pretence of perſecuting hereticks, follow their owne licentious life, enemies vnto the Croſſe of Chriſt; which can ſuffer and beare any thing rather than the ſincere preaching of Chriſt crucified for our ſinnes. Theſe are they vnto whom Chriſt threatneth eternall damnation, where hee ſaith, Woe bee unto you Scribes, Phariſees, and hypocrites, which ſhut up the kingdome of heaven before men, and you your ſelues enter not in, neither ſuffer thoſe which would enter, to come in. Theſe are they which haue come in another way to the charge of ſoules, as it appeareth: For if any man (ſaith Chriſt) come in by me, hee ſhall be ſaved, and ſhall come in, and goe out, and find paſture. Theſe men doe not find paſture, for they neuer teach, and draw others after them, that they ſhould not enter by Chriſt, which alone is the dore whereby we muſt come vnto the Father; but ſet before the people an other way, perſwading them to come vnto God through good workes, oftentimes ſpeaking nothing

Iannes and Iambres were two of Pharaos prieſts which reſiſted Moſes, but their names be not expreſſed in the 7. chap. of Exod. but onely in 2 Tim.

God neuer buildeth a Church, but the Deuill hath his chappell by

* Elimas magus. Act. 13.

* Pithonyſſa. Acts 16.

* Nicolaietæ of Nicolaus. Apoc. 2. Ezech. 34.

Demetrius the ſilner Smith cryed out againſt Paul. Acts 9.

Pretended prieſts and prelats, vnder colour of perſecuting heretikes, crucifie Chriſt, and tread down his truth.

Iohn 10. A wrong way to come to God by good workes.

at all of Christ, thereby seeking rather their owne gaine and lucre, than the saluation of soules. In this point being worse than they which vpon Christ (being the foundation) doe build wood, hay and and stray. These men confesse that they know Christ, but by their deeds they deny him.

False priests and prelats compared to the Physicians vpon whom the woman with the bloody fix spent all her goods, & was not helped. Bilney here speaketh by his own experience.

These are those Physicians vpon whom that woman which was twelue yeers vexed with the bloody fix, had consumed all that shee had, and felt no helpe, but was still worse and worse, vntill such time as at the last she came vnto Christ; and after shee had once touched the hemme of his vesture through faith, shee was so healed, that by and by she felt the same in her body. O mighty power of the most Highest! which I also miserable sinner haue often tasted and felt. Which before that I could come vnto Christ, had euen likewise spent all that I had vpon those ignorant Physitians, that is to say, vnlearned hearers of confession, so that there was but small force of strength left in mee, (which of nature was but weake) small store of money, and very little wit or vnderstanding: for they appointed mee fastings, watching, buying of pardons, and Masses in all which things (as I now vnderstand) they sought rather their owne gaine, than the saluation of my sick and languishing soule.

The end & effect the popes diuinitie

But at the last I heard speake of Iesus, euen then when the new Testament was first set forth by Erasmus. Which when I vnderstood to be eloquently done by him, being allured rather for the Latine than for the Word of God, (for at that time I knew not what it meant) I bought it euen by the prouidence of God, as I doe now well vnderstand and perceiue: And at the first reading (as I well remember) I chanced vpon this sentence of Saint Paul O most sweet and comfortable sentence to my soule! in his first Epistle to Timothy, and first chapter; It is a true saying, and worthy of all men to bee embraced, that Christ Iesus came into the world to saue sinners, of whom I am the chiefe and principall. This one sentence, through Gods instruction and inward working, which I did not then perceiue, did so exhilarate my heart, being before wounded with the guilt of my sinnes, and being almost in despaire, that immediately I felt a maruellous comfort and quietnesse, insomuch that my bruised bones leapt for joy.

The first conuersion of M. Bilney by reading the new Testament set out by Erasmus.

Psalme 50.

After this, the Scripture began to be more pleasant vnto mee than the honey or the honey combe Wherein I learned, that all my trauels, all my fasting and watching, all the redemption of Masses and Pardons, being done without truth in Christ, which onely saueth his people from their sinnes; these, I say, I learned to be nothing else but euen (as Saint Augustine saith) a hasty and swift running out of the right way, or else much like to the vesture made of Fig leaues, wherewithall Adam and Eue went about in vaine to couer their priuities; and could neuer before obtaine quietnesse and rest, vntill they beleeued in the promise of God, that Christ, the seed of the woman, should tread vpon the Serpents head. Neither could I be releeued or eased of the sharpe stings and bitings of my sins, before I was taught of God that Lesson which Christ speaketh of in the third Chapter of Iohn; Even as Moses exalted the Serpent in the Desert, so shall the Son of man bee exalted, that all which beleeue on him, should not perish, but haue life everlasting.

All the trauels of men without Christ, are but an hasty running out of the right way.

M. Bilney looking vp to the brasen serpent. Iohn 3.

As soone as (according to the measure of grace giuen vnto me of God) I began to taste and sauor of this heauenly lesson, which no man can teach but onely God, which reuealed the same vnto Peter; I desired the Lord to increase my faith: and at last I desired nothing more, than that I, being so comforted by him, might bee strengthened by his holy Spirit and grace from aboue, that I might teach the wicked his wayes, which are mercie and truth, and that the wicked might be conuerted vnto him by me, which sometime was also wicked. Which thing, whilest that with all my power I did endeauour before my Lord Cardinall and your fatherhood, Christ was blasphemed in me (and this is my only comfort in these my afflictions) whom with my whole power I doe teach and set forth, being made for us by God his Father, our wisedome, righteousnesse, sanctification, and redemption, and finally our satisfaction. Who was made sinne for us (that is to say, a sacrifice for sinne) that wee through him should bee made the righteousnesse of God. Who became accursed for us, to redeeme vs from the curse of the Law. Who also came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. The righteous (I say) which falsely iudge and thinke themselues so to be, (for all men haue sinned, and lacke the glory of God, whereby hee freely forgiueth sinnes vnto all beleeuers, through the redemption which is in Christ Iesus) because that all mankinde was grieuously wounded in him which fell amongst theeues betweene Hierusalem and Iericho.

The waies of the Lord bee mercy and truth.

I Cor. I.

2 Cor. 5.

Gal. 2.

Matth. 9.

Rom. 3.

And therefore with all my whole power I teach, that all men should first acknowledge their sinnes, and condemne them, afterward hunger and thirst for that righteousnesse whereof Saint Paul speaketh, The righteousnesse of God, by faith in Iesus Christ, is vpon all them which beleeue in him; for there is no difference, all haue sinned, and lacke the glory of God, and are iustified freely through his grace, by the redemption which is in Iesus Christ. The which whosoeuer doth hunger or thirst for, without doubt they shall at the length so be satisfied, that they shall not hunger and thirst for euer.

The summe of M. Bilneys teaching.

Rom. 3.

But forsomuch as this hunger and thirst was wont to be quenched with the fulnesse of mans righteousnesse, which is wrought through the faith of our owne elect and chosen works, as pilgrimages, buying of pardons, offering of candles, elect and chosen fasts, and oftentimes superstitious, and finally all kind of voluntary deuotions (as they call them) against the which Gods Word speaketh plainely in the fourth of Deuteronomie, and in the twelfth, saying, Thou shalt not doe that which seemeth good vnto thy selfe, but that which I command thee for to doe, that doe thou, neither adding to, neither diminishing any thing from it. Therefore (I say) oftentimes haue I spoken of those works; not condemning them (as God I take to my witnesse) but reprouing their abuse, making the lawful vse of them manifest euen vnto Children, exhorting all men not so to cleaue vnto them, that they being satisfied therwith, should loath or ware weary of Christ, as many doe. In whom I bid your fatherhood most prosperously well to fare.

A difference betweene mans righteousnesse, and the righteousnesse of God. Voluntary deuotions spoken against. Deut. 4. 12.

And this is the whole summe. If you will appoint mee to dilate more at large the things here touched, I will not refuse to doe it, so that you will grant me time. For to doe it out of hand I am not able for the weaknesse of my body; being ready alwayes, if I haue erred in any thing, to bee better instructed.

¶ Another Letter or Epistle of Master Bilney, to Cuthbert Tonstall, B. of London.

ALbeit I doe not remember, reuerend father in Christ, whether I haue either spoken or written, That the Gospell hath not beene sincerely preached now of long time, which your Lordship seemeth to haue gathered either by some Homes and sinister hearers of my sermons, who (like Malchus hauing their right eare cut off) onely bring their left eare to sermons; or else by some words or writings of

Another letter of M. Bilney.

Malchus hauing of lefte

of mine, which haue rashly passed me, rather than vpon any euill intent: yet forsomuch as in this behalfe your reuerence doth command me, and that of a good mind I trust (for how can I thinke in Tonstall any craft or doublenesse to dwell) I will briefely declare vnto you what I haue learned of God, through Christ, in the Scriptures, and how that the Doctors, euen of great name and renown, haue not taught the same of late in their sermons; referring, or rather submitting all things vnto your fatherly iudgement, which is more quick and sharpe than that it can by any meanes be blinded, and so sincere, that it will not in any point seeke slander or discord; therefore I doe confesse that I haue often beene afraid, that Christ hath not beene purely preached now along time. For who hath been now a long season offended through him? Who hath now these many yeares suffered any persecution for the Gospels sake: Where is the sword which he came to send vpon the earth? And finally, where are the rest of the sincere and vncorrupt fruits of the Gospell? Which, because we haue not a long time seene, is it not to be feared, that the tree which bringeth forth those fruits hath now a long time beene wanting in our region or countrey? Much lesse is it to bee beleeued, that it hath beene nourished amongst vs. Haue wee not seene all things quiet and peaceable a long time? But what sayth the Church? My griefe most bitter is turned to peace, &c. But the malignant Church sayth, Peace, peace, and there is no peace, but only that whereof it is written, When the mighty armed man keepeth his gates, he possesseth all things in quiet. But when he seeth that he shall bee vanquished of a stronger than he himselfe is, hee spoyleth and destroyeth all things. What now a dayes beginneth againe to be attempted, I dare not say. God grant vs grace that wee doe not refuse and reiect (if it be Christ) him that commeth vnto vs, lest that wee doe feele that terrible iudgement against vs: because (sayth hee) they have not receiued the loue of truth, that they might be saued: therefore God will send vpon them the blindnesse of errour, that they shall give credit vnto lyes. O terrible sentence (which God knoweth whether a great number haue not already incurred) that all they might bee iudged which have not giuen credit vnto the truth, but consented vnto iniquity. The time shall come (saith hee) when that they will not suffer the true doctrine to bee preached. And what shall we then say of that learning, which hath now so long time raigned and triumphed, so that no man hath once opened his mouth against it? shall wee thinke it sound doctrine? truly iniquity did neuer more abound, nor charity was neuer so cold. And what should wee say to bee the cause thereof? hath the cause beene for lacke of preaching against the vices of men, and exhorting to charity? That cannot be, for many learned and great Clerks sufficiently can witnesse to the contrary. And yet all these notwithstanding, we see the life and manners of men doe greatly degenerate from true Christianity, and seeme to cry out indeed, that it is fulfilled in vs, which God in times past threatned by his Prophet Amos, saying, Behold the day shall come (saith the Lord) that I will send hunger vpon the earth, not hunger of bread, neither thirst of water, but of hearing the word of God, and the people shall be moued from sea to sea, and from the West vnto the East, and shall runne about seeking for the Word of God, but shall not find it. In those dayes the faire Virgings and young men shall perish for thirst, &c. But now to passe ouer many things, whereby I am moued to feare that the word of God hath not beene purely preached; this is not the least argument, that they which come, and are sent, and endeauour themselues to preach Christ truly, are euill spoken of for his name, which is the rocke of offence, and stumbling blocke vnto them which stumble vpon his word, and doe not beleeue on him, on whom they are builded.

But you will aske, who are those men, and what is their doctrine? Truly I say, whosoeuer entreth in by the doore Christ into the sheepe-fold: which thing all such shall doe as seeke nothing else but the glory of God, and saluation of soules. Of all such it may bee truly said, that whom the Lord sendeth, hee speaketh the word of God. And why so? Because he representeth the Angell of the Church of Philadelphia; vnto whom Saint John writeth saying, This saith hee, which is holy and true, Apoc. 3. which hath the keyes of David, which openeth and no man shutteth, shutteth and no man openeth. Behold, saith hee, speaking in the name of Christ, (which is the doore and doore-keeper) I haue set before thee an open doore, that is to say, of the Scriptures opening thy senses, that thou shouldst vnderstand the Scriptures, and that, because thou hast entred in by me which am the doore: For whosoeuer Iohn 8. entreth in by me, which am the dore, shall be saued; he shall goe in and come out and find pasture, for the doore keeper openeth the doore vnto him, and the sheepe heare his voyce. But contrariwise, they which haue not entred in by the doore, but haue climed in some other way, by ambition, auarice, or desire of rule, they shall euen in a moment goe downe into hell, except they repent. And of them is the saying of Jeremie verified, All beautie is gone away from the daughter of Sion, because her Princes are become like Rams, not finding pasture. And why so? Because like theeues and robbers they haue climed vp another way, not being called nor sent.

Who entreth in by the doore and who not. Lament. 1.

And what maruell is it, if they doe not preach, when as they are not sent, but run for lucre, seeking their owne glory, and not the glory of God, and saluation of soules: and this is the root of all mischiefe in the Church, that they are not sent inwardly of God. For without this inward calling it helpeth nothing before God to be a hundred times elect and consecrate by a thousand Bulls, either by Pope, King, or Emperour. God beholdeth the heart, whose iudgements are according to truth, howsoeuer wee deceiue the iudgement of men for a time: which also at the last shall see their abhomination. This, I say, is the originall of all mischiefe in the Church, that we thrust in our selues into the charge of soules whose saluation and the glory of God (which is to enter in by the doore) we doe not thirst nor seeke for, but altogether our owne lucre and profit.

Outward calling by kings and princes in Christs ministery auaileth nothing without the inward calling of God.

The root of all mischiefe in the Church.

Hereupon it commeth, that wee know not how to preach Christ purely: For how should they preach Christ (saith the Apostle) except they bee sent? for otherwise many theeues and robbers doe preach him, but with their lips onely, for their heart is farre from him. Neither yet doe wee suffer those which doe know how to preach, but persecute them, and goe about to oppresse the Scriptures now springing, vnder the pretence of godlinesse, fearing, as I suppose, lest the Romans should come and take our place. Ah thou wicked enemy Herod, why art thou afrayd that Christ should come: Hee taketh not away mortall and earthly kingdomes, which giveth heavenly Kingdomes. O blindnesse. O our great blindnesse, yee, more than that of Egypt? Of the which if there be any that would admonish the people, by and by saith Pharaoh, Moses and Aaron, why doe yee cause the people to cease from their labours? and truly called their labours. Get you to your burthens. Lay more worke vpon them, and cause them to doe it, that they hearken not vnto lyes. Thus the people was dispersed throughout all the Land of Egypt, to gather vp chaffe, I say to gather vp chaffe. Who shall grant vnto vs, that God shall say, I haue looked down

Ex Prudentio.

Lay this letter against Doctor Sanders booke afore-said.

Exod. 5. The persecutors of our time compared to Pharaoh.

and beholden the affliction of my people which is in Egypt, and have heard their sighs, and am come down to deliver them? But whether hath this zeale carried me? whither after knowledge or not, I dare not say: it appertaineth to you, reuerend Father, to iudge thereupon.

Now you doe loke that I should shew vnto you at large (as you write) how that they ought sincerely to preach, to the better edifying hereafter of your flocke. Here I confesse, I was afraid that you had spoken in some derision, vntill that I well perceiued that you had written it with your owne hand. Then againe I began to doubt, for what intent Tonstall should require that of Bilney; an old souldier, of a young beginner; the chiefe pastor of London, of a poore silly sheepe. But for what intent soeuer you did it, I trust it was of a good mind. And albeit that I am weake of body, yet through the grace of Christ giuen vnto mee, I will attempt this matter, although it doe farre passe my power. Vnder the which burthen if I be oppressed, yet I will not deceiue you, for that I haue promised nothing but a prompt and ready will to doe that which you haue commanded.

As touching that pertaineth to the preaching of the Gospell, I would to God you would giue mee leaue priuately to talke with you, that I might speake freely that which I haue learned in the holy Scriptures for the consolation of my conscience: which if you will doe, I trust you shall not repent you. All things shall be submitted vnto your iudgement; who (except I be vtterly deceiued) will not break the reed that is bruised and put out the flax that is smoaking; but rather if I shall be found in any error (as indeed I am a man) you as spirituall, shall restore mee through the spirit of gentlenesse, considering your selfe, lest that you also be tempted: For every Bishop, which is taken from among men, is ordained for men, not violently to assault those which are ignorant, and doe erre, for he himselfe is compassed in with infirmity, that he, being not void of evils, should learne to have compassion vpon other miserable people.

Esay 42.

Heb. 5.

I desire you that you will remember me to morrow, that by your ayd I may bee brought before the Tribunall seate of my Lord Cardinall; before whom I had rather stand than before any of his Deputies.

Yours Tho. Bilney.

¶ A Letter of Master Bilney, fruitfull and necessary for all Ministers to reade.

Another letter of M. Bilney, to Tonstall bishop of London.

MOst reuerend Father, salutations in Christ. You haue required mee to write to you at large, wherein men haue not preached as they ought, and how they should haue preached better. This is a burthen too heauie for my strength, vnder the which if I shall faint, it belongeth to you, which haue layd this burthen vpon my shoulders, to ease me thereof. As touching the first part, they haue not preached as they ought, which, leaning the Word of God, haue taught their owne tradition; of the which sort there are not a few, as it is very euident, in that they doe report those, which preach the word of God sincerely, to teach new doctrine. This is also no small testimony thereof, that in all England you shall scarce find one or two that are mighty in the Scriptures; and what maruell is it if all godly things doe seeme new vnto them vnto whom the Gospel is new and strange, being nusled in mens traditions now a long time? Would to God these things were not true which I vtter vnto you; but alas they are too true.

Preachers of the popes Church leaning the word of God, preach their owne traditions.

Priests of the popes Church few learned in the Scriptures.

They haue also preached euill, which either haue wrested the Scriptures themselues, or haue rashly gathered them out of old rotten papers, being wrested by others: and how should it bee but that they should wrest them, or else how should they iudge them, being falsely interpreted by others, when as they haue not once read ouer the Bible orderly? Of this sort there is truly a very great number, from which number many great Rabbins or Masters shall hardly excuse themselues; whom the people haue hitherto reuerenced in stead of Gods. And these are they which now serue their bellies, seeking their owne glory, and not the true glory of God, which might be set forth euen by Balaams Asse: much lesse then ought we to contemne such abiects which preach the Word of God. Wee have (saith Saint Paul) this treasure in brittle Vessels, that the glory of the power might be of God, and not of us. God hath chosen the foolish things of the world, to confound the wise; and the weake things God hath chosen to confound the mighty; and vile things of the world, and despised hath hee chosen, and things that are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in his sight. But now all men in a manner will bee wise, and therefore they are ashamed of the simple Gospel, they are ashamed truly to say with Paul, and to performe it indeed; I Brethren, when I came unto you did not come with excellencie of words, or of wisedome, preaching the testimony of Christ; for I esteemed not my selfe to know any thing amongst you, but onely Iesus Christ, and him crucified. O voice of a true Euangelist! But now wee are ashamed of this foolish preaching, by the which it hath pleased God to saue all those which beleeue in him: and being puffed vp with our owne fleshly mind, wee chuse rather proudly to walke in those things which wee haue not seene, preaching fables and lies, and not the law of God, which is vndefiled, converting soules.

Balaams Asse is not to be despised setting forth Gods word, I trow, much lesse such abiects. I Cor. 1.

I Cor. 2.

Psalm. 19.

But how should they teach the law of God, which they haue not once read in the bookes, much lesse learned at the mouth of God? But in a Pastor and a Bishop this is required, Thou sonne of man (saith God) lay up in thy heart all my words which I doe speake unto thee. And shortly after hee saith; Thou sonne of man, I have ordained and given thee a watch-man unto the house of Israel, I have given thee, saith hee, not comming in by ambition, nor thrusting in thy selfe, nor climing in another way, but I gaue thee when thou lookedst not for it, that thou shouldst attend thereupon, and giue warning from the top of the Watch-tower, if any enemies should approach. I haue giuen thee vnto the house of Israel, and not the house of Israel vnto thee, that thou shouldest acknowledge thy selfe to bee the seruant of the sheepe, and not their Lord; for I haue not giuen the sheepe for the Shepherd, but the Shepherd for the sheepe. Hee that sitteth downe is greater than hee that doth minister and serue vnto him. Which thing was well knowne of him which truly said, Wee are your servants for Christs cause.

Ignorance of the law of God in prelats no.

God giueth floks to his and not his to pastors.

The congregation sitteth down.

The pastor but seruitor.

Pastors set to the congregation for Christs cause, and not masters.

But for what purpose haue I giuen thee vnto the house of Israel? That thou shouldest onely minister the Sacraments, consecrate wood, stones, and Church-yards? (This, I take God to witnesse, with great sighes and groanes I write vnto you, pouring out before you the griefe of my heart.) No truly? What then? First followeth the office of the Bishop, Thou shalt heare the word out of my mouth. This is but a short lesson, but such as all the world cannot comprehend, without they be inwardly taught of God.

And what else meaneth this, Out of my mouth thou shalt heare the word, but that thou shalt bee taught of God. Therefore as many as are not taught of God, although they be neuer so well exercised in the Scriptures by mans helpe, yet are they not watchmen giuen by God, & much lesse they which

The true pastors described Ezechiel.

which doe not vnderſtand and know the Scriptures. And therefore ſuch as theſe be, leſt they ſhould keep ſilence, and ſay nothing, are alwayes harping vpon the traditions and doctrines of men, that is, lies: for hee that ſpeaketh of himſelfe, ſpeaketh lies. Of theſe it is written, They would bee Doctors of the Law, not vnderſtanding what they ſpeake, neither of whom they ſpeake. Such of neceſſity they muſt all bee, who ſpeake that with their mouth, which they doe not beleeue, becauſe they are not inwardly taught of God, neither are perſwaded in their hearts that it is true: and therefore they are not to bee accounted as ſheepe, although they boaſt themſelues to bee ſheepheards. But contrariwiſe, touching the true and learned paſtors, giuen by God, it may be truly ſaid, Wee ſpeake that which wee know, and that which wee have ſeene (euen with the infallible eies of our faith) wee doe witneſſe: and theſe are neither deceiued, neither doe deceiue. Moreouer, the deceiuers proceed to worſe and worſe, erring themſelues, and bringing others alſo to errour, and becauſe they are of the world, the world doth willingly heare them. They are of the world (ſaith Saint Iohn) and therefore they ſpeake thoſe things which are of the world, and the world giveth eare vnto them.

Behold reuerend Father, this is the touchſtone of our daily preaching. Hath not the world giuen eare vnto them now a long time with great pleaſure and delight? But the fleſh could neuer ſuffer the preaching of the croſſe, nor yet the wiſedome of the fleſh, which is enemy vnto God, neither is ſubiect vnto his law nor cannot be. And why then are they accuſed to be heretikes and ſchiſmaticks, which will not ſeeke to pleaſe men, but onely to their edifying? being mindfull of that place of Scripture, God hath diſperſed the bones of them which pleaſe men, ſaying vnto them, Speake vnto us pleaſant things. But now letting theſe matters paſſe, wee will come vnto the ſecond point, wherein you aske how a man ſhould preach better. Forſooth, if we had heard him of whom the Father ſpake, ſaying, This is my dearely beloued Sonne in whom I am well pleaſed, heare him. Who alſo, ſpeaking of himſelfe, ſaid it was meet that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer and riſe againe the third day from death, and that in his name repentance and remiſſion of ſinnes ſhould be preached vnto all people. What other thing is that, than the ſame which the other Euangeliſts doe write? Goe yee into the whole world and preach the Goſpel vnto every creature: hee that beleeueth and is baptiſed ſhall bee ſaued. What can bee more pleaſant, ſweet, or acceptable vnto afflicted conſciences being almoſt in deſpaire, than this moſt ioyfull tydings.

But here, whether Chriſt haue beene a long time heard, I know not, for that I haue not heard all the preachers of England, and if I had heard them, yet till it was within this yeare or two, I could not ſufficiently iudge of them. But this I dare be bold to affirm, that as many as I haue heard of late preach (I ſpeake euen of the moſt famous) they haue preached ſuch repentance, that if I had heard ſuch preachers of repentance in times paſt, I ſhould vtterly haue beene in deſpaire. And to ſpeake of one of thoſe famous men (not vttering his name) after hee had sharpely inueighed againſt vice (wherein he pleaſed euery godly man, forſomuch as it could not bee ſufficiently cryed out vpon) hee concluded. Behold, ſaid hee, thou haſt lien rotten in thine owne luſts, by the ſpace of theſe ſixty yeares, euen as a beaſt in his owne dung, and wilt thou preſume in one yeare to goe forward toward heauen, & that in thine age, as much as thou wenteſt backward from heauen toward hell in ſixtie yeares? is not this thinke you a godly argument? Is this the preaching of repentance in the name of Ieſus? or rather to tread downe Chriſt with Antichriſts doctrine? for what other thing did hee ſpeake in effect, than that Chriſt died in vaine for thee? He will not be thy Ieſus or Sauiour, thou muſt make ſatisfaction for thy ſelfe, or elſe thou ſhalt periſh eternally. Then doth Saint Iohn lie, which ſaith, Behold the Lambe of God, which taketh away the ſinnes of the World. And in another place, His blood hath cleanſed us from all our ſinnes. And againe, He is the propitiation for the ſinnes of the whole world. Beſides an infinite number of other places. What other thing is this, then that which was ſpoken by the holy Ghoſt, by the mouth of Peter, ſaying, There ſhall bee falſe teachers that ſhall deny the Lord Ieſus, which hath redeemed them? And what followeth vpon ſuch doctrine of Diuels ſpeaking ipes through hypocriſie? A conſcience deſpairing and without all hope, and ſo giuen ouer vnto all wicked luſts, according to the ſaying of Saint Paul, After that they be come to this point, that they ſorrow no more, they give themſelves over vnto wantonneſſe, to commit all kind of filthineſſe, even with greedy deſire. For ſeeing that it is impoſſible for them to make ſatisfaction to God, either they murmure againſt God, or elſe they doe not beleeue him to be ſo cruell as they doe preach and declare him to bee. The want of paper will not ſuffer me to write any more, and I had rather to ſpeake it in priuate talke vnto your ſelfe. Whereunto if you would admit me, I truſt you ſhall not repent you thereof: and vnto me (Chriſt I take to my witneſſe) it would bee a great comfort, in whom I wiſh you, with all your flocke, heartily well to fare.

By this one you may ſee what all the reſt are. Marke the maner of the common preaching of the papiſts. 1 Iohn 1.

The effect and end of the popes doctrine.

Your priſoner and humble beadman,
vnto God for you, Tho. Bilney.

THus haue you the Letters, the abiuration, and Articles of Thomas Bilney. After which abiuration made, about the yeare of our Lord, 1529. the ſaid Bilney tooke ſuch repentance and ſorrow, that he was neere the point of vtter deſpaire; as by the words of Maiſter Latimer is credibly teſtified; whoſe words, for my better diſcharge, I thought here to annexe, written in his ſeuenth ſermon preached before King Edward, which be theſe. I knew a man my ſelfe, Bilney, little Bilney, that bleſſed Martyr of God, who what time hee had borne his fagot, and was come againe to Cambridge, had ſuch conflicts within himſelfe (beholding this Image of death) that his friends were afraid to let him bee alone. They were faine to bee with him day and night, and comfort him as they could, but no comforts would ſerue. And as for the comfortable places of Scripture, to bring them vnto him, it was as though a man ſhould run him through the heart with a ſword. Yet for all this hee was reuiued, and tooke his death patiently, and dyed well againſt the tyrannicall See of Rome. Hæc Latim. Sermon 7.

Bilney call downe with repentance.

Ex Latim. ſer. 7.

Againe, the ſaid Maiſter Latimer, ſpeaking of Bilney in another of his Sermons preached in Lincolneſhire, hath theſe words following: That ſame maiſter Bilney, which was burnt here in England for Gods word ſake, was induced and perſwaded by his friends to beare a fagot at the time when the Cardinall was aloft, and beare the ſwinge. Now when the ſame Bilney came to Cambridge againe, a whole yeare after, he was in ſuch an anguiſh and agony, that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking, nor anyother communication of Gods word, for he thought that all the whole ſcriptures were againſt him, & ſounded to his condemnation. So that I many a time communed with him, (for I was familiarly acquainted with him) but all things whatſoeuer any man could alledge to his comfort ſeemed to him to make againſt him. Yet for all that afterward hee came againe; God indued him with ſuch ſtrength and perfectneſſe of faith, that hee not onely confeſſed his faith

in the Gospell of our Sautour Jesus Christ, but also suffered his body to be burned for that same Gospels sake which wee now preach in England, &c. Hæc ille Ser. 8. fol. 132.

Furthermore, in the first sermon of the said M. Latimer before the Duchesse of Suffolke, fol. 5. he yet speaking more of Bilney, inferreth as followeth; Here I haue (said hee) occasion to tell you a storie which happened at Cambridge. Maister Bilney, or rather Saint Bilney, that suffered death for Gods Words sake, the same Bilney was the Instrument whereby God called me to knowledge. For I may thinke him, next to God, for that knowledge that I haue in the Word of God: For I was as obstinate a Papist as any was in England; insomuch that when I should bee made Bachelor of Diuinity, my whole Oration went against Philip Melanchon, and against his opinions. Bilney heard mee at that time, and perceiued that I was zealous without knowledge, and came to me afterward in my study, and desired mee for Gods sake to heare his confession. I did so: and (to say the truth) by his confession I learned more than afore in many yeares. So from that time forward I began to smell the Word of God, and forsake the schoole-doctors and such foleries, &c. And much more hee hath of the same matter, which yee may see hereafter in the life of Maister Latimer.

Latimer called and conuerted by Bilney.

Bilney returneth againe from his abiuration.

By this it appeareth how vehemently this good man was pierced with sorrow and remorse for his abiuration, the space almost of two yeares, that is, from the yeare 1529. to the yeare 1531. It followed then that he, by Gods grace and good counsell, came at length to some quiet of conscience, being fully resolued to giue ouer his life for the confession of that truth which before hee had renounced. And thus being fully determined in his mind, and setting his time, he toke his leaue in Trinity Hall, at tenne of the Clock at night, of certaine of his friends, and said that he would goe to Hierusalem, alluding belike to the words and example of Christ in the Gospell, going vp to Hierusalem, what time hee was appointed to suffer his passion. And so Bilney, meaning to giue ouer his life for the testimony of Christs Gospel, told his friends that hee would goe vp to Hierusalem, and so would see them no more: and immediately departed to Norfolke, and there preached first priuily in houshold, to confirme the Brethren and Sisters, and also to confirm the Anchresse whom he had conuerted to Christ. Then preached he openly in the fields, confessing his fact, and preaching publikely the doctrine which hee before had abiured, to be the very truth, and willed all men to beware by him, and neuer to trust to their fleshly friends in causes of Religion. And so, setting forward in his iourney toward the celestiall Hierusalem, hee departed from thence to the Anchresse in Norwich, and there gaue her a new Testament of Tindals translation, and the obedience of a Christian man, whereupon hee was apprehended and carried to prison, there to remaine till the blind Bishop Nix sent vp for a Writ to burne him.

Nam facies ejus erat euntis Hierosolymam.

Bilney goeth vp to Jerusalem.

In the meane season, the Friers and Religious men, with the residue of their Doctors Ciuill and Canon resorted to him, busily labouring to perswade him, not to dye in those opinions; saying, hee should be damned body and soule if he so continued. Among whom, first were sent to him of the Bishop, Doctor Call, Minister (as they call him) or Prouinciall of the Gray-Friers: and Doctor Stokes an Augustine Frier, who lay with him in prison in disputation, till the writ came that hee should bee burned. Doctor Call by the word of God, through the meanes of Bilneys doctrine and good life, whereof hee had good experience, was somewhat reclaimed to the Gospels side. Doctor Stokes remayned obdurate, and doth yet to this day; whose heart also the Lord (if it be his will) reforme, and open the eies of his old age, that hee may forsake the former blindnesse of his youth. Another great doer against him was one Frier Bird with one eye, Prouinciall of the White Friers. This Bird was a Suffragan in Couentry, and after Bishop of Chester, and was hee that brought apples to Bonner mentioned in the story of Haukes. Another was a Black-Frier, called Hodgekins, who after being vnder the Archbishop of Canterbury, married, and afterward in Queene Maries time put away his wife. These foure Orders of friers were sent (as is said) to bait Bilney: who notwithstanding, as he had planted himselfe vpon the firme rock of Gods Word, was at a point, and so continued vnto the end.

4 Orders of friers against Bilney.

Doctor Call, and Doctor Stokes, sent to dispute with Bilney.

Doctor Call, called by Bilney.

Frier Bird bestirreth about Bilney.

Frier Hodgekins a blacke frier against Bilney.

But here now commeth in Sir Thomas More trumping in our way, with his painted card, and would needs take vp this Thomas Bilney from vs, and make him a Conuert after his sect. Thus these coated Cards, though they could not by plaine Scriptures conuince him being aliue: yet now after his death, by false play they will make him theirs whether hee will or no. In this Sir Thomas More, in his raying preface before his booke against Tindall, doth challenge Bilney to his catholike Church: and saith, that not onely at the fire, but many dayes before, both in words and writing, hee reuoked, abhorred, and detested his heresies before holden. And how is this proued? By three or foure mighty arguments, as big as mil-posts, set out of Utopia, from whence, thou must know Reader, can come no fictions, but all fine poetry.

4 Reasons of Sir Thomas More.

Utopia, one of Mores fantasies.

First he saith, That certaine Norwich men writing to London, and depying that Bilney did recant; afterward being thereupon examined, were compelled to grant, that he at his examination read a bill, but what it was they could not tell; for they stood not so neere to heare him. And albeit they stood not so neere, yet some of them perceiued certaine things there spoken, whereby they thought that hee did reuoke. Some againe added to those things spoken, certaine additions of their owne, to excuse him from recantation.

First, to answer hereunto, and to try out this matter somewhat roundly with Maister More, let vs see with what conueyance hee proceedeth in his narration. At his first examination (saith hee) hee waxed stiffe in his opinions, but yet God was so good a Lord vnto him, that he was fully conuerted to the true Catholike Faith, &c. And when might this goodly conuersion begin? Many dayes (quoth he) before his burning. Here is no certaine day assigned, but many dayes left at large, that he might haue the larger roome to walke inuisible. Well then; but how many dayes these could be I would faine learne of Maister More, when hee was not many dayes in their hands, no longer than they could send vp to London for a Writ to burne him. Belike then shortly after his apprehension, at the first comming of the Friers vnto him by and by hee reuolted. A strange matter, that hee which two yeares before had laine in such a burning hell of despaire for his first abiuration, and could find no other comfort but onely in returning to the same doctrine againe which before hee had denied, vtterly resigning himselfe ouer to death, and taking his leaue of his friends, and setting his face with Christ purposely to goe to Hierusalem, voluntarily there to fall into the hands of the Scribes and Pharisees for that doctrines sake, should now so soone, euen at the first brunt, giue ouer to the contrary Doctrine againe. It is not like. God was so good a Lord vnto him, saith maister More. That God was a good Lord vnto him, very true it is. But that God did so turne him indeed, to bee a member of that Romish Church, that hath not maister More yet sufficiently proued. To affirme without proofe of

Answer to Sir Thomas More.

A likely tale of M. More.

or demonstration, in matters of Storie, it is not sufficient. But what hath bene done indeed, that must be proued by good euidence and speciall demonstration of witnesses, that we may certainely know it so to be.

Theirs reason of S. More.

It followeth moreouer in Master More. And there lacked not some, saith he) that were sorry for it. No doubt, but if our Bilney had so relented, some would haue bene sorte therefore. But what one man in all this summe, in all Norwich, was sory; that Master More must specifie vnto vs before wee beleeue him: so well are wee acquainted with his poeticall fictions. But how else should this narration of Master More seeme to run with probability, if it were not watered with such additions? Hee addeth moreouer and sayth, And some wrote out of Norwich to London, that hee had not reuoked his heresies at all, but still did abide in them. This soundeth rather to come more neere to a truth. And here is a knacke of Simons Art, to enterlard a tale of vntruth with some parcell of truth now and then among, that some things being found true may win credit to the rest which is vtterly false. And why then be not the letters of these Norwich men beleeued, for the not recanting of Bilney? Because, saith hee, afterward they being called to examination, it was there proued plainly to their faces, that Bilney reuoked. By whom was it proued? By those, saith hee, which at his execution stood by, and heard him read his reuocation himselfe, &c. What men were these? or what were their name? or what was any one mans name in all the Citie of Norwich, that heard Bilney recant? There Master More will giue vs leaue to seeke them out if wee can, for he can name vs none. Well, and why could not the other part heare Bilney read his reuocation as well as these? Because, saith More, hee read so softly, that they could not heare him.

Sir Thom. More here mocketh.

Well all this admitted, that Bilney read his reuocation so softly, that some could heare, some could not heare him, then this would be knowne, what was the cause why Bilney read his reuocation so softly? which must needs bee either for lacke of good will to reade, or good voice to vtter. If good will were absent in reading that reuocation, then it appeareth that hee recanted against his own minde and conscience. If it were by imbecillity of voice and utterance, then how followeth it Master More, in this your narration, where you say, that the sayd persons, which could not heare him read the bill, yet notwithstanding could heare him rehearse certaine other things spoken by him the same time at the fire, whereby they could not but perceiue well, that hee reuoked his errours, &c. Ah Master More, for all your powder of experience, doe yee thinke to cast such a mist before mens eyes, that we cannot see how you iuggle with truth, and take you tardy in your owne narration? vnlesse peraduenture you will excuse your selfe, per licentiam Poeticam, after the priuiledge of Poets and painters: for you know the old liberty of these two,

Pectoribus atque Poetis.
Quælibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas.

Now if this veine of yours, which so extreamly raileth and fareth against the poore martyrs and seruants of Christ, be so copious, that you dare take in hand any false matter to proue, and to make men beleeue that Bilney died a papist, yet the manner of handling hereof would haue required some more artificiall conueyance: Mendacem enim (ut scis) memorem esse oportet: that men, although they see the matter to be false, yet might commend the workemanship of the handler, which (to say the truth) neither hangeth with it selfe, nor beareth any semblance of any truth. But because Master More is gone and dead, I will cease any further to insult vpon him, lest I may seeme to incurre the same vice of his in mordendo mortuos. Yet forsomuch as his bookes bee not yet dead, but remaine aliue to the hurt of many, hauing therefore to doe, not with him, but with his booke-disciples, this would I know, how hangeth this geare together: Bilney was heard, and yet not heard, hee spake softly, and yet not softly? Some sayd he did recant, some said hee did not recant? Ouer & besides, how wil this be answered, that forsomuch as the sayd Bilney (as hee sayth) reuoked many dayes before his burning, and the same was knowne to him at London, then how chanced the same could not bee as well knowne to them of Norwich? who (as his owne Storie affirmeth) knew nothing thereof before the day of his execution, then seeing a certaine bill in his hand, which some said was a bill of his reuocation, some other heard it not. All this would be made plaine, especially in such a matter as this is, which he knew himselfe peraduenture to be false at least, he knew would be doubted, suspected and contraried of a great multitude.

Marke how these things hang together.

The second reason of master More.

I passe now to his second reason, where he reporteth, that the said Bilney, forthwith upon his iudgement and degradation, kneeled downe in the presence of all the people, and asked of the Chancellor absolution from the sentence of excommunication, holding him well content with his death, which hee confessed himselfe to haue deserued, &c.

Answer.

As touching the patient receiuing of his death, I doe well assent, although I doe not thinke, that he had deserued any such for his doctrine. And as for his kneeling downe in the presence of the people, vpon his iudgement and degradation, as I doe not deny that he might so doe, so I suppose againe the cause of his kneeling not to bee vnto the Chancellor to ask absolution from his excommunication. And if he were assoiled from his excommunication, yet doth it not thereupon follow that he recanted, no more then before, when hee came to Master Latimer in his study, humbly to be confessed and assoiled from his sinnes, as the blindnesse of that time then led him. But whether he knæled downe and was assoiled or no, neither was I there to see him, nor yet Master More himselfe: and therefore with the like authority as he affirmeth, I may deny the same, vnlesse he brought better demonstration for his assertion than he doth, hauing no more for himselfe, but only his owne * αυτος ἐφη. And yet neuertheless, admit he so did, being a man of a timorous conscience, of an humble spirit, and not fully resolued touching that matter of the Church, yet it followeth not thereby (as is sayd) that hee reuoked his other articles and doctrine by him before professed.

That is, he so saith.

The third reason of M. More.

The like answer may also be shaped to his third reason, where he saith, That certaine dayes after his iudgement, hee made great labour that hee might receiue the blessed body of Christ in forme of bread, which the Chancellor, after a great sticking a while, at length did grant, perceiuing his deuotion thereto, &c. Whereunto I answer as before, that it is not impossible, but that Bilney might both heare Masse, and desire to receiue the Sacrament. For in that matter it may be that hee was not resolued otherwise, than common custome then led both him and many other. Neither doe I find in all the Articles obiected against Bilney, That euer he was charged with any such opinion, concerning either the Masse or the sacrament: which maketh me thinke, that he was yet ignorant & also deuout as other then were.

Answer.

The fourth reason of master More.

Also fourthly, be it admitted, as Master More sayth, That in receiuing of the Sacrament, hee holding up his hands should say the collect, Domine Iesu Christe: and comming to these words, Ecclesiæ tuæ pacem & concordiam, hee knocked upon

upon his breast, diuers times repeating the same words, &c. all this being granted to Master More, yet it argueth no necessary alteration of his former doctrine, which he preached and taught before. And yet if I listed here to stand dallying with master More in the state inficiall, and deny that hee affirmeth, how will he make good that which he saith? He saith, That Bilney, kneeling before the Chauncellour, desired absolution: Then, comming to Masse full deuoutly, required to receiue the body of Christ informe of bread, repeating diuers times the words of the Collect, Domine Iesu Christe, &c. By what argument proueth hee all this to bee so? Master More in his Preface before the Booke against Tindall so saith: Ergo it is certaine. If Master More had neuer made fictions in his Writings beside, or had neuer broken the head of verity in so many places of his Bookes as I could shew him, then might this argument goe for somewhat. But here I aske, Was this Master More present at the iudgement of Bilney? No. Or else, what Registers had hee for his direction? None. Or else, By what witnesses will hee auouch this to bee certaine? Go and seeke these witnesses (good Reader) where thou canst find them; for Master More nameth none. Onely because Master More so saith, that is sufficient. Well, giue this to Master More (although he hath crackt his credit so often, and may almost be bankerout) yet let his word goe for payment at this time, and let vs imagine all to be Oracles that hee saith; Yet neuertheless here must needs remaine a scruple: for what will master More, or (because he is gone) what will his disciples say to this, that if Bilney was before assoiled vpon his iudgement (as they pretend) how was hee then afterward degraded? What assoiling is this, to be first forgiuen, and then to be punished after? Again, if he were (as they surmise) conuerted so fully to the Catholique faith, and also assoiled, why then did the Chauncellor stick so greatly for a while, to housell him with the body of Christ in forme of bread? I am sure that if Christ had beene here himselfe in form of his owne flesh, he would nothing haue stucke to receiue him, being so conuerted at the first.

To be short, if Bilney was so graciously reduced to the holy Mother the Catholike Church, repenting his errors, and detesting his heresies, and now being in no purgatory, but being a very saint in heauen, as yee say hee is: why then did you burne him whom yee knew your selues should be a Saint? Thus if yee burne both Gods enemies, and Gods Saints too, what cruell men are you? But here you will alledge perhaps your law of Relapse, by the which the first fall is pardonable, but the second fall into heresie is in no case pardonable; for so standeth your Law, I grant. But how this Law standeth with the true Church of Christ, and with his Word, now let vs reason. For this being a Law not of politique or ciuill gouernment (where such lawes be expedient for publique necessity) but onely being a law mere Ecclesiasticall, what a cruell mother of Church is this, which will not and cannot forgiue her children, rising and repenting the second fault or error committed, but needs must burne their bodies, that their soules may be saued from the painefull passion of purgatory, whom neuertheless they know forthwith shall bee blessed in heauen? If God doe saue them, why doe yee burne them. If God doe pardon them, why doe you condemne them? And if this be the law of your Church, according to your doctrine, to burne them at the second time, though they be amended; how then doth this Church agree with the Word of Christ, and nature of his true spouse, which onely seeketh repentance and amendment of sinners? which once being had, she gladly openeth her bosome, and tenderly receiueth them whensoeuer they returne.

State inficialis in Rhetoricke is when one standeth to the denyall of the fact.

An argument of Mores authority.

M. Mores credit crackt.

The law of relapse. Extravag. de hæret. super ea.

Mores words in his preface.

The popes law disagreeing from the condition of the true Church of Christ.

Wherefore, if Bilney did returne to your Church (as yee say he did) then was your Church a cruell mother, and vnnaturall, which would not open her bosome vnto him, but thrust him into the fire when hee had repented. Furthermore, how will you defend this law by the Word of God, who in expresse words teaching all Bishops and Pastors, by the example of Christ the great Bishop of our soules (being compassed about with temptations, that hee might haue the more compassion of them which bee infirme) exhorted all other spirituall persons by the like example, saying, (Hebrewes the fifth) For every Bishop which is taken from among men is ordained for men, in things pertaining to God, to offer gifts and sacrifice for sinnes, that hee may bee mercifull to the ignorant, and to such as erre, forsomuch as he himselfe is compassed about with infirmity, &c. Heb. 5. Besides which Scripture, and also, that some Doctors of the Common Law, if they be well scanned, will not deny, but that they which bee fallen in relapse, whether it be vere, or ficte, yet if they earnestly returne from their errors before the sentence be giuen, they may be sent to perpetuall prison to some Monastery, &c. Wherefore, if Bilney did so earnestly retract and detest his former opinions, so many dayes (as More saith) before his suffering then needed not hee to suffer that death as he did, but might haue bene sent to perpetuall prison.

Bilney need not to be iudged by the censure of the Canon Law. Ex tractatu cujusdam Doct. Canonistæ.

Thus, although I need not to stand longer vpon this matter, being so plaine, and hauing said enough; yet (briefly to repeat that which before hath bene said) this I say againe: first if Thomas Bilney was assoiled from Excommunication, and after that heard his Masse so deuoutly, and at the end of the Masse was confessed, and consequently after confession was housled, and lastly asked mercy for contemning of the Church, as Master More doth beare vs in hand (to see now how this tale hangeth together) why then did the Chancellour stick so greatly to giue him the Sacrament of the Altar, whom hee himselfe had assoiled, and receiued to the Sacrament of Penance before; which is plaine against the Canon Law? Again, the said Thomas Bilney, if hee were now receiued to the Mother Church by the Sacraments of Penance and of the Altar; why then was hee afterward degraded, and cut from the Church, sith the Canon permitteth no degradation, but to them onely which bee incorrigible? Furthermore the said Bilney, if hee being conuerted so many dayes before (as More pretendeth) to the Catholique faith, was now no heretike, how then did the sentence pronounce him for an hereticke? Or finally, how could they, or why would they burne him being a Catholique, especially sith the Canon Law would beare with him, so bee iudged rather to perpetuall prison in some Monastery as is afore touched, if they had pleased.

Mast. More tale full of a lirdities.

Wherefore in three words to answer to M. More: first, all this tale of his may be doubted, because of the matter not hanging together. Secondly, it may also well be denied, for the insufficiencie of probation and testimony.

A summary answer to maste More, or in absence, to Master Cope.

Thirdly, if all this were granted, yet neither hath Master More any great aduantage against master Bilney, to proue him to haue recanted: nor yet M. Cope against me, which by the authority of master More seeketh to beare mee downe, and disproue my former story.

For be it granted that Bilney at his death did hold with the Masse, with confession, and with the authority of the Romish Church, being an humble spirited man, and yet no further brought; yet all this notwithstanding proueth not that he recanted. Forsomuch as hee neuer held nor taught any thing before against the premisses, therefore hee could not recant that which hee neuer did hold. For the better demonstration whereof I will recite out of the register

Mores consequence denied.

Ex Registro Lond. fol. 82

gilters some part of his teaching and preaching, as was objected against him by one Rich. Nele priest: who, among other witnesses, deposed against him for preaching in the towne of Wilsedon, these words following.

Bilney against offerings to Images.

Put away your golden gods, your silver gods, your stonie gods, and leave your offerings, and lift up your hearts to the Sacrament of the Altar. Also the said Master Bilney said in his Sermon: I know certaine things have beene offered in such places, which have beene afterward given to whores of the Stewes; and I call them whores of the stewes that bee nought of their living, &c. Ex Regist.

Bilney against pilgrimage.

Item, by another witnesse named William Cade it was deposed against him, that he thus preached; That Iewes and Saracens would have become Christian men long agoe, had not Idolatry of Christian men beene, by offering of Candles, wax, or money to the stocks and stones of images, set and standing in the Churches, &c.

Item by the said deponent against Bilney, That the priests take away the offerings, and hang them about their whores necks: and after that, they take them againe from the whores if they please them not, and hang them upon the Images; and is not this a great Relique, when it is hanged there againe?

Item, by the said deponent it was testified against Bilney, that going on pilgrimage is naught, and that no man should use it, for it were better not and rather to tarry at home, and give somewhat in almes, and offer your hearts, wills, and minds, to the Sacrament, and leave your Idolatry to Saints.

Item, by William Nelmis of Wilsedone, that Bilney should preach, That they gild their gods, and beare them about, and men say they doe speake, and if they doe speake, it is the divell that speaketh in them, and not God, &c.

Item, by Thomas Daly of Wilsedone, that Bilney thus preached, You come hither on pilgrimage to stocks and stones. You doe naught, keepe you at home, and worship the Sacrament at home, &c.

Item, by Frier Jo. Yogekin, that Bilney thus preached at Ipswich, The comming of our Saviour Christ was long desired, and by divers and many Prophets prophecied, that hee should come. But Iohn the Baptist, more then a Prophet, did not onely prophecie, but with his finger shewed, Behold the Lambe of God, that taketh away the sinnes of the world. Then if this were the very Lambe, which Iohn did demonstrate and shew, which taketh away the sinnes of the world, what injury is this Bull of the Bishop of Rome to our Saviour Iesus Christ, that to be buried in the cowle of Saint Francis should or may remit foure parts of the penance? What is left to our Saviour Iesus Christ, which taketh away the sinnes of the World: This will I justifie to be a great blasphemy against the blood of Christ, &c.

Bilney against Ex merits.

Item, by another Frier Iulles, that Bilney thus preached, I trust there shall and will come other beside mee; the which shall shew and preach to you the same faith and manner of living that I doe, which is the very true Gospel of our Saviour, whereby you shall be brought from your errours, wherein you have beene so long seduced: for before this, there have beene many that have slandered you and the Gospel of our Saviour Christ. Of whom speaketh our Saviour Christ, Matthew 18. Qui scandalizaverint unum de pusillis istis qui crediderint, &c.

Bilney against intermediators than one.

Adde moreover to these the testimony of Richard Seyman, that Bilney in Ipswich should preach these words, Our Saviour Christ is our mediatour betweene us and the Father: what then should wee need to seeke for remedy to any Saint inferiour to Christ? Wherefore to make such petition to any, but to our Saviour Christ, trusting thereby to have remedy, doth great injury to the blood of Christ, and deformeth our Saviour Christ, like as if a man should take and strike off the head, and set it under the foot, and to set the foot above.

Thus much, being partly touched before, I thought here to insinuate againe out of the Registers, touching the opinions of Thomas Bilney. Whereby may appeare the whole summe of his preaching and Doctrine to proceede chiefly against Idolatry, invocation of Saints, vaine worship of Images, false trust to mens merits, and such other grosse points of religion, as seemed prejudiciall and derogatorie to the blood of our Saviour Iesus Christ. As touching the Masse, and Sacrament of the Altar, as hee never varied neither more nor lesse from himselfe, so likewise hee never differed therein from the most grossest Catholikes. And as concerning his opinion of the Church of Rome, how blind it was at that time, may sufficiently appeare by his owne answers in time of his abjuration, written with his owne hand in Latine, which I have to shew, as followeth: Credo plerasque leges pontificias utiles esse, necessarias, & ad pietatem quoque plurimum promoventes, nec sacris Scripturis repugnantes, imo ab omnibus plurimum observandas, &c. De omnibus non possum pronunciare, utpote quas non legi, & quas legi, nonquam in hoc legi, ut reprehenderem, sed ut discerem intelligere, ac pro virili facere, & docere. De multiplicitate legum questus est suo tempore S. Augustinus, & item Garsonus, qui miratur quomodo nos post lapsum inter tot laqueos Constitutionum tuti esse possimus, quum primi parentes adhuc puri, & ante lapsum, unicum præceptum non observarint, &c.

Note here how grosse Bilney was yet in the Sacrament.

Ex Regist. London. fol. 37.

Moreover, concerning the authority of the keyes thus hee writeth, answering to his twelfth Article, Soli Sacerdotes, ordinati rite per pontifices, habent claves, quarum virtute ligant & soluunt (* clave non errante) quod & facere eos non dubito, quamlibet sint peccatores. Nam Sacramentorum efficatiam non minuit, nedum tollit ministrorum indignitas, quamdiu ab Ecclesia tolerantur, &c.

* At hæc clavis errat perpetuo.

By these words of Bilney written by him in Latine, although it may be thought how ignorant and grosse hee was after the rudenesse of those dayes, yet by the same notwithstanding it may appeare how falsely hee is noted and slandered by Master More, and Cope my friend, to have recanted the articles, which hee did never hold or maintaine otherwise in all his life. And therefore (as I said) though it be granted to Master More, or in his absence to my friend Cope, that Bilney was assoiled, was confessed, and houseled before his burning, yet all this argueth not, that he recanted.

Contrary reasons to prove that Bilney did not againe recant.

Now that I have sufficiently (I trust) put off the reasons of master More and of others, whereby they pretend falsely to face us out, that Bilney the second time againe recanted at his death: it remaineth on the other part, that I likewise doe inferre my probations, whereby I have to argue and convince, that Bilney did not the second time recant, as hee is untruly slandered. And first I will begin even with the words and testimonies of Master Mores owne mouth, who being Lord Chancellor, when message was sent to him for a writ of discharge to burne Bilney, spake in this wise to the messengers that came, Goe your wayes, saith hee, and burne him first, and then afterward come to mee for a Bill of my hand. Which words may give us us evidence enough, that Bilney was not thought then to have recanted, for then the Lord Chancellour would not have beene so greedy and hasty, no doubt, to have him dispatched. And how standeth this with master Mores words now, which

Mores owne words against himselfe.

beareth

Proued by Bishop Fixes words that Bilney did not recant at his burning.

beareth vs in hand that hee recanted many dayes before his burning.

The like euidence we may also take by the verdict of the Bishop himselfe that burned him, whose words were these: After hee had burned him, and then heard tell of doctor Sharton; Christs mother, said hee, (that was his oath) I feare I haue burnt Abel, and let Cain goe, &c. As who would say; I had thought before that I had punished Caine, and let Abel goe: but now I feare I haue burnt Abel, and let Caine escape. Wherevpon it is plaine to vnderstand what was the Bishops iudgement of Bilney, before his burning; that is, that hee was a Caine, and the other an Abel. But after the burning of Bilney, the Bishop hearing now of Sharton, turneth his iudgement, and correcteth himselfe, swearing now the contrary; that is, lest hee had burned Abel, and let Caine goe.

Furthermore, where the Bishop feared, in burning Bilney, that he had burned Abel; what doth this feare of the Bishop import, but a doubting of his minde uncertaine? For who feareth that whereof hee is sure? Wherefore the case is plaine, that Bilney at his burning did not recant, as More reporteth. For then the Bishop knowing Bilney to die a Catholick conuert, and a true member of the Church, would not haue feared, nor doubted, but would haue constantly affirmed Bilney to haue died a true Abel indeed. And to conclude this matter, if Bilney died an Abel, then the Bishop by his owne confession must needs proue himselfe to bee a Caine, which slue him. What more cleerer probation could wee bring, if there were a thousand? Or what need wee any other, hauing this alone.

Cain burneth Abel.

Testimonies prouing that master Bilney did not recant at his death.

Now for testimony and witnesse of this matter to be produced, for so much as Master More alledgeth none to proue that Bilney at his death did recant; I will allay what testimonies I haue on the contrary side, to auouch and proue that Bilney did not recant.

Witnes for Bilney.

And forsomuch as Bilney was a Cambridge man, and the first framer of that Vniuersity in the knowledge of Christ, and was burned at Norwich, being not very farre distant from Cambridge; there is no doubt, but amongst so many friends as he had in that Vniuersity, some went thither to heare and see him. Of whom one was Thomas Allen, Fellow then of Pembroke Hall, who, returning the same time from Bilneys burning, declared to Doctor Turner Deane of Wells, being yet aliue, (a man whose authority neither is to bee neglected, nor credit to be distrusted) that the said Bilney took his death most patiently, and suffered most constantly, without any recantation for the doctrine which he before had professed.

Doct. Turner Deane of Wels.

Another witnesse for Bilney.

In the citie of Norwich, Pecton and many other be now departed, which were then present at the burning of Bilney: neuertheless some bee yet aliue, whose witnesses if need were I could fetch with a little labour, and will (God willing) as time shall require: in the meane time, at the writing hereof here was one Thomas Russell, a right honest occupier, and a Citizen of Norwich, who likewise being there present on horse-backe at the execution of this godly man, beholding all things that were done, did neither heare him recant any word, nor yet heard of his recantation.

Another witnesse for Bilney.

I could also adde hereunto the testimony of another, being brother to the Archbishop of Canterbury, named Master Baker, a man yet aliue, who being the same time present at the examination of Bilney, both heard him and saw him, when as a certaine Frier called him heretick. Whereunto Bilney replying againe, made answer; If I be an heretick (said he) then are you an Antichrist, who of late haue buried a certaine Gentlewoman with you, in Saint Francis cowle, alluring her to haue saluation thereby. Which fact, although the Frier the same time did deny, yet this cannot be denied but Bilney spake these words: whereby hee may easily bee iudged to be farre from the mind of any recantation; according as by the said Gentleman it is also testified, that after that he neuer heard of any recantation that Bilney either meant or made.

If I should recite all that here might be brought, I might sooner lacke roome in my booke to containe them, than names enow to fill vp a grand Iurie. But what need I to spend time about witnesse, when one Master Latimer may stand for a thousand, one Martyr to beare witnesse to another? And though my friend Cope, pressing me with the authority of Master More, saith, that he will beleeue him before me; yet I trust hee will not refuse to credit this so ancient a Seignior, Father Latimer, being both in Bilneys time, and also by Bilney conuerted, and familiarly with him acquainted; who being the same time at Cambridge, I suppose would inquire as much, and could know more of this matter than Master More.

One martyr inough for another martyr.

Touching the testimoniall of which Latimer I haue noted before, how he in three sundry places of his sermons hath testified of good Bilney, of that blessed Bilney, of Saint Bilney, how hee died patiently, against the tyrannicall See of Rome, &c. And in another Sermon also; how the said Bilney suffered his body to be burned for the Gospell sake, &c. Item, in another place, How the sayd Bilney suffered death for Gods Word sake. Vide supra.

The testimony of master Latimer concerning master Bilney.

Vide supra.

I may be thought perhaps of some to haue stayed too long about the discourse of this matter. But the cause that moued, and halfe constrained mee thereunto, was Sir Thomas More, sometimes Lord Chancellor of England, and now a great archpiller of all our English Papists, a man otherwise of a pregnant wit, full of pleasant conceits, also for his learning aboue the common sort of his estate, esteemed no lesse industrious in his studies, than well exercised in his pen. Who if hee had kept himselfe in his owne shop, and applyed the faculty, being a lay man, whereunto hee was called, and had not ouer-reached himselfe to proue masteries in such matters wherein hee had little skill, lesse experience, and which pertained not to his profession, hee had deserued not onely much more commendation, but also longer life.

But forsomuch as he, not contented with his own vocation, hath with Vza reached out his vnmeete hand to meddle with Gods Arke-matters, wherein he had little cunning, and while he thinketh to helpe Religion, destroyeth Religion, and is an vtter enemy to Christ, and to his spirituall doctrine, and his poore afflicted Church: To the intent therefore that he, being taken for a spectall ringleader and a chiefe stay in the Popes Church, might the better bee knowne what hee is, and that the ignorant and simple may see what little credit is to bee giuen vnto him, as well in his other false facing out of matters, as namely in this present historie of Bilneys recantation; I haue diligently searched out & procured the true certificate of M. Bilneys burning, with all the circumstances and points thereto belonging, testified not by some-sayes and heare-sayes (as Master More vseth) but truly witnessed, and faithfully recorded by one, who as in place and degree he surmounteth the estate of Master More (though he were L. Chancellor) so being also both a spirituall person, and there present the same time, comming for the same purpose the day before to see his burning, was a present beholder of things there done, αὐτόπτης καὶ μάρτυς of his martyrdome whose credit I am sure will counterpeale with the credit of M. More. The order of which martyrdome was this as followeth.

Doctor Parker archbishop of Canterbury, a present witnesse at the burning of Bilney.

Thomas Bilney, after his examination and condemnation

A description of the godly constancy of *Thomas Bilney, who being in prison, oftentimes proued the fire with his finger.*

Thomas Bilney being in prison diuers times proued the fire with his finger.

demnation before Doctor Pelles, Doctor of Law, and Chancellor, first was degraded by Suffragan Underwood, according to the custome of their Popish manner, by the assistance of all the Friers and Doctors of the same suit. Which done, he was immediatly committed to the Lay power, and to the two Sheriffes of the City, of whom Tho. Necton was one. This Thomas Necton was Bilneys speciall good friend, and sorrie to accept him to such execution as followed. But such was the tyrannie of that time, and dread of the Chancellor and Friers, that he could no otherwise doe, but néeds must receiue him. Who notwithstanding, as he could not beare in his conscience himselfe to be present at his death; so, for the time that he was in his custodie, he caused him to bée more friendly looked vnto, and more wholsomely kept concerning his diet, than he was before.

Thomas Necton Sheriffe of Norwich.

Anno 1531

The good courage of Bilney before his death.

After this, the Friday following at night, which was before the day of his execution, being Saint Magnus day, and Saturday, the said Bilney had diuers of his friends resorting vnto him in the Guildhall, where hée was kept. Amongst whom, one of the said friends finding him eating of an Ale-brew with such a chéerefull heart and quiet minde as he did, said, that hée was glad to sée him at that time, so shortly before his heauie and painfull departure, so heartily to refresh himselfe. Wherunto he answered; O, said hée, I follow the example of the husbandmen of the Country, who hauing a ruinous house to dwell in, yet bestow cost as long as they may, to hold it vp. And so doe I now with this ruinous house of my bodie, and with Gods creatures, in thanks to him, refresh the same as yée sée. Then sitting with his said friends in godly talke to their edification, some put him in minde, that though the fire, which he should suffer the next day, should bée of great heat vnto his body, yet the comfort of Gods spirit should coole it to his euerlasting refreshing. At this word the said Thomas Bilney putting his hand toward the flame of the candle burning before them (as also hée did diuers times besides) and féeling the heat thereof; O (said he) I féele by experience, and haue knowne it long by Philosophie, that fire by Gods ordinance is naturally hot, but yet I am perswaded by Gods holy word, and by the experience of some spoken of in the same, that in the flame they felt no heate, and in the fire they felt no consumption: & I constantly beleeue, howsoeuer that the stubble of this my body shall bee wasted by it, yet my soule and spirit shall be purged thereby, a paine for the time, whereon notwithstanding followeth joy vnspeakeable. And here he much entreated of this place of Scripture; Noli timere, quia redemite, & vocavi te nomine tuo, meus es tu. Cum transieris per aquas, tecum ero, & flumina non operient te, Cum ambulaveris in igne, non combureris, & flamma non ardebis te, quia ego Dominus Deus tuus sanctus Israel, saluator tuus. That is; Feare not, For I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy name, thou art mine owne. When thou goest thorow the water I will bee with thee, and the strong flouds shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest in the fire, it shall not burne thee, and the flame shall not kindle vpon thee, for I am the Lord thy God, the holy one of Israel. Which hee did most comfortably entreat of, as well in respect of himselfe, as applying it to the particular vse of his Friends there present, Of whom some tooke such sweet fruite therein, that they caused the whole said sentence to be faire written in tables, and some in their bookes. The comfort whereof (in diuers of them) was neuer taken from them to their dying day.

Bilney tasted the fire with his finger.

The Saturday next following, when the Officers of executiō (as the manner is) with their gleues

and

and halberds were ready to receiue him, and to lead him to the place of execution without the citie gate, called bishops gate, in a low valley, commonly called the Lollards pit, vnder Saint Leonards hill, enuironed about with great hils, (which place was chosen for the peoples quiet, sitting to see the execution) at the comming forth of the sayd Thomas Bilney out of the prison dore one of his friends came to him, and with few words, as hee durst, spake to him, and prayed him in Gods behalfe to be constant, and to take his death as patiently as hee could. Whereunto the sayd Bilney answered, with a quiet and milde countenance: Yee see when the Mariner is entered his ship to saile on the troublous sea, how he for a while is tossed in the billowes of the same, but yet in hope, that he shall once come to the quiet hauen, hee beareth in better comfort the perills which hee feeleth: So am I now toward this sayling, and whatsoeuer stormes I shall feele, yet shortly after shall my ship bee in the hauen, as I doubt not thereof by the grace of God, desiring you to helpe mee with your prayers to the same effect.

Constant Bilney exhorted to constancy.

And so he going forth in the streets, giuing much almes by the way by the hands of one of his friends and accompanied with one Doctor Warner, Doctor of Diuinity, and Parson of Winterton, whom hee did chuse as his old acquaintance, to bee with him for his Ghostly comfort; hee came at the last to the place of execution, and descended down from the hill to the same, apparelled in a lay mans gowne with his sleeues hanging downe; and his armes out, his haire being piteously mangled at his degradation (a little single body in person, but alwayes of a good vpright countenance), and drew nere to the stake prepared, and somewhat tarrying the preparation of the fire, hee desired that hee might speake some words to the people, and there standing, thus hee said:

Thomas Bilney going to his death.

Good people, I am come hither to die, and borne I was to liue vnder that condition, naturally to die againe, and that yee might testifie that I depart out of this present life, as a true Christian man in a right beleefe towards Almighty God, I will rehearse vnto you in a fast faith the Articles of my Creed: and then began to rehearse them in order, as they bee in the common Creed, with oft eleuating his eyes and hands to Almighty God, and at the Article of Christs incarnation, hauing a little meditation in himselfe, and comming to the word crucified, hee humbly bowed himselfe and made great reuerence, and then proceeding in the Articles, and comming to these words, I beleeve the Catholike Church, there hee pausled, and spake these words; Good people I must heere confesse to haue offended the Church, in preaching once against the prohibition of the same, at a poore cure belonging to Trinitie hall in Cambridge, where I was fellow, earnestly intreated thereunto by the Curat and other good people of the parish, shewing, that they had no sermon there of long time before: and so in my conscience moued, I did make a poore collation vnto them, and thereby ran into the disobedience of certaine authority in the Church by whom I was prohibited; howbeit I trust at the generall day, charity that moued mee to this act shall beare mee out at the iudgement seat of God, and so he proceeded on, without any manner of words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring him to his death.

The words of Thomas Bilney at the stake.

Thomas Bilney put to death for preaching, being thereunto desired.

Maister Moze moued a lier by witnesse present at Bilneys death.

This once done, he put off his gowne, and went to the stake, and kneeling vpon a little ledge comming out of the stake, whereon hee should afterward stand to be better seene, hee made his priuate prayer with such earnest eleuation of his eyes and hands to heauen, and in so good quiet behauiour, that he seemed not much to consider the terror of his death, & ended at the last his priuat prayers with the 143. Psalme, beginning, Domine, exaudi orationem meam, auribus percipe obsecrationem meam, &c. That is, Heare my prayer O Lord, consider my desire: and the next verse, he repeated in deepe meditation thrice, Et ne intres in judicium cum servo tuo Domine. That is, And enter not into judgement with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified: And so finishing that Psalme hee ended his priuate prayers. Psalm. 143.

Thomas Bilney praying at the stake.

After that, he turned himselfe to the officers, asking them if they were ready, and they answered, yea. Whereupon he put off his sacket and doublet, and stood in his hose and shirt, and went vnto the stake, standing vpon that ledge, and the chaine was cast about him; and standing theron, the sayd Doctor Warner came to him to bid him farewell, which spake but few words for weeping.

Doctor Warner taking his farewell of Thomas Bilney.

Upon whom the sayd Thomas Bilney did most gently smile, and enclined his bodie to speak to him a few words of thankes, and the last were these, O master Doctor, Pasce gregem tuum, Pasce gregem tuum, ut cum venerit Dominus, inueniat te sic facientem. That is, Feed your flocke, feed your flocke, that when the Lord commeth, hee may find you so doing: and farewell good master doctor, and pray for mee; and so he departed without any answer, sobbing and weeping. And whilst he thus stood vpon the ledge at the stake, certain friers, doctors, and priors of their houses being there present (as they were vncharitably and maliciously present at his examination and degradation, &c.) came to him and sayd, O master Bilney the people bee perswaded that wee be the causers of your death, and that wee haue procured the same, and thereupon it is like that they will withdraw their charitable almes from vs all, except you declare your charitie towards vs, and discharge vs of the matter. Whereupon the sayd Thomas Bilney spake with a loud voice to the people and sayd, I pray you good people be neuer the worse to these men for my sake, as though they should be the authors of my death; it was not they; and so he ended.

The words of Thomas Bilney to doctor Warner.

The friers desire Bilney to speake for them

Then the officers put reed and fagots about his body, & set fire on the reed, which made a very great flame, which sparkled and deformed the visour of his face, he holding vp his hands, and knocking vpon his breast, crying sometimes Iesus; sometimes Credo. Which flame was blowne away from him by the violence of the Winde, which was that day and two or three days before notable great, in which it was said that the fields were maruellously plagued by the losse of corne: and so for a little pause hee stood without flame, the flame departing and recoursing thrice ere the wood toke strength to bee the sharper to consume him, and then hee gaue vp the ghost, and his body being withered bowed downward vpon the chaine. Then one of the officers with his halbert smote out the staple in the stake behind him, and suffered his body to fall into the bottome of the fire, laying wood on it, and so hee was consumed.

The patient death and martyrdome of M. Bilney.

Thus haue ye (good Readers) the true history, and martyrdome of this good man, that is, of blessed Saint Bilney (as master Latimer doth call him) without any recantation, testified and ratified by the authority aboue-said, by the which authority and party being there present and yet aliue, it is furthermore constantly affirmed, that Bilney not only did neuer recant; but also that hee neuer had any such bill, or script or scroll in his hand to read, either softly or apertly, as Master Moze, Per licentiam Poeticam, would beare vs downe. Wherefore euen as you see master Moze deale in this, so you may trust him in the residue of his other tales, if yee will.

Saint Bilney.

M. Mores false report refuted.

Master Stafford of Cambridge.

AS the death of this godly Bilney did much good in Norfolke

P. Bilney the first converter & apostle of Cambridge.

Northfolke where he was burned: so his diligent travell, in teaching and exhorting other; and example of life correspondent to his doctrine, left no small fruit behind him in Cambridge, being a great meanes of framing that University, and drawing divers unto Christ. By reason of whom, and partly also of another called Master Stafford, the word of God began there most luckily to spread, and many toward wits to flourish. In the company of whom was Master Latimer, Doctour Barnes, Doctour Thistell of Pembroke hall, Master Foxe of Benet Colledge, and Master Soude of the same Colledge, Doctor Warner above mentioned, with divers other more.

This Master Stafford was then the publike reader of the Divinity Lecture in that University. Who, as he was an earnest professour of Christs Gospell, so was he as diligent a follower of that which he professed, as by this example here following may appeare.

The notable zele of master Stafford in saving a damnable Priest.

For as the plague was then fore in Cambridge, and amongst other a certaine priest called sir Henry Conjurer lay sore sicke of the said plague, Master Stafford hearing therof, and seeing the horrible danger that his soule was in, was so moved in conscience to helpe the dangerous case of the priest, that he neglecting his owne bodily death, to recover the other from eternall damnation, came unto him, exhorted, and so laboured him, that he would not leave him before he had converted him, and saw his conjuring bookes burned before his face. Which being done, M. Stafford went home, and immediatly sickned, and shortly after most Christianly deceased. Ex fideli testimonio D. Ridlei, & Edmund. Episc. Lond.

Concerning which Master Stafford this more over is to be noted, how that Master Latimer, being yet a fervent and a zealous papist, standing in the schooles when M. Stafford read, bad the schollers not to heare him: and also preaching against him, exhorted the people not to believe him; and yet the said Latimer confessed himselfe, that he gave thankes to God, that he asked him forgivenesse before he departed.

Mast. Latimer asketh Master Stafford forgivenesse.

And thus much by the way of good Master Stafford, who, for his constant and godly adventure in such a cause, may seeme not unworthy to goe with blessed Bilney in the fellowship of holy and blessed martyrs.

The story of M. Simon Fish.

Mast. Simon Fish, author of a book called the Supplication of Beggers.

BEfore the time of Master Bilney, and fall of the Cardinall, I should have placed the story of Simon Fish, with the booke called the Supplication of Beggers, declaring how and by what meanes it came to the Kings hand, and what effect thereof followed after, in the reformation of many things, especially of the Clergy. But the missing of a few yeres in this matter breaketh no great square in our story, though it be now entered here, which should have come in six yeres before. The manner and circumstance of the matter is this.

After that the light of the Gospell, working mightily in Germany, began to spread his beames here also in England, great stirre and alteration followed in the hearts of many: so that coloured hypocrisie, and false doctrine, and painted holinesse began to be espied more and more by the reading of Gods Word. The authority of the bishop of Rome, and the glory of his Cardinals was not so high, but such as had fresh wits, sparkled with Gods grace, began to espie Christ from Antichrist, that is, true sincerity from counterfeit religion. In the number of whom was the said M. Simon Fish, a Gentleman of Grayes Inne. It happened the first yere that this Gentleman came to London to dwell, which was about the yere of our Lord 1525. that there was a certaine Play or interlude made by one M. Rw of the same Inne Gentleman, in which Play partly was matter against the Cardinall Wolsey. And where none durst take upon them to play that part which touched the said Cardinall, this foresaid M. Fish took upon him to doe it. Whereupon great displeasure ensued against him upon the Cardinals part, insomuch as he being pursued by the said Cardinall, the same night that this Tragedy was played, was compelled of force to void his owne house, and so fled over the sea to Tindall. Upon occasion whereof, the next yere following this Booke was made (being about the yere 1527.) and so not long after, in the yere (as I suppose) 1528. was sent over to the Lady Anne Bulleine, who then lay at a place not far from the Court. Which booke her brother seeing in her hand, took it and read it, and gave it to her againe, willing her earnestly to give it to the King, which thing she so did.

Ex certa relatione, vivoque testimonio propriæ ipsius conjugis.

The booke of the supplication of Beggers given to the King.

This was (as I gather) about the yere of our Lord 1528. The King after hee had received the booke demanded of her who made it. Whereunto she answered and said, a certaine subject of his, one Fish, who was fled out of the realme for feare of the Cardinall. After the King had kept the booke in his bosome three or foure daies, as is credibly reported, such knowledge was given by the Kings servants to the wife of the said Simon Fish, that she might boldly send for her husband without all perill or danger. Whereupon she, thereby being encouraged, came first and made sute to the King for the safe returne of her husband. Who, understanding whose wife shee was, shewed a marvellous gentle and chearefull countenance towards her, asking where her husband was. She answered; If it like your grace, not farre off. Then, saith he, Fetch him, and hee shall come and goe safe without perill, and no man shall doe him harme. Saying moreover, that he had much wrong that he was from her so long: who had beene absent now the space of two yeres and a halfe. In the which meane time the Cardinall was deposed, as is afore shewed, and M. More set in his place of the Chancellorship.

Master Fish brought and gently entertained of the king.

Thus Fishes wife, being imboldened by the Kings words, went immediately to her husband, being lately come over, and lying privily within a mile of the Court, and brought him to the King: which appeareth to be about the yere of our Lord 1530. When the King saw him, and understood he was the author of the booke, he came and embraced him with loving countenance. Who after long talke for the space of three or foure houres, as they were riding together on hunting, at length dimitted him, and bad him take home his wife, for she had taken great paines for him. Who answered the King againe, and said, he durst not so doe, for feare of Sir Thomas More then Chancellor, and Stokesley then Bishop of London. This seemeth to be about the yere of our Lord 1530.

Master Fish retained by the King.

The King, taking his signet off his finger, willed him to have him recommended to the Lord Chancellor, charging him not to be so hardy to worke him any harme. Master Fish, receiving the Kings signet, went and declared his message to the Lord Chancellor, who took it as sufficient for his owne discharge; but he asked him if he had any thing for the discharge of his wife; for she a little before had by chance displeased the Friers, for not suffering them to say their Gospels in Latine in her house, as they did in others, unlesse they would say it in English. Whereupon the Lord Chancellor, though hee had discharged the man, yet not leaving his grudge towards the wife, the next morning sent his man for her to appeare before him: who, had it not beene for her yong daughter, which then lay sicke of the Plague, had beene like to come to much trouble. Of the which Plague her husband, the

Sir Thomas More persecuteth M. Fishes wife.

Master Fish dieth of the plague.

said Master Fish, deceasing within halfe a yere,

The summe of the Scripture translated by M. Fish.

M. Woddis the Kings footman.

The booke of Beggers brought to the King by George Elyot and George Robinson.

The Kings answer upon the booke of Beggers.

A libell called the Supplication of Beggers.

Strong, valiant sturdy, and idle beggers.

the afterward married to one Walter James Bainham, Sir Alexander Bainhams sonne, a worshipfull knight of Glocestershire. The which foresaid master James Bainham, not long after was burned, as incontinently after in the processe of this story shall appeare.

And thus much concerning Simon Fish the author of the booke of beggers, who also translated a booke, called the summe of the Scripture, out of the Dutch.

Now commeth another note of one Edmund Woddis the Kings Foteman, touching the same matter.

This master Woddis being with the King in talk of religion, and of the new bookes that were come from beyond the Seas, said, if it might please his grace to pardon him, and such as he would bring to his grace, he should see such a booke, as was marvell to heare of. The King demanded what they were. He said, two of your Merchants, George Elyot, and George Robinson. The King pointed a time to speake with them. When they came before his presence in a privy Closet, he demanded what they had to say, or to shew him. One of them said, that there was a booke come to their hands, which they had there to shew his grace. When he saw it, he demanded if any of them could read it. Yea said George Elyot, if it please your grace to heare it. I thought so, said the King, for if need were, thou canst say it without booke.

The whole booke being read out, the King made a long pause, and then sayd, If a man should pull downe an old stone wall, and begin at the lower part, the upper part thereof might chance to fall upon his head. And then he tooke the booke and put it into his deske, and commanded them upon their allegiance, that they should not tell to any man that hee had seen the booke, &c. The copy of the foresaid book, intituled of the Beggers heare ensueth.

A certaine Libell or booke, entituled *The Supplication of Beggers*, throwne and scattered at the procession in *Westminster*, on Candlemas day, before King *Henry* the eighth, for him to read and peruse, made and compiled by Master *Fish*.

To the King our Soveraigne Lord.

MOst lamentably complaineth their wofull misery, unto your highnesse, your poore daily beadmen the wretched hideous monsters, on whom scarcely for horrour any eye dare looke, the foule unhappy sort of Lepers, and other sore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and sicke, that live onely by almes, how that their number is daily so sore encreased, that all the almes of all the well disposed people of this your realme is not halfe enough for to sustaine them, but that for very constraint they die for hunger. And this most pestilent mischiefe is come upon your said poore beadmen, by the reason that there is, in the times of your Noble predecessours passed, craftily crept into this your realme another sort, not of impotent, but of strong, puissant and counterfeit holy and idle beggers and vagabonds, which since the time of their first entery, by all the craft and wilinesse of Satan, are now increased under your sight, not onely into a great number, but also into a Kingdome.

These are not the Heards, but the ravenous Wolves going in Heards cloathing, devouring the flocke, Bishops, Abbats, Priors, Deacons, Archdeacons, Suffragans, Priests, Monkes, Canons, Friers, Pardoners, and Summers. And who is able to number this idle ravenous sort, which (setting all labour aside) have begged so importunately, that they have gotten into their hands, more than the third part of all your realme? The goodliest Lordships, Manors, Lands, and Territories are theirs, besides this, they have the tenth part of all the corne, medow, pasture, grasse, wood, colts, calves, lambes, pigs, geese, and chickens. Over and besides, the tenth part of every servants wages, the tenth part of woll, milke, honey, ware, cheese and butter; yea and they looke so narrowly upon their profits, that the poore wives must be countable to them for every tenth egge, or else shee getteth not her rights at Easter, and shall be taken as an heretike. Hereto have they their foure offering daies. What money pull they in by probates of testaments, privy tithes, and by mens offerings to their pilgrimages, and at their first Masses? every man and childe that is buried must pay somewhat for Masses and Diriges, to be sung for him, or else they will accuse their friends and executors of heresie. What money get they by mortuaries, by hearing of confessions (and yet they will keep thereof no counsell) by hallowing of Churches, Altars, Superaltars, Chappels, and Bels, by tursing of men, and absolving them againe for money? What a multitude of money gather the pardoners in a yeare? How much money get the Summers by extortion in a yeare, by asciting the people to the Commissaries Court, and afterward releasing the apparants for money? Finally, the infinite number of begging Friers, what get they in a yeare?

More than the third part of the realme in the Spirituall mens handes.

(a) Here if it please your grace to mark, you shall see a thing far out of joynt. There are within your realme of England 52000 Parish Churches. And this standing, that there be but ten housholds in every Parish, yet are there five hundred thousand and twenty thousand housholds. And of every of these housholds hath every of the five orders of Friers, a penny a quarter, for every order: that is, for all the five orders, five pence a quarter, for every house: that is, for all the five orders, twenty pence a yeare of every house. Summa, five hundred and twenty thousand quarters of Angels, that is, 260000. halfe Angels. Summa 130000. Angels (b) Summa totalis 430333. pounds, six shillings, eight pence sterling. Whereof, not 400 yeares passed, they had not one penny.

Oh grievous and painfull exaction, thus yearely to be paied: frō the which, the people of your noble predecessors, the Kings of the ancient Britaines, ever stood free. And this will they have, or else they will procure him that will not give it to them to be taken as an heretike. What tyrant ever oppressed the people, like this cruell and vengeable generation? What subjects shall be able to helpe their Prince, that be after this fashion yearely polled? What good Christian people can be able to succour us poore lepers, blind, lame, and lame, that be thus yearely oppressed? Is it any marvell that your people so complaine of poverty? Is it any marvell that the taxes, fifteenes, and subsidies, that your grace most tenderly of great compassion hath taken among your people to defend them from the threatned ruine of their Commonwealth, have bene so loathfully, yea painefully levied, seeing almost the uttermost penny, that might have bene levied, hath bene gathered before yeare-ly

(a) Peradventure the comm count of the parishes of England, mong men, and in maps of the c time so went. And albeit the s parishes doe not amount now to t same rate of 52000. yet nevertheles the number (no doubt) is great, a therefore the quartrage of the Frit cannot be little, but riseth to a gre penny thorow the realme. Whe upon the scope of this mans reas soundeth to good purpose. For: though he hit not perfectly on t just summes, yet it cannot be den ed, but the Friers had very muc and much more than they deserv Againe, neither can it be denie but the more they had, the lesse i dounded to the impotent nec beggers indeed. And what reason it, that such valiant beggers, whi may worke, and yet will needs b idle, should reape any piece of t crop, which bare no burthen of t harvest, but wilfully do sit idle, a serve to no use necessary in the co mon wealth.

(b) Admit the *Summa totalis* ca not to so much, yet it came to mu than the Friers deserved, wh could well worke and would n and would needs begge, and need not: whereof read before the st of Armachanus.

Oh grievous &c. These words saith M. More, t soules themselves did ho even into pu gatory. Belike Ma More himself stood behin purgatory, do the same tim or else how could he tell that the soul did heare h

ly by this rauenous insatiable generation? Neither the Danes nor the Saxons, in the time of the ancient Britaines, should ever have bene able to have brought their armies from so farre hither into your Land to have conquered it, if they had had at that time such a sort of idle gluttons to find at home. The Noble King Arthur had never bene able to have carried his army to the foot of the mountaines, to resist the comming downe of Lucius the Emperour, if such yerely exactions had bene taken of his people. The Grecians had never bene able to have so long continued at the siege of Troy, if they had had at home such an idle sort of cormorants to finde. The ancient Romans had never bene able to have put all the whole world under their obeysance, if their people had bene thus yerely oppressed. The Turke now in your time should never have bene able to get so much ground of Christendome, if he had in his Empire such a sort of Locusts to deboure his substance. Lay then these summes to the foresaid third part of the possessions of the Realme, that ye may see whether it draw nigh unto the halfe of the whole substance of the Realme, or not; so shall ye finde that it draweth farre above.

Now let us then compare the number of this unkind idle sort, unto the number of the Lay-people, and we shall see whether it be indifferently shifted, or not, that they should have halfe. Compare them to the number of men, so are they not the hundreth person. Compare them to men, women, and children, so are they not the foure hundreth person in number. One part therefore, into foure hundred parts divided, were too much for them, except they did labour. What an unequall burthen is it, that they have halfe with the multitude, and are not the foure hundreth person of their number? What tongue is able to tell, that ever there was any Common wealth so sore oppressed since the World first began?

And what doth all this greedy sort of sturdy, idle holy Theeves, with these yerely exactions that they take of the people? Truely nothing but exempt themselves from the obedience of your Grace. Nothing but translate all rule, power, lordship, authority, obedience, and dignity, from your grace unto them. Nothing but that all your subiects should fall into disobedience and rebellion against your grace, and be under them, as they did unto your Noble predecessour King Iohn; which because that he would have punished certaine traytors that had conspired with the French King to have deposed him from his Crowne and dignity (among the which a Clarke called Stephen, whom afterward against the Kings will the Pope made Bishop of Canturbury, was one) interdicted his land. For the which matter your most Noble realme wrongfully (alas for shame) hath stood tributary not unto any kinde of temporall Prince, but unto a cruell diuelliſh bloodsucker, drunken in the blood of the Saints and martyrs of Christ ever since.

Here were an holy sort of prelats, that thus cruelly could punish such a righteous King, all his Realme and succession, for doing right. Here were a charitable sort of holy men that could thus interdict a whole realme, and plucke away the obedience of the people from their naturall Liege lord and King, for none other cause, but for his righteousnesse. Here were a blessed sort, not of mecke heards but of blood-suckers, that could set the French King upon such a righteous Prince, to cause him to lose his Crowne and dignity, to make effusion of the blood of his people, unlesse this good and blessed King of great compassion, more fearing and lamenting the shedding of the blood of his people, than the losse of his Crowne and dignity, against all right and conscience had submitted himselfe unto them.

O case most horrible, that ever so Noble a King, realme, and succession, should thus be made to stoope to such a sort of blood-suckers. Where was his sword, power, crowne, and dignity become, whereby he might have done iustice in this matter? Where was their obedience become that should have bene subiect under his high power in this matter? yea, where was the obedience of all his subiects become, that for maintenance of the Commonwealth should have holpen him manfully to have resisted these bloodsuckers, to the shedding of their blood? Was it not altogether by their policy translated from this good King unto them.

Yea, and what doe they more? Truely nothing but apply themselves, by all the sleights they may, to have to doe with every mans wife, every mans daughter, and every mans mayd, that cuckoldry and baudry should raigne over all, among your subiects, that no man should know his owne childe, that their bastards might inherit the possessions of every man, to put the right begotten children cleane besides their inheritance, in subversion of all estates and godly order. These be they, that by their abstaining from marriage doe let the generation of the people, whereby all the Realme at length, if it should be continued, shall be made desert and inhabitable.

If this be not true in the whole, I would the greatest part were not such.

These be they that have made an hundred thousand idle whores in your Realme, which would have gotten their living honestly, in the sweate of their faces, had not their superfluous riches illected them to uncleane lust and idlenesse. These be they, that corrupt the whole generation of mankinde in your realme, that catch the pockes of one woman, and beare them unto another, that be burnt with one woman, and beare it to another, that catch the leprsy of one woman, and beare it unto another. Yea some one of them shall boast among his fellowes, that he hath medled with an hundred women. These be they, that when they have once drawne mens wives to such incontinency, spend away their husbands goods, make the women to runne away from their husbands, yea, runne away themselves both with wife and goods, bringing both man, wife, and children to idlenesse, theft, and beggery. Yea, who is able to number the great and broad bottomelesse Ocean Sea, full of evils, that this mischievous and sinfull generation may lawfully bring upon us unpunished?

100000 idle whores made in England by the Popes Clergy.

Where is your sword, power, crowne, and dignity become, that should punish by punishment of death, even as other men are punished, the fellonies, rapes, murthers and treasons commited by this sinfull generation? Where is their obedience become, that should be under your high power in this matter? Is it not altogether translated and exempt from your grace unto them? Yes truly, (a) what an infinite number of people might have bene encreased to have peopled the realme, if this sort of folk had bin married like other men? What breach of matrimony is there brought in by them: such truely as was never since the world began, among the whole multitude of the heathen. Who is she that will set her hands to worke, to get three pence a day, and may have at least twenty pence a day to sleepe an houre with a frier, a monke or a priest? What is he that would labour for a groat a day, and may have at least twelve pence a day to be baud to a priest, a monke, or a frier? What a sort are there of them that marry priests soveraigne Ladies, but to cloake the priests incontinency, and that they may have a living of the Priests themselves for their labour? How many

(a) The realme of England is diminished & decayed by the number of 200000. persons at least, or else replenished with so many whores and whoremasters, by restraining of marriage frō priests, monkes, friers, nunnes, colledges, hospitals, beadmen, and such like orders within the realme of England. The increase of which number might be recovered, and the Realme more peopled, and also Gods Commandements better kept, if these vowes of bondage were broken, and matrimony permitted free to all men.

Priests and dodes make faule houses.

many thousand doth such lubricity bring to beggery, theft, and idlenesse, which would have kept their good name, and have set themselves to worke, had not beene this excessive treasure of the Spiritualty? What honest man dare take any man or woman into his service, that hath been at such a schole with a spirituall man.

The Popes Clergy a shipwracke to all Commonwealths.

O the grieuous shipwracke of the Commonwealth, which in ancient time, before the comming of these ravenous Wolves, were so prosperous, that then there were but few theeves: yea theft at that time was so rare, that Cæsar was not compelled to make penalty of death upon felony, as your Grace may well perceive in his Institutes. There was also at that time but few poore people, and yet they did not beg, but there was given them enough unasked: for there was at that time none of these ravenous Wolves to aske it from them, as it appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles. Is it any marvel though there be now so many beggers, theeves and idle people? Nay truely. What remedy? Make lawes against them? I am in doubt whether yee be able. Are they not stronger in your owne Parliament house than your selfe? What a number of Bishops, Abbats, and Priors are Lords of your Parliament? Are not all the learned men of your Realme in fee with them, to speake in your Parliament house for them, against your Crowne, dignity, and Commonwealth of your realme, a few of your owne learned Councell onely excepted? What Law can be made against them that may be availeable? Who is he (though he be grieved very sore) that for the murther of his ancestor, ravishment of his wife, of his daughter, robbery, trespasse, maime, debt, or any other offence, dare lay it to their charge by any way of action? and if he doe, then is he by and by, by their wilinesse accused of heresie: yea they will so handle him ere he passe, that except he will beare a Fagot for their pleasure, he shall be excommunicate, and then be all his actions dashed.

The cause of so many beggers, theeves, and idle people in England.

The Popes clergy stronger in Parliament, then Princes: as hath appeared by their cruell lawes against the poore Gospellers.

No law nor remedy against the Clergy.

So captive are your Lawes unto them, that no man whom they list to excommunicate, may be admitted to sue any Action in any of your Courts. If any man in your Sessions dare be so hardy to indite a Priest of any such crime, he hath ere the yeere goe out, such a yoke of heresie laid in his necke that it maketh him wish he had not done it. Your Grace may see what a worke there is in London; how the Bishop rageth for inditing of certaine Curats of extortion, and incontinency, the last yeere in the Wardmote quest. Had not Richard Hun commenced Action of Præmunire against a Priest, he had been yet alive, and no heretique at all, but an honest man. Did not divers of your Noble progenitors, seeing their Crowne and dignity run into ruine, and to be thus craftily translated into the hands of this mischievous generation, make divers Statutes for the reformation thereof, among which the Statute of Mortmaine was one, to the intent that after that time they should have no more given unto them? But what availed it? Have they not gotten into their hands more Lands since than any Duke in England hath, the Statute notwithstanding? Yea, have they not for all that translated into their hands, from your grace, halfe your kingdome thoroughly, the onely name remaining to you for your ancestors sake? So you have the name, and they the profit. Yea, I feare, if I should weigh all things to the utmost, they would also take the name to them, and of one Kingdome make twaine: the spirituall Kingdome, as they call it (for they will be named first) and your temporall Kingdome. And which of these two Kingdomes, suppose you, is like to overgrow the other, yea to put the other cleane out of memory? Truely the Kingdome of the blood-suckers; for to them is given daily out of your Kingdome: and that, that is once given them, never commeth from them againe. Such lawes have they, that none of them may either give or sell any thing. What law can be made so strong against them, that they either with money or else with other policy will not breake or set at nought? What Kingdome can endure, that ever giveth thus from him, and receiveth nothing againe? O how all the substance of your realme, your sword, power, crowne, dignity and obedience of your people runneth headlong into the unsatiable whirlpoole of these greedy gulfes, to be swallowed and devoured!

All lawes and actions captive to the Clergy men.

Of Richard Hun, read before.

The statute of Mortmaine.

Halfe the profit of the realme in the Clergies hands.

Neither have they any other colour to gather these yeerely exactions into their hands, but that they say they pray for us to God, to deliver our soules out of the paines of purgatory; without whose prayers, they say, or at least without the Popes pardon, we could never be delivered thence. Which if it be true, then it is good reason that wee give them all these things, although it were an hundred times as much. But there be many men of great literature and judgement, that for the love they have unto the truth and unto the Commonwealth, have not feared to put themselves into the greatest infamy that may be, in abjection of all the world, yea in perill of death, to declare their opinion in this matter: which is, that there is no purgatory, but that it is a thing invented by the covetousnesse of the Spiritualty, onely to translate all Kingdomes from other Princes unto them, and that there is not one word spoken of it in all holy Scripture. They say also, that if there were a Purgatory, and also if that the Pope with his pardons may for money deliver one soule thence, he may deliver him as well without money: if hee may deliver one, hee may deliver a thousand: if he may deliver a thousand, he may deliver them all, and so destroy Purgatory, and then he is a cruell Tyrant, without all charity, if hee keepe them there in prison and in paine till men will give him (b) money.

The most gross that the Pope Clergy doth in England is to pray mens soules out of purgatory.

Purgatory denied.

(b) If the Pope may deliver soules out of Purgatory for money, he may then well deliver them without money, if it pleased him.

Againe, if he deliver one he can deliver a thousand, he can deliver a thousand, can deliver all, and so make a gaol-delivery, and a cleare dispatch of all purgatory he would; and if he will not when he may, then is there no charity in him.

Likewise say they of all the whole sort of the Spiritualty, That if they will pray for no man but for them that give them money, they are Tyrants, and lacke charity, and suffer those soules to be punished and pained uncharitably for lacke of their prayers. This sort of folkes they call heretiques, these they burne, these they rage against, put to open shame, and make them beare Fagots: but whether they be heretiques or no, well I wote, that this purgatory, and the Popes pardons are all the cause of the translation of your Kingdome so fast into their hands. Wherefore it is manifest it cannot be of Christ; for he gave more to the temporall Kingdome: he himselfe paid tribute to Cæsar; hee tooke nothing from him, but taught that the high powers should be alwaies obeyed; yea himselfe (although he were most free Lord of all, and innocent) was obedient unto the high powers unto death. This is the great skab, why they will not let the new Testament goe abroad in your mother tongue, lest men should espy that they by their cloaked hypocrisie doe translate thus fast your Kingdome into their hands; that they are not obedient unto your high power; that they are cruell, uncleane, unmercifull and hypocrites; that they seeke not the honour of Christ, but their owne; that remission of sins is not given by the Popes pardon, but by Christ, for the sure faith and trust that wee have in him.

Christ himself ordered himselfe under the temporall government. The cause why the Popes Clergy will not let the new testament goe abroad in the mothers tongue.

Here may your grace well perceive, that except you suffer their hypocrisie to be disclosed, all is like to run into their hands; and as long as it is covered, so long shall it seeme to every man to be a great impiety, not to give them. For this I am sure, your grace thinketh (as the truth is) I am as good a man as my father: why may I not as well give them as much as my father did? And of this minde, I

W. Wore displayeth the viller. notin the author of this Supplication to be leave.

am

am sure are all the Lords, Knights, Squires, Gentlemen, and yeomen in England: yea, and untill it be disclosed, all your people will thinke that your Statute of Mortmain was never made with any good conscience, seeing that it taketh away the liberty of your people, in that they may not as lawfully buy their soules out of purgatory by giving to the Spiritually, as their predecessors did in times past.

Wherefore if yee will eschew the ruine of your Crowne and dignity, let their hypocrisie be uttered, and that shall be more spedfull in this matter, than all the lawes that may be made, be they never so strong: for to make a law to punish any offendor, except it were more to give other men an ensample to beware how they commit such like offence, what should it availe? Did not Doctor Allen most presumptuously now in your time, against his allegeance, all that ever he could, to pull from you the knowledge of such pleas as belong unto your high Courts, unto another Court, in derogation of your Crowne and dignity? Did not also Doctor Horsey and his Complices most hainously (as all the world knoweth) murder in prison that honest Merchant Richard Hunne, for that hee sued your writ of Premunire against a Priest that wrongfully held him in plea in a spirituall Court, for a matter whereof the knowledge belongeth unto your high Courts? What punishment was there done? any man may take example of, to beware of like offence? Truly none, but that the one paid five hundred pounds (as it is said) to the building of your Chamber; and when that payment was once passed, the Captaines of his Kingdome, because hee fought so manfully against your Crowne and dignity, have heaped to him Benefice upon benefice, so that hee is rewarded ten times as much. The other (as it is said) paid six hundred pound for him and his complices: which, because that he had likewise fought so manfully against your crown and dignity, was immediately, as he had obtained your most gracious pardon, promoted by the Captaines of the Kingdom, with benefice upon benefice, to the value of foure times as much. Who can take example of punishment, to beware of such like offence? Who is he of their Kingdom that will not rather take courage to commit like offence, seeing the promotions that fell to these men for their so offending? so weake and blunt is your sword to strike at one of the offendors of this crowked and perverse generation.

And this is by reason that the chief instrument of your Law, yea the chiefe of your Councell, and hee which hath your sword in his hand, to whom also al the other Instruments are obedient, is alwayes a spirituall man, which hath ever such an inordinate love unto his own Kingdom, that hee will maintaine that, though all the temporall Kingdomes & Commonwealths of the world should therefore utterly be undone. Here leave we out the greatest matter of all, lest that we declaring such an horrible carrion of evill against the Ministers of Iniquity, should seem to declare the one only fault, or rather the ignorance of our best beloved Minister of righteousnesse, which is to be hid till he may be learned by these smal enormities that we have spoken of, to know it plainly himselfe.

But what remedy to relieve us your poore, sick, lame, and sore beademen? To make many Hospitalls for the relefe of the poore People? Nay truly. The more the worse: for ever the fat of the whole foundation hangeth on the Priests beards. Divers of your noble Predecessors, Kings of this Realm, have given Lands to Monasteries, to give a certaine summe of money yearely to the poore people, whereof for the ancienty of the time they give never one peny. They have likewise give to them, to have a certaine of Masses said daily for them; whereof they say never one. If the Abbat of Westminster should sing every day as many Masses for his founders, as hee is bound to do by his foundatiõ, a thousand Monks were too few. Wherefore if your grace wil build a sure hospitall that never shall faile, to relieve us all your poore beadmen, then take from thē all these things. Set these sturdy loubies abroad in the world to get them wives of their own, to get their living with their labour in the sweat of their faces, according to the Commandement of God, Genesis the first, to give other idle People, by their example, occasion to goe to labour.

Ty these holy idle thæves to the Carts, to bee whipped naked about every market town, till they fall to labour, that they by their importunate begging take not away the almes that the good Christian people would give unto us, sore, impotent, miserable people, your beademen. Then shall as well the number of our foresaid monstrous sort, as of the baudes, whores, thæves, and idle people decrease. Then shall these great yearely exactions cease. Then shall not your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people bee translated from you. Then shall you have ful obedience of your people. Then shal the idle people be set to work. Then shall matrimony be much better kept. Then shal the generation of your people be increased. Then shal your Commons increase in riches. Then shal the Gospel be preached. Then shal none beg our almes from vs. Then shal we have enough, and more than shal suffice us; which shal bee the best Hospital that ever was founded for us. Then shal wee dayly pray to God for your most noble estats long to endure.

What wealth and goodnesse commeth to the Realm by putting out Monks, friers and chantries.

Against this book of the Beggers above prefixed, being written in the time of the Cardinal, another contrary book or supplication was devised and written shortly upon the same, by one sir Thomas More, Knight, Chancellour of the Duchy of Lancaster, under the name and title of, The poore silly Soules pewling out of Purgatory. In the which Book, after that the said Maker More Writer thereof had first divided the whole world into foure parts, that is, into Heaven, Hell, Middle-Earth, and Purgatory; then hee maketh the dead mens soules, by a Rhethoricall Prosopopœia, to speak out of purgatory pin-fold, sometimes lamentably complaining, sometimes pleasantly dallying and scoffing at the Authour of the Beggers Book; sometimes scolding and railing at him, calling him Foole, Witlesse, Frantick, an Asse, a Gosse, a mad Dog, an Heretique, and all that nought is. And no marvell, if these silly soules of Purgatory seem so fumish and telly; for heat (yee know) is telly, and soon inflameth choller. But yet these Purgatory soules must take good heed how they call a man Foole and Heretique so often. For if the sentence of the Gospell doe pronounce them guilty of Hell fire, which say, Fatue, Foole, it may bee doubted, lest those poore silly melancholy soules of Purgatory, calling this man Foole so oft as they have done, doe bring themselves thereby out of Purgatory fire to the fire of Hell, by that sure sentence of the Gospel. So that neither the five wounds of Saint Francis, nor all the merits of Saint Dominick, nor yet of al the Friers, can release them poore wretches. But yet forsomuch as I do not, nor cannot thinke that those departed Soules either would so far overshote themselves if they were in Purgatory, or else that there is any such fourth place of Purgatory at al (unlesse it bee in Maker Mores Utopia) as Maker Mores poetical veine doth imagine, I

The supplication of purgatory, made by Sir Thomas More. against the Booke of Beggers.

Matth. 5.

Utopia, that is to say, *Nusquam*, no place.

ceaſe therefore to burden the ſoules departed, & lay all the wit on Maſter Moze, the author and contriver of this poeticall Book, for not keeping Decorum perſonæ, as a perfect Poet ſhould have done. They that give precepts of Art do note this in all poeticall fictions, as a ſpeciall obſervation, to foreſee & expreſſe what is convenient for every perſon, according to his degree and condition to ſpeake and utter. Wherefore if it be true that Maſter Moze ſayth in the ſequell of his Booke, that grace and charity encreaſeth in them that lie in the paines of purgatory, then is it not agreeable, that ſuch ſoules lying ſo long in purgatory ſhould ſo ſoon forget their charity, and fall a railing in their ſupplication ſo ſumiſhly, both againſt this man with ſuch oppzobrious and unfitting termes, and alſo againſt John Badby, Richard Hownden, John Goſe, Lord Cobham, and other martyrs of the Lord burned for his word; alſo againſt Luther, William Tindall, Richard Hunne, and other more, falſely belying the doctrine by them taught and defended: which is not like that ſuch charitable ſoules of purgatory would ever doe, neither were it convenient for them in that caſe; which indeed, though their doctrine were falſe, ſhould redound to the more increaſe of their paine. Again, where the biſhop of Rocheſter deſineth the angels to be miniſters to purgatory ſoules, ſome will thinke peradventure M. Moze to have miſſed ſome part of his Decorum, in making the evill ſpirit of the author & the Divel to be meſſenger, betweene midle Earth & Purgatory, in bzinging tidings to the priſoned ſoules, both of the Book, and of the name of the maker.

A poet, ſaith Horace, *Reddere perſonæ ſcit convenientia cuique.*

M. Moxes Antickes.

Now, as touching the manner how this divell came into purgatory, laughing, grinning, and gnaſhing his teeth, in ſooth it makes me to laugh, to ſee the merry antickes of M. Moze. Belike then this was ſome merry divell, or elſe had eaten with his teeth ſome Naſturcium before: which comming into purgatory, to ſhew the name of this man, could not tell his tale without laughing. But this was (ſayth he) an enmious and an envious laughing, ſoyned with grinning, and gnaſhing of teeth. And immediately upon the ſame, was contrived this ſcoffing and railing ſupplication of the pewling ſoules of purgatory, as he himſelfe doth terme them. So then, here was enmyting, enuying, laughing, grinning, gnaſhing of teeth, pewling, ſcoffing, rayling, & begging, and all together to make a very black Sanctus in purgatory. Indeed we read in Scripture, that there ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth in Hell, where the ſoules & bodies of men ſhall be tormented. But who would ever have thought before, that the evil Angel of this man that made the Book of beggers, being a ſpirituall and no corporall ſubſtance, had teeth to gnaſh, and a mouth to grin? But where then ſtood Maſter Moze I marvell all this meane while, to ſee the divell laugh with his mouth ſo wide, that the ſoules of purgatory might ſee al his teeth? Belike, this was in Vtopia, where M. Mozes purgatory is founded: but becauſe M. Moze is hence departed, I leave him with his merry Antikes. And as touching his Books of purgatory, which he hath left behinde, becauſe John Frith hath learnedly & effectuouſly overthrown the ſame, I will therefore refer the reader to him, while I repaire again (the Lord willing) to the Hiſtory.

Satan *Naſturciatur.*

A blacke *Sanctus* in purgatory.

The anſwer of John Frith againſt maſter Mozes purgatory.

After that the Clergy of England, and eſpecially the Cardinall underſtood theſe Books of the Beggers ſupplication afozeſayd to bee ſtrawne abroad in the ſtreets of London, and alſo before the King, the ſayd Cardinall cauſed not onely his ſervants diligently to attend to gather them up, that they ſhould not come into the Kings hands, but alſo whē he underſtood, that the King had receiued one or two of them, he came unto the Kings Maieſty, ſaying.

If it ſhall pleaſe your Grace, here are divers ſeditious perſons which have ſcattered abroad Books containing manifeſt errours and hereſies; deſiring his Grace to beware of them. Wherupon the King, putting his hand in his boſome, tooke out one of the bookes & delivered it unto the Cardinall. Then the Cardinall, together with his Biſhops, conſulted how they might provide a ſpeedy remedy for this miſchiefe, and thereupon determined to give out a commiſſion to forbid the reading of all Engliſh books, and namely this book of Beggers, & the new Teſtament of Tindals tranſlation: which was done out of hand by Cuthbert Monſtall biſhop of London, who ſent out his prohibition unto his Archdeacons with all ſpeed, for the forbidding of that book and divers other more: the tenor of which prohibition here followeth.

Prohibition by the biſhops, againſt Engliſh bookes.

¶ *A prohibition ſent out by Cuthbert Tonſtall, biſhop of London, to the Archdeacons of his Dioceſſe, for the calling in of the new Teſtaments tranſlated into Engliſh, with divers other bookes: the Catalogue whereof hereafter inſueth.*

A prohibition againſt Engliſh bookes.

Cuthbert by the permiſſion of God, biſhop of London, unto our welbeloved in Chriſt, the Archdeacon of London, or to his officiall, health, grace, and benediction. By the duty of our paſtorall office we are bound diligently with all our power to foreſee, provide for, root out, and put away all thoſe things, which ſeeme to tend to the perill and danger of our ſubjects, and ſpecially the deſtruction of their ſoules. Wherefore we having underſtanding, by the report of divers credible perſons, and alſo by the evident appearance of the matter, that many children of iniquity, maintainers of Luthers ſect, blinded through extreame wickedneſſe, wandring from the way of truth and the Catholike fayth, craftily have tranſlated the new Teſtament into our Engliſh tongue, intermedling therewith many hereticall Articles, and erroneous opinions, pernicious and offenſive, ſeducing the ſimple people, attempting by their wicked and perverſe interpretations to prophanate the Majeſty of the Scripture, which hitherto hath remained undefiled, and craftily to abuſe the moſt holy Word of God, and the true ſenſe of the ſame; of the which tranſlation there are many bookes imprinted, ſome with gloſſes, and ſome without, containing in the Engliſh tongue that peſtiferous and moſt pernicious poyſon diſperſed throughout all our Dioceſſe of London in great number: which truly without it be ſpeedily foreſeene, without doubt will contaminate and infect the flock committed unto us with moſt deadly poiſon and hereſie, to the grievous perill and danger of the ſoules committed to our charge, and the offence of Gods divine Majeſty: Wherefore we Cuthbert the biſhop aforeſaid grievouſly ſorrowing for the premiſſes, willing to withſtand the craft and ſubtilty of the ancient enemy and his miniſters, which ſeeke the deſtruction of my flock, and with a diligent care to take heede unto the flock committed to my charge, deſiring to provide ſpeedy remedies for the premiſſes, do charge you joyntly and ſeverally, and by vertue of your obedience ſtraitly injoyne and command you, that by our authority you warn or cauſe to be warned all and ſingular, as well exempt as not exempt, dwelling within your archdeaconries, that within thirty dayes ſpace, whereof ten daies ſhall be for the firſt, ten for the ſecond, and ten for the third and peremptory terme, under paine of excommunication, and incurring the ſuſpition of hereſie, they doe bring in, and really deliver unto our Vicar generall all and ſingular ſuch bookes

as

as containe the translation of the new Testament in the English tongue; and that you do certifie us, or our said Commissary, within two moneths after the day of the date of these Presents, duly, personally, or by your Letters, together with these presets, under your seales, what you have done in the premisses, under paine of contempt.

Given under our Seale, the three and twentieth of October, in the fifth yeare of our Consecration, An. 1526.

The like Commission in like manner & forme was sent to the other three Archdeacons of Middlesex, Essex, and Colchester, for the execution of the same matter, under the Bishops seale.

¶ The names of the bookes that were forbidden at this time, together with the new Testament.

Bookes condemned and forbidden.

THe supplication of Beggers.
The Revelation of Antichrist, of Luther.
The new Testament of Tindall.
The wicked Mammon.
The obedience of a Christian man.
An introduction to Pauls Epistle to the Romans.
A Dialogue betwixt the Father, and the Sonne.
Oeconomicæ Christianæ.
Unio dissidentium.
Piæ Precationes.
Captivitas Babylonica.
Ioannes Hus in Oseam.
Zuinglius in Catabaptistas.
De pueris instituendis.
Brentius de administranda Republica.
Luther ad Galatas.
De libertate Christiana.
Luthers Exposition upon the Pater Noster.

¶ **Besides these Bookes here before mentioned, within a short time after there were a great number more of other Bookes in like manner prohibited by the Kings Proclamation: but yet by the bishops procurement.** Anno. 1529. **The Catalogue whereof, with the names and the authors, are here to bee seen.**

¶ *Libri sectæ sive factionis Lutheranæ importati ad civitatem London. per fautores ejusdem Sectæ, quorum nomina & Auctores sequuntur.*

IOannis Wicleffi viri pijssimi dialogorum libri quatuor, quorum primus divinitatem & ideas tractat. Secundus rerum universarum creationem complectitur. Tertius de virtutibus vitiisque ipsis contrariis copiosissimè loquitur. Quartus Romanæ Ecclesiæ sacramenta, ejus pestiferam dotationem, Antichristi Regnum, Fratrum fraudulentam originem atque eorum hypocrisim demonstrat.

De bonis operibus Doctoris Mart. Lutheri.

Epistola Lutheri ad Leonem x. summum pontificem.

Tessaradeca consolatoria pro laborantibus & oneratis Mart. Lutheri.

Tractatus Lutheri de libertate Christiana.

Sermo Doctoris Martini Lutheri.

Enarrationes Martini Lutheri in Epistolas D. Petri.

Responsio Martini Lutheri ad librum Magistri Bartholomæi Catharini defensoris Silvestri pontificis, cum exposita Visione Danielis 8. De Ann. Christi.

De operibus Dei, Martino Cellario autore.

Deuteronomos Mosis ex Hebræo castigatus, cum annotationibus Mart. Lutheri.

Lutheri Catechismus Latina donatus civitate, per Iohannem Lonicerum.

Ionas Propheta, Martini Lutheri commentariolo explicatus.

In Epistolam Pauli ad Galatas, Mart. Lutheri commentarius.

Mart. Lutheri Epistolarum farrago pietatis & eruditionis plena, cum Psalmorum aliquot interpretatione.

Enarrationes seu Postillæ Mart. Lutheri in lectiones quæ ex Evangelicis Historiis, Apostolorum scriptis, aliisque sacræ Scripturæ literis desumptæ per Vniversum annum, tam diebus Dominicis, quam divorum memoriæ sacris, super missam faciendam recitantur.

Conclusiones sedecim R. patris domini Martini Lutheri, de Fide & ceremoniis.

Ejusdem de Fide & Operibus saluberrima declaratio.

Ceremoniarum eruditissima resolutio, quid sint & quomodo eis utendum.

Conclusiones quinquaginta ejusdem pro timoratis conscientiis.

Resolutio Lutheriana super propositionem suam 13. De potestate Papæ.

Didimi Faventini adversus Thomam Placentinum, pro Martino Luthero theologo oratio.

Enarrationes novæ Domini M. Lutheri in Ionam Prophetam.

De votis Monasticis, Martini Lutheri judicium.

Enchiridion piarum precationum Martini Lutheri.

Conciunculæ quædam Martini Lutheri in deiparæ virginis, & aliquot festos dies, nuper è populari lingua Latinè factæ.

In Esaiam prophetam commentarius Ioannis Oecolampadii.

In Danielem Prophetam Ioannis Oecolampadii libri duo.

Apologetica Ioannis Oecolampadij de dignitat Eucharistiæ.

Item, Sermones duo ad Theobaldum Billicanum, quinam in verbis Cœnæ alienum sensum inferant.

De non habendo pauperum delectu; Ioannes Oecolampadius.

In postremos tres prophetas, nempe Haggeum, Zachariam, & Malachiam, commentarius Iohannis Oecolampadii.

Quid de Eucharistia veteres tum Græci, tum Latini senserint dialogus: in quo Epistolæ Philippi Melanchthonis & Iohannis Oecolampadii insertæ sunt.

Apologetica Ioannis Oecolampadii de dignitate Eucharistiæ.

Ioannes Oecolampadius de genuina verborum domini, Hoc est corpus meum, significatione.

In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli adnotationes a Ioanne Oecolampadio recognitæ.

Acuta exegesis, id est, expositio Eucharistici negotii ad Martinum Lutherum, Huldrico Zuinglio authore.

Complanationes Esaiæ prophetæ fœtura prima, cum Apologia per Huldricum Zuinglium.

Farrago annotationum in Genesim, ex ore Huldrici Zuinglii. Annotatiunculæ per Leonem Iudam, ex ore Zuinglii in utramque Pauli ad Corinthios Epistolam.

Ad Philippenses annotatiunculæ per Leonem Iudam, ex ore Huldrici Zuinglii exceptæ.

Ad illustrissimos Germaniæ principes Augustæ congregatos de convitiis Ecchii.

In

In Catabaptiſtarum Strophas Elenchus Huldrichi Zuinglii.

De veteri & falſa Religione Huldrichi Zuinglii commentarius.

Ad illuſtriſſimum Cattorum principem Philippum, Sermones de providentia Dei, Huldricho Zuinglio authore.

Complanationes Ieremiæ prophetæ fœtura prima cum Apologia, per Huldrichum Zuinglium.

Ad Theobaldi Bellicani & Vrbani Regii Epiſtolas reſponſio Huldrichi Zuinglii.

Quo pacto ingenui adoleſcentes formandi ſunt, præceptiones pauculæ, Huldricho Zuinglio authore.

Annotationes Iohannis Bugenhagii Pomerani in Epiſtolas Pauli ad Galatas, Epheſios, Philippenſes, Coloſſenſes, Theſſalonicenſes, primam & ſecundam.

In Regum duos ultimos libros annotationes Ioannis Bugenhagii Pomerani poſt Samuelem, jam primum emiſſæ.

Ioannis Bugenhagii Pomerani annotationes in Deuteronomium, & in Samuel. prophetam, id eſt, duos libros Regum.

De conjugio Epiſcoporum & Diaconorum, ad venerandum Doctorem Wolfgangum Ryeſenbuſts, per Iohannem Bugenhagium Pomeranum.

Explicatio brevis, ſimplex, & canonica Libelli Ruth, ea forma qua totius veteris teſt. canonici Libri expoſiti ſunt, authore Conrado Pellicano.

Pſalterium Davidis, Conradi Pellicani opera elaboratum: non eſſe ferendas in templis Chriſtianorum imagines & ſtatuas coli ſolita, authoribus Eccleſiaſticis Argentoraten.

Epiſtola Martini Buceri, Evangeliſtarum enarrationes nuncupata. De hebdomadis quæ apud Danielem ſunt opuſculum, in quo tractatur de ſacrificio miſſæ abolendo, incerto authore.

Novæ Doctrinæ ad veterem collatio per Vrbanum Regium, in quo tractat de ſacris Eccleſiæ.

Collectaneæ Communium Troporum ſacroſanctæ Scripturæ, Bartholomæo VVeſthemero collectore.

In Epiſtolam ad Romanos, Andreæ Knophen Coſtermenſis interpretatio, Adjecta eſt Epiſtola à Philippo Melanct.

Loci utriuſque Teſtamenti complectentes præcipua capita totius Chriſtianiſmi, cum adjectis ſcholiis.

Epiſtola Pauli ad Titum jam recens per Iohann. Agricolam ſcholiis novis illuſtrata.

In Hoſeam Prophetam quinque ſermones Capitonis.

Diſpoſitio orationis in Epiſtolam Pauli ad Romanos Phil. Melanct. Autore.

Sancti Pauli ad Coloſſenſes Epiſtola, cum commentariis Philippi Melanchonis.

Nova ſcholia Phil. Melanct. in Proverbia Salomonis.

De authoritate, officio, & poteſtate Paſtorum Eccleſiaſticorum, ex Philippi Melanchonis editione.

Philippi Melanchonis Annotationes in Iohannem.

Annotationes Philippi Melanchonis in Euangelium Matthæi.

Enarrationes perpetuæ in ſacra quatuor Evangelia per Martinum Bucerum.

In ſancti Pauli Epiſtolam ad Epheſios, Martinus Bucerus.

In Theophaniam, quem Sophoniam vulgo vocant, Epitomographus, ad Hebraicam veritatem verſus, per Martinum Bucerum.

Iob cum Commentariis Ioannis Brentii.

Eccleſiaſtes Salomonis cum commentariis Ioannis Brentii.

In Divi Ioannis Evangelium Io. Brentii exegeſes.

Franciſci Lamberti Avinionenſis, in divi Lucæ Euangelium Commentarii.

Franciſci Lamberti commentarii de Prophetia, Eruditione & Linguis, deque Litera & Spiritu.

In Regulam Minoritarum, & contra univerſas perditionis Sectas, Franciſci Lamberti Commentarii.

Ejuſdem libellus de differentia ſtimuli carnis ſathanæ nuncii, & uſtionis.

In Cantica Canticorum Salomonis, libellum quidem ſenſibus altiſſimis, in quo ſublimia ſacri conjugii myſteria, quæ in Chriſto, & Eccleſia ſunt, pertractantur, Franciſci Lamberti commentarii.

In Amos, Abdiam, & Ionam, Prophetas, Commentarij Franciſci Lamberti.

Franciſci Lamberti commentarii in iiij. ultimos Prophetas, nempe Sophoniam, Aggeum, Zachariam & Malachiam.

Weſſellus de Sacramento Euchariſtiæ, & de audienda miſſa. Farrago Weſſelli Groning. Lux mundi olim vulgo dicta, in qua tractatur de providentia Dei, de dignitate & pietate Eccleſiaſtica, de Sacramento pœnitentiæ, & quæ ſunt claves Eccleſiæ, & de purgatorio.

Weſſelli epiſtola adverſus M. Eugelbertum Lerdens, in qua tractatur quid ſit tenendum de ſpirituum & mortuorum apparitionibus, ac de ſuffragiis & celebrationibus.

Tractatus Weſſelli de Oratione & modo orandi.

De Chriſti incarnatione, de magnitudine, & amaritudine dominicæ paſſionis, libri duo, Weſſello Groningenſi autore.

In Dei gratiæ & Chriſtianæ fidei commendationem, contra falſam & Phariſaicam multorum de juſtitiis & meritis operum doctrinam & gloriationem, fragmenta aliquot D. Ioannis Goccii, nunquam antehac excuſa.

Dialogus D. Ioannis Gocchii Mechlinienſis, de quatuor erroribus circa Euangelicam legem exortis.

Quod non ſit onerosa confeſſio paradox. Ioannis Oecolampadii. De cœlibatu, monachatu, & viduitate, Domino Andrea Caroloſtadio Authore.

Franciſci Lamberti commentarii de cauſis excæcationis multorum ſeculorum, ac veritate denuo & noviſſime Dei miſericordia revelata, &c. *Ex Regiſt. Lond.*

The new Teſtament, in the Catalogue above recited, began firſt to be tranſlated by William Tindall, and ſo came forth in Print, about the yeare of our Lord 1529, wherewith Cuthbert Tonſtall Biſhop of London, with Sir Thomas More, being ſore aggrieved, deviſed how to deſtroy that falſe erroneous tranſlation, as he called it. It hapned, that one Auguſtine Packington a Mercer was then at Antwerpe, where the Biſhop was. This man favoured Tyndall, but ſhewed the contrary unto the biſhop. The Biſhop, being deſirous to bring his purpoſe to paſſe, communed how that he would gladly buy the new Teſtaments. Packington hearing him ſay ſo, ſaid, My Lord, I can do more in this matter, than moſt Merchants that bee here, if it bee your pleaſure: for I know the Dutchmen and ſtrangers that have bought them of Tyndall, and have them here to ſell; ſo that if it be your Lordſhips pleaſure, I muſt diſburſe money to pay for them, or elſe I cannot have them; and ſo I will aſſure you to have every Booke of them that is printed and unſold. The Biſhop thinking he had God by the toe, ſaid, Doe your diligence gentle maſter Packington, get them for me, and I will pay whatſoever they coſt; for I intend to burne and deſtroy them all at Pauls Croſſe. This Auguſtine Packington went unto William Tindall,

Auguſtine Packington the biſhop Londons merchant.

dall, and declared the whole matter, and so, upon compact made betweene them, the Bishop of London had the bookes, Packington had the thankes, and Tindall had the money. After this, Tindall corrected the same new Testaments againe, and caused them to be newly imprinted, so that they came thick and threefold over into England. When the Bishop perceived that, hee sent for Packington, and said to him, How commeth this that there are so many new Testaments abroad? you promised me that you would buy them all. Then answered Packington: surely, I bought all that were to be had. But I perceive they have printed more since. I see it will never be better so long as they have letters and stamps: Wherefore you were best to buy the stamps too, and so you shall be sure. At which answer the Bishop smiled, and so the matter ended.

George Constantine.

In short space after, it fortuned that George Constantine was apprehended by Sir Thomas More, which was then Chancellor of England, suspected of certaine heresies during the time that hee was in the custody of Master More. After divers communications, amongst other things, Master More asked of him, saying, Constantine, I would have thee be plain with me in one thing that I will aske, and I promise thee, I will shew thee favour in all other things whereof thou art accused. There is beyond the sea, Tindall, Joye, and a great many of you, I know they cannot live without helpe. There are some that help and succour them with money, and thou being one of them, hadst thy part thereof, and therefore knowest from whence it came. I pray thee tell me who be they that help them thus? My Lord, quoth Constantine, I will tell you truly: it is the Bishop of London that hath holpen us, for he hath bestowed among us a great deale of money upon new Testaments to burne them, and that hath beene, and yet is our only succour and comfort. Now by my truth, quoth More, I thinke even the same; for so much I told the Bishop before he went about it.

Part of More's Preface against Tindall.

Of this George Constantine, moreover it is reported by Sir Thomas More, that he being taken and in hold, seemed well contented to renounce his former doctrine, and not only to disclose certaine other of his fellowes, but also studied and devised, how these bookes, which he himselfe and other of his fellowes had brought and shipped, might come to the Bishops hands to be burned, and shewed to the foresaid Sir Thomas More, Chancellor, the shipmans name that had them, and the marks of the fardels, by the which the bookes afterward were taken and burned. Besides this, hee is reported also to have disclosed divers of his companions, of whom some were abiured after, some had abiured before, as Richard Necton, who was committed to Newgate upon the same, and is thought there to have died in prison, or else had not escaped their hands, but should have suffered burning, if the report of Master More be to be credited. More in his Preface against Tindall.

George Constantine a disciser of his fellowes.

George Constantine a trouble of Ferrar Bishop of S. Davids.

Notwithstanding the same Constantine afterward, by the help of some of his friends, escaped out of prison over the Seas, and after that, in the time of King Edward, was one of them that troubled the good Bishop of Saint Davids, which after in Queen Maries time was burned. But of Constantine enough.

Mention was made in the lease before, how the Bishops had procured of the King a Proclamation to be set forth in the yeere of our Lord, 1529. for the abolishing of divers bookes aforenamed, and also for the withstanding of all such as taught or preached any thing against the dignity and ordinances of the Church of Rome. Upon this Proclamation insued great persecution and trouble against the poore innocent flocke of Christ, as here following you may see, with the said Proclamation also prefixed before the same, the tenour whereof is this.

A Proclamation for resisting and withstanding of most damnable heresies, sowne within this Realme by the Disciples of Luther, and other Heretiques, perverters of Christs RELIGION.

This Proclamation was made throughout all England the yeere of our Lord. 1519. and the 21. yeere of King Henry the eighth.

THe King our Soveraigne Lord, of his most vertuous and gratious disposition, considering that this noble Realme of England hath of long time continued in the true Catholique Faith of Christs Religion, and that his noble progenitors, Kings of this his said Realme, have before this time made and enacted many devout Lawes, Statutes and Ordinances, for the maintenance and defence of the said Faith against the malicious and wicked Sects of Heretiques and Lollards, who by perversion of holy Scripture doe induce erroneous opinions, sow sedition amongst Christian people, and finally disturbe the peace and tranquillity of Christian Realmes, as lately happened in some parts of Germany, where, by the procurement and sedition of Martin Luther, and other heretiques, were slaine an infinit number of Christian people; considering also, that as well by the corruption and malice of indiscreet preachers, fautors of the said erroneous sects, as by certaine hereticall and blasphemous bookes lately made, and privily sent into this Realme, by the disciples, fautors and adherents of the said Martin Luther, and other heretiques the Kings subjects, are like to be corrupted, unlesse his highnesse (as the Defender of the Faith) doe put to his most gratious helpe, and authority royall, to the due and speedy reformation thereof: his highnesse therefore, like a most gratious Prince, of his blessed and vertuous disposition, for the incomparable zeale which hee hath to Christs Religion and Faith, and for the singular love and affection that hee beareth to all his good subjects of this his Realme, and specially to the salvation of their soules, according to his office and duty in that behalfe, willeth and intendeth to provide with all convenient expedition, that this his noble Realm may be preserved from the said pestiferous, cursed, and seditious errors. And forasmuch as his highnesse is credibly informed, that some of the said errors be already sowne and spread within this his Realme, partly by the corruption of indiscreet preachers, partly by erroneous bookes, compiled, printed and written, as well in the English tongue, as in Latine and other languages, repleat with most venomous heresies, blasphemies, and slanders, intollerable to the cleane eares of any good Christian man: his highnesse therefore, like a most gracious and Christian Prince, only intending the safegard of this his Realme, the preservation of his subjects, and salvation of their soules, willeth now to put in execution, with all diligence possible, all good Lawes, Statutes and Ordinances, concerning the premisses before this time provided, made, and ordained by his most noble progenitors, Kings of England for that purpose & intent. Which Lawes and Statutes by our Soveraign Lord, and his most honourable counsell, by long and deliberate advice for the extirpation, suppressing and withstanding of the said heresies, have beene seene, examined, and by them in every part thought good and necessary to be put in execution.

Wherefore his Highnesse chargeth and straitly commandeth all and every his Lords spirituall and temporall, Judges, Justices of peace, Sheriffs, Majors, Bayliffes, Constables, and all other his Officers, Ministers, and all his true and loving subjects, that all favour, affection, and partiality laid apart, they effectually, with all diligence and study endeavour themselves substantially for the executing of

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all and every of the Articles hereafter ensuing, without dissimulation, intermission, or excuse, as they will avoyd his high indignation and displeasure.

First, That no man within the Kings Realme, or other his Dominions subject to his Highnesse, hereafter presume to preach, teach, or informe any thing openly or privily, or compile and write any booke, or hold, exercise, or keepe any assemblies or schooles, in any manner of wise, contrary to the Catholique Faith, or determination of Holy-Church; nor that any person within this his said Realme and Dominions doe presume to preach openly or secretly, without they have first obtained licence of the Bishop of the Diocesse where they intend to preach; Curates in their parishes, persons privileged, and other by the law of the Church only except.

Also, that no man wittingly hereafter, favour, support, or maintaine any person, which preacheth in forme aforesaid, or maketh any such or like conventicles and assemblies, holdeth or exerciseth any schools, maketh, writeth, or publisheth any such book, teacheth, informeth, or stirreth the people, or any of them, in any manner of forme to the said errors. Moreover, that all and every person and persons, having any bookes or writings of any such errors, erroneous doctrine, and opinion, doe deliver or cause to be delivered, effectually and actually, all and every such bookes and writings, to the Bishop of the Diocesse, or to the Ordinary of the place, within fifteene daies after this Proclamation pronounced. And in case any person or persons, of what estate, condition, or degree soever they be, doe or attempt any thing contrary to this Act and Proclamation, or doe not deliver or cause to be delivered such books, within the time aforesaid, that every Bishop in his Dioceſſe, or Ordinary, shall cause that person or persons, and every of them in that behalfe defamed or evidently suspected, to be arrested, and detaine and keepe them under safe custody in their prisons, untill such time that the said persons and every of them, either have purged themselves of the said errors, or else doe abiure the said erroneous sects, preachings, doctrines, or opinions, as the law of holy-Church doth require.

Diualty.

Furthermore, if any person by the law of holy-Church be convicted before the Bishop of the Diocesse, or his Commissary, in any case above expressed, that the said Bishop may keepe in prison the said person or persons so convicted, as it shall seeme best to his discretion, after the grievousnesse or quality of the crime. And further, may set a fine to be paid to the behoofe of the King, by the person or persons convicted, as it shall be thought convenient to the said Bishop, having respect to the grievousnesse of the offence of the said person or persons: the said fine to be certified by the Bishop into the Kings Exchequer, there to be levied to the Kings use, except in such cases in which by the lawes of Holy-Church, the said persons convict of heresies ought totally to be left to the Secular jurisdiction.

Also, if any person within this his Realm of England, or other his dominions, be by sentence judiciall convicted of the said preachings and doctrines prohibited, erroneous opinions, schooles, and informations, or any of them, and before the Bishop or his Commissary doe abjure, according to the forme of the lawes of holy-Church, the foresaid erroneous sects, doctrines, schooles, or informations, or else be pronounced by the Bishops or their Commissaries after their abjuration by them before made, to be relapsed, so that after the lawes of holy-Church, they ought to be relinquished to the jurisdiction secular, (wherein faith is to be given to the Bishop or his Commissaries in that behalfe) then the Sheriffe of the County, Maior, Sheriffes, or Maior and Bailiffes of the same city, towne, or borrough, next unto the said Bishop or Commissaries, shall be personally present at the sentence given, by the said Bishop or Commissaries thereunto required, and after the said sentence given, shall receive the said persons and every of them, and put them to further execution, according to the lawes of this Realme.

Sheriffes to be present at the sentence.

Extrau. de hæret. super ea.

Also the Chancellor, Treasurer of England, the Justice of the one Bench and the other, Justices of peace, Sheriffes, Maiors, and Bailiffes of cities and townes, and other officers having governance of the people which now be, or for the time hereafter shall be, shall make oath in taking their charge and ministration, to give their whole power and diligence, to put away, and to make utterly to cease, and destroy all manner of heresies and errors, commonly called Lollardies, within the precincts of their offices and administrations, from time to time with all their power.

Also they shall assist the Bishops and their Commissaries, and them shall favour and maintaine as oftentimes as that to doe they or any of them shall be required by the said Bishops or their Commissaries; so that the Bishops or their Commissaries shall beare and pay the reasonable costs of the said Officers and Ministers, when, and as often as they shall travell or ride to arrest heretiques and Lollards, or to assist the said Bishops or Commissaries, by vertue of the Kings Lawes and Statutes.

Moreover, The Justices of the Kings Bench, Justices of Peace, and Justices of assise, shall enquire at their Sessions and sittings, of all those that hold any errors or heresies, and who be their maintainers, receipters, favourers, and supporters, common writers of bookes, as also of their Sermons, Schooles, Conventicles, Congregations, and confederacies.

Inquisition at Sessions.

Furthermore, if any person be indicted of any of the points abovesaid, the Justices of the Peace have power to award against them a Capias, and the Sheriffes be bound to arrest such persons so indicted, as soone as they may be found by themselves, or by their officers. And forasmuch as cognisance of heresies, errors and Lollardies, appertaineth to the Judge of Holy-Church, and not to the Judge secular, the persons so indicted to be delivered to the Bishops of the places, or their Commissaries, by Indenture betweene them to be made within ten daies after their arrest, or sooner, if it can be done, thereof to be acquit or convict by the lawes of Holy-Church, in case that those persons be not indicted of other things, whereof the knowledge appertaines to the Judges and Officers secular. In which case, after they be acquit and delivered afore the Justice secular, of those things pertaining to the Judge secular, that they be conveyed in safegard to Ordinaries or their Commissaries, and to them to be delivered by Indentures (as is above said) there to be acquit or convicted of the said heresies, errors, and Lollardies (as is above said) after the Lawes of Holy-Church; provided, that the indictments be not taken in evidence, but for an information afore the Judges spirituall, against such indict, but that the Ordinaries commence their processe against those indicts, in the same manner as no Indictment had beene, having no regard to such indictments.

Moreover, That no manner of person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition hee or they be, doe from henceforth presume to bring into this Realme, or doe sell, receive, take, or detaine any Booke or Worke, printed or written, which is made, or hereafter shall be made against the Faith Catholique, or against the holy Decrees, Lawes, and Ordinances of Holy-Church, or in reproach, rebuke, or slander of the King, his honourable Councell, or his Lords Spirituall or Temporall. And in case they have any such Booke or Worke, they shall incontinent, upon the having of them, bring the said Bookes or Worke to the Bishop of the Diocesse, without

out concealement or fraud: or if they know any perſon having any of the ſaid bookes, they ſhall detect them to the ſaid Biſhop, all favour or affection laid apart, and that they faile not thus to doe, as they will avoid the Kings high indignation and diſpleaſure.

The bookes which in this Proclamation generally are reſtrained and forbidden, be afterward in the regiſter more eſpecially named by the Biſhops. Whereof the moſt part were in Latine, as are above recited, and ſome were in Engliſh, as theſe and other, partly alſo above expreſſed.

A Diſputation between the Father and the Sonne.
A Booke of the old God and new.
Godly Prayers.
The Chriſtian ſtate of Matrimony.
The burying of the Maſſe.
The ſumme of the Scripture.
Mattens and Even-ſong, vii. Pſalmes, and other Heavenly Pſalmes, with the comminations, in Engliſh.
An Expoſition upon the vii. Chap. of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinth.
The Chapters of Moſes, called Geneſis.
The Chapters of Moſes, called Deuteronomos.
The Matrimony of Tyndall.
Davids Pſalter in Engliſh.
The Practice of Prelats.
Horlutus animæ in Engliſh.
A. B. C. againſt the Clergie.
The examination of William Thorpe, &c.

Although theſe bookes with all other of their like ſort by the vertue of this Proclamation were inhibited to all Engliſhmen to uſe or to reade; yet licenſe was granted before to Sir Thomas More by Tonſtall, Biſhop of London, Anno 1527. that he notwithſtanding might have and peruſe them, with a Letter alſo ſent to him from the ſaid Biſhop, or rather by the advice of other Biſhops, deſiring him, that he would ſhew his cunning, and play the prety man, like a Demoſthenes, in expugning the doctrine of theſe bookes and opinions: who albeit he was no great Divine, yet becauſe he ſaw ſome towardneſſe in him by his booke of Utopia, and other fine poetry of his, therefore he thought him a meet man for their purpoſe, to withſtand the proceedings of the Goſpell, either in making ſome apparance of reaſon againſt it, or at leaſt to out-face it, and daſh it out of countenance. Wherein there lacked on his part neither good will nor labour to ſerve the Biſhops turne, ſo farre forth as all his Rhetoricke could reach: filling up with fineneſſe of wit, and ſcoffing termes, where true knowledge and judgement of Scripture did faile; as by his workes and writings againſt Bilney, Tyndall, Frith, Fiſh, Barnes, Luther, &c. may ſoone be diſcerned, if the reaſons, and manner of his handling be well weighed, and rightly examined with the touchſtone of the Scriptures. But now, to fall into our ſtory againe.

After More the Biſhops agent in conſiſtory the Lutherans.

Upon this fierce and terrible Proclamation aforeſaid, thus deviſed and ſet out in the Kings name, Anno, 1525. the Biſhops which were the procurers hereof, had that now, which they would have: neither did there lacke on their part any ſtudy unapplyed, any ſtone unremoved, any corner unſearched for the diligent execution of the ſame. Whereupon enſued a grievous perſecution, and ſlaughter of the faithfull. Of whom the firſt that went to wracke was Thomas Bilney, of whom ſufficiently afore hath bene ſaid; and the next was Richard Bayfield, as in the ſtory here followeth.

Richard Bayfield, Martyr.

Richard Bayfield martyr.

FOllowing the order of yeres and of times, as the courſe of our hiſtory requireth, next after the conſummation of Thomas Bilney, we have to intreat of the martyrdome of Richard Bayfield, which in the moneth of November, the ſame yere, which was the yere of our Lord, 1532. was burned in Smithfield.

Marwell and Stacy Londoners.

This Richard Bayfield, ſometime a Monke of Bery, was converted by Doctor Barnes, and two godly men of London, brick-makers, Walter Marwell, and Walter Stacy, Wardens of their Company. Who were grafted in the Doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, and through their godly converſation of life, converted many men and women, both in London and in the country: and once a yere of their owne coſt, went about to viſit the brethren and ſiſters ſcattered abroad. Doctor Barnes at that time, much reſorted to the Abbey of Bery, where Bayfield was, to one Doctor Ruſſam, who had bene at Lovane together ſtudents. At that time it happened that this Bayfield the Monke was Chamberlaine of the houſe to provide lodging for the ſtrangers, and to ſee them well entertained: who delighted much in Doctor Barnes talk, and in the other lay-mens talk, afore rehearſed; and at the laſt, Doctor Barnes gave him a new Teſtament in Latine, and the other two gave him Tyndalls Teſtament in Engliſh, with a booke called, The wicked Mammon, and the obedience of a Chriſtian man: wherein he proſpered ſo mightily in two yeres ſpace, that he was caſt into the priſon of his houſe, there ſore whipped, with a gagge in his mouth, and then ſtocked, and ſo continued in the ſame torment three quarters of a yere before Doctor Barnes could get him out; which he brought to paſſe, by the meanes of Doctor Ruſſam aforeſaid, and ſo he was committed to Doctor Barnes to goe to Cambridge with him. By that time he had been there a good while, he talked ſo well of good letters, that he never returned home againe to his Abbey, but went to London to Marwell and Stacy, and they kept him ſecretly a while, and ſo conveyed him beyond the Sea; Doctor Barnes being then in the Fleet for Gods Word. This Bayfield mightily proſpered in the knowledge of God, and was beneficiall to Walter Tyndall and Walter Frith; for he brought ſubſtance with him, and was their owne hand, and ſold all their works, and the Germans works, both in France and in England; and at the laſt, comming to London, to M. Smiths houſe in Bucklers Bury, there was he bewrayed, and dogged from that houſe to his book-binders in Mark-lane, and there taken, and carryed to Lollards tower, and from thence to the Coalhouſe, by reaſon that one Parſon Patmore, Parſon of Huchhaddam in Eſſex, then lying in Lollards tower, was in the Doctrine and in the Kingdome of Chriſt there confirmed by him. This Parſon Patmore, after long trouble, was abiured and condemned by the Biſhops to perpetuall priſon, and delivered afterward by the Kings pardon, as more appeareth in the ſequele of his ſtory among abiurers, &c. He was taken, becauſe he married his Prieſts in thoſe dayes. He had alwaies corne plenty, and when the markets were very deare, he would ſend plenty of his corne thither to plucke downe the prices thereof.

Richard Bayfield, Monke and Chamberlaine of the Abbey of Bery.

Richard Bayfield whipped and priſoned amongſt the Friers.

Richard Bayfield a maintainer of Tyndall and Frith.

Parſon Patemore died in Lollards tower.

This Richard Bayfield, being in the Coalhouſe, was worſe handled than he was before in the Lollards tower; for there he was tied both by the necke, middle, and legges, ſtanding upright by the walls, divers times manicled, to accuſe other that had bought his bookes; but he accuſed none, but ſtood to his Religion and Confeſſion of his Faith, even unto the very end, and was in the Conſiſtory of Pauls thrice put to his triall, whether he would abiure or no? He ſaid he would diſpute for his Faith, and

The cruell handling of Rich. Bayfield in the Coalehouſe.

and so did to their great shame; Stokesley then being his Judge, with the assistance of Winchester, and other Bishops, whereof here followeth now the circumstance in order to be seene.

The Articles laid to Richard Bayfield, by the foresaid Bishops, were these, Anno 1531. November 10.

Articles laid to *Richard Bayfield*.

Articles objected against Richard Bayfield.

FIrst, That he had beene many yeres a Monke, professed of the Order of Saint Benet, of Saint Edmunds Bury in the Diocesse of Norwich.

2 That hee was a Preist, and had ministred and continued in the same order the space of nine or ten yeeres.

3 That since the Feast of Easter last, hee being beyond the sea, bought and procured to haue divers and many bookes and Treatises of sundry sorts, as well of Martin Luthers owne Workes, as of divers other of his damnable sect, and of Oecolampadius the great Heretique, and divers other heretiques, both in Latine and English: the names of which bookes were contained in a little bill written with his owne hand.

A ranke heresie in the Popes Church, to give all laud and praise to God alone.

4 That in the yeere of our Lord, 1528. hee was detected and accused to Cuthbert then Bishop of London, for affirming and holding certaine Articles contrary to the holy Church, and specially that all laud and praise should be given to God alone, and not to Saints or Creatures.

5 That every Preist might preach the Word of God by the authority of the Gospell, and not to run to the Pope or Cardinals for licence, as it appeared (said they) by his confession before the said Bishop.

6 That he iudicially abiured the said Articles before the said Bishop, and did renounce and forsweare them and all other Articles contrary to the determination of Holy-Church, promising, that from thenceforth hee would not fall into any of them, nor any other errors.

7 That hee made a solemne oath upon a Booke, and the holy Evangelists, to fulfill such penance as should be enioyned him by the said Bishop.

8 After his abiuration it was enioyned to him for penance, that hee should goe before the Crosse in procession, in the parish Church of Saint Butolphs at Billingsgate, and to beare a faggot of wood upon his shoulder.

9 It was enioyned him in penance, that hee should prouide an habit requisite and meet for his Order and profession, as shortly as hee might, and that hee should come or goe no where without such an habit: the which hee had not fulfilled.

10 That it was likewise enioyned him in penance, that hee should sometime before the Feast of the ascension, then next ensuing his abiuration, goe home unto the Monastery of Bery, and there remaine according to the vow of his profession: which hee had not fulfilled.

11 That hee was appointed by the said Bishop of London to appeare before the said Bishop, the five and twentieth day of April next after his abiuration, to receiue the residue of his penance, and after his abiuration, hee fled beyond the sea, and appeared not.

12 That the twentieth day of June next following his abiuration, hee did appeare before the said Bishop Tonkall, in the Chappell of the Bishop of Norwiches place, and there it was newly enioyned him in part of penance, that hee should prouide him an habit conuenient for his Order and profession, within eight daies then next following; which hee had not done.

13 That it was there againe enioyned him, that he should depart from the City, Diocesse, and Iurisdiction of London, and no more to come within it, without the speciall licence of the Bishop of London, or his successor for the time being: which hee had not fulfilled.

The answer of *Richard Bayfield* to the Articles prefixed.

The answer of Richard Bayfield to the Articles.

TO the first Article he confessed, that he was professed a Monke in the Monastery aforesaid, in the yeare 1514.

To the second Article he answered, That he was a Preist and tooke Orders, Anno, 1518.

To the third Article he confessed the bil and schedule to be written with his hand, which is annexed thereunto, and that he brought ouer the said Bookes and Workes a yeare and a halfe past, and a great number of every sort. Being further demanded for what intent he brought them into the Realme; hee answered, To the intent that the Gospel of Christ might be set forward, and God the more glorified in this Realme amongst Christian people; and that he had sold and dispersed many of those bookes before named, to sundry persons within this Realme, and to divers of the Diocesse of London. Being further demanded, whether Martin Luther was condemned as an heretique by the Pope; he answered, That he heard say, that Martin Luther, with all his sect and adherents, were, and are condemned as heretiques by the Pope. And being demanded, whether Zuinglius was of Luthers sect; he answered, that he neuer spake with him. Being asked whether Zuinglius was a Catholique; he answered, that he could not tell. Being inquired whether the bookes contained in the schedules did containe any errors in them; hee said, hee could not tell, neither could hee iudge. Also hee confessed, That the common fame hath been within these two or three yeeres, that Oecolampadius and Zuinglius be heretiques; also that such as leane to Martin Luther be heretiques. Also hee confessed, That being beyond the sea, hee heard say before he brought into this Realme the Bookes contained in the said Bills, that the King had by Proclamation prohibited, That no man should bring into this Realme any of Martin Luthers Bookes, or of his sect.

Which Confession thus ended, the Bishop appointed him to appeare the next day.

Saturday, being the eleventh of November, Richard Bayfield appeared, and acknowledged the answers that hee had made in the Session the day before. Which thing done, the Officiall objected the fourth Article unto him. Whereunto he answered, that hee could not tell whether there be any heresies in them; for hee had read no heresies in them. And being demanded whether hee had read any of those bookes; hee answered, that he had read the greater part of them here and there, but not throughout.

He was demanded, whether he beleeued the foresaid bookes to be good, and of the true Faith. Hee answered, that he iudged they were good, and of the true Faith. Being enquired, what books he read in the Realme; he said, that he had read the new Testament in Latine, and other bookes mentioned in the Bils; but he said, that he read none translated: notwithstanding he confessed that he had read a Booke called Thorp, in the presence and audience of others, and also a booke of Iohn Frith's Purgatory, which he had read to himselfe alone, as he said; and also had read to himselfe a booke called, The practise of Prelates: and also said, that he had read a Booke, called The Parable of the wicked Mammon, but in the presence and hearing of others which hee knew not.

The Booke of Thorps examination.
The Booke of Iohn Frith against Purgatory.
The Practise of Prelates, and wicked Mammon.
The Booke of Obedience.
The summe of holy Scripture.
A Dialogue betweene the Husbandman and the Gentleman.

Also hee confessed that hee had read the obedience of a Christian man, and the summe of Scriptures, among company, and also the Dialogue betwixt the Ploughman and the Gentleman, among company, as he thought: also hee had read a piece of the answer of Tindall made to Sir Thomas More;

likewise

likewise he had read the dialogue of Frith to himselfe: he had read also the prologues of the five bookes of Moses, contained in the long schedule, and in company as he thought.

All which bookes he had read under manner aforesaid within these two yéeres last past. And as for the new Testament in English, he read it before he had read these bookes specified in the schedule before rehearsed.

To the third Article as touching Zuinglius and others, he supposed that they held the same doctrine that Luther did; but that he thought them to vary in some points.

The sixtéenth day of November Richard Bayfield appeared againe before the bishop, who inquired of him of what sect Zuinglius was. He said, he thought that he held with Luther in some points, &c.

Also he confessed, that first he brought bookes of the sorts above named into this realme, about Midsommer, was twelve moneth, and landed them at Colchester, and afterward brought part of them to this City, and some hee dispersed and sold in this City. The second time that he brought bookes was about All-Hallowntide was twelve moneth, and landed them at S. Catharines; the which books the Lord Chancellor tooke from him. Also, that at Easter last was the third time that he brought over the bookes now shewed unto him, and contained in these two bills, and landed with them in Northfolk, and from thence brought them to the City of London in a male.

To the fift, sixt, and seventh articles, he answered and confessed them to be true.

To the eighth he answered, that it was enjoyned him as is contained in the article; the which injunction he fulfilled.

To the ninth he answered, that he did not remember it.

To the tenth he answered, that it was enjoyned him that he should goe to the Abbey of Bery, and there continue: the which he said he did three times; but he did not weare his monkes cowle, as he was enjoyned.

The eleventh article he confessed.

For the twelfth article, that he did not weare his monkes habit according to the abjuration, he referred himselfe to the acts whether he were so enjoyned or no.

To the thirtéenth article he said, that he did not remember the contents thereof, but referred himselfe to the acts. Notwithstanding, he confessed that he had no licence of the Bishop of London to come to the City or Diocesse of London, nor to make any abode there.

Ex Registro Lond.

¶ The sentence given against him in a case of relapse.

The sentence given against Richard Bayfield.

IN the name of God, Amen. We John by the sufferance of God, bishop of London, in a case of inquisition of heresie, and relapse of the same, first begun before M. Rich. Forfard, D. of both lawes, our Official, now depending before us undecided, against thée Richard Bayfield Priest and Monke, professed to the order and rule of Saint Benedict, in the Monastery of Saint Edmunds Bery, in the Diocesse of Norwich, and by meanes of the causes within written under our jurisdiction, and with all favour rightly and lawfully proceeding, with all favour possible, the merits and circumstances of the causes of this inquisition heard, weighed, understood, and fully discussed by us the said Bishop, reserving unto our selves that which by law ought to be reserved; have thought good to proceed in this manner to the pronouncing of our definitive sentence.

Forsomuch as by the Acts inacted, inquired, propounded, and alledged, and by thée judicially confessed, we do finde that thou hast abjured certaine errors and heresies, and damnable opinions by thée confessed, as well particularly as generally, before our reverend fellow and brother, then thy Ordinary, according to the forme and order of the Church: and that one Martin Luther, together with his adherents and complices, receivers and favourers, whatsoever they be, was condemned as an heretike by the authority of Pope Leo the tenth, of most happy memory, and by the authority of the apostolique Sée, and the bookes and all writings, schedules and sermons of the said Martin Luther, his adherents and complices, whether they be found in Latine or in any other languages imprinted or translated, for the manifold heresies and errors, and damnable opinions that are in them, are condemned, reproved, and utterly rejected, and inhibition made by the authority of the said Sée, to all faithfull Christians, under the paine of excommunication and other punishments in that behalfe to be incurred by the law, that no man by any meanes presume to read, teach, heare, imprint, or publish, or by any meanes doe defend, directly or undirectly, secretly or openly, in their houses or in any other publike or private places, any such manner of Writings, Bookes, errors, or articles as are contained more at large in the Apostolique letters, drawne out in forme of a publique instrument; whereunto and to the contents thereof we referre our selves as farre as is expedient, and no otherwise. And forsomuch as we doe perceive that thou diddest understand the premisses, and yet these things notwithstanding after thy abjuration made (as is aforesaid) thou hast brought in divers and sundry times many bookes of the said Martin Luther, and his adherents and complices, and of other heretiques, the names, titles and authors of which bookes here follow, and are these; Martine Luther, of the abrogating of the private Masse; The Declarations of Martine Luther upon the Epistles of Saint Peter; Luther upon the Epistles of S. Paul and Jude; Luther upon Monasticall vowes; Luthers Commentary upon the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Galathians; Iohannes Oecolampadius, upon the exposition of these words, Hoc est corpus meum; The Annotations of Oecolampadius upon the Epistles of S. Paul unto the Romans; Oecolampadius his commentary upon the three last Prophets, Aggeus, Zachary, and Malachy; The Sermons of Oecolampadius upon the Catholique Epistles of John; A booke of annotations upon Genesis, gathered by Huldricus Zuinglius; The Commentaries of Pomeran, upon foure chapters of the first Epistle to the Corinthians; Annotations of Pomeran upon Deuteronomy and Samuel; Pomeran upon the Psalmes; The Commentaries of Francis Lambert of Avinion, upon the Gospell of Saint Luke; a Congest of all matters of divinity by Francis Lambert; the Commentaries of Francis Lambert upon the Prophet Joel; The Commentaries of Francis Lambert upon the Prophets, Micheas, Naum, Abacuc, Sophonias, Aggeas, Zacharias, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, and Osée. A new Glosse of Philip Melanchon upon the Proverbs of Salomon; The Commentaries of Philip Melanchon upon the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Colossians; The Annotations of Philip Melanchon upon the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Romans, and upon the Epistle to the Colossians; Solomons Sentences, translated according to the Hebrew by Philip Melanchon. Most wholesome annotations upon the Gospell of Saint Marke, by Christopher Hegendorphinus. The Commentaries of John Brentius upon Job. The Commentary of John Brentius upon Ecclesiastes of Salomon. Homilies of Brentius upon the Gospell of Saint John; the annotations of Andrew Althe-

A Catalogue of the bookes brought in by Richard Bayfield.

marus and Brentius upon the Epistle of Saint James. The Commentaries of Bucer upon Sophonias; Bucer upon the foure Evangelists; The processe Consistoriall of the martyrdome of John Hus; A briefe Commendatory of Martin Luther, unto Otho Brunfelsius, as touching the life, doctrine, and martyrdome of John Hus; Felinus upon the Psalter; his exposition upon Esay; his expositions upon Jeremy. Capito upon Oseas; Capito upon Abacuc; Vnio dissidentium; The Pandect of Otho; The catalogue of famous men. An answer of Tindall unto Sir Thomas More; a Disputation of Purgatory, made by John Frith in English. A Prologue to the fifth Booke of Moses called Deuteronomy; The first Booke of Moses, called Genesis; A prologue to the third Booke of Moses, called Leviticus; A prologue to the fourth Booke of Moses, called Numbers; A Prologue to the second booke of Moses called Exodus; The practise of Prelates; The new Testament in English, with an Introduction to the Romans. The Parable of the wicked Mammon; The Obedience of a Christian man; A,B,C, of Thorps; The summe of Scripture; The Primer in English; The Psalter in English; A Dialogue betwixt the Gentleman and the Ploughman. Of all which kind of Bookes, both in Latine and English, translated, set forth, and imprinted, containing not onely Lutherian heresies, but also the damnable heresies of other heretiques condemned; forasmuch as thou hast brought over from the parties beyond the sea, a great number into this realme of England, and specially to our City and Dioceese of London, and hast procured them to be brought and conveied over, also hast kept by thee, and studyed those Bookes, and hast published and read them unto divers Christian men, and many of those Bookes also hast dispersed and given unto divers persons dwelling within our City and Dioceese of London, and hast confessed and affirmed before our Officiall, That those bookes of Martin Luther and other heretikes his complices and adherents, and all the contents in them are good and agreeable to the true Faith: saying thus; That they are good, and of the true faith; and by this meanes and pretence hast commended and praised Martin Luther, his adherents and complices, and hast favoured and beleeved their errors, heresies, and opinions; Therefore we John the Bishop aforesaid, first calling upon the Name of Christ, and setting God onely before our eyes; by the counsell and consent of the Divines and Lawyers, with whom in this behalfe we have conferred, doe declare and decree thee the foresaid Richard Bayfield, otherwise called Somersam, for the contempt of thy abjuration, as a favourer of the foresaid Martin Luther, his adherents, complices, favourers, and other condemned heretiques, and for commending and studying, reading, having, retaining, publishing, selling, giving and dispersing the Bookes and Writings, as well of the said Martin Luther, his adherents, and disciples, as of other heretikes before named, and also for crediting and maintaining the errors, heresies, and damnable opinions contained in the said bookes, and writings, worthily to be and have been an heretique: and that thou by the pretence of the premisses art fallen againe most damnably into heresie; and we pronounce that thou art and hast beene a relapsed heretique, and hast incurred and oughtest to incurre the paine and punishment of a relapse: and we so decree and declare, and also condemne thee thereunto, and that by the pretence of the premisses, thou hast even by the Law incurred the sentence of the greater excommunication; and thereby we pronounce and declare thee to have beene and to be excommunicate, and clearely discharge, cronerate, and degrade thee from all [illegible] knowledge and prerogative of the Ecclesiasticall Orders, and also depriue thee of all Ecclesiasticall Office and Benefice; also we pronounce and declare thee, by this our sentence or decree, the which we here promulgat and declare in these writings, that thou art actually to be degraded, depoled, and deprived, as followeth.

The Primer and Psalter in English forbidden.

If Christ were before your eyes, ye would not condemne this good man for these good bookes.

The sentence of degradation against blessed Bayfield.

IN the Name of God, Amen. Wee John, by the permission of God bishop of London, rightly and lawfully proceeding in this behalfe, doe dismisse thee Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, being pronounced by us a relapsed heretique, and degraded by us from all Ecclesiasticall priviledge out of the Ecclesiasticall Court, pronouncing that the secular power here present should receive thee under their jurisdiction; earnestly requiring and desiring in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that the execution of this worthy punishment to be done upon thee, and against thee in this behalfe, may be so moderated, that there be neither overmuch cruelty, neither too much favourable gentlenesse, but that it may be to the health and salvation of thy soule, and to the extirpation, feare, terror, and conversion of all other heretiques unto the unity of the Catholique Faith. This our finall decree by this our sentence definitive wee have caused to be published in forme aforesaid.

And they shall cast you out of their Synagogue for my names sake.

{ Anno 1531. } Monday the twentieth of November, 1531. in the Quere of the Cathedrall Church of S. Paul, before the said John Bishop of London judicially sitting, being assisted with John Abbat of Westminster, and Robert Abbat of Waltham, Nicolas Prior of Christs Church in London, these honourable Lords being also present, Henry Earle of Esser, Richard Gray, brother to the Marquesse of Somerset, John Lambert Major of London, Richard Gresham and Edward Altam Sheriffes (the which Major & Sheriffs were required to be there present by the Bishop of Londons letters hereafter written, and by vertue of a statute of King Henry the fourth, King of England) also in the presence of divers Canons, the Chancellor, Officiall, and the Archdeacon of London, with the Bishops Chaplens and a great number both of the Clergy and Laity; Matthew Gresson the Register being also there present; Walter Rich. Bayfield, alias Somersam, was brought forth by Thomas Turner the Apparitor his keeper, in whose presence the transumpt of the Apostolique Bull of Pope Leo the tenth, upon the condemnation of Martin Luther and his adherents, was brought forth and shewed, sealed with the seale of Thomas Wolsey late Legat de Latere, and subscribed with the signe and name of Walter Robert Tunnes, publique Notary, and also the decree upon the condemnation of certaine Bookes brought in by him, sealed with the seale of the archbishop of Canturbury, and subscribed by three Notaries.

Of this statute read before.

Walter Rich. Bayfield again brought before the bishop.

Then the Bishop of London repeated in effect before him his abjuration which hee had before made, and other his demerits committed and done beside his abjuration: and the said Bayfield sayd, That he was not culpable in the articles that were objected against him, and desired that the heresies contained in the Bookes which hee brought over might be declared in open audience. Then the Bishop, after certaine talke had with the said Bayfield as touching the desert of his cause, asked him, whether hee could shew any cause why hee should not be delivered over unto the secular power, and be pronounced as a relapse, and suffer punishment as a relapse. The said Bayfield declared or propounded no cause, but sayd that hee brought over those Bookes for lacke of money, and not to sow any heresies. And incontinent the sayd Bayfield with a vehement spirit (as it appeared) sayd unto the Bishop of London, The life of you of the spiritualty is so evill, that yee be heretikes, and yee doe not onely live evill, but doe maintaine evill living, and

The saying of Rich. Bayfield to the bishop of London.

and also doe let, that what true liuing is may not be knowne; and said, that their liuing is against Christs Gospell, and that their beléefe was never taken of Christs Church. Then the said bishop, after long deliberation had, for so much as the said Richard Bayfield, he said, could shew no cause why he should not be declared as a relapse, read the decree and sentence against him: by the which amongst other things he condemned him as an heretike, and pronounced him to be punished with the punishment due unto such as fall againe into heresie, and by his words did degrade him, and also declared that he should be actually degraded, as is more at large contained in the long sentence.

Sentence against Richard Bayfield.

The foresaid sentence being so read by the bishop of London, hée proceéded immediatly to the actuall and solemne degrading of the said Rich. Bayfield, alias Somersam, and there solemnely and actually degraded him before the people; the which thing being done, he dismissed him by the sentence aforesaid from the Ecclesiasticall court. Whereupon the secular power, being there present, received him into their iurisdiction, without any writ in that behalfe obtained, but onely by vertue of the Bishops letters by the statute of King Henry the fourth, in that behalfe provided and directed unto them under the Bishops seale. The tenor of which letters here after follow.

The letters of requiry directed to the Major and Sheriffes of the City of London, that they should be present that day, when the sentence should be given, to receive the heretike (as they called him) that was condemned.

The letters of requiry to the Maior and Sheriffes of London.

IOhn by the permission of God Bishop of London, unto our dearely beloved in Christ, the right honourable Lord Major of the City of London, and the Sheriffes of the same, health, grace, and benediction. Whereas we have already by our Vicar generall, proceeded in a certaine cause of heresie, and relapse into the same, against one Richard Bayfield alias Somersam, and intend upon Monday next being the twentieth day of this present moneth of November, to give a sentence definitive against the said Richard Bayfield alias Somersam, and to leave and deliver him over unto the secular power: we require you the Lord Major and Sheriffes aforesaid, the Kings Majesties Vicegerents, even in the bowels of Iesus Christ, that according to the forme and effect of the Statute of our most Noble and famous Prince in Christ our Lord, the Lord Henry the fourth, by the grace of God late King of England, you will be personally present in the Quire of the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul, with your favourable ayd and assistance in this behalfe, the day that the sentence shall be given, and to receive the said Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, after his sentence so given, to discharge us and our officers, and to doe further according to the tenour and effect of the said statute; as farre as shall be required of you according to the Canonicall sanctions, and the laudable custome of the famous Kingdome of England, in this behalfe accustomed. In witnesse whereof we have set our seale unto this present. Dated the nineteenth day of November, Anno, 1531. and in the first yeere of our consecration.

On Monday the 20. day of November in the yéere aforesaid in the Quire of the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul, the Bishop of London calling unto him John Abbat of Westminster, Robert Abbat of Waltham, Nicholas Prior of Christs Church of the City of London, maister John Core Auditour and Vicar Generall to the Archbishop of Canturbury, Peter Ligham Officiall of the court of Canturbury, Thomas Bagh Chancellour of the Church of Saint Pauls, William Cliefe, archdeacon of London, John Incent Canon residentiary of the same, William Briton, Robert Birth, and Hugh Apice, Doctours of both Lawes, in the presence of us Matthew Grifton Register, Anthony Yussie, Richard Martine, and Thomas Shadwall publike Notaries and Scribes appointed in this behalfe, briefely rehearsed the answers of the same Bayfield in effect, and his abiuration, and other his demerits by him done beside his abiuration. The which religious persons, and other Ecclesiasticall men aboue said, thought it good and agréed that the said Bishop should procéede against him in this case of relapse, and should pronounce, and give forth the sentence against him in case aforesaid; and so he was delivered to the Sheriffes to carry to Newgate, being commanded to bring him againe upon Monday following into Pauls upper Quire, there to give attendance upon the bishop of London with the residue till they had done with him; and by and by the Sheriffes were commanded to have him into the Vestry, and then to bring him forth againe in Antichrists apparell to be degraded before them. When hée had degraded him knéeling upon the highest step of the Altar, hée tooke his Crosier staffe, and smote him on the brest, that he threw him downe backwards, and brake his head, that he swounded, and when he came to himselfe againe, he thanked God that he was delivered from the malignant church of Antichrist, and that he was come into the true sincere Church of Iesus Christ militant here in earth; and I trust anon, said he, to be in Heaven with Iesus Christ, and the Church triumphant for ever: and so was he led forth through the Quire to Newgate, and there rested about an houre in prayer, and so went to the fire in his apparell manfully and joyfully, and there, for lacke of a spéedy fire, was halfe an houre alive.

Rich. Bayfield given to the secular power.

Rich. Bayfield degraded. Bayfield throwne downe with the bishops staffe.

The martyrdome of *Richard Bayfield.*

The martyrdome and suffering of Richard Bayfield martyr.

And when the left arme was on fire and burned, he rubbed it with his right hand, and it fell from his body, and he continued in prayer to the end without moving.

Sir Thomas Moze, after he had brought this good man to his end, ceased not after his death to rave in his ashes, to pile and spie out what sparkes he could finde of reproach and contumelie, whereby to race out all good memory of his name and fame. In searching whereof hee hath found out two things to lay against him. The one is, that he saith, he went about to allure himselfe of two wives at once, one in Brabant, another in England. The second, that after his taking, all the while that he was not in utter despaire of his pardon, he was content to forsweare his doctrine, and letted not to disclose his brethren. For the answer whereof, although there were no more to be said, yet this were enough to say, that Walter Moze thus said of him, a man so blinded in the zeale of popery, so deadly set against the one side, and so partially affectionate unto the other, that in them whom hee favoureth he can see nothing but all faire roses and sweet vertue, in the other which he hateth, there is never a thing can please his phantasie, but all as blacke as pitch, vice, abhomination, heresie and folly, whatsoever they doe, or intend to doe. But as touching the defence of this Bayfield, as also of other moe, I will deferre the defence of them to a severall Apology by it selfe, hereafter, God willing, to be adioyned.

M. Moze a partiall iudge in matters of heresie.

Iohn Tewkesbury Letherseller of *London*, martyr.

IOhn Tewkesbury was converted by the reading of Tyndals Testament, and the wicked Mammon. He had the Bible written. In all points of religion hee openly did dispute in the Bishops chappell in his Palace. Who in the doctrine of iustification and all other articles of his faith was very expert, and prompt in his answers, in such sort as Tonstall and all his learned men were ashamed, that a Letherseller should so dispute with them, with such power of the Scriptures and heavenly wisedome, that they were not able to resist him. This disputation continued a sevennight. The processe of whose examinations, articles, and answers, here follow, as they are out of the bishops Register extracted.

Iohn Tewkesbery Letherseller of London, martyr.

Ex Regist. Lon.

On Wednesday the one and twentieth day of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord 1529. Io. Tewkesbery was brought into the Consistory at London, before Cuthbert Bishop of London, and his assistants, Henry Bishop of Saint Asse, and John Abbat of Westminster. Unto whom the bishop of London declared that hee had at divers times exhorted him to recant the errors and heresies which he held and defended, even as hee did then againe exhort him, not to trust too much to his owne wit and learning, but unto the doctrine of the holy mother the Church. Who made answere, that in his iudgement hee did not erre from the doctrine of the holy mother the Church. And at the last, being examined upon errors, which, they said, were in the said booke called the wicked Mammon, hee answered thus; Take yee the booke and read it over, and I thinke in my conscience, ye shall finde no fault in it. And being asked by the said bishop, whether he did rather give credit to his booke or to the Gospell, hee answered that the Gospell is and ever hath beene true. And moreover, being particularly examined what he thought of this article, that the Iewes of good intent and zeale slew Christ, he answered, Looke ye the booke through, before and after as it lieth, and yee shall finde a better tale in it, then yee make of it, and further thought, that whosoever translated the new Testament, and made the booke, meaning the wicked Mammon, he did it of good zeale, and by the Spirit of God.

The examination of Iohn Tewkesbury before Tonstall bishop of London.

Also being further asked, by the said Bishop of London, whether hee would stand to the contents of his booke, he answered, Looke ye the booke before and after, and I will bee content to stand unto it. Then being examined, whether that all good workes must be done without respect of any thing; he answered, that a man should do good workes for the love of God onely, and for no hope of any reward higher nor lower in Heaven, for if he should, it were presumption. Also being demanded, whether that Christ with all his workes did not deserve heaven, he answered and sayd, that it was plaine enough. Which things being done, the Bishop sayd further to Iohn Tewkesbery thus; I tell thee before God and those which are here present, in examination of my conscience, that the Articles above named, and many other more contained in the same booke are false, heretical, and condemned by the holy Church: how thinkest thou? And further, the said Bishop of London sayd unto him againe, I tell thee before God and those which are here present, &c. and so asked him againe, what he thought of those Articles. And after many exhortations, he commanded him to answer determinatly under pain of the law, saying further unto him, that if he refused to answer, he must declare him an open and obstinat heretike according to the order of the Law. Which things so don, the bishop asked I. Tewkesbery again, whether the said booke, called the wicked Mammon, were good?

Articles ministred to Iohn Tewkesbury, out of the booke of the wicked Mammon.

Merits by working.

The bishops iudgement of the booke of the wicked Mammon.

To which interrogatory he answereth, that he thinketh in his conscience there is nothing in the booke but that which is true. And to this Article obiected, that is, that faith onely iustifieth without workes, he answereth that it is well said. Whereunto the bishop inferreth againe, that the Articles before obiected, with divers other contained in the booke called the wicked Mammon, were false, erroneous, damnable, and heretical, and reproved & condemned by the Church; and before God, & all those that were present, for the discharge of his conscience, hee had often and very gently exhorted the said Iohn Tewksbery, that he would revoke and renounce his errors: otherwise if hee did intend to persevere in them, hee must declare him an heretique, which he would be very sorry to doe. These things thus done, the Bishop oftentimes offered him, that hee should chuse what spirituall or temporall man he would to be his Counsellor, and gave him time as before to deliberate with himselfe untill the next sitting.

The iudgement of Iohn Tewkesbury of the booke of the wicked Mammon.

Also in the same moneth of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord aforesaid, the Bishop of London Cuthbert Tonstall sitting in the Consistory, with Nicolas of Ely, Iohn of Lincolne, and Iohn of Bath and Wells, &c. This Iohn Tewkesbery was brought before them. After certaine Articles being repeated unto him, the Bishop of London brought out before him a certaine booke, called The wicked Mammon, asking him whether the booke was of the same impression and making, as was his bookes that he had sold to others. Who answered and said, it was the same. Whereupon the Bishop of London asked him againe, whether the booke contained the same error or no. Who answered againe, saying, I pray God, that the condemnation of the Gospell, and translation of the Testament be not to your shame, and that you be not in perill for it: for the condemnation of it and of the other is all one. Further he said, that he had studied the holy Scripture by the space of these seventeene yeares, and as he may see the spots of his face through the glasse, so in reading the new Testament, hee knoweth the faults of his soule. Furthermore, he was examined upon certaine Points and Articles, extracted out of the said Booke of the wicked Mammon; as followeth.

Another examination of Iohn Tewkesbery.

Articles extracted out of the book of the wicked Mammon.

IRst, that Antichrist is not an outward thing, that is to say, a man that should suddenly appeare with

his opinion of Antichrist.

Antichrist no outward thing, but a spirituall thing.

with wonders, as your forefathers talked of him, but Antichrist is a spirituall thing. Whereunto he answered and said, that he findeth no fault in it. Againe, it was demanded of him touching the Articles, whether faith onely iustifieth a man. To this he said, that if he should looke to deserue heaven by workes, he should doe wickedly, for workes follow faith, and Christ redeemed us all with the merits of his passion.

No man iustified by merits.

That the diuell holdeth our hearts so hard, that it is impossible for us to consent unto Gods law. To that hee answered, that hee findeth no fault in it.

The law requireth things impossible.

That the law of God suffereth no merits, neither any man to be iustified in the sight of God. To that he answered, that it is plaine enough, considering what the law is; and he saith, that he findeth no ill in it.

No law to the ill man.

That the Law of God requireth of us things impossible. To that he answered, that the law of God doth command, that thou shalt loue God aboue all things, and thy neighbor as thy selfe, which never man could doe; and in that he doth find no fault in his conscience.

That as the good tree bringeth forth fruit, so there is no law put to him that beleeueth and is iustified through faith. To that he answered and said, he findeth no ill in it.

All good workes must be done without respect of any thing, or any profit to be had thereof. To that he answered, it is truth.

Christ with all his workes did not deserue heaven. To that he answered, that the text is true as it lieth, and he findeth no fault in it.

The Saints be friends how and to whom.

Peter and Paul, and Saints that be dead are not our friends, but their friends whom they did helpe when they were alive. To that he said, he findeth no ill in it.

Almes deserue no reward of God. To that hee answered, that the text of the Booke is true.

The diuell not cast out by mans merits. The law worketh not in us the loue of God.

The diuell is not cast out by prayer. To that he answered, thinking it good enough.

We cannot loue except we see some benefit and kindnesse. As long as we liue under the Law of God onely, where we see but sinne and damnation, and the wrath of GOD upon us, yea where we were damned afore we were borne, we cannot loue God, nor cannot but hate him as a tyrant, unrighteous and uniust, and flee from him, as did Cain. To that he answered, and thinketh it good and plaine enough.

Man by nature condemned.

We are damned by nature, as a toade is a toade by nature, and a Serpent is a serpent by nature. To that hee answered, it is to be true as it is in the booke.

What meaneth by communication, not by vocation: and what this point meeth to be fully gathered.

Item, as concerning the Article of fasting. To that hee answered and said, the booke declareth it selfe.

Every one man is a Lord of whatsoeuer another man hath. To that hee answered; what law can be better than that? for it is plainely meant there.

Loue in Christ putteth no difference betwixt one and another. To that he answered and said, it is plaine enough of it selfe.

As concerning the preaching of the word of God and washing of dishes, there is no difference as concerning saluation, and as touching the pleasing of God. To that he answered, saying, it is a plaine text, and as for pleasing GOD it is all one.

For if they had knowne the Lord of glory, they would not have crucified him.

That the Iews of good intent and zeale put Christ to death. To that he answered, that it is true, and the text is plaine enough.

The sects of Saint Francis, Saint Dominicke, and others be damnable. To that he answered and said, Saint Paul repugneth against them. Which articles being so obiected, and answere made unto them by Iohn Tewkesbery, the said bishop of London asked him whether he would continue in his heresies and errors aboue rehearsed, or renounce and forsake them. Who answered thus, I pray you reforme your selfe, and if there be any errour in the booke, let it be reformed, I thinke the booke be good enough.

Loe here is no Scripture brought to refell these opinions, but onely authority to oppresse them.

Further the Bishop exhorted him to recant his errours. To the which the said Iohn Tewkesbery answered as is aboue written; to wit, I pray you reforme your selfe, and if there be any errour in the Booke, let it be reformed, I thinke it be good enough. Which thing being done, the bishop appointed him to determine better with himselfe against the morrow, in the presence of Maister Iohn Cote, Vicar generall to the Archbishop of Canturbury, Maister Galfride Marton, Rowland Phillippes, William Philow, and Robert Ridley, professors of Diuinity.

Another appearance of Iohn Tewkesbery.

The thirteenth day of Aprill, in the yeere of our Lord aboue said, in the Chappell within the Palace of London, before Cuthbert bishop of London, with his assistants, Nicholas bishop of Ely, &c. Tewkesbery againe appeared, and was examined upon the Articles drawne out of the booke called the wicked Mammon, as followeth.

First, Christ is thine, and all his deeds be thy deeds. Christ is in thee, and thou so knit to him inseparably, neither canst thou be damned, except Christ be damned with thee; neither canst thou be saued, except Christ be saued with thee. To this he answered, that he found no fault in it.

We are not saued by other mens prayers.

Item, we desire one another to pray for us. That done, we must put our neighbour in remembrance of his duty, and that we trust not in his holinesse. To this he answered, Take ye it as ye will, I will take it well enough.

Almes whom and how farre it profiteth.

Item, now seest thou what almes meaneth, and wherefore it serueth. Hee that seeketh with his almes more then to be mercifull, to be a neighbour, to succour his brothers need, to doe his duty to his brother, to giue his brother that he ought him, the same is blind and seeth not Christs blood. Here he answereth, that he findeth no fault throughout all the booke, but that all the booke is good, and it hath given him great comfort and light to his conscience.

God to be serued and worshipped only as he commanded, otherwise not.

Item, that yee doe nothing to please God but that he commanded. To that he answereth, and thinketh it good, by his truth.

Item, so God is honoured on all sides, in that we count him righteous in all his lawes and ordinances. And to worship him otherwise than so, it is idolatry. To that he answered, that it pleaseth him well.

The examination of these articles being done, the Bishop of London did exhort the said Iohn Tewkesbery to recant his errors aboue said: and after some other communcation had by the Bishop with him, the said Bishop did exhort him againe to recant his errors, and appointed him to determine with himselfe against the next Session what hee would doe.

John Tewkesbery submitteth himselfe.

IN the next Session hee submitted himselfe, and abiured his opinions, and was enioyned Penance, as followeth; which was the eighth of May.

Inprimis, that he should keepe well his abiuration, under paine of relapse.

Secondly, that the next Sunday following, in Pauls church in the open procession, he should carry a fagot, and stand at Pauls crosse with the same.

That the Wednesday following he should carry the same fagot about Newgats market and Cheap side.

That on Friday after he should take the same fagot againe at S. Peters Church in Cornehill, and carry it about the market of Leden-hall.

That he should have two signes of Fagots embroidered, one on his left sleeve, and the other on his right sleeve, which he should weare all his life time unlesse he were otherwise dispensed withall.

That on Whitsunday Even he should enter into the Monastery of S. Bartholomew in Smithfield, and there abide, and not come out unlesse he were released by the Bishop of London.

That he should not depart out of the City or diocesse of London, without the speciall licence of the bishop or his successors. Which penance he entred into the eight day of May, An. 1529.

And thus much concerning his first examination, which was in the yere 1529. at what time he was enforced through infirmity, as is before expressed, to retract and abjure his doctrine. Notwithstanding, the same John Tewkesbury, afterward confirmed by the grace of God, and moved by the example of Bayfield aforesaid, that was burned in Smithfield, did returne and constantly abide in the testimony of the truth, and suffered for the same. Who recovering more grace and better strength at the hand of the Lord, two yeres after being apprehended againe, was brought before Sir Thomas More, and the Bishop of London; where certaine Articles were objected of him: The chiefe whereof we intend briefely to recite, for the matter is prolix.

Tewkesbery returned again to the truth.

Articles againe objected to Tewkesbery.

Inprimis, That he confessed that he was baptised, and intended to keepe the Catholique faith.

Secondly, That he affirmeth, that the abjuration, oath, and subscription that he made before Cuthbert, late Bishop of London, was done by compulsion.

Thirdly, That he had the bookes of the obedience of a Christian man, & of the wicked Mammon, in his custody, and hath read them since his abjuration.

Fourthly, That he affirmeth, that he suffered the two fagots that were embroydered upon his sleeve, to be taken from him, for that he deserved not to weare them.

Fifthly, he saith, that faith only justifyeth, which lacketh not charity.

Sixtly, he saith, That Christ is a sufficient mediator for us, and therefore no praier is to be made unto any Saints. Whereupon they laid unto him this verse of the Antheme, Salve Regina advocata nostra, &c. To the which he answered, That hee knew none other Advocate but Christ alone.

Christ is our purgatory.

Seventhly, He affirmeth that there is no Purgatorie after this life, but that Christ our Saviour is a sufficient purgation for us.

Eightly, he affirmeth, That the soules of the faithfull, departing this life, rest with Christ.

Ninthly, he affirmeth, That a priest, by receiving of Orders, receiveth more grace, if his faith be increased, or else not.

Tenthly, and last of all, he beleeveth, that the sacrament of the flesh and bloud of Christ, is not the very body of Christ, in flesh and bloud, as it was borne of the virgin Mary. Whereupon the bishops Chancellor asked the said Tewkesbery, if hee could shew any cause why he should not be taken for an heretique, falling into his heresie againe, & receive the punishment of an heretique. Whereunto he answered that he had wrong before, & if he be condemned now, he reckoneth that he hath wrong againe.

Then the Chancellor caused the articles to bee read openly, with the answers unto the same; the which the said Tewkesbery confessed, and thereupon the Bishop pronounced sentence against him and delivered him unto the Sheriffes of London for the time being, which were Richard Gresham and Edward Altam; who burned him in Smithfield upon Saint Thomas Even, being the twentieth of December, in the yeare aforesaid, the tenor of whose sentence, pronounced against him by the Bishop, doth here ensue, word for word.

IN the Name of God, Amen. The deservings and circumstances of a certain cause of hereticall pravity, and falling againe thereunto by thee Iohn Tewkesbury, of the parish of S. Michaels in the Querne, of the City of London, and of our Iurisdiction, appearing before us sitting in judgement, being heard, seene, and understood, and fully discussed by us Iohn, by the sufferance of God, Bishop of London; because we doe finde by Inquisitions manifestly enough, that thou didst abjure freely and voluntarily before Cuthbert, late Bishop of London, thy Ordinary, divers and sundry heresies, errors, and damnable opinions, contrary to the determination of our mother holy-Church, as well speciall as generall, and that since and beside the foresaid abjuration thou art againe fallen into the same damnable heresies, opinions, and errors, (which is greatly to be lamented) and the same dost hold, affirme, and beleeve: we therefore Iohn the Bishop aforesaid, the Name of God first being called upon, and the same onely God set before our eyes, and with the counsell of learned men assisting us in this behalfe (with whom in this cause we have communicated of our definitive sentence and finall decree, in this behalfe to be done) doe intend to proceed and do proceed in this manner. Because, as it is aforesaid, we doe finde thee, the foresaid Iohn Tewkesbury of our jurisdiction, to be a contemner of the first abjuration, and moreover, before and after the foresaid first errors and other damnable opinions, to have fallen, and to be an heretike fallen, and to have incurred the paine of such fallen heretikes: we doe pronounce, determine, declare, and condemne thee of the premisses, to have incurred the danger of the great excommunication, and doe pronounce thee to be excommunicated, and also doe declare thee the said Tewkesbury, so damnably fallen againe into heresie, to be in the secular power and in their judgement (as the holy canons have decreed) and here we do leave thee to the foresaid secular power, and to their judgment; beseeching them earnestly in the bowels of Iesus Christ, that such severe punishment and execution, as in this behalfe is to be done against thee, may be so moderated, that no rigorous rigor be used but to the health and salvation of thy soule, and to the terror, feare, and rooting out of heretikes, and their conversion to the catholike faith and unity, by this our finall decree which we declare by these our writings.

In words they pretend moderation, but their doings be clean contrary.

This foresaid sentence definitive against Iohn Tewkesbury was read & pronounced by the bishop of London, the sixteenth day of the moneth of December, the yere aforesaid, in the house of Sir Th. More high Chancellor of England in the parish of Chelsey. After the which sentence, the Sheriffes received the foresaid Tewkesbury into their custody, and carried him away with them, and afterward burned him in Smithfield, as is aforesaid, having no writ of the King for their warrant.

The death and martyrdome of I. Tewkesbery.

The apprehension of one *Edward Freese* a Painter.

EDward Freese was borne in Yorke, and was prentise to a Painter in the same City, & by the reason of working for his maister in Wearsie abbey, or by some such occasion, was knowne unto the abbat of the same house, for he was a boy of a pregnant wit, and the abbat favoured him so much that he bought his yeares of his maister, and would have made him a monke. And the lad not liking of that kind of living, and not knowing how to get out because he was a novice, ran away after a long space, and came to Colchester in Essex, & remaining there according to his former vocation, was maried & lived like an honest man. After he had been there a good time, he was hired to paint certain cloths for a new

The story of Ed. Freese.

Iune

Anne in Colchester, which is in the middle of the market place, and in the upper border of the clothes hee wrote certaine sentences of Scripture, and by that hee was plainly knowne to be one of them which they call heretiques.

The cause of the taking of Edw. Freese.

And on a time he being at his worke in the same Anne, they of the towne, when they had seene his worke, went about to take him; and hee having some inkling thereof, thought to shift for himselfe, but yet was taken forcibly in the yard of the same Anne, and after this hee was brought to London, and so to Fulham, to the Bishops house, where hee was cruelly imprisoned, with certaine others of Essex, that is to wit, one Johnson and his wife, Wylie, and his wife, and his sonne, and Father Bate of Rowlhedge. They were fed with fine manchet made of saw dust, or at the least a great part thereof, and were so straitly kept, that their wives and their friends could not come at them. After the painter had beene there a long space, by much suite he was removed to Lollards tower. His wife, in the time of the suite, whiles hee was yet at Fulham, being desirous to see her husband, and praying to come in at the gate, being then big with childe, the porter lift up his foot and stroke her on the belly, that at length she died of the same, but the child was destroyed immediatly.

Johnson and his wife. Wylie, his wife, and his sonne. Father Bate.

Cruell fact of the Bishops porter.

After that, they were all stocked for a long time, and then they were let lose in their prisons againe. Some had horselockes on their legs, and some had other yrons. This painter would ever be writing on the walls with chalke or a coale, and in one place hee wrote, Doctor Dodipoll would make mee believe the Moone were made of Greene-cheese. And because hee would be writing many things, hee was manicled by the wrests, so long till the flesh of his armes was growne higher than his yrons. By the meanes of his manicles hee could not kembe his head, and hee remained so long manicled, that his haire was folded together.

Cruelty shewed to the Painter.

After the death of his wife, his brother sued to the King for him, and after long suite hee was brought out in the Consistory at Pauls, and (as his brother did report) they kept him three dayes without meat before hee came to his answer. Then, what by the long imprisonment and much evill handling, and for lacke of sustenance, the man was in that case, that hee could say nothing, but looke and gaze upon the people like a wilde man, and if they asked him a question, hee could say nothing, but my Lord is a good man. And thus, when they had spilt his body, and destroyed his wits, they sent him backe againe to Bearlie Abbey; but he came away againe from thence, and would not tarry amongst them: Albeit hee never came to his perfect minde, to his dying day.

Valentine and his wife burned in Yorke.

His brother, of whom I before spake, whose name was Valentine Freese and his wife, gave their lives at one stake in Yorke, for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

Also the wife of the said Father Bate, while hee was at Fulham, made many supplications to the King without redresse, and at the last she delivered one to his owne hands, and hee read it himselfe, whereupon he was appointed to goe into Chancery Lane, to one, whose name (as is thought) was Master Selyard, and at last shee got a letter of the said Selyard to the Bishop, and when shee had it, shee thought all her suite well bestowed, hoping that some good should come to her husband thereby. And because the wicked Officers in those dayes were crafty, and desirous of his blood, as some others had proved their practice, some of her friends would needs see the contents of her letter, and not suffer her to deliver it to the Bishop: and as they thought, so they found indeed: for it was after this manner.

Gods good providence.

Crafty letter of wicked Officers.

After commendations had, &c. Looke what you can gather against Father Bate, send mee word by your trusty friend, Sir William Sarie, that I may certifie the Kings Majestie, &c. Thus the poore woman, when shee thought her suite had beene done, was in lesse hope of her husbands life than before. But within short space after it pleased God to deliver him: for hee got out in a darke night, and so he was caught no more, but died within a short time after.

In this yeare also, as wee doe understand by divers notes of old Registers and otherwise, Frier Roy was burned in Portugal, but what his examination, or Articles, or order of his death was, wee can have no understanding: but what his doctrine was, it may be easily judged by the testimonies, which he here left in England.

Roy burned in Portugal.

In the beginning of this yeare which we are now about, through the complaint of the Clergie made to the King, the translation of the new Testament, with a great number of other bookes, were forbidden. For the Bishops comming into the Star-Chamber the five and twentieth day of May, and comming with the Kings counsell, after many pretenses and long debating, alleged that the translation of Tindall & Joye were not truly translated, and moreover, that in them were prologues and prefaces, that smelled of heresie, and railed against the Bishops; wherefore all such bookes were prohibited, and commandement given by the King to the Bishops, that they, calling to them the best learned men of the Universities, should cause a new translation to be made, so that the people might not be ignorant in the Law of God. Notwithstanding this commandement, the Bishops did nothing at all, to the setting forth of any new translation, which caused the people much to study Tindalls translation, by reason whereof many things came to light, as yee shall hereafter heare.

The Bishops commanded by the King to set forth a new translation of the new Testament.

The translation of the new Testament inhibited by the Bishops.

This yeare also, in the month of May, the Bishop of London caused all the new Testaments of Tindalls translation, and many other bookes which hee had bought, to be brought unto Pauls Church-yard, and there openly to be burned.

James Bainham, Lawyer and Martyr.

James Bainham Martyr.

JAmes Bainham Gentleman, son to one Walter Bainham a Knight of Glocester-shire, being vertously brought up by his parents, in the studies of good letters, had knowledge both of the Latine and the Greeke tongue. After that hee gave himselfe to the study of the Law, being a man of vertuous disposition, and godly conversation, mightily addicted to Prayer, an earnest reader of the Scriptures, a great maintainer of the godly, a visiter of the prisoners, liberall to schollers, very mercifull to his Clients, using equity and justice to the poore, very diligent in giving counsell to all the needy, widowes, fatherlesse and afflicted, without money or reward, briefly a singular example to all Lawyers.

This Walter Bainham, as is above noted, married the wife of Simon Fish aforesaid, for the which hee was the more suspected, and at last was accused to Sir Thomas More, Chancellor of England, and arrested with a Sergeant at armes, and carried out of the midle Temple to the Chancellors house at Chelsey, where he continued in free prison a while, till the time that Sir Thomas More saw hee could not prevaile in perverting of him to his sect. Then hee call him into prison in his owne house, and whipped him at the tree in his garden, called the tree of troth, and after sent him to the Tower to be racked, and so hee was, Sir Thomas More being present himselfe, till in a manner he had lamed him, because he would not accuse the Gentlemen of the Temple of his acquaintance, nor would shew where his bookes lay: and because his wife denied them to be at his house, shee was sent to the Fleet, and their goods confiscate.

After

After they had thus practised against him what they could by tortures and torments, then was hee brought before John Stokesley, Bishop of London, the fifteenth day of December, Anno, 1531. in the said towne of Chelsey, and there examined upon these Articles and interrogatories insuing.

Interrogatories ministred to Bainham. Answer.

FIrst, whether hee believed there were any Purgatory of soules hence departed.

Whereunto he made answer as followeth: If we walke in light, even as hee is in light, wee have society together with him, and the blood of Iesus Christ his Sonne hath cleansed us from all sinne. If wee say wee have no sinne, wee deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us. If wee confesse our sinnes, he is faithfull and just, and will forgive us our sinnes, and will purge us from all our iniquities.

2 Secondly, whether the Saints hence departed are to be honoured and prayed unto, to pray for us.

Answer. **To which hee answered on this wise:** My little children, I write this unto you, that you sinne not. If any man doe sinne, wee have an Advocate with the Father, Iesus Christ the Iust, and hee is the propitiation for our sinnes, and not only for our sinnes, but also for the sinnes of the whole World. **And further upon occasion of these words,** Omnes sancti Dei orate pro nobis. **Being demanded what hee meant by these words,** Omnes sancti, **he answered,** That hee meant them by those that were alive, as Saint Paul did by the Corinthians, and not by those that be dead: for hee prayed not to them, he said, because hee thought that they which be dead cannot pray for him. Item, when the whole Church is gathered together, they use to pray one for another, or desire one to pray for another, with one heart; and that the Will of the Lord may be fulfilled, and not ours: and I pray, said hee, as our Saviour Christ prayed at his last houre; Father, take this cup from mee if it be possible, yet thy will be fulfilled.

Omnes sancti Dei.

Answer. Soules departed.

3 Thirdly, hee was demanded whether hee thought that any soules departed were yet in Heaven or no.

To this hee answered and said, That hee believed that they be there as it pleased God to have them, that is to say, in the faith of Abraham, and that herein hee would commit himselfe to the Church.

4 Fourthly, it was demanded of him, whether he thought it necessary to salvation, for a man to confesse his sinnes to a Priest.

Answer. **Whereunto his answer was this,** That it was lawfull for one to confesse and acknowledge his sins to another. As for any other confession hee knew none. And further hee said, that if hee came to a Sermon, or any other where, whereas the Word of God is preached, and there take repentance for his sinne, hee believed his sinnes forthwith to be forgiven of God, and that hee needed not to goe to any confession.

Confession and remission of sinnes.

5 Fifthly, that hee should say and affirme, that the truth of holy Scripture hath beene hid, and appeared not these 800. yeeres, neither was knowne before now.

Answer. **To this hee said,** That hee meant no otherwise, but that the truth of holy Scripture was never, these eight hundred yeeres past, so plainely and expressely declared unto the people, as it hath beene within these sixe yeeres.

6 Hee was demanded further, for what cause holy Scripture hath beene better declared within these sixe yeeres, than it hath been these 800. yeeres before.

The truth of the Scripture long hid.

Whereunto hee answered, To say plainly, hee knew no man to have preached the Word of God sincerely and purely, and after the veine of Scripture, except Master Crome and Master Latimer, and said moreover, that the New Testament now translated into English, doth preach and teach the Word of God, and that before that time men did preach but onely that folkes should believe as the Church did believe, and then if the Church erred, men should erre too. Howbeit the Church, said hee, of Christ cannot erre: and that there were two Churches, that is, the Church of Christ militant, and the Church of Antichrist, and that this Church of Antichrist may and doth erre, but the Church of Christ doth not.

Two Churches.

7 Seventhly, whether hee knew any person that dyed in the true Faith of Christ, since the Apostles time.

Answer. **Hee said,** Hee knew Bayfield, and thought that he dyed in the true Faith of Christ.

8 Eighthly, hee was asked what hee thought of purgatory.

Answer. Purgatory.

Hee answered, If any such thing had beene moved to Saint Paul of purgatory after this life, hee thought Saint Paul would have condemned it for an heresie. And when hee heard Master Crome preach and say, that hee thought there was a purgatory after this life, hee thought in his minde that the said Master Crome lied, and spake against his conscience; and that there were an hundred more, which thought the same as hee did: saying moreover, that hee had seene the confession of Master Crome in print, God wot, a very foolish thing, as he judged.

Crome belike was now slipe from that hee had before taught.

Vowes.

And as concerning Vowes, hee granted that there were lawfull vowes, as Ananias vowed, Acts 5. for it was in his owne power, whether hee would have sold his possession or not, and therefore hee did offend. But vowes of chastitie, and all godlinesse is given of God by his aboundant grace, the which no man of himselfe can keepe, but it must be given him of God. And therefore a Monke, Frier, or Nun, that have vowed the vowes of Religion, if they thinke after their vowes made, that they cannot keepe their promises that they made at Baptisme, they may goe forth and marry, so that they keepe, after their marriage, the promise that they made at Baptisme. And finally, hee concluded, that he thought there were no other vowes, but onely the vow of Baptisme.

9 Ninthly, hee was demanded, whether Luther being a Frier, and taking a Nun out of Religion, and afterward marrying her, did well or no, and what hee thought therein.

Answer. **Hee answered,** That hee thought nothing. And when hey asked him, whether it was lecherie or no. Hee made answer, hee could not say so.

Answer. Extreme unction.

As concerning the Sacrament of anneling, being willed to say his mind:

Hee answered and said. It was but a ceremony, neither did he wot what a man should be the better for such annoyling and annoynting. The best was, that some good prayers hee saw to be said thereat.

Likewise, touching the Sacrament of Baptisme, his words were these.

Answer. The Sacrament of Baptisme.

That as many as repent, and doe on them Christ, shall be saved: that is, as many as die concerning sinne, shall live by Faith with Christ. Therefore it is not wee that live after that, but Christ in us. And so whether wee live or dye, wee are Gods by adoption, and not by the water onely, but by water and faith: That is, by keeping the promise made. For yee are kept by Grace and Faith, saith Saint Paul, and that not of your selves, for it is the gift of God.

Hee was asked moreover of Matrimony, whether it was a Sacrament or not, and whether it conferreth Grace, being commanded in the old law, and not yet taken away.

His answer was, That Matrimonie is an order

or

nſwer. Fatthmony.

nſwer.

ookes for-bidden.

or law, that the Church of Chriſt hath made and ordained, by the which men may take to them women and not ſinne.

Laſtly, for his bookes of Scripture, and for his judgement of Tindall, becauſe hee was urged to confeſſe the truth, hee ſaid, That he had the new Teſtament tranſlated into the Engliſh tongue by Tindall within this moneth, and thought he offended not God in uſing and keeping the ſame, notwithſtanding that he knew the Kings proclamation to the contrary, and that it was prohibited in the name of the Church at Pauls Croſſe. But for all that hee thought the Word of God had not forbid it: confeſſing moreover, that he had in his keeping within this moneth theſe bookes; the wicked Mammon, the Obedience of a Chriſtian man, the Practice of Prelates, the Anſwer of Tindall to Thomas Mores Dialogues, the booke of Frith againſt Purgatory, the Epiſtle of George Gee, alias George Clerke: adding furthermore, that in all theſe bookes he never ſaw any errours. And if there were any ſuch in them, then if they were corrected, it were good that the people had the ſaid bookes. And as concerning the new Teſtament in Engliſh, hee thought it utterly good, and that the people ſhould have it as it is. Neith r did he ever know (ſaid hee) that Tindall was a naughty fellow. And to theſe anſwers he ſubſcribed his name. This examination (as is ſaid) was the fiftenth day of December.

The nert day following, which was the firteenth day of December, the ſaid James Bainham appeared againe before the Biſhop of London, in the foreſaid place of Sir Thomas More at Chelſey, where, after the guiſe and forme of their proceedings, firſt his former Articles with his Anſwers were againe repeated, and his hand brought forth. Which done, they asked him whether hee would perſiſt in that which hee had ſaid, or elſe would returne to the Catholique Church, from whence hee was fallen, and to the which he might be yet received, as they ſaid: adding moreover many faire inticing and alluring words, that hee would reconcile himſelfe; ſaying, the time was yet that hee might be received; the boſome of his mother was open for him. Otherwiſe, if hee would continue ſtubborne, there was no remedy.

Now was the time either to ſave, or elſe utterly to caſt himſelfe away. Which of theſe waies hee would take, the caſe preſent now required a preſent anſwer, for elſe the ſentence definitive was ready there to be read, &c.

M. Bainham flattereth himſelfe.

To conclude long matter in few words: Bainham wavering in a doubtfull perplexity, betweene life on the one hand, and death on the other, at length giving over to the Adverſaries, gave anſwer unto them that hee was contented to ſubmit himſelfe in thoſe things wherein he had offended, excuſing that hee was deceived by ignorance. Then the Biſhop requiring him to ſay his mind plainly of his anſwers above declared, demanded what hee thought thereof, whether they were true or no. E. Regiſt. Lon.

To this Bainham ſaid, that it was too high for him to judge. And then being asked of the Biſhop, whether there was any purgatory; hee anſwered and ſaid, hee could not believe that there was any purgatory after this life.

Upon other Articles being examined and demanded, hee granted as followeth; that hee could not judge whether Baifield dyed in the true faith of Chriſt or no. That a man making a vow, cannot breake it without deadly ſin. That a Prieſt promiſing to live chaſte, may not marry a wife. That hee thinketh the Apoſtles to be in heaven. That Luther did naught in marrying a Nunne. That a childe is the better for confirmation. That it is an offence to God, if any man keepe bookes prohibited by the Church, the Pope, the Biſhop, or the King: and ſaid, That hee pondered thoſe points more now than hee did before, &c.

Upon theſe anſwers, the Biſhop thinking to keepe him in ſafe cuſtody, to further triall, committed him to one of the Counters.

The time thus paſſing on, which bringeth all things to their end, in the moneth of February nert following, in the yeare of our Lord, 1532. the foreſaid James Bainham was called for againe to the Biſhops Conſiſtory, before his Vicar Generall and other his aſſiſtants: To whom Foxford the Biſhops Chancellor recited againe his Articles and Anſwers above mentioned; proteſting, That hee intended not to receive him to the unity of the holy Mother Church, unleſſe hee knew the ſaid Bainham to be returned againe purely and unfeignedly to the Catholique Faith, and to ſubmit himſelf penitently to the judgement of the Church. To whom Bainham ſpake to this effect, ſaying, That hee hath, and doth believe the holy Church, and holdeth the Faith of the holy Mother the Catholique Church.

{ Anno } { 1532 }

Bainham againe brought before the Biſhops Chancellor.

Wherefore the Chancellor offering to him a Bill of his abjuration, after the forme of the Popes Church conceived, required him to reade it. Who was contented; and read to the clauſe of the abjuration, containing theſe words; I voluntarily, as a true penitent perſon returned from my hereſies, utterly abjure, &c. And there hee ſtayed and would reade no further, ſaying, that hee knew not the Articles contained in his abjuration to be hereſie, therefore hee could not ſee why hee ſhould refuſe them. Which done, the Chancellor proceeded to the reading of the ſentence definitive, comming to this place of the ſentence; The doctrine and determination of the Church, &c. and there pauſed, ſaying, hee would reſerve the reſt till hee ſaw his time. Whom then Bainham deſired to be good unto him, affirming that hee did acknowledge that there was a purgatory; that the ſoules of the Apoſtles were in Heaven, &c. Then began hee againe to reade the ſentence: but Bainham againe deſired him to be good to him. Whereupon hee ceaſed the ſentence, and ſaid that hee would accept this his confeſſion for that time as ſufficient.

So Bainham for that preſent was returned to his Priſon againe. Who then the fifth day after, which was the eighth day of February, appeared, as before, in the Conſiſtory. Whom the foreſaid Chancellor repeating againe his Articles and Anſwers, asked if hee would abjure and ſubmit himſelfe. Who anſwered, That he would ſubmit himſelfe as a good Chriſtian man ſhould. Againe, the Chancellor the ſecond time asked if hee would abjure. I will (ſaid hee) forſake all my Articles, and will meddle no more with them; and ſo being commanded to lay his hand upon the booke, read his abjuration openly. After the reading whereof, hee burſt out into theſe words, ſaying; That becauſe there were many words in the ſaid abjuration, which hee thought obſcure and difficile, hee proteſted that by his Oath hee intended not to goe from ſuch defence, which hee might have had before his Oath. Which done, the Chancellor asked him why hee made that proteſtation. Bainham ſaid, For feare, leſt any man of ill will doe accuſe mee hereafter. Then the Chancellor taking the definitive ſentence in his hand, diſpoſing himſelfe (as appeared) to reade the ſame; Well Maſter Bainham, ſaid hee, take your Oath, and kiſſe the Booke, or elſe I will doe mine office againſt you: and ſo immediatly he tooke the booke in his hand and kiſſed it, and ſubſcribed the ſame with his hand.

Bainham againe brought to the Conſiſtory.

Bainham lothe to abjure.

Which done, the Chancellor receiving the abjuration at his hand put him to his fine, firſt to pay twenty pounds to the King. After that, he injoyned him Penance, to goe before the Croſſe in procellion

at

Bainham enjoyned penance.

at Pauls, and to ſtand before the Preacher during the Sermon at Pauls Croſſe, with a fagot upon his ſhoulder, the next Sunday, and ſo to returne

James Bainham enjoyned penance.

James Bainham. { Anno 1532.

with the ſumner to the priſon againe, there to abide the Biſhops determination: and ſo the ſeuenteenth day of Februarie hee was releaſed and diſmiſſed home. Where hee had ſcarce a moneth continued, but he bewailed his fact and abiuration, and was neuer quiet in his mind and conſcience untill the time he had uttered his fall to all his acquaintance, and asked God and all the world forgiuenelle before the Congregation in thoſe daies, in a warehouſe in Bow-lane: and immediately the next Sunday after hee came to Saint Aulkins, with the new Teſtament in his hand in Engliſh, and the Obedience of a Chriſtian man in his boſome, and ſtood up there before the people in his pew, there declaring openly with weeping teares, that hee had denied God, and prayed all the people to forgiue him, and to beware of his weakneſſe, and not to doe as he did: for (ſaid hee) if I ſhould not returne againe unto the Truth (having the new Teſtament in his hand) this word of God would damne mee both body and ſoule at the day of Iudgement. And there he prayed every body rather to die by and by, than to doe as he did: for hee would not feele ſuch an hell againe as he did feele, for all the worlds good. Beſides this, hee wrote alſo certaine Letters to the Biſhop, to his brother, and to others; ſo that ſhortly after hee was apprehended, and ſo committed to the Tower of London.

Bainham diſmiſſed out of priſon.

Repentance of Bainham after his fall.

Bainham againe apprehended and caſt into the Tower.

¶ The proceſſe againſt *James Bainham* in caſe of relapſe.

{ Anno 1532.

Another proceſſe againſt James Bainham. *Ex Regiſt. Lon.*

THe nineteenth day of Aprill, 1532. Maiſter Richard Forſord, Vicar Generall to the Biſhop of London, accompanied with certaine Diuines, and Matthew Gryffon the Regiſter, ſitting iudicially, James Bainham was brought before him by the Lieutenant of the Tower; before whom the Vicar Generall rehearſed the Articles contained in his abiuration before made, and ſhewed him a bound booke, which the ſaid Bainham acknowledged to be his owne writing, ſaying, that it was good. Then hee ſhewed him more of a certaine letter ſent unto the Biſhop of London, the which alſo he acknowledged to be his: obiecting alſo to the ſaid Bainham, that he had made and read the abiuration which he had before recited: ſhewing him moreouer certaine letters which hee had written unto his brother, the which hee confeſſed to be his owne writing; ſaying moreouer, that though hee wrote it, yet there is one thing in the ſame that is naught, if it be as my Lord Chancellor ſaith. Then he asked of Bainham, how hee underſtood this which followeth, which was in his letters: Yet could they not ſee nor know him for God, when indeed he was both God and man, yea, hee was three perſons in one, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt; and Bainham ſaid it was naught. Which things thus done, there was further obiected unto him theſe words; that hee had as leue pray to Ioane his wife, as to our Lady. The which Article Bainham denied. The ſaid Bainham amongſt other talke, as touching the ſacrament of the Altar, ſaid, Chriſts body is not chewed with teeth, but received by faith. Further it was obiected againſt him, That notwithſtanding his abiuration, hee had ſaid that the ſacrament of the Altar was but a myſticall or memoriall body: the which Article Bainham denied. It was further laid unto him, that hee ſhould ſay, That ſaint Thomas of Canturbury was a Thiefe and a Murtherer, and a Diuell in hell. Whereunto he anſwered thus; That ſaint Thomas of Canturbury was a murtherer, and if hee did not repent him of his murther, hee was rather a Diuell in hell, than a Saint in Heauen.

Articles falſly depraued by the aduerſaries.

The. Becket.

The twentieth day of Aprill, in the yeere aforeſaid, the ſaid James Bainham was brought before the Vicar Generall, in the Church of All-ſaints, of Barking, whereas he miniſtred theſe Interrogatories unto him.

Another appearance.

Firſt, That ſince the feaſt of Eaſter laſt paſt, he had ſaid, affirmed, and believed, that the ſacrament of the Altar was but a myſticall body of Chriſt, and afterward he ſaid it was but a memoriall: the which Article Bainham denied. Then the Vicar Generall declared unto him, that our holy mother the Catholique Church determineth and teacheth in this manner; That in the ſacrament of the Altar, after the words of conſecration, there remaineth no bread. The Officiall asked Bainham whether hee did ſo believe or not. Whereunto Bainham anſwered, ſaying; That Saint Paul calleth it bread, rehearſing theſe words; Quotieſcunque comederitis panem hunc, & de poculo biberitis, mortem Domini annunciabitis. And in that point hee ſaith as Saint Paul ſaith, and believeth as the Church believeth. And being demanded twice afterward what hee thought therein, hee would give no other anſwer.

S. Paul calleth the ſacrament bread.

Item, That ſince the feaſt of Eaſter aforeſaid, he had affirmed and believed, that every man whatſoever that would take upon him to preach the Goſpell of Chriſt clearely, had as much power as the Pope. To the which Article he anſwered thus; He that preacheth the Word of God purely, whatſoever he be, and liveth thereafter, he hath the key that bindeth and loſeth both in Heauen and Earth. The which key is the ſame Scripture that is preached, and the Pope hath no other power to bind and to loſe, but by the key of the Scripture.

True Preachers haue as much power of the keyes as the Pope.

Item, That he affirmed, That ſaint Thomas of Canturbury was a Thiefe and a Murtherer, and in hell. Whereunto he anſwered as before.

Articles falſly depraued.

Item, That he ſaid, That he had as leue pray to Ioane his wife, as to our Lady. The which he denied as before.

Item, that he affirmed and believed, that Chriſt himſelfe was but a man: The which Article hee alſo denied.

The

Witnesse against Walter Bainham.

The last appearance of Iames Bainham.

Soules departed.

The sacrament of Baptisme.

The sacrament of the Altar.

Sentence read against Bainham.

The words of Iames Bainham to Walter Wilson.

The cruell handling of Bainham.

The death and martyrdome of Walter Iames Bainham.

A miracle, and a wondrous worke of God to behold.

The premisses thus passed, the Vicar Generall received Francis Realmes, John Edwards, Ralph Hilton, John Ridley, Francis Dzuland, and Ralph Noble, as witnesses to be swoone upon the Articles afozesaid, and to speake the truth before the face of the said James Bainham, in the presence of Walter John Nayler, Vicar of Barking, Walter John Rode Batchelor of Divinity, William Smith, Richard Gzwell, Thomas Wimple, and Richard Gill.

The sir and twentieth day of Aprill, in the yere afozesaid, before Walter John Forford, Vicar Generall of the Bishop of London, in the presence of Matthew Grefton, Register, and Nicholas Wilson and William Philley, professors of Divinity, John Oliver, William Middleton, and Hugh Appzise, Doctors of the Law, M. Richard Grelham Sheriffe of London, and a great company of others, James Bainham was brought forth by the Lieutenant of the Tower, in whose presence the Vicar Generall rehearsed the merits of the cause of Inquisition of heresie against him, and proceeded to the reading of the abiuration. And when the Judge read this article following contained in the abiuration: Item, that I have said that I will not determine whether any soules departed be yet in heaven oz no, but I believe that they be there as it pleaseth God to have them; that is to say, in the faith of Abraham: and I wote not whether the soules of the Apostles oz any other be in heaven oz no. To this James answered, That I did abiure, and if that had not bone, I would not have abiured at all.

After all the Articles were read contained in the abiuration, and certaine talke had as touching the sacrament of Baptisme, the said James Bainham spake these wozds: If a Turke, a Iew, oz a Saracen doe trust in God, and kep his Law, he is a good Christian man. Then the Officiall shewed unto him the letters which hee sent unto his brother, written with his owne hand, and asked him what he thought as touching this clause following: Yet could they not see and know him foz God, when indeed he was both God and man, yea, he was three persons in one, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost. Whereunto Bainham said, that it was naught, and that hee did it by ignozance, and did not oversee his letters. Then Walter Nicholas Wilson among other talke, as touching the sacrament of the altar, declared unto him that the Church did believe the very body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the Altar. Bainham answered, the bread is not Jesus Christ, foz Christs body is not chewed with teeth, therefore it is but bread. Being further demanded whether in the sacrament of the Altar is the very body of Christ, God and man in flesh and blood; after divers doubtfull answers, Bainham answered thus: hee is there very God and man in forme of bread.

This done, the Officiall declared unto him the depositions of the witnesses which were come in against him, and objected unto him, that a little before Easter, hee had abiured all heresies, as well particularly as generally. Then the said Vicar Generall, after hee had taken deliberation and advice with the learned his assistants, did proceed to the reading of the definitive sentence against him, and also published the same in writing: whereby amongst other things, besides his abiuration, hee pronounced and condemned him as a relapsed heretique, damnably fallen into sundry heresies, and so to be left unto the secular power, that is to say, to one of the Sheriffes being there present. After the pronouncing of which sentence, Walter Nicholas Wilson counselled and admonished the said James, that hee would conforme himselfe unto the Church. To whom hee answered, that hee trusted that hee is the very child of God; which ye blind asses, said hee, doe not perceive. And last of all, departing from his judgement, he spake these wozds: Walter Wilson, noz you my Lord Chancellor shall not prove by Scripture, that there is any purgatory. Then the sentence of condemnation was given against him, the which here to repeate word foz word is not necessary, foz so much as the tenoz thereof is all one with that which passed before in the story of Bayfield, alias Somersam. Here also should ensue the letter of the Bishop of London, directed unto the Maioz and Sheriffes of the same city, foz the receiving of him into their power, and the putting of him to death, the tenoz whereof is also of like effect to that before written in the story of Bayfield. After this sentence given, James Bainham was delivered into the hands of Sir Richard Grelham Sheriffe, then being present, who caused him by his officers to be carried unto Newgate, and the said James Bainham was burned in Smithfield the last day of Aprill, in the yere afozesaid, at three of the clocke at afternone.

This Walter Bainham, during his imprisonment, was very cruelly handled. Foz almost the space of a foztnight hee lay in the Bishops colehouse in the stocks, with yons upon his legs. Then hee was carried to the Lord Chancellors, and there chained to a post two nights. Then hee was carried to Fulham, where hee was cruelly handled by the space of a sennight. Then to the Tower, where hee lay a foztnight, scourged with whips, to make him revoke his opinions. From thence hee was carried to Barking, then to Chelsey, and there condemned, and so to Newgate to be burned.

The burning of *James Bainham.*

James Bainham.

{ Anno 1532. }

At whose burning, here is notoriously to be observed, that as hee was at the stake in the middest of the flaming fire, which fire had halfe consumed his armes and legs, hee spake these wozds: O ye Papists, behold, ye looke foz miracles, and here now you may see a miracle; foz in this fire I feele no moze paine, than if I were in a bed of downe: but it is to me as a bed of Roses. These wozds spake he in the middest of the flaming fire, when his legs and armes, as I said, were halfe consumed.

Iohn

John Bent, Martyr.

John Bent martyr.

AT the writing hereof, came to our hands a certaine notice of one John Bent, who about this present time, or not long before, being a Taylor,

John Bent burnt at Devise.

and dwelling in a village called Urchebant, was burned in the towne of the Devises within the County of Wiltshire, for denying of the sacrament of the altar, as they terme it.

One Trapnell Martyr.

ALso much about the same time, was one Trapnell burned in a towne called Brodford, within the same County.

Trapnell martyr, burnt at Brodford.

The History of three men hanged for the burning of the Rood of Dovercourt, collected out of a letter of Robert Gardiner, which was one of the doers of the same.

IN the same yeere of our Lord 1532, there was an Idoll named the Rood of Dovercourt, whereunto was much and great resort of people. For at that time there was a great rumour blowne abroad amongst the ignorant sort, that the power of the Idoll of Dovercourt was so great, that no man had power to shut the Church doze where hee stood, and therefore they let the Church doze both night and day continually stand open, for the more credit unto their blind rumour. Which once being conceived in the heads of the vulgar sort, seemed a great marvell unto many men; but to many againe, whom God had blessed with his spirit, was greatly suspected, especially unto these, whose names here follow; as Robert King of Dedham, Robert Debnam of Eastbergholt, Nicholas Marsh of Dedham, and Robert Gardiner of Dedham, whose consciences were sore burthened to see the honour and power of the Almighty King God so to be blasphemed by such an Idoll. Wherefore they were moved by the Spirit of God, to travell out of Dedham in a wondrous goodly night, both hard frost and faire moon-shine, although the night before and the night after were exceeding foule and rainy. It was from the towne of Dedham, to the place where the filthy rood stood, 10. miles. Notwithstanding, they were so willing in that their enterprize, that they went these 10. miles without paine, and found the Church doze

Out of a letter of Robert Gardiner, written to Chapman Londoner, and yet alive. The Rood of Dovercourt.

Robert King Robert Debnam, Nicholas Marsh, martyrs.

The blindnesse of the people.

Robert King, Robert Debnam, and Nicholas Marsh hanged for taking downe the Rood of Dovercourt.

xperience of lle Idolatry.

open according to the blind talke of the ignorant people: for there durst no unfaithfull body shut it. Which happened well for their purpose; for they found the idoll: which had as much power to keepe the doore shut as to keepe it open. And for proofe thereof, they tooke the idoll from his shrine, and carried him a quarter of a mile from the place where he stood, without any resistance of the said idol. Whereupon they stroke fire with a flint stone, and suddenly set him on fire, who burned out so brim, that hee lighted them homeward one good mile of the ten.

he Idoll set light fire.

This done, there went a great talke abroad that they should have great riches in that place: but it was very untrue; for it was not their thought or enterprise, as they themselves afterward confessed, for there was nothing taken away but his coat, his shoes, and tapers. The tapers did helpe to burne him, the shoes they had againe, and the coate one sir Thomas Rose did burne, but they had neither peny, halfe-peny, gold, groat, nor jewell.

lse furnise ames ready.

Notwithstanding three of them were afterward indicted of Felony, and hanged in chaines within halfe a yeere after, or thereabout. Robert King was hanged in Dedham at Burchet; Robert Debnam was hanged at Cataway causey; Nicolas Parth was hanged at Dover-court. Which three persons, through the Spirit of God at their death, did more edifie the people in godly learning, than all the sermons that had beene preached there a long time before.

he right dyeing of a Pooll.

obert King, obert Debnam, Nicholas Parth, martyrs.

The fourth man of this company, named Robert Gardiner, escaped their hands and fled. Albeit he was cruelly sought for to have had the like death. But the living Lord preserved him, to whom be all honour and glory world without end.

obert Gardiner escaped.

The same yeere, and the yeere before, there were many Images cast downe and destroyed in many places: as the Image of the Crucifix in the Highway by Cogshall, the image of Saint Petronill in the Church of great Horkesleigh, the image of Saint Christopher by Sudbury, and another Image of Saint Petronill in a Chappell by Ipswich.

estimonio ipſi Garden. Images destroyed.

Also John Seward of Dedham overthrew the Crosse in Stoke Parke, and tooke two Images out of a Chappell in the same Parke, and cast them into the water.

The Story, examination, death, and martyrdome of *Iohn Frith.*

Anno 1531. oh Frith martyr.

AMongst all other chances lamentable, there hath beene none a long time which seemed unto me more grievous, then the lamentable death and cruell handling of John Frith, so learned and excellent a young man, which had so profited in all kind of learning and knowledge, that scarcely there was his equall amongst all his companions: and besides, withall had such a godlinesse of life joyned with his doctrine, that it was hard to judge in whether of them he was more cõmendable, being greatly praiseworthy in them both. But as touching his doctrine by the grace of Christ we will speake hereafter. Of the great godlinesse which was in him this may serve for experiment sufficient, for that notwithstanding his other manifold and singular gifts and ornaments of the minde in him most pregnant, wherewithall hee might have opened an easie way unto honour and dignity, notwithstanding hee chose rather wholy to consecrate himselfe unto the Church of Christ, excellently shewing forth and practising in himselfe the precept so highly commended of the Philosophers, touching the life of man; which life they say is given unto us in such sort, that how much the better the man is, so much the lesse he should live unto himselfe, but unto other, serving for the common utility, and that we should thinke a great part of our birth to be due unto our parents, a greater part unto our Countrey, and the greatest part of all to be bestowed upon the Church, if wee will be counted good men. First of all he began his study at Cambridge. In whom nature had planted, being but a child, marvellous instinctions and love unto learning, whereunto he was addict. He had also a wonderfull promptnesse of wit, and a ready capacity to receive and understand any thing, insomuch that hee seemed not to be sent unto learning, but also borne for the same purpose. Neither was there any diligence wanting in him, equall unto that towardnesse, or worthy of his disposition. Whereby it came to passe, that he was not onely a lover of learning, but also became an exquisite learned man. In the which exercise when he had diligently laboured certaine yeeres, not without great profit both of Latine and Greeke, at the last he fell into knowledge and acquaintance with William Tindall, through whose instructions he first received into his heart the seed of the Gospell and sincere godlinesse.

John Frith, first student in Cambridge.

Commendation of Friths learning.

At that time Thomas Wolsey Cardinall of Poore prepared to build a colledge in Oxford, marvellous sumptuous, which had the name and title of Frideswide, but now named Christs Church, not so much (as it is thought) for the love and zeale that he bare unto learning, as for an ambitious desire of glory and renowne, and to leave a perpetuall name unto the posterity. But that building, he being cut off by the stroke of death (for he was sent for unto the King, accused of certaine crimes, and in the way by immoderate purgations killed himselfe) left partly begun, partly halfe ended, and unperfect, and nothing else save onely the kitchen was fully finished. Whereupon Rodulphus Gualterus a learned man, being then in Oxford, and beholding the Colledge, said these words in Latine: Egregium opus; Cardinalis iste instituit collegium, & absoluit popinam. How large and ample those buildings should have beene, what sumptuous cost should have beene bestowed upon the same, may easily be perceived by that which is already builded, as the kitchen, the Hall, and certaine Chambers, whereas there is such curious graving and workemanship of stonecutters, that all things on every side did glitter for the excellency of the workemanship, for the fineness of the matter, with the gilt antickes and embossings, insomuch that if all the rest had beene finished to that determinate end as it was begun, it might well have excelled not onely all Colledges of students, but also Palaces of Princes. This ambitious Cardinall gathered together into that Colledge whatsoever excellent thing there was in the whole realme, either vestments, vessels, or other ornaments, beside provision of all kind of precious things. Besides that, he also appointed unto that company all such men as were found to excell in any kind of learning and knowledge. Whose names to recite all in order would be too long. The chiefe of them which were called from Cambridge, were these.

The Colledge of Frideswide, in Oxford, now called Christs Colledge.

The saying of Rodulphus Gualterus touching the Cardinals colledge.

- Master Clerke, Master of Art, of thirty foure yeeres of age.
- M. Frier, afterward Doctour of Phisicke, after that a strong papist.
- M. Sumner, Master of Art.
- M. Harman, Master of Art, and after fellow of Eaton Colledge, after that a Papist.
- M. Bettes, Master of Art, a good man and zealous, and so remained.
- Master Cox, Master of Art, who conveyed himselfe away toward the North, and after was Schoolemaster of Eaton, and then Chaplen to Doctour Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, and by him preferred to King Henry, and late Bishop of Ely.

Iohn Frith, Bacheler of Art.
Bayly, Batcheler of Art.
Goodman, who being sicke in the prison with the other, was had out, and died in the towne.
Drumme, who afterwards fell away and forsooke the truth.
Thomas Lawney, Chaplen of the house, prisoner with Iohn Frith.

This Taverner repented him very much that he had made songs to popish ditties in the time of his blindnesse.

To these ioyne also Taverner of Bostō, the good Musitian, besides many other called also out of other places, most picked yong men, of grave iudgement and sharpe wits; who conferring together upon the abuses of religion, being at that time crept into the Church, were therefore accused of heresie unto the Cardinall, and cast into a Prison, within a deepe cave under the ground of the same Colledge where their salt fish was layd; so that thorow the filthy stinch thereof they were all infected, and certaine of them taking their death in the same prison, shortly upon the same being taken out of the prison into their chambers, there deceased.

Persecuters.

The troublers and examiners of these good men, were these; Doctor London, Doctor Higdon, Deane of the said Colledge, and Doctor Cottesford Commissary.

M. Clarke, M. Sumner, Sir Bayly, killed through imprisonment.

Master Clerke, Master Sumner, and Sir Baily, eating nothing but salt fish from February to the middest of August, died all there together within the compasse of one weeke.

Master Bettes a witty man, having no bookes found in his chamber, through intreaty and surety got out of prison, and so remaining a space in the Colledge, at last slipt away to Cambridge, and after was Chaplen to Quéene Anne, and in great favour with her.

Taverner, although he was accused and suspected for hiding of Clarkes Bookes under the boords in his schole; yet the Cardinall for his musicke excused him; saying, that he was but a Musitian: and so he escaped.

After the death of these men, Iohn Frith with other, by the Cardinals letter, which sent word that he would not have them so straitly handled, were dismissed out of prison, upon condition not to passe above ten miles out of Oxford. Which Frith after, hearing of the examination of Malaber and Garret, which bare then Fagots, went over the sea, and after two yeares hee came over for exhibition of the Prior of Reading (as was thought) and had the Prior over with him.

Of this Malaber read more in the story of Tho. Garret.

Being at Reading, it happened that hee was there taken for a Vagabond, and brought to examination: Where the simple man, which could not craftily enough colour himselfe, was set in the Stockes. Where after hee had sitten a long time, and was almost pined with hunger, and would not for all that declare what hee was, at the last hee desired that the Schoolemaster of the Towne might be brought to him, which at that time was one Leonard Coxe, a man very well learned. As soone as hee came unto him, Frith by and by began in the Latine Tongue to bewaile his Captivity.

Iohn Frith set in the stocks at Reading.

Leonard Cox, schoolemaster of Reading.

The Schoolemaster by and by, being overcome with his eloquence, did not only take pitty and compassion upon him, but also began to love and embrace such an excellent wit and disposition unlooked for, especially in such an estate and misery. Afterward, they conferring more together upon many things, as touching the Universities, Schooles, and tongues, fell from the Latine into the Greeke: Wherein Frith did so inflame the love of that Schoolemaster towards him, that he brought him into a marvellous admiration, especially when the Schoolemaster heard him so promptly by heart rehearse Homers Verses out of his first booke of Iliades. Whereupon the Schoolemaster went with all speed unto the Magistrates, grievously complaining of the injury which they did shew unto so excellent and innocent a yong man.

Iohn Frith, through the helpe of the schoolmaster, was delivered out of the stocks.

Thus Frith, through the helpe of the schoolemaster, was freely dimitted out of the stockes, and set at liberty without punishment. Albeit this his safety continued not long, through the great hatred and deadly pursuite of Sir Thomas More, who at that time being Chancellour of England, persecuted him both by Land and Sea, besetting all the waies and havens, yea and promising great rewards, if any man could bring him any newes or tydings of him.

Sir Thomas More a deadly persecuter of Iohn Frith.

Thus Frith being on every part beset with troubles, not knowing which way to turne him, seeketh for some place to hide him in. Thus fleeting from one place to another, and often changing both his garments and place, yet could he be in safety in no place; no not long amongst his friends: so that at the last, being traiterously taken, (as yée shall after heare) hee was sent unto the Tower of London, whereas hee had many conflicts with the Bishops, but specially in writing with Sir Thomas More. The first occasion of his writing was this: Upon a time hee had communication with a certaine old familiar friend of his, touching the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. The whole effect of which disputation consisted specially in these foure points.

The occasion of Frithes writing against More.

1 First, That the matter of the Sacrament is no necessary article of faith under paine of damnation.

2 Secondly, That forsomuch as Christs naturall body in like condition hath all properties of our body, sinne onely except, it cannot be, neither is it agreeable unto reason, that hee should be in two places or moe at once, contrary to the nature of our body.

3 Moreover, it shall not seeme meete or necessary, that we should in this place understand Christ words according to the literall sence, but rather according to the order and phrase of speech, comparing phrase with phrase, according to the analogy of the Scripture.

4 Last of all, how that it ought to be received according to the true and right institution of Christ, albeit that the order which at this time is crept into the Church, and is used now adaies by the Priests, doe never so much differ from it.

The occasion of Frithes writing upon the Sacrament.

And forsomuch as the treatise of this disputation seemed somewhat long, his friend desired him that such things as he had reasoned upon he would briefly commit unto writing, and give unto him for the helpe of his memory. Frith, albeit he was unwilling, and not ignorant how dangerous a thing it was to enter into such a contentious matter, at the last notwithstanding, he being overcome by the intreaty of his friend, rather followed his will, than looked to his owne safegard.

William alias Iudas.

There was at that time in London a Taylour named William Holt, which feigning great friendship toward this party, instantly required of him to give him licence to read over that same Writing of Friths. Which when hee unadvisedly did, the other by and by carried it unto More, being then Chancellour. Which thing afterward was occasion of great trouble, and also of death unto the said Frith. For More having gotten a copy of his booke, not onely of this Sycophant, but also two other copies, which at the same time in a manner were sent him by other promoters, hee whetted his wits, and called his spirits together as much as hee might, meaning to refute his opinion by a contrary booke.

Sir Thomas More chaseth Iudas.

This in a manner was the whole summe of the

his the reasons of Friths booke, First, to declare the Popes belief of the Sacrament to be no necessary Article of our faith, that is to say, that it is no Article of our faith necessary to be beléeved under paine of damnation, that the Sacrament should be the naturall body of Christ. Which he thus proveth. For many so beléeve, and yet in so beléeving the Sacrament to be the naturall body are not thereby saved, but receive it to their owne damnation.

The sum of Friths booke of the Sacrament.

Againe, in beléeving the Sacrament to be the naturall body, yet that naturall presence of his body in the bread is not that which saveth us, but his presence in our hearts by faith. And likewise, the not beléeving of his bodily presence in the Sacrament, is not the thing that shall damne us, but the absence of him out of our heart, through unbeliefe. And if it be objected, that it is necessary to beléeve Gods Word under paine of damnation: to that hée answereth, that the word taken in the right sense, as Christ meant, maintaineth no such bodily presence as the Popes church doth teach, but rather a Sacramentall presence. And that, saith he, may be further confirmed thus.

The not beléeving the corporall presence of Christ in the Sacrament is no damnation.

Argument.

Ce- None of the old fathers before Christs incarnation were bound under paine of damnation to beléeve this point.

la- All we be saved by the same faith that the old fathers were.

rent. Ergo, none of us are bound to beléeve this point under paine of Damnation.

The first part, saith he, is evident of it selfe. For how could they beléeve that which they never heard nor saw?

The second part, saith he, appeareth plainely by Saint Augustin, writing ad Dardanum, and also by an hundred places more. Neither is there any thing that hée doth more often inculcate than this, that the same faith that saved our fathers, saveth us also. And therefore upon the truth of these two parts thus proved, must the conclusion, saith hée, nœds follow.

August. ad Dardanum.

Another Argument.

None of the old fathers before Christs incarnation did eate Christ corporally in their signes, but onely mystically, and spiritually, and were saved.

All we doe eate Christ even as they did, and are saved as they were.

Ergo, none of us doe eate Christ corporally, but mystically, and spiritually in our signes as they did.

For the probation of the first part, Frith proceeding in his discourse declareth how the ancient Fathers before Christs incarnation did never beléeve any such point of this grosse and carnall eating of Christs body; and yet notwithstanding they did eate him spiritually and were saved: As Adam, Abraham, Moses, Aaron, Phinées, and other godly Israelites besides. All which, saith he, did eate the body of Christ, and did drinke his blood as we doe. But this eating and drinking of theirs was spirituall, pertaining onely to faith, and not to the teeth: For they were all under the cloud, and dranke of the rocke which followed them, this Rocke was Christ, which was promised them to come into the world. And this promise was first made unto Adam, when as it was said unto the serpent; I will put hatred betweene thee and the woman, betweene her seed and thy seed, &c. And afterward againe unto Abraham: In thy seed shall all people be blessed, &c. Adding also the Sacrament of Circumcision, which was called the covenant; not because it was so indeed, but because it was a signe and a token of the covenant made betweene God and Abraham, admonishing us thereby, how we should judge and thinke touching the Sacrament of body and blood; to wit, that albeit it be called the body of Christ, yet we should properly understand thereby the fruit of our justification, which plentifully floweth unto all the faithfull, by his most healthfull body and blood. Likewise the same promise was made unto Moses the most méek and gentle Captaine of the Israelites, which did not onely himselfe beléeve upon Christ, which was so often promised, but also did prefigurate him by divers meanes, both by the Manna which came downe from Heaven, and also by the water which issued out of the Rocke, for the refreshing of the bodies of his people.

Cor. 10.

Gen. 3.

Gen. 26.

Read is called body, as the Sacrament of Circumcision is called the covenant.

Manna a figure of Christs body.

The water of the rocke a figure of Christs Body. Bread and Wine a figure likewise of Christs body 1 Cor. 10.

Neither is it to be doubted, but that both Manna and this water had a prophetical mystery in them, declaring the very selfe-same thing then, which the bread and the wine doe now declare unto us in the Sacrament. For thus saith Saint Augustine, Whosoever did understand Christ in the Manna, did eate the same spirituall food that we doe. But they, which by that Manna sought onely to fill their bellies, did eate thereof, and are dead. So likewise saith hée of the drinke; For the Rocke was Christ. And by and by after he inferreth thus: Moses did eate Manna, and Phinées also, and many other also did eate thereof, which pleased God, and are not dead. Why? because they did understand the visible meate spiritually. They did spiritually hunger, and did spiritually tast of it, that they might be spiritually satisfied. They all did eate the same spirituall meat, and all did drinke the same spirituall drinke: all one spirituall thing, but not all one corporall matter (for they did eate Manna, and we another thing) but the selfe-same spirituall thing that we doe, and although they dranke the same spirituall drinke that we doe, yet they dranke one thing, and wée another: which nevertheless signified all one thing in spirituall effect. How did they drink all one thing? The Apostle answereth, Of the spirituall rocke which followed them, for the rocke was Christ. And Beda also adding these words saith, Behold the signes are altered, and yet the faith remaineth one. Thereby a man may perceive that the Manna which came downe from Heaven, was the same unto them that our Sacrament is unto us, and that by either of them is signified, that the body of Christ came downe from heaven; and yet notwithstanding never any of them sayd, that Manna was the very body of Messias, as our sacramentall bread is not indeed the body of Christ, but a mysticall representation of the same. For like as the Manna which came downe from heaven, and the bread which is received in the supper, doth nourish the body, even so the body of Christ comming down from heaven, and being given for us, doth quicken up the spirits of the beléevers unto life everlasting. Then if the salvation of both people be alike, and their faith also one, there is no cause why we should adde transubstantiation unto our sacrament, more then they beléeved their Manna to be altered and changed. Moreover because they are named Sacraments, even by the signification of the name they must nœds be signes of things, or else of necessity they can be no Sacraments.

The old fathers did eate the same spirituall food that we doe, but not the same corporall food, for they did eate Christ in Manna, we doe eate him in bread. Bede.

A similitude betweene Manna and the body of Christ.

But some may here object and say; If onely faith, both unto them and also unto us, be sufficient for salvation, what néed then any Sacraments to be instituted? He answered, that there are three causes why Sacraments are instituted. The first Saint Austen declareth in these words, writing against Faustus, Men, saith he, cannot be knit together into one name of religion, be it true or be it false, except they be knit by the society of signes and visible Sacraments, the power whereof doth wonderfully prevaile, in so much that such as contemne them are wicked: for that is wickedly contemned without the which godlinesse cannot be made perfect, &c. Another cause is, that they should be helpes to graft and plant faith in our hearts, and for the

Objection.

Answer.

Three causes why Sacraments are ordained. August. contra Faustum.

The 2. cause. Sacraments not to be worshipped for the things.

confirmation of Gods promises. But this use of Sacraments many are yet ignorant of, and more there be which doe preposterously judge of the same, taking the signes for the thing it selfe, and worshipping the same: even by like reason in a manner, as if a man would take the bush that hangeth at the Taverne doore, and sucke it to slake his thirst, and will not goe into the Taverne where the wine is.

The 3. cause.

Thirdly, they doe serve unto this use, to stirre up the minds and hearts of the faithfull to give thanks unto God for his benefits. And these in a manner are the principall points of his booke.

Frith writeth against Iohn Frith.

When Moze (as is aforesaid) had gotten a copy of this treatise, hee sharpened his pen all that hee might, to make answer unto this young man (for so he calleth him throughout his whole booke) but in such sort, that when the booke was once set forth, and shewed unto the world, then he endevoured himselfe all that he might to keepe it from printing, peradventure lest that any copy thereof should come unto Friths hands. But notwithstanding, when at the last Frith had gotten a copy thereof, by meanes of his friends, he answered him out of the prison, omitting nothing that any man could desire to the perfect and absolute handling of the matter. And as it were a great labour, so doe I thinke it not much necessary to repeate all his reasons and arguments, or the testimonies which he had gathered out of the doctors: specially forsomuch as the Archbishop of Canturbury Cranmer, in his Apology against the bishop of Winchester, seemed to have collected them abundantly, gathering the principall and chiefest helpes from thence that he leaned unto against the other: and I doubt much whether the Archbishop ever gave any more credit unto any Authour of that Doctrine, than unto this aforesaid Frith.

Frith answereth to Moze.

Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury holpen by the book of Iohn Frith.

What dexterity of wit was in him, and excellency of doctrine, it may appeare not onely by his bookes which he wrote of the Sacrament, but also in them which hee intituled of Purgatory. In the which quarrell he withstood the violence of three most obstinate enemies: that is to say, of Rochester, Moze, and Rastall, whereof the one by the helpe of the Doctours, the other by wresting of the Scripture, and the third by the helpe of naturall philosophy had conspired against him. But he, as a Hercules fighting not against two onely, but even with them all three at once, did so overthrow and confound them, that he converted Rastall to his part.

Rochester, Moze, and Rastall, against Frith.

Besides all these commendations of this yong man, there was also in him a friendly and prudent moderation in uttering of the truth, joyned with a learned godlinesse. Which vertue hath alwaies so much prevailed in the church of Christ, that without it, all other good gifts of knowledge, be they never so great, cannot greatly profit, but oftentimes doe very much hurt. And would God that all things in all places were so free from all kind of dissention, that there were no mention made amongst Christians of Zuinglians and Lutherians, when as neither Zuinglius, neither Luther died for us, but that wee might be all one in Christ. Neither do I thinke that any thing could happen more grievous unto those worthy men, than their names so to be abused to sects and factions, which so greatly withstood and strove against all factions. Neither doe I here discourse which part came nearest unto the truth: neither so rashly intermeddle in this matter, that I will detract any thing from either part, but rather wish of God I might joyne either part unto other.

Iohn Frith converted Rastall.

The prudent temperance and moderation of Iohn Frith.

But now, forsomuch as we intreate of the story of John Frith, I cannot chuse, but must needs earnestly and heartily embrace the prudent and godly moderation which was in that man, who maintaining his quarrell of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, no lesse godly than learnedly, (and so as no man in a manner had done it more learnedly and pithily) yet he did it so moderately, without any contention, that hee would never seeme to strive against the Papists, except hee had beene driven to it even of necessity. In all other matters where necessity did not move him to contend, hee was ready to grant all things for quietnesse sake, as his most modest reasons and answers did declare.

John Frith speaking according to that time, shewed the opinion of Luther might be received.

For when as Moze, disputing in a certaine place upon the Sacrament, layed against him the authority of Doctour Barnes, for the presence of the Body and Blood in the Sacrament, he answered unto Moze and his companions, that hee would promise under this condition, That the sentence of Luther and Barnes might be holden as ratified, hee would never speake more words of it: for in that point they did both agree with him, that the Sacrament was not to be worshipped, and that Idolatry being taken away, he was content to permit every man to judge of the Sacrament, as God should put into their hearts: for then there remained no more poyson, that any man ought or might be afraid of. Wherefore if they did agree in that which was the chiefest poynt of the Sacrament, they should easily accord and agree in the remnant.

Moderation commended in matters of disputation.

Thus much he wrote in the Treatise, entituled, The exile of Barnes against Moze. Which words of this most meeke martyr of Christ, if they would take place in the seditious divisions and factions of these our dates, with great ease and little labour men might be brought to an unity in this controversie, and much more concord and love should bee in the Church, and much lesse offence given abroad than there is.

But to our story againe of John Frith; who after hee had now sufficiently contended in his writings with Moze, Rochester, and Rastall, Mozes fellow in law, he was at the last carried to Lambeth, first before the bishop of Canturbury, and afterward unto Croidon, before the bishop of Winchester, to plead his cause. Last of all, he was called before the Bishops in a common assembly at London, where hee constantly defended himselfe, if he might have beene heard.

John Frith convented before the bishops.

The order of his judgement, with the manner of his examination and Articles which were objected against him, are compised and set forth by himselfe in a letter written and sent unto his friends, whilst he was prisoner in the Tower.

A Letter of *John Frith* to his friends, concerning his troubles: Wherein after he had first with a briefe preface saluted them, entring then into the matter, *thus he writeth.*

This letter is to be learned the end of an excellent & worthy treatise which he wrote in the Tower concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. Purgatory.

I Doubt not deare brethren, but that it doth some deale vexe you, to see the one part to have all the words, and freely to speake what they list, and the other to be put to silence, and not to be heard indifferently. But referre your matters unto God, which shortly shall judge after another fashion. In the meane time I have written unto you, as briefly as I may, what Articles were objected against me, and what were the principall points of my condemnation, that you might understand the matter certainely.

The whole matter of this my examination was comprehended in two speciall articles, that is to say, of Purgatory, and of the substance of the Sacrament.

And

And first of all, as touching Purgatory, they enquired of me whether I did believe there was any place to purge the spots and filth of the soule after this life. But I said, that I thought there was no such place: For man (said I) doth consist and is made only of two parts, that is to say, of the body and the soule, whereof the one is purged heere in this World, by the Crosse of Christ, which he layeth upon every Child that he receiveth; as afflictions, worldly oppression, persecution, imprisonment, &c. and last of all the reward of sin, which is death, is layd upon us: but the soule is purged with the Word of God, which we receive through faith, to the salvation both of body and soule. Now if ye can shew me a third part of man beside the body and the soule, I will also grant unto you the third place; which yee do call Purgatory. But because yee cannot do this, I must also of necessity deny unto you the Bishop of Romes Purgatory. Nevertheless I count neither part a necessary Article of our Faith, to be believed under paine of damnation, whether there be such a Purgatory or no.

Secondly, they examined me touching the Sacrament of the Altar, whether it was the very body of Christ, or no.

The Sacrament of Christs body.

I answered, that I thought it was both Christs Body and also our body, as Saint Paul teacheth us in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and tenth Chapter. For in that it is made one bread of many cornes, it is called our body, which being divers and many members, are associate and gathered together into one fellowship or body. Likewise of the wine, which is gathered of many clusters of Grapes, and is made into one liquor. But the same bread againe, in that it is broken, is the body of Christ, declaring his body to be broken and delivered unto death, to redeeme us from our iniquities.

Furthermore, in that the Sacrament is distributed, it is Christs Body, signifying that as verily as the Sacrament is distributed unto us, so verily is Christs Body and the fruit of his passion distributed unto all faithfull people.

In that it is received it is Christs Body, signifying that as verily as the outward man receiveth the Sacrament with his teeth and mouth, so verily doth the inward man through Faith receive Christs Body and fruit of his passion, and is as sure of it as of the Bread which he eateth.

Transubstantiation.

Well (said they) dost thou not thinke that his very naturall body, Flesh, Blood, and Bone, is really contained under the Sacrament, and there present without all figure or similitude? No, sayd I, I doe not so thinke: notwithstanding I would not that any should count, that I make my saying (which is the negative) any Article of Faith. For even as I say, that you ought not to make any necessary Article of the Faith of your part (which is the affirmative) so I say againe, that we make no necessary Article of the Faith of our part, but leave it indifferent for all men to judge therein, as God shall open their hearts, and no side to condemne or despise the other, but to nourish in all things brotherly love, and one to beare anothers infirmity.

Ferebatur manibus propriis.

After this they alledged the place of Saint Augustine, where he saith: *Ferebatur in manibus propriis*, That is to say, He was carried in his owne hands.

The place of S. Augustine expounded.

Whereunto I answered, That Saint Augustine was a plaine interpreter of himselfe; for he hath in another place, *Ferebatur tanquam in manibus suis*: That is to say, He was carried as it were in his owne hands: which is a phrase of speech not of one that doth simply affirme, but only of one expressing a thing by a similitude. And albeit that Saint Augustine had not thus expounded himselfe, yet he writing unto Boniface doth plainely admonish all men, that the Sacraments do represent and signifie those things whereof they are Sacraments, and many times even of the similitudes of the things themselves they do take their names. And therefore according to this rule it may be said, he was borne in his own hands, when as he bare in his hands the Sacrament of his Body and Bloud. *Augustinus ad Bonifacium.*

Then they alledged a place of Chrysostome, which at the first blush may seeme to make much for them, who in a certaine Homily upon the Supper writeth thus; Dost thou see Bread and Wine? Do they depart from thee into the draught, as other meats do? No, God forbid, for as in wax, when it commeth to the fire, nothing of the substance remaineth nor abideth: so likewise thinke that the mysteries are consumed by the substance of the body, &c.

The place of Chrysostome answered.

These words I expounded by the words of the same Doctor, which in another Homily saith on this manner; The inward eyes (saith he) as soone as they see the Bread, they flee over all Creatures, and do not thinke of the Bread that is baked of the Baker, but of the Bread of everlasting life, which is signified by the mysticall Bread. Now conferre these places together, and you shall perceive that the last expoundeth the first plainly. For he saith, Doest thou see the Bread and Wine? I answer by the second, Nay. For the inward eyes, as soone as they see the Bread, do passe over all Creatures, and do not any longer thinke upon the Bread, but upon him which is signified by the Bread. And after this manner he seeth it, and againe he seeth it not: for as he seeth it with his outward and carnall eyes, so with his inward eyes he seeth it not, that is to say, regardeth not the Bread, or thinketh not upon it, but is otherwise occupied. Even as when we play or do any thing else negligently, we commonly are wont to say, we see not what we doe; not that indeed we do not see that which we goe about, but because our minde is fixed on some other thing, and doth not attend unto that which the Eyes do see. *Chrysostome expounded by himselfe.*

In like manner may it be answered unto that which followeth; Do they avoyd from thee (saith he) in the draught as other meats do? I will not so say, for other meats passing thorow the Bowels, after they have of themselves given nourishment unto the body, be voyded into the draught: but this is a spirituall meat, which is receaved by Faith, and nourisheth both Body and Soule unto everlasting life, neither is it at any time avoyded as other meats are.

Argumentum ex Chrysost.

The belly of man cannot avoid any part of Christs body.

The belly of man avoideth some part of every thing that the mouth receiveth: Ergo, the mouth of man receiveth not the body of Christ.

And as before I said, that the externall Eyes doe behold the Bread, which the inward Eyes, being otherwise occupied, do not behold or thinke upon, even so our outward man doth digest the Bread, and voyd it into the draught; but the inward man doth neither regard nor thinke upon it, but thinketh upon the thing it selfe that is signified by that Bread. And therefore Chrysostome, a little before the words which they alledged, saith; Lift up your mindes and hearts. Whereby hee admonisheth us to looke upon and consider those Heavenly things which are represented and signified by the Bread and Wine, and not to marke the Bread and Wine it selfe.

All mysteries to be seene with inward eyes.

Here they said, that was not Chrysostomes minde; but that by this example he declared that there remained no Bread nor Wine. I answered; That was false: for the example that he taketh tendeth to no other purpose, but to call away our spirituall Eyes from the beholding of visible things, and to transport them another way, as if the things which are seene were of no force. Therefore he draweth away our minde from the consideration of these things, and fixeth it upon him which is signified unto us by the same. The very words which follow sufficiently declare this to bee the true meaning of the author, whereas he commandeth us to consider

consider all things with our inward eyes; that is to say, spiritually.

Chrysostome against the popish doctrine of the Sacrament.

But whether Chrysostomes words doe tend either to this or that sense, yet doe they indifferently make on our part against our adversaries, which way soever we doe understand them. For if he thought that the Bread and Wine doe remaine, we have no further to travell: but if hee meant contrariwise, that they doe not remaine, but that the natures of the Bread and Wine are altred, then are the Bread and Wine falsely named Sacraments and mysteries, which can be said in no place to be in the nature of things: for that which is in no place, how can it be a Sacrament, or supply the roome of a mystery? Finally, if he spake onely of the outward formes and shapes (as we call them) it is most certaine that they doe continually remaine, and that they by the substance of the body are not consumed in any place; wherefore it must necessarily follow the words of Chrysostome to be understood in such sense as I have declared.

The obiection of Chrysostome avoyded by a Dilemma.

A question asked, with the cause declared, why that seeing the matter of the Sacrament it selfe importeth neither salvation nor damnation, why then Frith offereth himselfe to death for the same.

Here peradventure many would marvell, that forsomuch as the matter touching the substance of the Sacrament, being separate from the Articles of faith, and binding no man of necessity either unto salvation or damnation, whether he beleeve it or not, but rather may be left indifferently unto all men, freely to judge either on the one part or on the other, according to his owne mind, so that neither part doe contemne or despise the other; but that all love and charity be still holden and kept in this dissension of opinions: what then the cause is, why I would therefore so willingly suffer death. The cause why I die is this; for that I cannot agree with the Divines and other head prelates, that it should be necessarily determined to be an Article of Faith, and that we should beleeve under paine of damnation, the substance of the Bread and Wine to be changed into the Body and Blood of our Saviour IESVS CHRIST, the forme and shape onely not being changed. Which thing if it were most true (as they shall never be able to prove it by any authority of the Scripture or Doctours) yet shall they not so bring to passe, that that doctrine, were it never so true, should be holden for a necessary Article of Faith. For there are many things both in the Scriptures and other places, which wee are not bound of necessity to beleeve as an Article of Faith.

So it is true, that I was a prisoner and in bonds when I wrote these things, and yet for all that I will not hold it as an Article of Faith, (a) but that you may without danger of damnation, either beleeve it, or thinke the contrary.

(a) This is to be weighed with the time when Frith wrote.

But as touching the cause why I cannot affirme the doctrine of transubstantiation, divers reasons doe lead me thereunto.

Three causes why transubstantiation is not to be beleeved.

First, for that I doe plainly see it to be false and vaine, and not to be grounded upon any reason, either of the Scriptures or of approved Doctours.

The 2. cause.

Secondly, for that by my example I would not be an authour unto Christians to admit any thing as a matter of faith, more then the necessary points of their Creed, wherein the whole summe of our salvation doth consist, specially such things, the beleefe whereof have no certaine argument of authority or reason.

I added moreover, that their Church (as they call it) hath no such power and authority, that it either ought or may bind us under the perill of our soules, to the beleeving of any such Articles.

The 3. cause.

Thirdly, because I will not, for the favour of our Divines or Priests, be prejudiciall in this point unto so many Nations, of Germanes, Helvetians, and other, which altogether rejecting the Transubstantiation of the Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, are all of the same opinion that I am, as well those that take Luthers part, as those that hold with Oecolampadius. Which things standing in this case, I suppose there is no man of any upright conscience, which will not allow the reason of my death, which I am put unto for this onely cause, that I doe not thinke Transubstantiation, although it were true indeed, to bee established for an Article of Fayth.

And thus much hitherto as touching the articles and whole disputation of Iohn Frith, which was done with all moderation and uprightnesse. But when as no reason would prevaile against the force and cruelty of these furious foes, the twentieth day of June, in the yeere of our Lord, 1533. hee was brought before the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Lincolne, who sitting in Saint Pauls upon Friday, the twentieth day of June, ministred certaine interrogatories upon the Sacrament of the Supper, and Purgatory, unto the said Frith, as is above declared. To the which when hee had answered and shewed his mind in forme and effect, as by his owne words above doth appeare, he afterward subscribed to his answers with his owne hand, in these words.

Ego Frithus ita sentio, & quemadmodum sentio, ita dixi, scripsi, asserui, & affirmavi.

The subscription of Iohn Frith.

That is to say:

I *Frith* thus doe thinke, and as I thinke, so have I said, written, taught, and affirmed, and in my bookes have published.

But when as by no meanes he could be perswaded to recant these Articles aforesaid, neither be brought to beleeve that the Sacrament is an article of faith, but said, Fiat judicium & justitia: he was condemned by the Bishop of London to be burned, and sentence given against him; the tenor whereof here ensueth.

Iohn Frith condemned.

The sentence given against *John Frith*.

IN the Name of God, Amen. We Iohn by the permission of God, Bishop of London, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favour, by the authority and vertue of our Office, against thee Iohn Frith of our jurisdiction, before us personally here present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of heresie, having heard, seene, and understood, and with diligent deliberation weighed, discussed, and considered the merits of the cause, all things being observed which by us in this behalfe by order of Law ought to be observed, sitting in our Judgement seate, the Name of Christ being first called upon, and having (b) God onely before our eyes, because by the acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this manner, and by thine owne confession judicially made before us, we doe finde, that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended divers errors and heresies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy Church, and specially against the reverend Sacrament; and albeit that we following the example of Christ, which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live, have oftentimes gone about to correct thee, and by all lawfull meanes that we could, and most wholesome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee againe to the true Faith, and the unity of the universall Catholike Church, notwithstanding wee have found thee obstinate and stiffe-necked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and heresies, and refusing to returne againe unto the true Faith and unity of the holy Mother-church, and as the

Sentence against Iohn Frith.

(b) As they by which crucified Christ.

the child of wickednesse and darknesse, so to have hardned thy heart, that thou wilt not understand the voyce of thy Shepheard, which with a fatherly affection doth seeke after thee, nor wilt be allured with his godly and fatherly admonitions: We therefore, John the Bishop aforesaid, not willing that thou which art wicked, shouldest become more wicked, and infect the Lords Flocke with thy Heresie, which wee are greatly afraid of, doe judge thee, and definitively condemne thee the said John Frith, thy demerits and faults being aggravate through thy damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate unpenitent sinner, refusing penitently to returne to the lap and unity of the holy Mother-Church, and that thou hast beene, and art by Law excommunicate, and pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate person: Also wee pronounce and declare thee to be an heretique, to be cast out from the Church, and left unto the judgement of the secular power, and now presently so doe leave thee unto the secular power, and their judgement: most earnestly requiring them, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment, worthily to be done upon thee, may so be moderate, that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentlenesse too much mitigated, but that it may be to the salvation of thy soule, to the extirpation, terror and conversion of heretiques, to the unity of the Catholique faith, by this our sentence definitive, or finall decree, which wee here promulgate in this forme aforesaid.

Moderation pretended, but none thewed.

This sentence thus read, the Bishop of London directed his letter to Sir Stephan Peacock, Major of London, and the Sheriffes of the same City, for the receiving of the foresaid John Frith into their charge. Who being so delivered over unto them the fourth day of July, in the yeare aforesaid, was by them carried into Smithfield to be burned, and when he was tied unto the stake, there it sufficiently appeared with what constancy and courage hee suffered death. For when as the Faggots and fire were put unto him, hee willingly imbraced the same; thereby declaring with what uprightnesse of mind hee suffered his death for Christs sake, and the true doctrine, whereof that day hee gave with his blood a perfect and firme testimony. The wind made his death somewhat the longer, which bare away the flame from him unto his fellow that was tied to his backe: but hee had established his mind with such patience, God giving him strength, that even as though hee had felt no paine in that long torment, he seemed rather to rejoyce for his fellow, than to be carefull for himselfe.

John Frith delivered to the secular hands.

The constant death of John Frith.

This truly is the power and strength of Christ, striving and vanquishing in his Saints: Who sanctifie us together with them, and direct us in all things to the glory of his most holy Name, Amen.

The day before the burning of these worthy men of God, the Bishop of London certified King Henry the eighth, of his worthy, yea, rather Wolvish proceeding against these men: the tenour whereof, forasmuch as it proceedeth as the other doe before, wee therefore omit it, referring the Reader to the same.

¶ Andrew Hewet burned with Master Frith.

Andrew Hewet party.

{Anno 1533.}

ANdrew Hewet, borne in Feversham, in the County of Kent, a young man of the age of foure and twenty yeares, was Apprentise with one Master Warren a Taylor, in Watling street. And as it happened that hee went upon a Holy-day into Fleetstreet, toward Saint Dunstans, hee met with one William Holt, which was fore-man with the Kings Taylor, at that present called Master Malte, and being suspected by the same Holt (which was a dissembling wretch) to be one that favoured the Gospell, after a little talke had with him, he went into an honest house about Fleet Bridge, which was a Booke-sellers house. Then Holt, thinking hee had found good occasion to shew forth some fruit of his wickednesse, sent for certaine Officers, and searched the house, and finding the same Andrew, apprehended him, and carried him to the Bishops house, where hee was cast into prons; and being there a good space, by the meanes of a certaine honest man, hee had a file conveyed unto him, wherewith hee filed off his prons, and when hee spied his time hee got out of the gate. But being a man unskilfull to hide himselfe, for lacke of good acquaintance, hee went into Smithfield, and there met with one Withers, which was an hypocrite, as Holt was. Which Withers understanding how hee had escaped, and that hee knew not whither to goe, pretending a faire countenance unto him, willed him to goe with him, promising that hee should be provided for; and so kept him in the country where hee had to doe, from Low Sunday till Whitsontide, and then brought him to London to the house of one John Chapman in Holler lane beside Smithfield, and there left him by the space of two daies.

Andrew Hewet apprehended.

The man that gave him this file was Valentine Freese the Painters brother, who was afterward with his wife burned in Poyke.

Then hee came to the said Chapmans house again, and brought Holt with him. And when they met with the said Andrew, they seemed as though they meant to doe him very much good: And Holt for his part, said, That if hee should bring any man in trouble (as the boyce was that hee had done the said Andrew) it were pity but that the earth should open and swallow him up. Insomuch that they would needs sup there that night, and prepared meat of their owne charges. At night they came, and brought certaine guests with them, because they would have the matter to seeme as though it had come out by others. When they had supped, they went their way, and Holt tooke out of his purse two groats, and gave them to the said Andrew, and imbraced him in his armes. As they were gone out, there came in one John Tibauld, which was banished from his owne house by an injunction, for hee had beene foure times in prison for Christs sake. And within an houre after that Holt and Withers were gone, the Bishops Chancellor and one called Sergeant Weaver came, and brought with them the Watch, and searched the house, where they found the said John Chapman and the forenamed Andrew, and John Tibauld, whom they bound with ropes, which Sergeant Weaver, had brought with him, and so carried them to the Bishops house: but Andrew Hewet they sent unto the Lollards tower, and kept Chapman and Tibald asunder, watched with two priests servants. The next day Bishop Stokesley came from Fulham, and after they were examined with a few threatning words, Chapman was committed to the stocks, with this threat, That hee should tell another tale, or else hee should sit there till his heeles did drop from his arse: and Tibauld was shut up in a close chamber; but by Gods provision, hee was well delivered out of prison, albeit hee could not enjoy his house and land, because of the Bishops injunction, but was faine to sell all that hee had in Esser; for the tenour of his injunction was, that he should not come within seven miles of his owne house: and the foresaid Chapman, after five weekes imprisonment (whereof three weekes hee sate in the stocks) by much suit made unto the Lord Chancellor, which at that time was Lord Audley, after many threatnings was delivered: but the said Andrew Hewet, after long and cruell imprisonment, was condemned to death, and burned with John Frith: Whose examination here followeth.

John Chapman.

William Holt playeth the Judas.

John Tibauld five times in bands for Christ.

Andrew Hewet againe taken.

Chapman in the stockes.

Tibald enjoyned, not to come within seven miles of his house.

The

Andrew Hewet brought and examined before the Bishop.

THe twentieth day of the moneth of Aprill, Andrew Hewet was brought before the Chancellor of the Bishop of London, where was objected against him, that hee believed the sacrament of the Altar, after the consecration, to be but a signification of the body of Christ, and that the Host consecrated was not the very body of Christ. Now for so much as this Article seemed hainous unto them, they would doe nothing in it without the consent of learned Counsell: whereupon the Bishop of London, associate with the Bishops of Lincolne and Winchester, called him again before them. Where hee being demanded what he thought as touching the Sacrament of the Lords supper; answered; Even as Iohn Frith doth. Then said one of the Bishops unto him; Doest thou not believe that it is really the body of Christ, borne of the Virgin Mary? So (saith he) doe not I believe. Why not, said the Bishop? Because (said hee) Christ commanded me not to give credit rashly unto all men whith say; Behold, here is Christ, and there is Christ; for many false Prophets shall rise up, saith the Lord.

Christ not to be believed to be really in the Sacrament.

Then certaine of the Bishops smiled at him; and Stokesley the Bishop of London said; Why, Frith is an heretique, and already judged to be burned, and except thou revoke thine opinion, thou shalt be burned also with him? Truly (saith he) I am contented therewithall. Then the Bishop asked him if hee would forsake his opinions. Whereunto hee answered, That hee would doe as Frith did. Whereupon hee was sent unto the prison to Frith, and afterward they were carried together to the fire. The Bishops used many perswasions to allure this good man from the truth, to follow them: but hee, manfully persisting in the truth, would not recant. Wherefore, the fourth day of July, at afternoone, hee was carried into Smithfield with Frith, and there burned.

Hewet holdeth with Iohn Frith.

Hewet constant in the faith.

Hewet burned with Iohn Frith.

When they were at the stake, one Doctor Cooke, a Parson in London, openly admonished all the people, that they should in no wise pray for them, no more than they would doe for a Dog. At which words Frith smiling, desired the Lord to forgive them. These words did not a little move the people unto anger, and not without good cause. Thus these two blessed Martyrs committed their soules into the hands of God.

The burning of *Iohn Frith* and *Andrew Hewet*.

The History of the Persecution and death of *Thomas Benet*, burned in Exceter: collected and testified by *Iohn Vowel*, alias *Hoker*.

Thomas Benet of Exceter, Martyr.

THis Thomas Benet was borne in Cambridge, and by order of degree of the University there made M. of art, and (as some think) was also a priest, a man doubtlesse very well learned, and of a godly disposition, being of the acquaintance and familiarity of Tho. Bilney, the famous and glorious Martyr of Christ. This man, the more he did grow and increase in the knowledge of God and his holy Word, the more he did mislike and abhorre the corrupt state of religion then used; and therefore thinking his owne country to be no safe place for him to remaine in, and being desirous to live in more freedome of conscience, he did forsake the University, and went into Devonshire, in the yeere of our Lord, 1524. and first dwelled in a market towne, named Torrinton, both towne and country being to him altogether unknown, as hee was also unknowne to all men

Thom. Benet comming from Cambrid to Devonsh.

men there. Where, for the better maintenance of himselfe and his wife, he did practise to teach young children, and kept a schoole for the same purpose. But that towne not serving his expectation, after his abode one yeere there, hee came to the city of Excester, and there hiring an house in a street called the Butcher row, did exercise the teaching of children, and by that meanes sustained his wife and family. Hee was of a quiet behaviour, of a godly conversation, and of a very courteous nature, humble to all men, and offensive to no body. His greatest delight was to be at all sermons and preachings, whereof hee was a diligent and an attentive hearer. The time which hee had to spare from teaching, hee gave wholly to his private study in the Scriptures, having no dealings nor conferences with any body, saving with such as he could learne and understand to be favourers of the Gospell, and zealous of Gods true Religion: of such hee would be inquisitive, and most desirous to joyne himselfe unto them. And therefore understanding that one William Strowd of Newnham, in the County of Devonshire Esquire, was committed to the Bishops prison in Excester upon suspition of heresie, although hee were never before acquainted with him, yet did hee send his letters of comfort and consolation unto him. Wherein, to avoid all suspition which might be conceived of him, hee did disclose himselfe, and utter what he was, and the causes of his being in the countrey: writing among other things these words; Vt ne scortator aut immundus essem, uxorem duxi, cum qua hisce sex annis ab istorum Antichristianorum manibus in Devonia latitavi. That is to say, Because I would not be a whoremonger, or an uncleane person, therefore I married a wife, with whom I have hidden my selfe in Devonshire, from the tyranny of the Antichristians these six yeeres.

But as every tree and herbe hath his due time to bring forth his fruit, so did it appeare by this man. For hee daily seeing the glory of God to be so blasphemed, idolatrous religion so imbraced and maintained, and that most false usurped power of the Bishop of Rome so extolled, was so grieved in conscience, and troubled in his spirit, that he could not be quiet till he did utter his mind therein: Wherefore dealing privately with certaine of his friends, hee did plainly open and disclose how blasphemously and abominably God was dishonoured, his Word contemned, and his people, whom hee so dearely bought, were by blind guides carried headlong to everlasting damnation: and therefore hee could no longer endure, but must needs, and would utter their abominations, and for his owne part, for the testimony of his conscience, and for the defence of Gods true Religion, would yeld himselfe most patiently (as neere as God would give him grace) to die and to shed his blood therein; alleging that his death should be more profitable to the Church of God, and for the edifying of his people, than his life should be. To whose perswasions when his friends had yelded, they promised to pray to God for him, that hee might be strong in the Cause, and continue a faithfull souldier to the end. Which done, he gave order for the bestowing of such bookes as hee had, and very shortly after, in the moneth of October, hee wrote his mind in certaine scrolles of paper, which in secret manner he set upon the doores of the Cathedrall Church of the city: in which was written; The Pope is Antichrist, and we ought to worship God onely, and no Saints.

These Bils being found, there was no small ado, and no little search made for the enquiry of the heretique that should set up these bils: and the Maior and his Officers were not so busie to make searches to find out this heretique, but the Bishop and all his Doctors were as hot as coales, and inkindled as though they had beene stung with a sort of waspes. Wherefore to keepe the people in their former blindnesse, order was taken that the Doctors should in haste up to the Pulpit every day, and confute this heresie. Nevertheless this Thomas Benet, keeping his owne doings in secret, went the Sunday following to the Cathedrall Church to the sermon, and by chance sate downe by two men, which were the busiest in all the city in seeking and searching for heretiques; and they beholding this Benet, said the one to the other; Surely this fellow by all likelihood is the heretique that hath set up the bils, and it were good to examine him. Nevertheless, when they had well beheld him, and saw the quiet and sober behaviour of the man, his attentivenesse to the Preacher, his godlinesse in the Church, being alwaies occupied in his booke, which was a Testament in the Latin Tongue, were astonied, and had no power to speake unto him, but departed and left him reading in his booke. As touching this point of Benets behaviour in the Church, I find the reports of some other a little to vary, and yet not much contrary one to the other. For in receiving the letters and writings of a certaine Minister, which at the same time was present at the doing hereof in Excester; thus I find moreover added concerning the behaviour of this Thomas Benet in the Church.

At that time (saith he) as I remember, Doctor Moreman, Crispin, Caseley, with such other, bare the swinge there. Besides these, were also Preachers there, one Doctor Bascavild, an unlearned Doctor, God knoweth, and one Doctor David, as well learned as hee, both Gray Friers, and Doctor I know not who, a Blacke Frier, not much inferiour unto them. Moreover, there was one Bachelor of Divinity, a Gray Frier named Gregory Basset, indeed learned more than they all, but as blind & superstitious as he which was most. Which Gregory not long before was revolted from the way of righteousnesse, to the way of Belial: For in Bristow (saith the Author) hee lay in prison long, and was almost famished, for having a booke of Martin Luther, called his Questions, which hee a long time privily had studied, and for teaching of Youth a certaine Catechisme. To be short, the braines of the Chanons and Priests, the Officers and commons of that city were very earnestly buted, how, or by what meanes such an enormous heretique, which had pricked up those Bils, might be espied and knowne; but it was long first. At last, the Priests found out a toy to curse him, whatsoever hee were, with booke, bell, and candle; Which curse at that day, seemed most fearefull and terrible. The manner of the curse was after this sort.

One of the Priests apparelled all in white, ascended up into the pulpit. The other rabblement, with certaine of the two Orders of Friers, and certaine superstitious Monkes of Saint Nicolas house standing round about, and the crosse (as the custome was) being holden up with holy candles of wax fixed to the same, hee began his sermon with this Theme of Iohua; Est blasphemia in castris; There is blasphemy in the army: and so made a long protestation, but not so long as tedious and superstitious: and so concluded; That that foule and abominable heretique which had put up such blasphemous bils, was for that his blasphemy damnably accursed, and besought God, our Lady, Saint Peter, Patron of that Church, with all the holy company of Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins, that it might be knowne what heretique had put up such blasphemous bils, that Gods people might avoyd the vengeance.

The manner of the cursing of the said Benet was marvellous to behold, forasmuch as at that time there were few or none, unlesse a Shereman or two, whose houses I well remember were searched for bils at that time, and for bookes, that knew

Benet came to Excester.

Benet almost taken in the Church.

The stories a little vary touching the taking of Benet.

Doctors and Friers in Excester.

Gregory Basset Frier of Excester.

The Priests curse they cannot tell whom.

The manner of the Popes blacke curse, with booke, bell, and candle.

knew any thing of Gods matters, or how God doth bleſſe their curſes in ſuch caſes. Then ſaid the Prelate; by the authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the bleſſed Virgin Mary, of Saint Peter and Paul, and of the holy Saints, we excommunicate, we utterly curſe and ban, commit and deliver to the Divell of hell, him or her, whatſoever he or ſhe be, that have in ſpite of God and of Saint Peter, whoſe Church this is, in ſpite of all holy Saints, and in ſpite of our moſt holy Father the Pope, Gods Vicar here in earth, and in ſpite of the reverend Father in God, John our Dioceſane, and the worſhipfull Canons, Maſters, and Prieſts, and Clerks, which ſerve God daily in this Cathedrall Church, fired up with wax ſuch curſed and hereticall bils full of blaſphemy, upon the dores of this & other holy Churches within this city. Excommunicate plainly he or ſhe plenally, or they, and delivered over to the Divell, as perpetuall malefactors and ſchiſmatikes. Accurſed might they be, and given body and ſoule to the Divell. Curſed be they, he, or ſhe, in cities and townes, in fields, in waies, in paths, in houſes, out of houſes, and in all other places, ſtanding, lying, or riſing, walking running, waking, ſleeping, eating, drinking, and whatſoever thing they doe beſides. We ſeparate them, him or her, from the threſhold, and from all the good prayers of the Church, from the participation of the holy Maſſe, from all ſacraments, chappels and altars, from holy bread, and holy water, from all the merits of Gods Prieſts, and religious men, and from all their Cloyſters, from all their pardons, privileges, grants, and immunities, which all the holy Fathers, Popes of Rome have granted to them: and we give them over utterly to the power of the fiend, and let us quench their ſoules, if they be dead, this night in the paines of hell fire, as this candle is now quenched and put out (and with that he put out one of the candles:) and let us pray to God, (if they be alive) that their eyes may be put out, as this candle light is (ſo he put out the other candle:) and let us pray to God and to our Lady, and to Saint Peter and Paul, and all holy Saints, that all the ſenſes of their bodies may faile them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this candle is gone (and ſo he put out the third candle) except they, he or ſhe, come openly now and confeſſe their blaſphemy, and by repentance (as in them ſhall lie) make ſatisfaction unto God, our Lady, S. Peter, and the worſhipfull company of this Cathedrall Church, and as this holy croſſe ſtaffe now falleth downe, ſo might they, except they repent, and ſhew themſelves: and, one firſt taking away the croſſe, the ſtaffe fell downe. But Lord, what a ſhout and noyſe was there, what terrible feare, what holding up of hands to heaven, that curſe was ſo terrible?

Here is cold charity.

Bleſſe and curſe not, ſaith the Lord: Curſe and bleſſe not, ſaith the Pope.

Mark the apiſh pageants of theſe Popelings.

Now this fond fooliſh fantaſie and mockery being done and played, which was to a Chriſtian heart a thing ridiculous, Benet could no longer forbeare, but fell to great laughter, but within himſelfe, and for a great ſpace could not ceaſe, by the which thing the poore man was eſpied. For thoſe that were next to him, wondring at that great curſe, and believing that it could not but light on one or other, asked good Benet, for what cauſe he ſhould ſo laugh. My friends, ſaid he, who can forbeare, ſeeing ſuch merry conceits and interludes plaid of the Prieſts? Straight-way a noyſe was made, Here is the heretike, here is the heretike, hold him faſt, hold him faſt, hold him faſt. With that, there was a great confuſion of voyces, and much clapping of hands, and yet they were uncertaine whether he were the heretike or no. Some ſay, that upon the ſame he was taken and apprehended. Other report, that his enemies, being uncertaine of him, departed, and ſo he went home to his houſe. Where he, being not able to digeſt the lies there preached, renewed his former bils, and cauſed his boy earely in the morning following, to ſet the ſaid bils upon the gates of the Churchyard. As the boy was ſetting one of the ſaid bils upon a gate, called the little ſtile, it chanced that one W. S. going to the Cathedrall Church to heare a Maſſe, called Bartons Maſſe, which was then daily ſaid about five of the clocke in the morning, found the boy at the gate, and asking him whoſe boy he was, did charge him to be the heretique which had ſet up the bils upon the gates; wherefore pulling downe the bill, he brought the ſame together with the boy before the Maior of the city, and thereupon Benet, being knowne and taken, was violently committed to ward.

Thom. Benet taken by meanes of his boy ſetting up his bil.

Thom. Benet willingly confeſſeth the cauſe why he ſet up his bils.

On the morrow began both the canons and heads of the city joyned with them, to fall to examination. With whom for that day he had not much communication, but confeſſed and ſaid to them, it was even I that put up thoſe bils, and if it were to doe, I would yet doe it againe, for in them I have written nothing but that is very truth. Couldeſt not thou ſaid they, as well have declared thy mind by mouth, as by putting up bils of blaſphemy? No, ſaid he, I put up the bils, that many ſhould reade and heare what abominable blaſphemers ye are, and that they might the better know your Antichriſt the Pope to be that Boze out of the wood, which deſtroyeth and throweth downe the hedges of Gods Church; for if I had beene heard to ſpeake but one word, I ſhould have beene clapped faſt in priſon, and the matter of God hidden. But now I truſt more of your blaſphemous doings will thereby be opened and come to light; for God will ſo have it, and no longer will ſuffer you.

Thom. Benet ſent to the Biſhops priſon.

The next day after he was ſent unto the Biſhop, who firſt committed him to priſon, called the Biſhops priſon, where he was kept in ſtocks and ſtrong irons, with as much favour as a Dog ſhould find. Then the Biſhop aſſociating unto him one Doctor Brewer his Chancellor, and other of his lewd Clergie and Friers, began to examine him and burthen him, that contrary to the Catholike faith he denied praying to Saints, and alſo denied the ſupremacy of the Pope. Whereunto he anſwered in ſuch ſober manner, and ſo learnedly proved and defended his aſſertions, that he did not only confound and put to ſilence his adverſaries, but alſo brought them in great admiration of him, the moſt part having pity and compaſſion on him. The Friers tooke great paines with him to perſwade him from his erroneous opinions, to recant and acknowledge his fault, touching the bils; but they did but dig after day; for God had appointed him to be a bleſſed witneſſe of his holy Name, and to be at defiance with all their perſwaſions.

Articles laid againſt Benet.

To declare here with what cruelty the officers ſearched his houſe for bils and bookes, how cruelly and ſhamefully they handled his wife, charging her with diders enormities, it were too long to write. But ſhe, like a good woman tooke all things patiently that they did unto her: like as in other things ſhe was contented to beare the croſſe with him, as to fare hardly with him at home, and to live with courſe meat and drinke, that they might be the more able ſomewhat to helpe the poore, as they did to the uttermoſt of their power. Amongſt all other Prieſts and Friers. Gregory Baſſet was moſt buſie with him. This Gregory Baſſet, as is partly touched before, was learned, and had a pleaſant tongue, and not long before was fallen from the truth, for the which he was priſoned in Bridlow long time, at whoſe examination was ordained a great pan of fire, where his holy brethren (as the report went abroad) menaced him to burne his hands off: whereupon he there before them recanted, and became afterward a mortall enemy to the truth all his life. This Gregory, as it is ſaid, was ſervent with the poore man, to

Thom. Benet laughed at their curſing.

Thom. Benet fetcheth up new bils.

Gregory Baſſet priſoned at Bridlow.

Gregory Baſſet compelled by the Friers to recant.

pleaſe

please the canons of that Church, and marvellously tormented his braines, how to turne him from his opinions, yea, and hee was so diligent and fervent with him, that hee would not depart the prison, but lay there night and day, who notwithstanding lost his labour: for good Benet was at a point not to deny Christ before men. So Gregory, as well as the other holy fathers, lost his spurres, insomuch that hee said in open audience, that there was never so obstinate an heretique.

Gregory Basset busie against Tho Benet.

The principall point betweene Basset and him was touching the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, whom in his Bils hee named Antichrist, the thiefe, the mercenary, and murtherer of Christs flocke: and these disputations lasted about eight daies, where at sundry times repaired to him both the blacke and gray Friers, with Priests and Monks of that city. They that had some learning perswaded him to believe the Church, and shewed by what tokens thee is knowne. The other unlearned rayled, and said, that the Divell tempted him, and spit upon him, calling him heretique: who prayed God to give them a better mind, and to forgive them: For, said hee, I will rather die, than worship such a beast, the very whore of Babylon, and a false usurper, as manifestly it doth appeare by his doings. They asked what hee did, that hee had not power and authority to doe, being Gods Vicar? hee doth, quoth he, sell the sacraments of the Church for money, hee selleth remission of sinnes daily for money, and so doe you likewise: for there is no day but ye say divers masses for soules in fained purgatory: yea, and ye spare not to make lying sermons to the people, to maintaine your false traditions, and foule gaines. The whole world doth begin now to note your doings, to your utter confusion and shame. The shame, say they, shall be to thee, and such as thou art, thou foule heretike. Wilt thou allow nothing done in holy Church? What a perverse heretique art thou? I am, said he, no heretique, but a Christian man, I thanke Christ, and with all my heart will allow all things done and used in the Church to the glory of God, and edifying of my soule: but I see nothing in your Church, but that maintaineth the Divell. What is our Church, said they? It is not my Church, (quoth Benet) God give me grace to be of a better Church, for verily your Church is the plain Church of Antichrist, the malignant Church, the second Church, a den of thieves, and aviarry of poyson, and as farre wide from the true universall and Apostolique Church, as heaven is distant from the earth.

Railing against Benet.

The matter betweene Basset and Thomas Benet.

The abuses of the Pope to be noted.

Selling of soules.

The Popes purch paind in her colours.

Doest not thou thinke, said they, that wee pertaine to the universall Church? Yes, quoth hee, but as dead members, unto whom the Church is not beneficiall: for your workes are the devices of man, and your Church a weake foundation, for ye say and preach, that the Popes word is equall with Gods Word in every degree. Why said they, Did not Christ say to Peter, To thee I will give the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven? Yee said that, quoth hee, to all as well as to Peter, and Peter had no more authority given him than they, or else the Churches planted in every kingdome by their preaching are no Churches. Doth not Saint Paul say, Upon the foundations of the Apostles and Prophets? Therefore I say plainely, That the Church that is built upon a man, is the Divells Church or Congregation, and not Gods. And as every Church this day is appointed to be ruled by a Bishop or Pastor, ordained by the Word of God in preaching and ministration of the Sacraments under the Prince the supreme Governour under God: So to say, That all the Churches with their Princes and Governours be subject unto one Bishop is detestable Heresie, and the Pope your God, challenging this power to himselfe, is the greatest Schismatique that ever was in the Church, and most foule whore; of whom John in the Revelation speaketh.

The keyes not only given to Peter, but to all the Apostles.

The Church builded upon man, is the Divells church.

The whore of Babylon.

O thou blind and unlearned foole (said they) is not the confession and consent of all the world as wee confesse and consent; That the Popes holinesse is the supreme Head and Vicar of Christ? That is (said Benet) because they are blinded and know not the Scriptures: but if God would of his mercy open the eyes of Princes to know their Office, his false supremacy would soone decay. We thinke (said they) thou art so malicious, that thou wilt confesse no Church. Looke (said hee) where they are that confesse the true Name of Jesus Christ, and where only Christ is the Head, and under him the Prince of the Realme, to order all Bishops, Ministers and Preachers, and to see them doe their duties in setting forth the only glory of God by preaching the Word of God; and where it is preached, that Christ is our only Advocate, Mediator, and Patron before God his Father, making intercession for us, and where the true faith and confidence in Christs death and passion, and his only merits and deservings are extolled, and our owne depressed; where the sacrament is duly without superstition or idolatry administred in remembrance of his blessed passion and only sacrifice upon the Crosse once for all, and where no superstition reigneth, of that Church will I be.

Consent of the world.

Where the true Church is.

Doth not the Pope (said they) confesse the true Gospel? doe not we all the same? Yes (said he) but ye deny the fruits thereof in every point. Ye build upon the sands, not upon the rocke. And wilt thou not believe indeed (said they) that the Pope is Gods Vicar? No (said hee) indeede. And why, said they? Because (quoth he) he usurpeth a power not given him of Christ, no more than to other Apostles; and also because he doth by force of that usurped supremacy blind the whole world, and doth contrary to all that ever Christ ordained or commanded. What (said they) if he doe all things after Gods ordinance and commandement, should he then be his Vicar? Then (said hee) would I believe him to be a good Bishop at Rome over his owne Dioceese, and to have no further power. And if it pleased God, I would every Bishop did this in their Dioceese: then should we live a peaceable life in the Church of Christ, and there should be no such seditions therein. If every Bishop would seeke no further power than over his owne Dioceese, it were a goodly thing. Now because all are subject to one, all must doe and consent to all wickednesse as he doth, or be none of his. This is the cause of great superstition in every kingdome. And what Bishop soever hee be that preacheth the Gospell, and maintaineth the truth, is a true Bishop of the Church. And doth not (said they) our holy father the Pope maintaine the Gospell? Yea (said he) I thinke he doth reade it, and peradventure believe it, and so doe you also; but neither hee nor you doe fix the anchor of your salvation therein. Besides that, ye beare such a good will to it, that ye keepe it close, that no man may reade it but your selves. And when you preach, God knowes how you handle it: insomuch, that the people of Christ knoweth no Gospell welneere, but the Popes Gospell; and so the blind leade the blind, and both fall into the pit. In the true Gospell of Christ confidence is none, but only in your popish traditions, and phantasticall inventions.

The Pope not Gods Vicar, and why.

What inconvenience followeth, that all Bishops should be ruled by man.

The Popes Gospell.

Then said a Blacke Frier unto him (God knoweth a blockehead) Doe wee not preach the Gospell daily? Yes (said hee) but what preaching of the Gospell is that when therewith ye extoll superstitious things, and make us believe that wee have redemption through pardons and Bulls from Rome, à pœna & culpa, as ye terme it: and by the merits of your orders ye make many brethren and sisters, yea take yearely money of them, yea buy them in your

your coats, and in christ yée beguile them: yea, and doe a thousand superstitious things more; a man may be weary to speake of them. I see, said the Frier, that thou art a damned wretch, I will have no more talke with thée.

Then stept to him a Gray Frier, a Doctor (God knoweth) of small intelligence, and laid before him great and many dangers. I take God to record, said Benet, my life is not deare to me, I am content to depart from it, for I am weary of it, séeing your detestable doings, to the utter destruction of Gods flocke, and for my part, I can no longer forbeare: I had rather by death (which I know is not farre off) depart this life, that I may no longer be partaker of your detestable idolatries and superstitions, or be subject unto Antichrist your Pope. Our Pope (said the Frier) is the Vicar of God, and our waies are the waies of God. I pray you, said Benet, depart from me, and tell not mée of your waies. Benet weary of the Friers talke. Hée is only my way, which saith, I am the way, the truth, and the life. In this way will I walke, his doings shall be my example, not yours, nor your false Popes. His truth will I embrace, not the lies and falshood of you and your Pope. His everlasting life will I séeke, the true reward of all faithfull people. Away from me I pray you. Here my soule no longer, yée shall not prevaile. There is no good example in you, no truth in you, no life to be hoped for at your hands. Yée are all more vaine than vanity it selfe. If I should heare and follow you this day, everlasting death should hang over me, a iust reward for all them that love the life of this world. Away from me, your company liketh mée not.

Thus a whole wéeke, night and day, was Benet applied of these and such other hypocrites. It were an infinite matter to declare all things done and said to him in the time of his imprisonment, and the hate of the people that time, by meanes of ignorance, was hot against him: notwithstanding they could never move his patience, hée answered to every matter soberly, and that more by the aid of Gods Spirit, than by any worldly study. I thinke hée was at the least fifty yéres old. Being in prison, his wife provided sustenance for him, and when shée lamented, hée comforted her, and gave her many good and godly exhortations, and prayed her to move him nothing to apply unto his adversaries. Thom. Benet patient and constant.

Thus when these godly Canons and Priests with the Monks and Friers had done what they could, and perceived that hée would by no meanes relent, then they proceeding unto iudgement drew out their bloody sentence against him, condemning him, (as the manner is) to be burned. Which being done, and the writ which they had procured De Comburendo, being brought from London, they delivered him the fifteenth of January, 1531. unto Sir Thomas Denis Knight, then Sheriffe of Devonshire to be burned. The milde martyr rejoycing his end to approch so nére, as the shéepe before the shearer, yéelded himselfe with all humblenesse to abide and suffer the crosse of persecution. And being brought to his execution, in a place called Livery dole, without Exceter, hée made his most humble confession and prayer unto Almighty God, and requested all the people to doe the like for him, whom he exhorted with such gravity and sobriety, and with such a pithy Oration to séeke the true honouring of God, and the true knowledge of him, as also to leave the devises, fantasies, and imaginations of mans inventions, that all the hearers and beholders of him were astonied and in great admiration: Insomuch that the most part of the people, as also the Scribe who wrote the sentence of condemnation against him, did pronounce and confesse that hée was Gods servant, and a good man. Sentence read against Thomas Benet. Tho Benet delivered to the secular power. Thom. Benet brought to the place of execution.

Nevertheless two Esquires, namely, Thomas Carew and John Barnehouse, standing at the stake by him, first with faire promises and godly words, but at length, through threatnings, willed him to revoke his errors, and to call to our Lady and the Saints, and to say, Precor Sanctam Mariam, & omnes Sanctos Dei, &c. To whom he with all meeknesse answered, saying, No, no, it is God onely upon whose Name wee must call, and wee have no other advocate unto him, but onely Jesus Christ, Who died for us, and now sitteth at the right hand of the Father to be an Advocate for us; and by him must wee offer and make our prayers to God, if wee will have them to take place and be heard. With which answer the foresaid Barnhouse was so enkindled, that hée tooke a furze bush upon a pike, and being set on fire, thrust it unto his face; saying, Ah whoreson heretique, pray to our Lady, and say, Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis, or by Gods wounds I will make thée doe it. Thom. Benet refuseth to pray to our Lady. One Advocate Christ. A furze bush thrust in his face, because he would not pray to our Lady.

To whom the said Thomas Benet, with an humble and a meeke spirit, most patiently answered; Alas Sir, trouble me not. And holding up his hands, he said, Pater ignosce illis. Whereupon the Gentlemen caused the wood and furzes to be set on fire, and therewith this godly man lifted up his eyes and hands to Heaven, saying, O Domine, recipe spiritum meum. And so continuing in his prayers, did never stirre nor strive, but most patiently abode the The constant end and martyrdome of Thomas Benet.

¶ The burning of *Thomas Benet.*

cruelty of the fire, untill his life was ended. For the which the Lord God be praised, and send us his grace and blessing, that at the latter day we may with him enjoy the blisse and joy provided and prepared for the elect children of God.

This Benet was burned in a Jerkin of Neats leather; at whose burning (such was the divellish rage of the blind people) that well was he or she that could catch a stick or furze to cast into the fire.

HItherto we have runne over (good Reader) the names, the acts and doings of them which have sustained death & the torment of burning for Christs cause, through the rigorous proclamation above specified, set out (as is said) in the name of King Henry, The King proclamation. *Vide supra.*

Henry, but indeed procured by the Bishops. Which proclamation was so straitly loked upon, and executed so to the uttermost, in every point, by the said popish Prelates, that no good man, habens spiramentum (whereof Esdras speaketh) could pepe out with his head never so little, but he was caught by the backe, and brought either to the fire, as were these above mentioned, or else compelled to abjure. Whereof there was a great multitude, as well men as women; whose names if they were sought out through all registers in England, no doubt it would make too long a discourse. Nevertheless, omitting the rest, it shall content us at this present, briefely as in a short table to insinuate the names, with the speciall articles, of such as in the Diocesse of London, under Bishop Stokesley, were molested and vexed, and at the last compelled to abjure, as here under may appeare.

Esd. 7.

¶ Persons abjured, with their Articles.

Geffrey Lome. 1528.

Is abiured.

His Articles were these; for having and dispersing certaine bookes of Luther.

Item, for translating certaine chapters of his booke, De Bonis Operibus. For holding, That faith without workes is sufficient to bring us to heaven. That Christian men ought to worship God onely, and no Saints. That Christian men should not offer to Images in Churches, nor set any light before them. That pardons granted by Pope or Bishop doe not profit a man.

Sigar Nicolson, Stationer of Cambridge, 1528.

His articles were like; and moreover, for having in his house certaine bookes of Luther, and other prohibited, and not presenting them to the Ordinary. The handling of this man was too too cruell, if the report be true, that he should be hanged up by those parts which nature well suffereth not to be named.

Iohn Raimund a Dutchman, 1528.

For causing fiftéene hundred of Tindals new Testaments to be printed at Antwerpe, and for bringing five hundred into England.

Paul Luther, Gray Frier, and Warden of the house at Ware. 1529.

His articles; For preaching and saying, That it is pitty that there be so many Images suffered in so many places, whereas undiscréte and unlearned people be; for they make their prayers and oblations so entirely and heartily before the Image, that they beléeve it to be the very selfe Saint in heaven.

Item, that if he knew his father and mother were in heaven, he would count them as good as S. Peter and Paul, but for the paine they suffered for Christs sake.

Item, that there is no néed to goe on pilgrimage.

Item, That if a man were at the point of drowning, or any other danger, he should call onely upon God, and no Saint; for Saints in heaven cannot helpe us, neither know any more what men doe here in this world, than a man in the North Country knoweth what is done in the South Country.

¶ Persons abjured, with their Articles.

Roger Whaplod, Merchant-Tailor, 1529.

Roger Whaplod, sent by one Tho. Norfolke unto Doctor Goderidge this bill following to be read at his sermon in the Spittell.

A bill read by the preachers at the Spittle.

If there be any well disposed person willing to doe any cost upon the reparation of the Conduit in Fleetstreet, let him or them resort unto the administrators of the goods and cattell of one Richard Hunne late Merchant-Tailour of London, which died intestate, or else to me, and they shall have toward the same fixe pound thirteene shillings foure pence, and a better penny, of the goods of the said Richard Hunne; upon whose soule, and all Christian soules, Iesus have mercy.

For the which bill, both Whaplod and Northfolke were brought and troubled before the Bishop; and also Doctour Goderige, which tooke a groat for reading the said Bill, was suspended for a time from saying Masse, and also was forced to revoke the same at Pauls Crosse, reading this Bill as followeth.

It was the manner at this time to take money for reading of bils at Sermons. *Ex Regist. Lond.*

The revocation of Doctor William Goderige, read at Pauls Crosse.

Masters, so it is, that where in my late Sermon at Saint Mary Spittle, the Tuesday in Easter wéeke last past, I did pray specially for the soule of Richard Hunne, late of London Merchant-Taylor, an heretique by the lawes of Holy Church fully condemned; by reason whereof I greatly offended God and his church, and the lawes of the same, for the which I have submitted me to my Ordinary, and done penance therefore: forasmuch as peradventure the audience, that was there offended by my said words, might take any occasion thereby to thinke that I did favour the said Heretique, or any other, I desire you at the instance of Almighty God to forgive me, and not so to thinke of me, for I did it unadvisedly. Therefore here before God and you I declare my selfe that I have not favoured him or any other heretique, nor hereafter intend to doe, but at all times shal defend the Catholique faith of Holy Church, according to my profession to the best of my power.

Doctor Goderidge revoketh his praying for the soule of Richard Hunne.

Robert West, Priest, 1529.

Abjured for bookes and opinions contrary to the proclamation.

Nicolas White, of Rie, 1529.

His articles; for speaking against the priests saying of Mattens. For speaking against praying for them that be dead; against praying to God for small trifles, as for the Cow calving, the Hen hatching, &c. For speaking against the relique of S. Peters finger; Against oblations to Images; Against vowing of Pilgrimage; Against priesthood; against holy bread and holy water, &c.

Richard Kitchen, Priest, 1529.

His Articles; That pardons granted by the Pope are naught, and that men should put no trust in them, but onely in the passion of Christ. That he being led by the words of the Gospell,

¶ Persons abjured, with their Articles.

Via lata, Via angusta.

Matthew.7. De via lata, & angusta, and also by the Epistle of the masse, beginning, Vir fortissimus Iudas, had erred in the way of the Pope, and thought, that there were but two waies and no purgatory. That men ought to worship no Images, nor set up lights before them. That pilgrimage doth nothing availe. That the Gospell was not truely preached for the space of three hundred yeres past.

William Wegen Priest at Saint Mary Hill. 1529.

His articles; That he was not bound to say his mattens nor other service, but to sing with the Quire till they came to Prime, & then, saying no more service, thought he might well goe to masse. That he had said masse oftentimes, and had not said his mattens and his divine service before. That he had gone to masse without confession made to a Priest. That it was sufficient for a man being in deadly sinne to aske onely God mercy for his sinne, without further confession made to a Priest. That he held against pilgrimages, and called Images, stockes and stones and witches.

Item, that he being sicke went to the Rood of Saint Margarite Patents, and said before him twenty Pater nosters, and when he saw himselfe never the better, then he said, a foule evill take him, and all other Images.

Item, that if a man keepe a good tongue in his head, he lacketh well.

Item, for commending Luther to be a good man, for preaching twice a day, &c. For saying that the masse was but a ceremony, and made to the intent that men should pray onely.

Item, for saying, that if a man had a paire of Beades, or a Booke in his hand at the Church, and were not disposed to pray, it was naught, &c.

William Hale, Holy-Water clerke of Tolenham, 1529.

His Articles, That offering of money and candles to Images did not availe, sith we are justified by the blood of Christ.

Item, for speaking against worshipping of Saints, and the Popes pardons. For saying, that sith the Sacraments that the Priest doth minister be as good as they which the Pope doth minister, he did not see but the priest hath as good authority as the Pope.

Item, that a man should confesse himselfe to God onely, and not to a priest, &c.

William Blomfield monke of Bery.

Abjured for the like causes.

John Tindall. 1530.

For sending five markes to his brother William Tindall beyond the Sea, and for receiving and keeping with him certaine letters from his brother.

William Worsley Priest, and Hermit, 1530.

His Articles, For preaching at Halesdede, having the Curates Licence, but not the Bishops.

¶ Persons abjured, with their Articles.

Item, for preaching of these words, That no man riding on pilgrimage, having under him a soft saddle, and an easie horse, should have any merit thereby, but the horse and the saddle, &c.

Item, for saying, that hearing of mattens and masse is not the thing that shall save a mans soule, but onely to heare the word of God.

John Stacy Tiler, 1530.

His Articles were against purgatory, which he said to be but a device of the Priests to get money. Against fasting daies by mans prescription, and choice of meats. Against superfluous holy daies. Item, against pilgrimage, &c.

Laurence Maxwell, a Taylor, 1530.

His Articles; That the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very body of Christ in flesh and blood: but that hee received him by the word of God, and in remembrance of Christs passion. Item, that the order of Priesthood is no Sacrament. That there is no purgatory, &c.

Thomas Curson, Monke of Eastacre in Northfolke. 1530.

His Articles were these; For going out of the Monastery, and changing his weede, and letting his crowne to grow, working abroad for his living, making Copes and Vestiments. Also for having the New Testament of Tindals translation, and an other booke containing certaine bookes of the Old Testament, translated into English, by certaine whom the papists call Lutherans.

Thomas Cornewell, or Aufty, 1530.

His Articles; It was objected, that he being enjoyned a forretime by Richard Fitziames Bishop of London, for his penance to weare a fagot, bordered upon his sleeve under paine of relapse, he kept not the same; and therefore he was condemned to perpetuall custody in the house of Saint Bartholomew, from whence afterward he scaped and fled away.

Thomas Philip, 1530.

Thomas Philip was delivered by Sir Thomas Hoze, to Bishop Stokesly by Indenture. Besides other Articles of Purgatory, Images, the Sacrament of the Altar, holy daies, keeping of bookes, and such like, it was objected unto him that he, being searched in the Tower, had found about him Tracies testament, and in his chamber in the Tower was found cheese and butter in Lent time. Also, that he had a Letter delivered unto him going unto the Tower. Which letter, with the Testament also of Tracy, because they are both worthy to be seene, we mind (God willing) to annex also unto the Story of this Thomas Philip. As he was oftentimes examined before Master Hoze and the Bishop, he alwaies stood to his denial, neither could there any thing be proved clearely against him, but onely Tracies Testament, and his Butter in Lent. One Stacy first bare witnesse against him, but after in the Court openly hee protested

¶ Persons abjured, with their Articles.

protested that he did it for feare. The bishop the willing him to submit himselfe, and to sweare never to hold any opinion contrary to the determination of Holy-church; he said he would: and when the forme of his abjuration was given him to reade, he read it: but the Bishop, not content with that, would have him to read it openly. But that he would not; and said he would appeale to the King as supreame head of the Church, and so did. Still the Bishop called upon him to abjure. He answered, that he would be obedient as a Christian man should, and that he would sweare never to hold any heresie during his life, nor favour any heretiques.

But the Bishop not yet content, would have him to read the abjuration after the forme of the Church conceived, as it was given him. He answered againe, that he would forswear all heresies, and that he would maintaine no heresies, nor favour any heretikes. The bishop with this would not be answered, but needs would drive him to the abjuration formed after the Popes Church. To whom he said, if it were the same abjuration that he read, he would not reade it, but stand to his appeale made to the King, the supreame head of the Church under God. Againe the bishop asked him, if he would abjure or not. Except, said he, you will shew me the cause why I should abjure, I will not say yea nor nay to it, but will stand to my appeale, and required the bishop to obey the same. Then the bishop reading openly the bill of excommunication against him, denounced him for contumax, and an excommunicat person, charging all men to have no company, or any thing to doe with him. After this excommunication, what became of him, whether he was holpen by his appeale, or whether he was burned, or whether he died in the Tower, or whether he abjured, I finde no mention made in the registers.

A letter directed to Thomas Philip in the name of the brethren, and given him by the way going to the Tower.

Letter sent by Congregation to Thomas Philip.

THe favour of him that is able to keepe you that you fall not, and to confesse your name in the Kingdome of glory, and to give you strength by his Spirit to confesse him before all his adversaries, be with you ever, Amen.

Sir, the brethren thinke that there be divers false brethren craftily crept in among them, to seeke out their freedome in the Lord, that they may accuse them to the Lords adversaries, as they suppose they have done you. Wherefore if so be it, that the Spirit of God move you thereunto, they as counsellers desire you above all things to be stedfast in the Lords verity without feare; for he shall and will be your helpe, according to his promise, so that they shall not minish the least haire of your head without his will; unto the which will submit your selfe and rejoyce: for the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and how to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgement to be punished: and therefore cast all your care on him, for he careth for you. And in that you suffer as a Christian man, be not ashamed, but rather glorifie God on that behalfe, looking upon Christ the author and finisher of our faith, which for the joy that was set before him abode the crosse and despised the shame. Notwithstanding though we suffer the wrong, after the example of our Master Christ, yet we be not bound to suffer the wrong cause, for Christ himselfe suffered it not, but reproved him that smote him wrongfully. And so likewise saith S. Paul also. So that we must not suffer the wrong, but boldly reprove them that sit as righteous Iudges, and doe contrary to righteousnesse. Therefore according both to Gods law and mans, ye be not bound to make answere in any cause, till your accusers come before you. Which if you require, and thereon doe sticke; the false brethren shall be knowne, to the great comfort of those that now stand in doubt whom they may trust; and also it shall be a meane that they shall not craftily by questions take you in snares. And that you may this doe lawfully, in the 20 chap. of the Acts it is written: It is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man that he should perish, before that he which is accused have his accusers before him, and have licence to answere for himselfe, as pertaining to the crime whereof he is accused. And also Christ will that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all things shall stand. And in the 5. cha. to Tim. the first epist. it is written, Against a senior receive none accusation but under two or three witnesses. A senior in this place is any man that hath an house to governe. And also their owne law is agreeable to this. Wherefore seeing it is agreeable to the Word of God, that in accusations such witnesses should be, you may with a good conscience require it. And thus the God of grace, which hath called you unto his eternall glory by Christ Iesus, shall his owne selfe after a little affliction make you perfect, shall settle, strengthen and establish you, that to him may be glory and praise for ever, Amen.

Acts 23.

Acts 20.

Math. 18.

3 Tim. 5.

What is a Senior by S. Paul.

Thus ye have heard the letter delivered to Thomas Philip. Now followeth the Testament of William Tracy.

Tracy his Testament.

A Little before this time, William Tracy, a worshipfull Esquire in Glocester shire, and then dwelling at Todington, made in his will, that hee would have no funerall pompe at his burying, neither passed he upon masse; and he farther said, that he trusted in God onely, and hoped by him to be saved, and not by any Saint. This Gentleman died, and his sonne as Executor brought the will to the bishop of Canturbury to prove: which he shewed to the convocation, and there most cruelly they judged that he should be taken out of the ground, and be burnt as an heretike, An. 1532. This Commission was sent to Doctor Parker, Chancellor of the diocesse of Worcester, to execute their wicked sentence; which accomplished the same. The King hearing his subject to be taken out of the ground and burnt, without his knowledge or order of his law, sent for the Chancellor, and laid high offence to his charge, who excused himselfe by the archbishop of Canturbury which was late dead; but in conclusion it cost him 300 pound to have his pardon. The will and testament of this gentleman, thus condemned by the Clergy, was as hereunder followeth.

M. Tracy taken up being dead, & burnt.

The testament of William Tracy.

IN the Name of God, Amen. I William Tracy of Todington in the county of Glocester, Esquire, make my Testament and last will as hereafter followeth. First and before all other things, I commit my selfe to God and to his mercy, beleeving without any doubt or mistrust, that by his grace and the merits of Iesus Christ, and by the vertue of his passion and of his resurrection, I have and shall have remission of all my sins, and resurrection of body and soule, according as it is written: I beleeve that my redeemer liveth, and that in the last day I shall rise out of the earth, and in my flesh shall see my Saviour: this my hope is laid up in my bosome.

Iob 19.

And touching the wealth of my soule, the faith that I have taken and rehearsed is sufficient (as I suppose) without any other mans workes or merits. My ground and belefe is, that there is but one God and one mediator betweene God and man, which is Iesus Christ, so that I accept none in heaven nor in earth

earth to be mediator betwéene me and God, but onely Jesus Christ: all other to be but as petitioners in receiving of grace; but none able to give influence of grace; and therefore will I bestow no part of my goods for that intent that any man should say or doe to helpe my soule; for therein I trust onely to the promises of Christ; He that beleeveth and is baptised, shall be saved, and he that beleeveth not shall be damned.

Marke 16.

Funeral pomps serve onely for the living, and give no helpe for the dead.

As touching the burying of my body, it availeth me not whatsoever be done thereto; For Saint Augustine saith, De cura agenda pro mortuis, that the funerall pompes are rather the solace of them that live, than the wealth and comfort of them that are dead, and therefore I remit it onely to the discretion of mine Executors.

And touching the distribution of my temporall goods, my purpose is by the grace of God to bestow them to be accepted as the fruits of faith; so that I doe not suppose that my merit shall be by the good bestowing of them, but my merit is the faith of Jesus Christ onely, by whom such workes are good, according to the words of our Lord; I was hungry, and thou gavest me to eate, &c. And it followeth, That ye have done to the least of my brethren, ye have done it to me, &c. And ever we should consider that true saying; that a good worke maketh not a good man; but a good man maketh a good worke; for faith maketh a man both good and righteous; for a righteous man liveth by faith, and whatsoever springeth not of faith is sinne, &c.

Our merits be only our faith in Christ.

Rom. 14.

And all my temporall goods that I have not given or delivered, or not given by writing of mine owne hand, bearing the date of this present Writing, I doe leave and give to Margaret my wife, and Richard my son, whom I make mine Executors. Witnesse hereof mine owne hand the tenth of October, in the 22. yeere of the reigne of King Henry the eighth.

This is the true copy of his Will, for the which (as you heard before) after he was almost two yéeres dead, they tooke him up and burned him.

Ex Regist. Lond.

¶ Persons abjured, with their Articles.

Iohn Periman, Skinner, 1531.

His articles were much like unto the others before; adding moreover, That all the preachers then at Pauls Crosse preached nothing but lies and flatterings, and that there was never a true preacher but one; naming Edward Crome.

Robert Goldstone, Glasier, 1531.

His articles; that men should pray to God onely, and to no Saints; That pilgrimage is not profitable; That men should give no worship to Images. Item, for saying, That if he had as much power as any Cardinall had, he would destroy all the Images that were in all the Churches in England.

Laurence Staple, Servingman, 1531.

His articles; For having the Testament in English, the five bookes of Moses, the practise of Prelates, the summe of scripture, the A, B, C.

Item, about the burning of Bainham, for saying, I would I were with Bainham, séeing that every man hath forsaken him, that I might drinke with him, and he might pray for me.

Item, That he moved Henry Tomson to learne to read the New Testament, calling it the blood of Christ.

Item, in Lent past, when he had no Fish, hée did eate Egges, Butter, and Chéese. Also about six wéeks before Master Bilney was attached, the said Bilney delivered to him at Gréenwich foure new Testaments of Tindals translation, which he had in his sléeve, and a budget besides of bookes, which budget he, shortly after riding to Cambridge, delivered unto Bilney, &c.

Item, on Fridaies he used to eate Egges, and thought that it was no great offence before God, &c.

Eating of eg[illegible] made herell[illegible]

Henry Tomson, Tailor, 1531.

His articles; That which the Priest lifteth over his head at the facring time is not the very body of Christ, nor is it God, but a thing that God hath ordained to be done.

This poore Tomson, although at the first hée submitted himselfe to the Bishop, yet they with sentence condemned him to perpetuall prison.

Iasper Wetzell, of Coleine, 1530.

His articles; That he cared not for going to the Church to heare masse, for he could say masse as well as the Priest; That he would not pray to our Lady, for she could doe us no good.

Item, being asked if hée would goe heare Masse, he said he had as leve goe to the gallows where the théeves were hanged.

Item, being at Saint Mary Patens, and there holding his armes acrosse, he said unto the people, That he could make as good a knave as he is; for he is made but of wood, &c.

Robert Man, Servingman, 1531.

His articles; There is no Purgatory; The Pope hath no more power to grant Pardon than another simple Priest; That God gave no more authority to S. Peter than to another Priest; That the Pope was a knave, and his Priests knaves all, for suffering his pardons to goe abroad to deceive the people; That S. Thomas of Canturbury is no Saint; That Saint Peter was never Pope of Rome.

Item, he used commonly to aske of Priests where he came, whether a man were accursed if he handled a chalice or no? If the Priest would say, Yea: then would he reply againe thus; If a man have a shéepe skin on his hands (meaning a paire of gloves) he may handle it. The Priests saying, Yea. Well then (quoth he) yée will make me beléeve, that God put more vertue in a shéeps skin, then he did in a Christian mans hand, for whom he died.

Priests se[illegible] store by a [illegible] of gloves. [illegible] they doe [illegible] Lay man hand.

Henry Feldon, 1531.

His trouble was for having these bookes in English; A proper Dialogue betwéene a Gentleman and a Husbandman. The Summe of Scripture. The prologue of Marke. A written booke containing the Pater noster, Ave Maria, and Credo in English. The ten Commandements, and the sixtéene conditions of Charity.

Robert Cooper, Priest, 1531.

His article onely was this; for saying that the blessing with a shoe soule is as good as the Bishops blessing, &c.

Persons

¶ Persons abjured, with their Articles.

Thomas Roe, 1531.

His articles were, for speaking against auricular confession and Priestly penance, and against the preaching of the Doctors.

Will. Wallam, 1531.

His opinion; That the Sacrament of the Altar is not the body of Christ in flesh and blood, and that there is a God, but not that God in flesh and blood in the forme of bread.

Grace Palmer, 1531.

against bearing of palmes.

Witnesse was brought against her by her neighbours, John Rouse, Agnes his wife, John Pole, of Saint Dithes, for saying, We use to beare Palmes on Palme Sunday, it skilleth not whether you beare any or not, it is but a thing used, and need not.

Also we use to goe on pilgrimage to our Lady of Grace, of Walsingham, and other places, we were better tarry at home, and give money to succour me and my children, and other of my poore neighbours, than to goe thither; for there you shall finde but a piece of Timber painted, there is neither God nor our Lady.

Item, for repenting that she did ever light candles before Images.

Item, That the Sacrament of the Altar is not the body of Christ; it is but bread, which the Priest there sheweth for a token or remembrance of Christs body.

Philip Brasier, of Bocksteed, 1531.

His articles: That the Sacrament holden up betweene the Priests hands is not the body of Christ, but bread; and is done for a signification; That confession to a Priest need eth not; That Images be but stockes and stones; That Pilgrimage is vaine; also for saying, That when there is any miracle done, the Priests doe noint the Images, and make men beleeve that the Images doe sweat in labouring for them; and with the Offerings the Priests finde their harlots.

Iohn Fairestede of Colchester, 1531.

prophecie.

His articles; For words spoken against pilgrimage and Images. Also for saying these words; That the day should come that men should say; Cursed be they that make these false Gods (meaning Images.)

George Bul of Much-Hadham, Draper, 1531.

three confessions.

His articles; That there be three confessions; one principall to God, another to his neighbour whom he had offended; and the third to a priest; and that without the two first confessions, to God and to his neighbour, a man could not be saved. The third confession to a Priest, is necessary for counsell to such as be ignorant and unlearned, to learne how to make their confession with a contrite heart unto God, and how to hope for forgivenes; & also in what manner they should aske forgivenes of their neighbor whom they have offended, &c. Item, for saying that Luther was a good man. Item, that he reported, through the credence and report of M. Patmore, parson of Hadham, that where Wicklifs bones were burnt sprang up a wel or wellspring.

¶ Persons abjured, with their Articles.

Iohn Haymond, Milwright, 1531.

His articles; For speaking and holding against Pilgrimage and Images, and against prescribed fasting daies.

That Priests and religious men, notwithstanding their vowes made, may lawfully forsake their vowes and marry.

Item, for having bookes of Luther and Tindall.

Rob. Lambe, a harper, 1531.

His article; for that he standing accursed two yeares together, and not fearing the censures of the Popes Church, went about with a song in the commendation of M. Luther.

Iohn Hewes, draper, 1531.

His articles; For speaking against purgatory, and Thomas Becket.

Item, at the Towne of Farnelham, he seeing Edward Frenlham kneeling in the street to a Crosse carried before a corse; asked to whom he kneeled. He said, To his Maker. Thou art a fole (said he) it is not thy Maker, it is but a peece of copper or wood, &c.

Against kneeling to the crosse.

Item, for these words; Walkers ye use to goe on pilgrimage; it were better first that ye looke upon your poore neighbours which lacke succour, &c.

Also for saying, That he heard the Vicar of Croidon thus preach openly; That there is as much baudry kept by going on pilgrimage to Willesdon or Mouswell, as in the Stewes beside, &c.

Much baudry in pilgrimage.

Tho. Patmore, Draper, 1531

This Patmore was brother to Walter Patmore, Parson of Hadham, who was prisoned in the Lollards tower for marrying a Priest, and in the same prison continued three yeares.

This Patmore was accused by divers Witnesses, upon these articles:

That he had as leve pray to yonder Hunter, pointing to a man painted there in a stained cloath, for a piece of flesh, as to pray to stockes that stand in walls, meaning Images.

Item, That men should not pray to Saints, but to God onely; For why should we pray to Saints (said he) they are but blocks and stocks.

The truth of Scripture a long time kept from us.

Item, That the truth of Scripture hath been kept from us a long time, and hath not appeared till now. Item, comming by a Tree wherein stood an Image, he tooke away the wax which hanged there offered.

Item, That he regarded not the place whether it was hallowed or no, where he should be buried after he was dead.

Also in talke with the Curat of S. Peters, he defended that Priests might marry.

This Patmore had long holde with the Bishop of London. First, he would not sweare, infamia non præcedente. Then he would appeale to the King; but all would not serve. He was so wrapt in the Bishops nets, that he could not get out: but at last he was forced to abjure, and was fined to the King an hundred pounds.

A note.

Note in the communication betweene this Patmore and the Priest of Saint Peters; That whereas the Priest objected against him (as is in the Register) that Priests have lived

welspring where Wicklifs bones were burned.

¶ Persons abjured, with their Articles.

The papists say falsly, that Priests have beene unmarried these 1500. yeeres.

unmarried, and without wives these 1500 yeeres in the Church: he and all other such Priests therein say falsely, and deceive the people, as by story is proved in this volume, that Priests here in England had wives by the Law within these five hundred yeeres and lesse.

Simon Smith Master of Art of Gunwell Hall in Cambridge, and Benor his wife 1531.

This Simon Smith, and Benor his wife were the parties whom Walter Patmore parson of Hadham above mentioned did marry, and was condemned for the same to perpetuall prison. For the which marriage both the said Simon and Benor his wife were called to examination before the Bishop, and hee caused to make the whole discourse of all his doings, how and where he married. Then after his marriage how long he tarried, whether he went beyond Sea, where he was, and with whom. After his returne whither he resorted, how he lived, what mercery ware he occupied, what Faires he frequented, where he left his wife, how he carried her over, and brought her home againe, and how th was found, &c. All this they made him confesse, and put it in their register. And though they could fasten no other crime of heresie upon him, but onely his marriage; yet calling both him and her, being great with child, to examination, they caused them both to abjure and suffer penance.

Thomas Patmore, Parson of Hadham, 1530.

This Thomas Patmore, being learned and godly, was preferred to the parsonage of Hadham in Hertfordshire, by Richard Fitz-James bishop of London, and there continued instructing and teaching his flocke, during the time of the said Fitz-James, and also of Tonstall his successour, by the space of sixteene yeeres or more, behaving himselfe in life and conversation without any publike blame or reproch, untill that John Stokesley was preferred unto the said bishoprike. Who not very long after his installing, either for malice, not greatly liking of the said Patmore, or else desirous to preferre some other unto the benefice (as it is supposed and alledged by his brethren in sundry supplications exhibited unto the King, as also unto Anne, then Marchioness of Pembroke) caused him to be attached and brought before him, and then keeping him prisoner in his owne Palace, a certaine time afterward committed him to Lollards tower, where he kept him most extremely above two yeeres without fire or candle, or any other relefe, but such as his friends sent him, not suffering any of them notwithstanding to come unto him, no not in his sickneſſe. Howbeit, sundry times in the meane while he called him iudicially, either before himselfe, or else his Vicar Generall Forford, that great persecutor, charging him with these sundry articles, viz. as first, whether he had been at Wittenberg; secondly, and had seene or talked with Luther; thirdly, or with any Englishman abiding there; fourthly, who went with him, or attended upon him thither; fifthly, also what bookes he bought there, either Latine or English; firstly, and whether he had read or studied any workes of Luther, Oecolampadius, Pomerane, or Melanchon. Besides these, he ministred also other articles unto him, touching the marriage of Master Simon Smith (before mentioned) with one Joan Benor, charging him that hee both knew of and also consented unto their marriage, the one being a Priest and his Curate, and the other his maidservant, and that he had perswaded his said maidservant to marrry with his said Curate, alledging unto her, that though it were not lawfull in England for Priests to marry, yet it was in other countries beyond Seas. And that after their said marriage, he (knowing the same) did yet suffer the said Smith to minister in his cure all Easter time, and fifteene daies after: and that at their departure out of England, he supped with them at the bell in new Fish-street, and againe, at their returne into England, did meet them at the said Bell, and there lent unto the said Smith a Priests gowne.

Priests marriage.

He objected moreover against him in the said Articles; that he had affirmed at Cambridge, first, that he did not set a bottle of hay by the Popes or bishops curse; secondly, and that God bindeth us to impossible things, that hee may save us onely by his mercy; thirdly also, that though yong children be baptised, yet they cannot be saved except they had faith; fourthly and lastly, that it was against Gods law to burne heretiks.

Unto these articles, after long imprisonment and great threats of the Bishop and his Vicar, he at the last answered, making first his appeale unto the King. Wherein he shewed, that for so much as the bishop had most unsutkly and contrary to all due order of Law and the equity thereof, proceeded against him, as well in falsely defaming him with the crime of heresie, without having any just proofe or publique defamation thereof, as also contrary to all justice, keeping him in most strait prison so long time (both to the great danger of his life by grievous sickneſſe taken thereby, as especially to his no small griefe, that through his absence, his flocke, whereof he had charge, were not fed with the word of God and his Sacraments as he would) and then to minister unto him such Articles, mingled with Interrogatories, as neither touched any heresie nor transgression of any Law, but rather shewing a mind to picke quarrels against him and other innocent people; hee therefore, for the causes alledged, was compelled, and did appeale from him and all his officers unto the Kings Majesty, whom under God he had for his most just and lawfull refuge, and defender against all injuries. From which appeale although hee minded not at any time to depart, yet because he would not shew himselfe obstinate against the bishop being his ordinary (although he had most just cause to suspect his unjust proceedings against him) he was nevertheleſſe content to exhibite unto him this his answer. First, that howsoever the bishop was privately informed, yet because he was not Publicè diffamatus apud bonos & graves according to law, he was not by the law bound to answer to any of those articles.

And as touching the first six articles (as whether he was at Wittenberg, and spake with Luther or any other, or bought or read any of their bookes, &c.) because none of those things were forbidden him by any law, neither was he publikly accused of them (for that it was permitted to many good men to have them) hee was not bound to answer, neither was he to be examined of

of them. But as touching the marriage of Maſter Simon Smith with Jane Benno, he granted that hee knew thereof by the declaration of Maſter Smith; but that hee gave his mind counſell thereunto he utterly denied. And as concerning the contracting of the marriage betweene them, hee thought it not at all againſt Gods Law, who at the firſt creation made marriage lawfull for all men. Neither thought hee it unlawfull for him, after their marriage, either to keepe him as his Curate, or elſe to lend or give him any thing needfull (wherein he ſaid hee had thewed more charity than the Biſhop, who had taken all things from them) and therefore hee deſired to have it proved by the Scriptures, that Prieſts marriages were not lawful. Againſt whom, Forford the Biſhops Vicar often alleged generall Councels, and determinations of the Church, but no Scriptures, ſtill urging him to abjure his Articles; which Patmore long time refuſed, and ſticking a great while to his former anſwers, at laſt was threatened by Forford, to have definitive ſentence read againſt him. Whereupon hee anſwered, That he believed the holy Church as a Chriſtian man ought to doe, and becauſe it paſſed his capacity, hee deſired to be inſtructed, and if the Scriptures did teach it, hee would believe it; for he knew not the contrary by the Scriptures, but that a Prieſt might marry a wife, howbeit by the lawes of the Church hee thought that a Prieſt might not marry. But the Chancellor ſtill ſo urged him to ſhew whether a Prieſt might marry without offence to God, that at length he granted that Prieſts might not marry without offence to God, becauſe the Church had forbidden it; and therefore a Prieſt could not marry without deadly ſin. Now as touching the foure laſt Articles, hee denied that he ſpake them as they were put againſt him: but hee granted that hee might, perhaps, jeſtingly ſay; That a bottle of hay were more profitable to him than the Popes curſe; which hee thought true. Alſo to the ſecond he affirmed, That God had ſet before us by his Precepts and Commandements the way to juſtice: which way was not in mans power to goe and keepe: therefore Paul ſaith, ad Galatas 3. Quod lex erat ordinata per Angelos; but yet to fulfill it, it was in manu {id eſt, in poteſtate} interceſſoris: That none that ſhall be ſaved ſhall account their ſalvation unto their owne deeds, or thanke their owne juſtice in obſerving the Law; for it was in no mans power to obſerve it; but ſhall give all thankes to the mercies and goodneſſe of God; according to the Pſalme; Laudate Dominum omnes gentes: and according to the ſaying of Paul; Vt qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur; Which hath ſent his Sonne to doe for us that which was not in our owne power to doe. For if it had beene in our owne power to fulfill the Law, Chriſt had been ſent to us without cauſe, to doe for us that thing which wee our ſelves could have done, that is to ſay, fulfill the Law. As for the third hee ſpake not, for hee did never know that any may be baptiſed without Faith: which Faith, inaſmuch as it is the gift of God, why may it not be given parvulis? To the laſt he ſaid, that if hee ſpake it, hee meant it not of thoſe that Saint Bernard calleth heretiques, with more adulterers, thieves, murtherers, and other open ſinners, which blaſpheme God by their mouthes, calling good evill, and evill good, making light darkneſſe, and darkneſſe light. But he meant it of ſuch as men call heretiques,

according to the teſtimony of Saint Paul, Acts 24. I live after the way (ſaith hee) that men call hereſie; whom Chriſt doth foretell that yee ſhall burne and perſecute to death.

After theſe anſwers thus made, the Biſhop with his perſecuting Forford, dealt ſo hardly with this good man, partly by ſtrait impriſonment, and partly by threats to proceed againſt him, that in the end hee was faine through humane infirmity to ſubmit himſelfe, and was abjured and condemned to perpetuall priſon: with loſſe, both of his benefice, as alſo of all his goods. Howbeit one of his brethren afterwards made ſuch ſute unto the King (by meanes of the Queene) that after three yeeres impriſonment, hee was both releaſed out of priſon, and alſo obtained of the King a commiſſion to the Lord Awdley, being then Lord Chancellor, and to Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canturbury, and to Cromwell, then Secretary, with others, to inquire of the injurious and unjuſt dealings of the Biſhop and his Chancellor againſt the ſaid Patmore, notwithſtanding his appeale unto the King, and to determine thereof according to true equity and juſtice, and to reſtore the ſaid Patmore againe unto his ſaid benefice. But what was the end and iſſue of this commiſſion, we find not as yet.

John Row, Book-binder, a French-man, 1531.

This man, for binding, buying, and diſperſing of bookes inhibited, was enjoyned beſide other penance, to goe to Smithfield with his Bookes tied about him, and to caſt them in the fire, and there to abide till they were all burnt to aſhes.

Chriſtopher, a Book-ſeller died in priſon.

Chriſtopher, a Dutchman of Antwerp, 1531.

This man, for ſelling certaine new Teſtaments in Engliſh, to John Row aforeſaid, was put in priſon at Weſtminſter, and there died.

W. Nelſon, Prieſt, 1531.

His crime was, for having and buying of Periman certaine bookes of Luther, Tindall, Thorpe, &c. and for reading and peruſing the ſame, contrary to the Kings Proclamation, for the which he was abjured. Hee was Prieſt at Lith.

Thomas Eve, Weaver, 1531.

His Articles; That the Sacrament of the Altar is but a memory of Chriſts paſſion. That men were fooles to go on pilgrimage, or to ſet any candle before Images. Item, It is as good to ſet up ſtaves before the Sepulchre, as to ſet up tapers of wax. That Prieſts might have wives.

A dog offered to S. Nicholas Biſhop.

Robert Hudſon, of S. Sepulchres, 1531.

His Article: On Childermas day (ſaith the Regiſter) he offered in Pauls Church at offering time, to the child Biſhop (called S. Nicolas) a dog for devotion (as he ſaid) and meant no hurt, for he thought to have offered a halfepeny, or elſe the dog, and thought the dog to be better than a halfepeny, and the dog ſhould raiſe ſome profit to the childe; and ſaid moreover that it was the tenth dog, &c. Ex Regiſt.

Edward Hewet, ſervingman, 1531.

His crime: That after the Kings Proclamation, he had and read the new Teſtament in Engliſh: alſo the bookes of John Frith againſt Purgatory, &c.

¶ Perſons

¶ Persons abjured, with their Articles.

Walter Kiry, servant, 1531.

His Article; That hee, after the Kings Proclamation, had and used these Bookes; the Testament in English, the summe of Scripture, a Primer and Psalter in English, hidden in his bedstraw at Worcester.

Michael Lobley. 1531.

His Articles; That hee being at Antwerpe, bought certaine bookes inhibited, as the revelation of Antichrist, the obedience of a Christian man, the wicked Mammon, Frith against Purgatory. Item, for speaking against Images and Purgatory. Item, for saying, that Bilney was a good man, and died a good man, because of a Bill, that one did send from Norwich, that specified that hee tooke his death so patiently, and did not forsake to die with a good will.

Why then doth Master More say, that Bilney recanted and died a good man, if these be punished for commending him to dye a good man.

A Boy of Colchester, 1531.

A Boy of Colchester or Norfolke, brought to Richard Bayfield a budget of Bookes, about foure daies before the said Bayfield was taken; for the which the Lad was taken, and laid in the Counter by M. More, Chancelor, and there died.

A Lad in Colchester dyed in prison for bringing to Bayfield his books.

William Smith, Taylor, 1531.

His Articles, That hee lodged oftentimes in his house, Richard Bayfield, and other good men; that hee received his bookes into his house, and used much reading in the new Testament; he had also the Testament of William Tracy; hee believed there was no Purgatory.

William Lincolne, Prentise, 1532.

His Articles, for having and receiving bookes from beyond the sea, of Tindall, Frith, Thorpe, and other. Item, hee doubted, whether there were any Purgatory: whether it were well done to set up candles to Saints, to goe on pilgrimage, &c.

Iohn Mel of Bocksted, 1532.

His heresie was this: for having and reading the new Testament in English, the Psalter in English, and the booke called A. B. C.

Iohn Medwell, servant to Master Carket, Scrivener.

This Medwell lay in prison twenty foure weekes, till hee was almost lame. His heresies were these; That hee doubted, whether there was any Purgatory. Hee would not trust in pardons, but rather in the promises of Christ; hee doubted, whether the merits of any but only of Christ did help him: he doubted whether pilgrimages and setting up of candles to Images were meritorious or not. He thought he should not put his trust in any Saint. Item, hee had in his custody the new Testament in English, the examination of Thorp; the wicked Mammon, a booke of Matrimony, Ex ipsius schedula ad Episc. Scripta.

Heresie with the Pope to trust onely to the merits of Christ.

Christopher Fulman, servant to a Goldsmith, 1532.

This young man was attached for receiving certaine bookes at Antwerpe of George Constantine, and transporting them over into England, and selling them to sundry persons, being bookes prohibited by the Proclamation. Item, he thought then these books to have beene good, and that hee had beene in error in times past.

Margaret Bowgas, 1532.

Her heresies were these; being asked if shee would goe on pilgrimage, she said, I believe in God, and hee can doe mee more good than our Lady, or any other Saint; and as for them, they shall come to me, if they will, &c. Then Richard Sharples, Parson of Willend by Colchester, asked her, if she said her Ave Maria. I say, said she, Haile Mary, but I will say no further. Then said hee, if shee left not those opinions, she would beare a fagot. If I doe, said shee, better than I shall: adding moreover, that she would not goe from that to die therefore: to whom the Priest answered and said, shee would be burned. Hereunto Margaret againe replying, asked the Priest, who made martyrs? Tyrants (quoth the Priest) make Martyrs, for they put Martyrs to death. So they shall, or may mee, quoth Margaret. At length, with much adoe, and great perswasions, shee gave over to Forsord the Chancellor, and submitted her selfe.

Tyrants may martyrs.

Iohn Tiler, an Irishman of Billerika, Taylor.

His Articles were these: that the sacrament of the Altar was not the body of Christ, but only a cake of bread. Furthermore, the occasion being asked, how hee fell into that heresie; hee answered and said, that about three weeks before Midsummer last past, he heard M. Hugh Latimer preach at Saint Mary Abchurch, that men should leave going on pilgrimage abroad, and doe their pilgrimage to their poore neighbours. Also the said M. Latimer in his sermon did set the sacrament of the altar at little.

Master Latimer preacht against pilgrimage.

William Lancaster, Taylor, 1532.

The cause laid to this man, was, that hee had in his keeping the booke of Wickliffes Wicket. Item, that hee believed the sacrament of the Altar after the words of consecration not to be the body of Christ really, &c. Item, upon the day of assumption, hee said, that if it were not for the speech of the people, he would not receive the sacrament of the Altar.

Robert Topley, Frier, 1532.

His Articles: Hee being a Frier Augustine of Clare forsoke his habite, and going in a secular mans weed ten yeeres, married a wife, called Margarite Piron, having by her a child: and afterward, being brought before the Bishop, he was by him abjured and condemned to be imprisoned in his former Monastery; but at last hee escaped out, and returned to his wife againe.

A Frier married.

Thomas Topley, Augustine Frier at Stokeclare.

By the occasion of this Robert Topley aforesaid, place is offered to speake something likewise of Thomas Topley his brother belike, and also a Frier of the same order and house of Stokeclare. This Thomas Topley had beene before converted by one Richard Fox, Priest of Bumsted, and Miles Coverdale,

Miles Coverdale.

Myles Coverdale.

dale, insomuch, that he being induced partly by them, partly by reading certaine bookes, cast off both his order and habit, and went like a secular Priest. Whereupon hee was espied and brought to Cuthbert, Bishop of London, Anno 1528. before whom this confession he made as followeth.

The Recantation of Thomas Topley.

The recantation of Thomas Topley Frier. *Colloquia Eras.*

ALl Christian men beware of consenting to Erasmus fables, for by consenting to them they have caused me to shrinke in my faith that I promised to God at my Christening by my witnesses. First, as touching these fables, I reade in Colloqium, by the instruction of Sir Richard For, of certaine pilgrims, which (as the booke doth say) made a vow to goe to Saint James, and as they went, one of them died, and hee desired his fellowes to salute S. James in his name: and another died homeward, and hee desired that they would salute his wife and children: and the third died at Florence, and his fellow said, he supposed hee was in heaven, and yet hee said that he was a great lyer. Thus I mused of these opinions so greatly, that my mind was almost withdrawne from devotion to Saints. Notwithstanding, I consented that the divine service of them was very good, and is, though I have not had such sweetnesse in it as I should have had, because of such fables, and also because of other foolish pastimes: as dauncing, Tennis, and such other, which I thinke have beene great occasions that the goodnesse of God hath been void in mee, and dice in strength.

Ex Regist. Lond.

Moreover, it fortuned thus, about halfe a yeere ago, that the said Sir Richard went forth, and desired mee to serve his Cure for him; and as I was in his Chamber, I found a certaine booke called Wickliffes Wicket, whereby I felt in my conscience a great wavering for the time that I did reade upon it, and afterward also when I remembred it, it wounded my conscience very sore. Nevertheless I consented not to it, untill I had heard him preach, and that was upon Saint Anthonies day. Yet my mind was still much troubled with the said Booke, (which did make the sacrament of Christs body in forme of bread, but a remembrance of Christs passion) till I heard Sir Myles Coverdale preach, and then my mind was sore withdrawne from that blessed Sacrament, insomuch that I tooke it then but for the remembrance of Christ his body. Thus I have wretchedly wrapped my soule with sin, because I have not been stedfast in that holy Order that God hath called mee unto by baptisme, neither in the holy order that God and Saint Augustin hath called mee to by my Religion, &c.

Wickliffes Wicket.

Myles Coverdale.

Furthermore, hee said and confessed, That in the Lent last past, as hee was walking in the field at Bumsted with Sir Myles Coverdale, late Frier of the same Order, going in the habit of a secular Priest, which had preached the fourth Sunday in Lent at Bumsted, they did commune together of Erasmus Works, and also upon Confession. The which Sir Myles said and did hold, that it was sufficient for a man to be contrite for his sins betwixt God and his conscience, without confession made to a Priest: which opinion this respondent thought to be true, and did affirme and hold the same at that time. Also hee saith, that at the said sermon made by the said Sir Myles Coverdale at Bumsted, hee heard him preach against worshipping of images in the Church; saying and preaching, That men in no wise should honour or worship them; which likewise hee thought to be true, because hee had no learning to defend it.

M. Coverdale.

William Gardiner, Augustine Frier of Clare.

With this Topley I may also joyne William Gardiner, one of the same order and house of Clare, who likewise by the motion of the said Richard For, Curat of Bumsted, and by shewing him certaine bookes to reade, was brought likewise to the like learning and judgement, and was by the same abjured by Cuthbert, Bishop, the same yeere, 1528.

Richard Johnson of Bocksteed, and Alice his wife.

This Richard and his wife were favourers of Gods Word, and had beene troubled for the same of long time. They came from Salisbury to Borsted, by reason of persecution, where they continued a good space. At length by resort of good men, they began to be suspected; and specially for a booke of Wickliffes Wicket which was in their house, they were convented before Stokesly, Bishop of London, and there abjured.

Perilous daies.

¶ So great was the trouble of those times, that it would overcharge any story to recite the names of all them which during those bitter daies, before the comming in of Queene Anne, either were driven out of the Realme, or were cast out from their goods and houses, or brought to open shame by abjuration. Such decrees and injunctions then were set forth by the Bishops, such lawes and proclamations were provided, such watch and narrow search was used, such waies were taken by force of the oath, to make one detect another so subtilly, that unneth any good man could, or did escape their hands, but either his name was knowne, or else his person was taken. Yet nevertheless so mightily the power of Gods Gospell did worke in the hearts of good men, that the number of them did nothing lessen for all this violence or policy of the adversaries, but rather encreased in such sort, as our story almost suffereth not to recite the particular names of all and singular such as then groaned under the same crosse of affliction and persecution of those daies: of which number were these.

Persons of Bumsteed abjured.

Arthur. Gefferey Lome.
Iohn Tibold, his mother, his wife, his two sons, and his two daughters.
Edmund Tibold, and his wife.
Henry Butcher, and his wife.
William Butcher, and his wife.
George Preston, and his wife.
Ioane Smith, widow.
Robert Smith, her son.
Richard Smith, her son.
Margaret Smith, her daughter.
Elizabeth Smith, her daughter.
Robert Hempsteed, and his wife.
Thomas Hempsteed, and his wife.
Iohn Hempsteed, his son.
Robert Faire. William Chatwals.
Ioane Smith, widow, otherwise called Agnes, widow.
Iohn her son. Thomas her son.
Christopher, her son.
Alice, her daughter.
Ioane, her daughter.
Iohn Wiggen.
Nicholas Holdens wife. Alice Shipwright.
Henry Browne. Iohn Craneford.

¶ All

¶ All these were of the towne of Bumsted, who being detected by Sir Richard For their Curate, and partly by Tibold, were brought up to the Bishop of London, and all put together in one house, to the number of thirty five to be examined and abjured by the said Bishop.

Moreover, in other townes about Suffolke and Esser, other also were detected, as in the towne of Brayntree, these following.

Men and women of Esser and Suffolke troubled for the Gospell.

Isabel Choote, widow. Iohn Choote, her son.
William Choote, her son.
Christopher Choote, her son.
Robert Choote, her son.
Margaret Choote, her daughter.
Katharine, her maid.
Thomas Choote, and his wife.
Harvie, and his wife.
Agnes, his daughter. Thomas, his son.
Bateman, and his wife.
Iohn Smith, and his wife.
Thomas Butcher, and his wife.
Robert Catlin, a Spoon-maker.
Christmas, and his wife.
William Bechwith, his wife and his two sons.
Iohn Pickas, and his wife.
William Pickas, his brother.
Girling, his wife and his daughter.
Matthewes wife. Iohnson, his wife, and his son.
Thomas Hilles. Roger Tanner.
Christopher Raven, and his wife.
Iohn Chapman, his servant.
Richard Chapman, his servant, and brother to Iohn Chapman,

Iohn Chapman.

Christopher remaineth yet alive, and hath bene of a long time a great harbourer of many good men and women that were in trouble and distresse, and received them to his house, as Thomas Bate, Simon Smith, the Priests wife, Roger Tanner, with a number more, which yee may see and reade in our first Edition, Page, 419.

Richard Chapman. Cruelty shewed for mercy.

¶ Touching this Richard Chapman, this by the way is to be noted, that as he was in his coat and shirt, enjoyned bare-head, bare-foot, and bare-legged, to goe before the procession, and to kneele upon the cold steps in the Church all the sermon time, a little Lad seeing him kneele upon the cold stone with his bare knees, and having pity on him, came to him, and having nothing else to give him, brought him his cap to kneele upon. For the which the boy was immediatly taken into the Vestry, and there unmercifully beaten for his mercy shewed to the poore penitent.

Beside these, divers other were about London, Colchester, and other places also, partakers of the same crosse & affliction for the like cause of the Gospell, in which number commeth in these which hereafter follow.

Peter Fenne, Priest. Iohn Turke.
Robert Best. William Raylond of Colchester.
Henry Raylond, his son.
Marion Matthew, of Westden.
Dorothy Long. Thomas Parker.

This Parker was abjured 24. yeeres before this.

M. Forman, Bachelor of Divinity, Parson of Hony-Lane. Robert Necton.
Katharine Swane.
M. Cowbridge of Colchester.
Widow Denby.
Robert Hedil of Colchester.
Robert Wigge.
William Bull.
George Cooper. } of London.
Iohn Toy of S. Faith.
Richard Foster.
Sebastian Harris, Curate of Kensington.

Alice Gardener.
Iohn Tomson.
Iohn Bradley, and his wife. } of Colchester.

Persons abiured. Anno 1532.

Iohn Hubert, of Essonland and his wife.
William Butcher, whose fathers Grandfather was burned for the same religion.
Abraham Water of Colchester.

Ex Regist. Lond.

¶ All these in this Table contained, were troubled and abjured, Anno, 1527. and 1528.

Iohn Wily the elder.
Katharine Wily his wife.
Iohn Wily his son.
Christian Wily his wife.
William Wily his son.
Margaret Wily his wife.
Lucy Wily, Agnes Wily, two young girles.

These eight persons were accused, An. 1532. for eating potage and flesh meat five yeares before, upon Saint James Even.

Also another time, upon S. Peters Even, as Katharine Wily did lie in childbed, the other wives, with the two girles, were found eating all together of a broth made with the fore-part of a racke of mutton.

Item, the foresaid Iohn Wily the elder, had a Primmer in English in his house, and other Bookes.

Also hee had a young daughter of ten yeares old, which could render by heart the most part of the foure and twentieth Chapter of Saint Matthew. Also could rehearse without booke the Disputation betweene the Clerke and the Frier.

Item, the said Iohn Wily had in his house a Treatise of William Thorpe, and Sir Iohn Oldcastle.

A note of Richard Bayfield above mentioned.

MEntion was made before of Richard Bayfield Monke of Bury, who in these perillous dates, amongst other good Saints of God, suffered death, as yee have heard, but how, and by whom hee was detected hath not bene shewed: which now in searching out of Registers, as wee have found, so wee thought good here to adioyne the same with the words and confession of the same Edmund Pearson, which detected him in manner as followeth.

The accusation of Edmund Peerson against Bayfield.

The accusat. of Edmund Peerson against Rich. Bayfield.

THe thirteenth day of September, at foure of the clocke at afternoone, the yeare of our Lord, 1527. Sir Richard Bayfield said, that my Lord of Londons Commissary was a plaine Pharisee, wherefore hee would speake with him, and by his wholesome doctrine hee trusted in God hee should make him a perfect Christian man, and me also, for I was a Pharisee as yet, he said.

Also he said, that hee cared not if the Commissary and the Chancellor heard him both; for the Chancellor, he said, was also a Pharisie, and he trusted to make him a Christian man.

Also he said, he was intreated by his friends, and in manner constrained to abide in the City against his will, to make the Chancellor, and many more perfect Christian men, for as yet many were Pharisies, and knew not the perfect declaration of the Scripture.

Also he said, that Walter Arthur and Wilney were, and be more pure and more perfect in their living to God, than was, or is, the Commissary, the Chancel-

Chancellor, my Lord of London, or my Lord Cardinall.

Also hee said, That if Arthur and Bilney suffer death in the quarrels and opinions that they be in, or hold, they shall be martyrs before God in Heaven.

Also hee said, after Arthur and Bilney were put cruelly to death, yet should there be hundreds of men that should preach the same that they have preached.

Commendation of Bilney and Arthur.

Also hee said, That hee would favour Arthur and Bilney, hee knew their living to be so good; for they did weare no shirts of linnen cloth, but shirts of haire, and ever were fasting, praying, or doing some other good deeds. And as for one of them, whatsoever hee have of money in his purse, hee will distribute it, for the love of God, to poore people.

Also hee said, That no man should give laud or praise in any manner of wise, to any creature, or to any Saint in heaven, but only to God. Soli Deo honor & gloria: That is, To God alone be all honour and glory.

Tim. 1.

Also hee said, Ah, good Sir Edmund, yee be farre from the knowledge and understanding of the Scripture, for as yet yee be a Pharisee, with many other of your company; but I trust in God, I shall make you, and many other more, good and perfect Christian men, ere I depart from the city; for I purpose to reade a common lecture every day at Saint Fosters Church: which lecture shall be to the edifying of your soules that be false Pharisees.

The godly courage of Richard Bayfield.

Also hee said, That Bilney preached nothing at Wilsedon, but what was true.

Also he said, That Bilney preached true at Wilsedon, if he said that our Ladies crowne of Wilsedon, her rings, and beads that were offered to her, were bestowed amongst harlots, by the Minsters of Christs Church: for that I have seene my selfe, he said, here in London, and that I will abide by.

The peeples offerings bestowed upon harlots.

Also hee said, Hee did not feare to commune and argue in Arthurs and Bilneis opinions and Articles, and if it were with my Lord Cardinall.

Also hee said, That hee would hold Arthurs and Bilneys opinions and Articles, and abide by them that they were true opinions, to suffer death therefore: I know them (said hee) for so noble and excellent men in learning.

Also hee said, if he were before my Lord Cardinall, he would not let to speake to him, and to tell him, that he hath done naught in prisoning Arthur and Bilney, which were better disposed in their livings to God, than my Lord Cardinall, or my Lord of London, as holy as they make themselves.

Also hee said, my Lord Cardinall is no perfect nor good man to God, for he keepeth not the commandements of God: for Christ (he said) never taught him to follow riches, nor to seeke for promotions nor dignities of this world, nor did Christ ever teach him to weare shoes of silver and gilt, set with pearle and precious stones; nor had Christ ever two crosses of silver, two axes, nor pillar of silver and gilt.

The Cardinals shoes.

Also he said, That every Priest might preach the Gospell without licence of the Pope, my Lord Cardinall, my Lord of London, or any other man; and that he would abide by; and thus he verified it, as it is written, Marke 16. Euntes in mundum universum, prædicate Euangelium omni creaturæ. Christ commanded every Priest to goe forth throughout all the world, and preach the Word of God by the authority of this Gospell, and not to run to the Pope, nor to any other man for licence: And that would he abide by, he said.

Also he said; Well, Sir Edmund, say you what you will, and every man, and my Lord Cardinall also, and yet will I say, and abide by it, my Lord Cardinall doth punish Arthur and Bilney unjustly, for there be no truer Christian men in all the world living than they two be, and that punishment that my Lord Cardinall doth to them, hee doth it by might and power, as who would say, This may I doe, and this will I doe, who shall say nay? but hee doth it of no justice.

Also about the fourteenth day of October last past, at three of the clocke at afternoone, Sir Richard Bayfield came to S. Edmunds in Lumbard-street, where he found me, Sir Edmund Peerson, Sir James Smith, and Sir Myles Garnet, standing at the uttermost gate of the Parsonage, and Sir Edmund said to Sir Richard Bayfield; how many Christian men have yee made since yee came to the city? Quoth Sir Richard Bayfield, I came even now to make thee a Christian man, and these two other Gentlemen with thee; for well I know yee be all three Pharisees as yet.

Also he said to Sir Edmund, That Arthur and Bilney were better Christian men than he was, & any of them that did punish Arthur and Bilney.

Per me Edmundum Peerson.

Ad this we have, as in a grosse summe compiled together the names and causes, though not of all, yet of a great, and too great a number of good men and good women, which in those sorrowfull daies (from the yeere of our Lord, 1527. to this present yeere, 1533. that is, till the comming in of Queene Anne) were manifold waies vexed and persecuted under the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome. Where againe we have to note, That from this present yeere of our Lord, 1533. during the time of the said Queen Anne, we reade of no great persecution, nor any abjuration to have been in the Church of England, save only that the Registers of London make mention of certaine Dutch men, counted for Anabaptists, of whom ten were put to death in sundry places of the Realme, Anno 1535. other ten repented and were saved. Where note againe, that two also of the said company, albeit the definitive sentence was read, yet notwithstanding were pardoned by the King; which was contrary to the Popes law.

Ten Dutchmen Anabaptists put to death. Segor, Derick, Simon Kuna, Derick, Dominicke David, Cornelius, Gilken, Wilo.

Anno 1533.

Now to proceed forth in our matter; After that the Bishops & heads of the Clergy had thus a long time taken their pleasure, exercising their cruell authority against the poore walked flocke of the Lord, and began furthermore to stretch forth their rigor and austerity, to attach and molest also other greater persons of the Temporalty, so it fell, that in the beginning of the next or second yeere following, which was, Anno 1534. a Parliament was called by the King about the fifteenth day of January. In the which Parliament the Commons renewing their old griefes, complained of the cruelty of the Prelats and Ordinaries, for calling men before them Ex Officio. For such was then the usage of the Ordinaries and their Officials, that they would send for men, and lay accusations to them of heresie, only declaring to them that they were accused; and would minister Articles to them, but no accuser should be brought forth. Whereby the Commons were grievously annoyed and oppressed; for the party so accited must either abjure or doe worse; for purgation he might none make.

Complaint of the Commons against the Clergy. *Ex Edw. Hallo.* A Parliament, An. 1534.

Cruelty of the Clergy against the temporalty.

As these matters were long debating in the Common house, at last it was agreed, That the Temporall men should put their griefs in writing, and deliver them to the King. Whereupon the eighteenth day of March, the common Speaker, accompanied with certaine Knights and Burgesses of the Common house, came to the Kings presence, and there declared how the temporall men of his Realm were sore agrieved with the cruel demeanor of the Prelats and Ordinaries, which touched their bodies and goods so nere, that they of necessity were enforced to make their humble suit by their Speaker,

Speaker unto his Grace, to take such order and redresse in the case, as to his high wisdome might seeme most convenient, &c.

Unto this request of the Commons, although the King at that time gave no present grant, but suspended them with a delay; yet notwithstanding this sufficiently declared the grudging minds of the Temporall men against the Spiritualty, lacking nothing but Gods helping hand to worke in the Kings heart for reformation of such things which all they did see to be out of frame. Neither did the Lords divine providence faile in time of need, but effsoones ministred a ready remedy in time expedient. Hee saw the pride and cruelty of the spirituall Clergy growne to such an height as was intollerable. Hee saw againe and heard the groaning hearts, the bitter afflictions of his oppressed flocke, his truth decayed, his religion prophaned, the glory of his Son defaced, his Church lamentably walked. Wherefore it was high time for his high Majesty to looke upon the matter (as he did indeed) by a strange and wondrous meanes, which was through the Kings divorcement from Lady Katharine Dowager, and marrying with Lady Anne Bullen, in this present yeere: Which was the first occasion and beginning of all this publike reformation, which hath followed since in this Church of England to this present day, according as yee shall heare.

Gods helping hand in time of need.

Queene Anne married, and Lady Katharine divorced.

The marriage betweene King *Henry* and Queene *Anne Bullen*; and Queene *Katharine* divorced.

IN the first entry of the Kings raigne, yee heard before, how after the death of Prince Arthur, the Lady Katharine, Princesse Dowager, and Wife to Prince Arthur, by the consent both of her father and his, and also by the advice of the Nobles of this Realme, to the end her dowry might remain still within the Realme, was espoused after the decease of her husband, to his next brother, which was this King Henry.

King Henry married his brothers wife.

This marriage seemed very strange and hard, for one brother to marry the wife of another. But what can be in this earth so hard or difficult, wherewith the Pope, the omnipotent Vicar of Christ, cannot by favour dispense, if it please him? The Pope which then ruled at Rome, was Pope Julius the second, by whose dispensation this marriage, which neither sense of nature would admit, nor Gods Law would beare, was concluded, approved, and ratified, and so continued as lawfull, without any doubt or scruple, the space neer of twenty yeeres, till about the time that a certaine doubt began first to be moved by the Spaniards themselves of the Emperors Counsell, Anno 1523. At what time Charles the Emperor being here in England, promised to marry the Lady Mary, daughter to the King of England. With the which promise, the Spaniards themselves were not well contented, objecting this among many other causes, that the said Lady Mary was begotten of the King of England by his brothers wife.

The Pope dispenseth for the brother to marry his brothers wife.

The Spaniards first doubted of the kings marriage.

Whereupon the Emperor, forsaking that marriage, did couple himselfe with Lady Isabell, daughter to King Emanuel of Portugall. Which marriage was done in the yeere of our Lord, 1526. After this marriage of the Emperor, the next yeere following, King Henry, being disappointed thus of the Emperor, entred talke, or rather was laboured to by the French Embassadors, for the said Lady Mary to be married to the French kings son, Duke of Orleance. Upon the talke whereof, after long debating, at length the matter was put off by a certaine doubt of the President of Paris, casting the like objection as the Spaniards had done before, that was, whether the marriage betweene the King and the mother of this Lady Mary, which had beene his brothers wife before, were good or no. And so the marriage, twice unluckily attempted, in like sort brake off againe, and was rejected; which happened in the yeere of our Lord, 1527.

The second doubt, whether the Lady Mary was rightly borne.

The King, upon the occasion hereof calling many things in his mind, began to consider the cause more deeply, first, with himselfe, after, with certaine of his nearest Counsell; wherein two things there were which chiefly pricked his mind, whereof the one touched his conscience, the other concerned the state of his Realme. For if that marriage with his brothers wife stood unlawfull by the law of God, then neither was his conscience cleare in retaining the mother, nor yet the state of the Realme firme by succession of the daughter. It happened the same time, that the Cardinall, which was then nearest about the King, had fallen out with the Emperor, for not helping him to the Papacy, as yee before have heard; for the which cause he helped to set the matter forward by all practice hee might. Thus the King perplexed in his conscience, and carefull for the Common-wealth, and partly also incited by the Cardinall, could not so rest, but enquired further to feele what the Word of God and learning would say unto it. Neither was the case so hard, after it began once to come in publike question, but that by the Word of God, and the judgements of the best learned Clerks, and also by the censure of the chiefe Universities of all Christendome, to the number of ten and more, it was soone discussed to be unlawfull.

Two perplexities in the Kings mind.

Cardinall Wolley a helper of the kings divorce.

The judgements of ten or twelue Universities against the kings marriage: Orleance, Paris, Tolouse, Angiew, Bononie, Padua.

All these censures, bookes, and writings of so many Doctors, Clerks, and Universities, sent from all quarters of Christendome to the King, albeit they might suffice to have full resolved, and did indeede resolve the Kings conscience touching this scruple of his marriage; yet would hee not straightway use that advantage which learning did give him, unlesse he had withall the assent as well of the Pope, as also the Emperor: wherein he perceived no little difficulty. For the Pope, he thought, seeing the marriage was authorised before by the dispensation of his predecessor, would hardly turne his keyes about to undoe that which the Pope before him had locked: and much lesse would he suffer those keyes to be foyled, or to come in any doubt, which was like to come, if that marriage were proved undispensable by Gods word, which his predecessor through his plenary power had licenced before. Againe, the Emperour he thought would be no lesse hard for his part, on the other side, forasmuch as the said Lady Katharine was the Emperours neer Aunt, and a Spaniard borne. Yet nevertheless his purpose was to prove and feele what they both would say unto it, and therefore sent Stephen Gardiner to Rome, to weigh with Pope Clement. To the Emperor was sent Sir Nicholas Hervy Knight, Embassadour in the Court of Gaunt. First, Pope Clement, not weighing belike the full importance and sequele of the matter, sent Cardinall Campeius (as is said) into England, joyned with the Cardinall of Yorke.

The faculty of Paris. Bytures. Orleans. Cambridge.

Campeius Popes Legat.

At the comming of which Legates, the King, first opening unto them the griefe of his conscience, seemed with great reasons and perswasions sufficiently to have drawne the good will of those two Legates to his side. Who also of their owne accord pretended no lesse but to shew a willing inclination to further the Kings cause. But yet the mouthes of the common people, and in especiall of women, and such other as favoured the Queene, and talked their pleasures, were not stopped. Wherefore to satisfie the blind surmises, and foolish communication of these also, who, seeing the comming of the Cardinals, cast out such lewd words, that the King would for his owne pleasure have another wife, with like unbeseeming talke: he therefore, willing

The kings perswasion the Legats.

that

that all men should know the truth of his proceedings, caused all his nobility, Iudges, and counsellours, with divers other persons, to resort to his Palace of Bridewell the eighth day of November, Anno, 1529. where he openly speaking in his great Chamber, had these words in effect, as followeth.

The Kings Oration to his Subjects.

OVr trusty and welbeloved subjects, both you of the Nobility, and you of the meaner sort, it is not unknowne unto you, how that wee both by Gods provision, and true and lawfull inheritance, have raigned over this Realm of England almost the tearme of twenty yeares. During which time, wee have so ordered us (thanked be God) that no outward enemy hath oppressed you, nor taken any thing from us, nor have we invaded any Realm, but we have had victory and honour, so that we thinke that you nor none of your predecessours ever lived more quietly, more wealthily, nor in more estimation under any of our noble progenitours. But when we remember our mortality, and that we must die, then wee thinke that all our doings in our life time are clearely defaced, and worthy of no memory, if we leave you in trouble at the time of our death: for if our true heire bee not knowne at the time of our death, see what mischiefe and trouble shall succeed to you and to your children. The experience thereof some of you have seene after the death of our noble Grandfather, King Edward the fourth, and some have heard what mischiefe and man-slaughter continued in this Realme betweene the Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, by the which dissension this Realme was like to have been clearly destroyed.

And although it hath pleased Almighty God to send us a faire daughter of a noble Woman, and of me begotten, to our great comfort and joy, yet it hath beene told us by divers great Clerkes, that neither shee is our lawfull daughter, nor her mother our lawfull wife, but that we live together abhominably and detestably in open adultery: insomuch, that when our embassade was last in France and motion was made that the Duke of Orleance should marry our said Daughter, one of the chiefe Counsellers to the French King, said, It were well done, to know whether shee be the King of Englands lawfull Daughter or not: for well knowne it is, that he begot her on his brothers wife, which is directly against Gods Law and his Precepts. Thinke you, my Lords, that these words touch not my body and soule? Thinke you that these doings doe not daily and hourely trouble my conscience, and vex my spirits? Yes, we doubt not but if it were your cause, every man would seeke remedy, when the perill of your soule, and the losse of your inheritance is openly layd to you. For this only cause I protest before God, and in the word of a Prince, I have asked counsell of the greatest Clerks in Christendome, and for this cause I have sent for this Legate, as a man indifferent, onely to know the truth, and so to settle my conscience, and for none other cause, as God can judge. And as touching the Queene, if it be adjudged by the Law of God that shee is my lawfull wife, there was never thing more pleasant nor more acceptable to me in my life, both for the discharge and clearing of my conscience, and also for the good qualities and conditions the which I know to bee in her. For I assure you all, that beside her noble parentage of the which shee is descended (as you well know) shee is a Woman of most gentlenesse, of most humility and buxumnesse, yea and of all good qualities appertaining to Nobility, shee is without comparison, as I these twenty yeares almost have had the true experiment; so that if I were to marry againe, if the marriage might be good, I would surely chuse her above all other women. But if it be determined by judgement, that our marriage was against Gods Law and clearly voyd, then shall I not only sorrow the departing from so good a Lady and loving companion, but much more lament and bewaile my infortunate chance, that I have so long lived in Adultery to Gods great displeasure, and have no true heire of my body to inherite this Realme. These bee the sores that vex my mind, these be the pangs that trouble my conscience, and for these griefes I seeke remedy. Therefore I require you all, as our trust and confidence is in you, to declare to our subjects our mind and intent, according to our true meaning, and desire them to pray with us that the very truth may be known, for the discharge of our conscience and saving of our soule, and for the declaration hereof I have assembled you together, and now you may depart.

The Legates talke with the Queene.

Shortly after this Oration of the King, wherewith he stirred the hearts of a number, then the two Legats, being requested of the King, for discharge of his conscience, to iudge and determine upon the cause, went to the Quéen lying then in the place of Bridewell, and declared to her, how they were deputed iudges indifferent betwéen the King and her, to heare and determine, whether the marriage betwéen them stood with Gods Law or not. When she understood the cause of their comming, being thereat something astonied at the first, after a little pausing with her selfe, thus she began, answering for her selfe. *Ex Ed. Hallo.*

Queene Katharines answer to the Cardinals.

Alas my Lords, sayd she, is it now a question whether I be the Kings lawfull wife or no, when I have béen married to him almost twenty yeares, & in the meane season never question was made before? Divers prelates yet being alive, and Lords also, and privy Counsellours with the King at that time, then adiudged our marriage lawfull & honest, and now to say it is detestable and abhominable, I thinke it great marvell: and in especiall when I consider what a wise Prince the Kings father was, and also the love and naturall affection that King Ferdinando my father bare unto mée, I thinke in my selfe that neither of our fathers were so uncircumspect, so unwise, and of so small imagination, but they foresaw what might follow of our marriage: and in especiall the King my father sent to the court of Rome, and there after long suite, with great cost and charge, obtained a license and dispensation, that I being the one brothers wife, and peradventure carnally known, might without scruple of conscience marry with the other brother lawfully; which license under lead I have yet to shew: Which things make me to say, and surely beléve, that our mariage was both lawfull, good, and godly. But of this trouble I may only thanke you my Lord Cardinall of Yorke. For because I have wondred at your high pride and vaine glory, and abhorred your voluptuous life and abhominable lechery, and little regarded your presumptuous power and tyranny, therefore of malice you have kindled this fire, and set this matter abroach, and in especiall for the great malice that you beare to my Nephew the Emperour, whom I perfectly know you hate worse then a Scorpion, because he would not satisfie your ambition, and make you Pope by force: and therefore you have sayd more than once, that you would trouble him and his friends, and you have kept him true promise: for of all his warres and vexations he may thanke you only. And as for me his poore Aunt and kinswoman, what trouble you have put me to by this new found doubt, God knoweth, to whom I commit my cause according to the truth. The Cardinall of Yorke excused himselfe, saying, that

The Cardinall cause of this divorce, and why?

hée was not the beginner nor the mover of the doubt, and that it was sore against his will that ever the marriage should come in question, but he said that by his superior the Bishop of Rome he was deputed as a Judge to heare the cause: which he sware on his profession to heare indifferently. But whatsoever was said, shée beléeved him not; and so the Legates tooke their leave of her and departed.

These words were spoken in French, and written by Cardinall Campeius Secretary, which was present; and afterward by Edward Hall translated into English.

In the next yeare ensuing, 1530. at the Blacke Friers of London was prepared a solemne place for the two Legates: who comming with their Crosses, Pillars, Ares, and all other Romish Ceremonies accordingly, were set in two chaires covered with cloath of gold, and cushions of the same. When all things were ready, then the King and the Quéene were ascited by Doctor Sampson to appeare before the said Legates the twenty eighth day of May; where (the Commission of the Cardinalls first being read, wherein it was appointed by the Court of Rome, That they should be the hearers and Judges in the cause betweén them both) the King was called by name: who appeared by two Proctors. Then the Quéen was called; who being accompanied with foure Bishops and other of her Counsell, and a great company of Ladies, came personally her selfe before the Legates: who there after her obeysance, with a sad gravity of countenance, having not many words with them, appealed from the Legates, as Judges not competent, to the Court of Rome, and so departed. Notwithstanding this appeale, the Cardinalls sate weekly, and every day arguments on both sides were brought, but nothing definitively was determined.

The vaine pompe of the Romish Legates.

The King and Queene ascited before the Legates.

These foure bishops were, Warham of Canturbury, West of Elie, Fisher of Rochester, Standish of S. Asaph.

The Queen appealeth from the Cardinals to the Pope.

As the time passed on, in the moneth of Iune, the King, being desirous to sée an end, came to the Court, and the Quéen also, where he, standing under his cloath of estate, uttered these or like words in effect as followeth.

The Kings Oration to the Legates.

MY Lords, Legates of the See Apostolique, which bee deputed Iudges in this great and weighty matter, I most heartily beseech you to ponder my minde and intent, which onely is to have a finall end for the discharge of my conscience. For every good Christian man knoweth, what paine and what unquietnesse hee suffereth which hath his conscience grieved. For I assure you on my honour, that this matter hath so vexed my mind, and troubled my spirits, that I can scantly study any thing which should bee profitable for my Realme and people: and to have a quietnesse in body and soule is my desire and request, and not for any grudge that I beare to her that I have married; for I dare say, That for her womanhood, wisedome, Nobility, and gentlenesse, never Prince had such another: and therefore if I would willingly change I were not wise. Wherefore my suit is to you my Lords at this time, to have a speedy end, according to right, for the quietnesse of my mind and conscience onely, and for no other cause, as God knoweth.

When the King had said, the Quéen departed without any thing saying. Then she was called, to know whether shée would abide by her appeale, or answer there before the Legates. Her Proctor answered, That she would abide by her Appeale. That notwithstanding, the Counsellors on both sides, every day almost met, and debated this matter substantially, so that at the last the Divines were all of opinion, that the marriage was against the law of God, if she were carnally known by the first Brother. Which thing she clérely denied. But to that was answered: That Prince Arthur her Husband confessed the act done, by certaine words spoken; which being recorded in other Chronicles, I had rather should there be read, than by me hére uttered. Furthermore, at the time of the death of Prince Arthur, she thought and judged that she was with child, and for that cause the King was deferred from the title and Creation of the Prince of Wales almost halfe a yeare: which thing could not have bén judged, if she had not bén carnally known.

The Queene abideth by her appeale.

Also she her selfe caused a Bull to be purchased, in the which were these words; Vel forsan cognitam, which is as much to say as, peradventure carnally known. Which words were not in the first Bull granted by Iuly at her second mariage to the king. Which second Bul with that clause was only purchased, to dispense with the second matrimony, although there were carnall copulation before: which Bull néeded not to have bén purchased, if there had bén no carnall copulation, for then the first Bull had bén sufficient.

Moreover, for the more clére evidence of this matter, that Prince Arthur had carnall knowledge of the said Lady Katharine his wife, it appeareth in a certaine Booke of Records which we have to shew touching this marriage, That the same time when Prince Arthur was first married with this Lady Katharine, daughter to King Ferdinando, certaine Embassadors of Ferdinando his Counsell were then sent hither into England for the sayd purpose, to sée and testifie concerning the full consummation of the said matrimoniall coniunction. Which Counsellors here resident, being solemnly sworn, not only did affirme to both their parents, that the matrimony was consummate by that act, but also did send ouer into Spaine to her father such demonstrations of their mutuall coniunction, as here I will not name, sparing the reverence of chaste eares. Which demonstrations otherwise, in those records being named & testified, doe sufficiently put the matter out of all doubt and question.

Queene Katharine carnally known by the Kings brother.

Beside that, in the same records appeareth, that both he and she not only were of such yeares as were méete and able to eplete the consummation hereof, but also they were and did lie together both here and in Wales by the space of three quarters of a yeare.

Out of a written booke of Records, containing certaine Conférences between the Cardinall and Queene Katharins Amner about this matter, remaining in our custody to be seene.

Three reasons for Quéene Katharine.

Thus when the Divines on her side were beaten from ỹ ground, then they fell to perswasions of naturall reasons, how this should not bée undone for three causes. One was, because if it should be broken, the only child of the King should be a bastard, which were a great mischiefe to the Realm. Secondly, the separation should be cause of great unkindenesse betwéen her kindred and this Realm. And the third cause was, That the continuance of so long space had made the marriage honest. These persuasions, with many other, were set forth by the Quéenes Counsell, and in especiall by the Bishop of Rochester, which stood stiffe in her cause. But yet Gods Precept was not answered; wherefore they left that ground, and fell to pleading, That the Court of Rome had dispensed with this marriage. To this some Lawyers said, That no earthly person is able to dispense with the positive Law of God.

Fisher Bop of Roch. a great ℓ for Quéē Katharin

When the Legates heard the opinions of the divines, and saw whereunto the end of this question would tend, for asmuch as men began so to dispute of the authority of the Court of Rome, and especially because the Cardinall of Yorke perceived the King to cast favour to the Lady Anne, whom he knew to be a Lutheran, they thought best to wind them-

The seating of the Kings marriage brought in question.

themselves out of that brake betime; and so Cardinall Campeius, dissembling the matter, conveyed himselfe home to Rome againe, as is partly above touched. The King, seeing himselfe thus to be deferred and deluded by the cardinals, tooke it to no little griefe; whereupon the fall of the Cardinall of Yorke followed not long after.

This was in the yeere of our Lord 1530. Shortly after it happened the same yeere, that the King by his Embassadours was advertised, that the Emperor and the Pope were both together at Bonony. Wherefore he directed Sir Thomas Bullein late created Earle of Wiltshire, and Doctor Stokesley (afterward Bishop of London) and Doctour Le (afterward Bishop of Yorke) with his message to the Popes Court, where also the Emperour was. Pope Clement understanding the Kings case and request, and fearing what might follow after, if learning and Scripture here should take place against the authority of their dispensations, and moreover doubting the Emperours displeasure, bare himselfe strange off from the matter, answering the Embassadors with this delay, that he presently would not define in the case, but would heare the full matter disputed, when he came to Rome, and according to right he would doe justice.

Although the King owed no such service to the Pope, to stand to his arbitrement either in this case or in any other, having both the Scripture to lead him, and his law in his own hands to warrant him, yet for quietnesse sake, and for that he would not rashly breake order (which rather was a disorder indeed) he bare so long as conveniently he might. At length after long delayes and much dissembling, when he saw no hope of redresse, he began somewhat to quicken and to looke about him, what was best both for his owne conscience, and the establishment of his realme to doe.

No man here doubteth, but that all this was wrought not by mans device, but by the secret purpose of the Lord himselfe, to bring to passe further things, as afterward followed, which his divine providence was disposed to worke. For else as touching the Kings intent and purpose, he never meant nor minded any such thing as to seeke the ruine of the Pope, but rather sought all meanes contrary, how both to establish the See of Rome, and also to obtain the good will of the same See and Court of Rome, if it might have beene gotten. And therefore intending to sue his divorce from Rome, at the first beginning: his device was by Stephen Gardiner his Embassadour at Rome to exalt the Cardinall of Yorke, as is before shewed, to be made Pope and universall bishop, to the end that he ruling that Apostolik See, the matter of his unlawfull marriage, which so troubled his conscience, might come to a quiet conclusion, without any further rumor of the world. Which purpose of his, if it had taken effect as he had devised it, and the English Cardinall had once beene made Pope, no doubt, but the authority of that See had never been exterminate out of England. But God, being more mercifull unto us, tooke a better way than so. For both without, and contrary to the Kings expectation, he so brought to passe, that neither the Cardinall of Yorke was Pope (which should have been an infinit cost to the King) and yet nevertheless the King sped of his purpose too, and that much better than he looked for. For he was rid by lawfull divorcement, not onely from that unlawfull marriage which clogged his conscience, but also from the miserable yoke of the Popes usurped dominion, which clogged the whole realme, and all at one time.

Thus Gods holy providence ruling the matter, as I said, when the King could get no favourable grant of the Pope touching his cause, being so good and honest, he was enforced to take the redresse of his right into his owne hands, and seeing this Gordian knot would not be losed at Rome, he was driven against his will, as God would, to play the noble Alexander himselfe, and with the sword of his Princely authority knapt the knot at one stroke cleane asunder, losing, as it were with one solution, infinite questions. For where the Doctors and Canonists had long disputed, and yet could never thoroughly discusse the largenesse and fulnesse of the Popes two swords both temporal and spirituall, the King with one sword did so cut off both his swords, that hee dispatched them both cleane out of England, as ye shall see more anon. But first the King like a prudent Prince, before he would come to the head of the sore, thought best to pare away such ranke flesh and putrified places as were about it, and therefore following his owne proverbe, like as one, going about to cast downe an old rotten wall, will not begin with the foundation first, but with the stones that lie in the top, so he, to prepare his way better unto the Pope, first began with the Cardinall, casting him by the Law of Premunire, out of his goods and possessions, and so at length by poysoning himselfe he procured his owne death; which was in the yeere 1530. This done, shortly after about the yeere, 1532. the King, to provide betime against mischiefes that might come from Rome, gave forth these proclamation, as followeth.

Gordium was a City in Asia where there was a knot so fast tied, and folded so many waies, that (as the saying was) whosoever could loose it, should have all Asia. So Alexander conning to it, when he could not loose it with his hands, he cut it asunder with his sword. The Kings proverbe. Looke before.

THe Kings highnesse straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner of person, what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be of, doe purchase or attempt to purchase, from the Court of Rome or elsewhere, nor use and put in execution, divulge or publish any thing heretofore, within this yeere passed, purchased, or to be purchased hereafter, containing matter prejudiciall to the high authority, jurisdiction, and Prerogative Royall of this his said Realme, or to the let, hinderance, or impeachment of his Graces noble and vertuous, intended purposes in the Premises, upon paine of incurring his Highnesse indignation, and imprisonment, and further punishment of their bodies for their so doing, at his Graces pleasure, to the dreadfull example of all other.

A restraint of the King that nothing should be purchased from Rome.

After this was done, the King then proceeding further, caused the rest of the spirituall Lords to be called by processe into the Kings bench to make their appearance, forsomuch as the whole Clergy of England, in supporting and maintaining the power Legatine of the Cardinall, by the reason thereof were all entangled likewise in the Premunire, and therefore were called into the Kings bench to answere. But before the day of their appearance, the Prelates together in their convocation concluded among themselves an humble submission in writing, and offered the King for a subsidy or contribution, that he would be their good Lord and release them of the Premunire by act of Parliament, first to be gathered in the Province of Canturbury a C. M. pounds. And in the Province of Yorke, xviii. M. viii. C. xl. pound, x. pence. The which offer with much labour was accepted, and their pardon promised. In this submission the Clergy called the King supreme head of the Church of England, which thing they never confessed before: Whereupon many things followed, as after (God willing) ye shall heare.

Ex Ed. Hallo. The whole Clergy of England in the premunire.

The Clergy giveth to the King 118840 pound to be released from the premunire.

But first, forsomuch as we are in hand now with the matter, we will borrow by the way, a few words of the reader, to speake of this clergy money, of 118840. pounds and x. pence, to be levied to the King, as is above touched. For the levying of which summe an order was taken among the prelates, that every bishop in his diocesse should call before him all the priests, parsons and vicars, among whom Doctour Stokesley bishop of London, a man then

counted to be of ſome wit and learning, but of little diſcretion and humanity (which cauſed him to be out of the favour of the common people) called before him all the prieſts within the City of London, whether they were curates or ſtipendaries, the firſt day of September being Friday, in the Chapter houſe of Saint Paul. At which day the prieſts appeared, and the biſhops policy was to have onely five or eight prieſts together, and by perſwaſions to have cauſed them to grant ſome portion toward the payment of the foreſaid hundred M. pound. But the number of the prieſts was ſo great (for they were ſix hundred at the leaſt, and with them came many temporall men to heare the matter) that the biſhop was diſappointed of his purpoſe. For when the biſhops officers called in certaine prieſts by name into the Chapter houſe; with that a great number entred, for they put the biſhops officers that kept the doore aſide.

The biſhops policy with the Prieſts, for payment of the Kings money.

After this, the officers got the doore ſhut againe. Then the prieſts without ſaid, We wil not be kept without, and our fellowes be within: we know not what the biſhop will doe with them. The temporal men being preſent comforted and encouraged the prieſts to enter, ſo that by force they opened the doore and one ſtrucke the biſhops officer over the face, and entered the Chapter houſe, and many temporal men with them, and long it was ere any ſilence could be made. At laſt, when they were appeaſed, the biſhop ſtood up and ſaid, Brethren, I marvell not a little why you be ſo heady, and know not what ſhall be ſaid to you, therefore I pray you to keepe ſilence and to heare me patiently.

My friends all, you know well that we be men fraile of condition and no Angels, and by frailty and lacke of wiſdome we have miſdemeaned our ſelves toward the King our ſoveraigne Lord and his lawes, ſo that all we of the Clergy were in the Premunire; by reaſon whereof, all our promotions, lands, goods, and cattels, were to him forfeit, and our bodies ready to be impriſoned: yet his grace, moved with pitty and compaſſion, demanded of us what we could ſay, why he ſhould not extend his lawes upon us. Then the fathers of the Clergy humbly beſought his Grace of mercy. To whom he anſwered, That he was ever inclined to mercy. Then for all our great offences we had little penance: for where he might by the rigor of his law have taken all our livelode, goods, and cattels, he was contented with one hundred thouſand pounds, to be payed in five yeares. And although that this ſum be more than we may eaſily beare, yet by the rigor of his lawes we ſhould have borne the whole burthen. Wherefore my brethren, I charitably exhort you to beare your parts of your livelode and ſalary, toward the payment of this ſum granted.

The biſhops perſwaſion to the Prieſts to helpe them to pay their forfeit.

Then it was ſhortly ſaid to the biſhop, My Lord, twenty nobles a yeare is but bare living for a prieſt; for now victual and every thing is ſo deare, that poverty in a manner enforceth us to ſay nay. Beſide that, my Lord we never offended in the Premunire: for we medled never with the Cardinals faculties; let the biſhops and abbats which have offended, pay.

The Prieſts anſwer to the biſhop.

Then the biſhops officers gave to the prieſts high words, which cauſed them to be the more obſtinate. Alſo divers temporall men which were preſent comforted the prieſts, and bad them agree to no payment. In this rumor, divers of the biſhops ſervants were buffeted and ſtricken, ſo that the biſhop began to be afraid, and with faire words appeaſed the noiſe, and for all things which were done or ſaid there he pardoned them, and gave to them his bleſſing, and praid them to depart in charity. Then they departed, thinking to heare no more of the matter, but they were deceived: for the biſhop went to Sir Th. More then being L. Chancellor (which greatly favoured the biſhop and the clergy) and to him made a grievous complaint, and declared the fact very grievouſly. Whereupon commandement was ſent to Sir Thomas Pargitor, Major of the City, to attach certaine prieſts and temporall men: and ſo fifteene Prieſts and five temporall men were arreſted; of the which ſome were ſent to the Tower, ſome to the Fleet, and other priſons, where they remained long after.

Biſhop Stokeſley complaineth to Sir Thomas More.

Certain prieſts and temporall men committed to priſon.

This being done in the yeare of our Lord, 1532. it followeth moreover the ſame yeare, that divers preachings were in the realme, one contrary to another, concerning the Kings marriage: & in eſpeciall one Thomas Abel clerke, which was the Quenes Chaplen, to pleaſe her withall, both preached and alſo wrote a booke in defence of the ſaid marriage; whereby divers ſimple men were perſwaded. Wherefore the King cauſed to be compiled and reduced into a booke the determination of the Univerſities, with the judgements of great clerks: which booke being printed and ſet abroad did againe ſatiſfie all indifferent and reaſonable perſons, which were not too much wedded to their wils.

Preaching againſt the Kings firſt marriage.

Mention was made a little before, of a Parliament begun the fifteenth day of January, An. 1533. in the which Parliament the Commons had put up a ſupplication, complaining of the ſtrait dealing of the Clergy in their proceeding Ex officio. This complaint although at the firſt it ſeemed not to be greatly tendered of the King, yet in prorogation of the Parliament the time ſo wrought withall, that the King having more cleare underſtanding of the abuſes and enormities of the Clergy, and in eſpeciall of the corrupt authority of the See of Rome, provided certaine acts againſt the ſame. Firſt, as concerning the Lawes, Decrees, Ordinances and Conſtitutions made and eſtabliſhed by the pretenſed authority of the biſhops of Rome, to the advancement of their worldly glory, that who ſo did or ſpake any thing either againſt their uſurped power, or againſt the ſaid Lawes, Decrees, or Conſtitutions of theirs, not approved nor grounded upon holy Scripture, or elſe being repugnant to the Kings prerogative royall, ſhould therefore ſtand in no danger, nor be impeachable of hereſie. And likewiſe touching ſuch conſtitutions, ordinances, and canons provinciall or ſynodall, which were made in this realme in the Convocation of Biſhops being either preſudiciall to the Kings Prerogative, or not ratified before by the Kings aſſent, or being otherwiſe onerous to the King and his ſubjects, or in any wiſe repugnant to the Lawes and Statutes of this realme, they were committed to the judgement of two and thirty perſons choſen by the King out of the higher and lower houſe, to be determined either to ſtand in ſtrength, or to be abrogate at their diſcretions: and further, that all the Clergy of this Realme ſubmitting themſelves to the King, ſhould and did promiſe in verbo Sacerdotii, never hereafter to preſume to aſſemble in their convocations without the Kings writ, or to enact or execute ſuch Conſtitutions without his royall aſſent, &c. Ex Stat. Hen. 8.

The wicked Ex officio, broken by the King. Statut. an. 25. reg. Hen. 8.

An act concerning the pope lawes.

Decrees and conſtitutions provinciall this reaime committed examinatio

Further, in the ſame Parliament was enacted and decreed, that in cauſes and matters happening in contention, no perſon ſhould appeale, provoke, or ſue out of the Kings dominions to the court of Rome, under paine of proviſours, proviſion, or Premunire.

No man to appeale to Rome.

Item, in the ſame Parliament was defined and concluded, that all exportation of Annates and firſt fruits of Archbiſhoprickes and Biſhoprickes out of this realme to the See of Rome for any bulls, breves or palles, or expedition of any ſuch thing, ſhould utterly ceaſe.

Boner in his prologue De vera & falſa obedientia, ſaith that this rave pray of the commeth much ſhame the King venues.

Alſo for the indelking of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, or other of any eccleſiaſticall dignity, ſuch order in the ſaid Parliament was taken, that the K. ſhould ſend a license under the great ſeale, with a letter miſſive to the Prior & Covent, or to the Dean and Chapter

of

of those Cathedrall Churches where the See was vacant: by the vertue of which Licence or letters missive, they within twelve dates should chose the said person nominated by the King, and none other, and that election to stand effectuall to all intents. Which election being done, then the party elect making first his oath and fealty to the King, if it were a Bishop that was elect, then the King by his Letters patents to signifie the said election to the archbishop of that Province, and two other bishops, or else to foure bishops within this realme to be assigned to that office, without any other suing, procuring, or obtaining any Buls, Breves, or other things from the See of Rome.

The manner of Investing by the King.

Moreover, against all other whatsoever intollerable exactions and great summes of money used to be paid out of this realme to the bishop of Rome, in Pensions, censures, Peter-pence, Procurations, fruits, suits for provisions and expeditions of Buls for Archbishops and Bishops, for delegacies and rescripts in causes of contentions and appeales, jurisdictions Legative, also for dispensations, licences, faculties, grants, relaxations, writs called Perinde valere, rehabilitations, abolitions, canonizations, and other infinite sorts of Buls, Breves, and Instruments of sundry natures, the number whereof were tedious particularly to be recited: in the said Parliament it was ordained, that all such uncharitable usurpations, exactions, pensions, censures, portions and Peter-pence wont to be payed to the See of Rome, should utterly surcease, and never more be levied: so that the King with his honourable Counsell should have power and authority from time to time, for the ordering, redresse, and reformation of all manner of Indulgences, privileges, &c. within this realme.

Peterpence stopped from Rome.

¶ Where is to be noted by the way, as touching these Peter-pence aforesaid, that the same were first brought in and imposed by King Ina, about the yeere of our Lord 720. Which Iua King of the West-Saxons caused thorow all his dominion, in every house having a chimney, a penny to be collected and payd to the bishop of Rome in the name of S. Peter, and thereof were they called Peter-pence. *Aide supra.* The same likewise did Offa King of Mercians, after him, about the yeere of our Lord 794. And these Peter-pence ever since, or for the most part, have used of a long custome to be gathered and summoned by the Popes Collectors here in England, from the time of Iua aforesaid, to this Parliament, Anno 1533.

Peterpence how they came, and how long they continued. *Vide supra.*

Aide supra.

Finally, by the authority of the Parliament it was consulted and considered, concerning the Legality of the lawfull succession unto the Crowne, in ratifying and enabling the heires of the Kings body and Quene Anne. In the which Parliament moreover the degrees of marriage plainely and clerely were explained and set forth, such as be expressely prohibited by Gods lawes, as in this table may appeare.

A table of degrees prohibited by Gods Law to marry.

The sonne not to marry the mother nor step-mother.
The brother not to marry the sister.
The father not to marry his sonnes daughter, nor his daughters daughter.
The sonne not to marry his fathers daughter, gotten by his stepmother.
The sonne not to marry his aunt, being either his fathers or his mothers sister.
The sonne not to marry his uncles wife.
The father not to marry his sonnes wife.
The brother not to marry his brothers wife.
No man to marry his wives daughter.
No man to marry his wives sonnes daughter.
No man to marry his wives daughters daughter.
No man to marry his wives sister.

stat. an. 25. H. 8. c. 22.

Degrees prohibited to marry.

All these degrees be prohibited by the Scripture.

All these things thus being defined and determined in this foresaid Parliament, and also being in the same Parliament concluded, That no man of what estate, degree, or condition soever, hath any power to dispence with Gods Lawes, it was therefore by the authority aforesaid, agreeing with the authority of Gods Word, allented, That the marriage aforetime solemnised betweene the King and the Lady Katharine, being before wife to Prince Arthur the Kings brother, and carnally knowne by him (as is above proved) should be absolutely deemed and adjudged to be unlawfull and against the Law of God, and also reputed and taken to be of no value nor effect; and that the separation thereof by Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canturbury, should stand good and effectuall to all intents: and also that the lawfull matrimony betweene the King and the Lady Anne his wife, should be established, approved and ratified for good and consonant to the Lawes of Almighty God. And further also, for the establishing of this Kings lawfull succession, it was fully by the said Parliament adjudged, That the inheritance of the crowne should remaine to the heires of their two bodies, that is, of the King and Quene Anne his wife.

Separation betweene the king and the Lady Katharine by act of parliament.

The marriage betweene the King and Qu. Anne approved by publike parliament.

During the time of this Parliament, before the marriage of Quene Anne, there was one Temse in the common house, which moved the Commons to sue to the King to take the Quene againe into his company; declaring certaine great mischiefes like to ensue thereof, as in bastarding the lady Mary the Kings only child, and divers other inconveniences. Which being reported to the Kings eares, he sent immediately to Sir Tho. Audley, speaker then of the parliament, expressing unto him amongst other matters, that he marvelled much why one of the parliament did so openly speake of the absence of the Quene from him; which matter was not to be determined there, for it touched (said he) his soule, and wished the matrimony were good, for then had he never bene so vexed in conscience. But the Doctors of Universities (said he) have determined the marriage to be void, and detestable before God; which grudge of conscience (he said) caused him to abstaine from her company, and no foolish nor wanton appetite. For I am (said he) 41 yeres old, at which age the lust of man is not so quicke as it is in youth. And saving in Spaine and Portugall it hath not bene seene, that one man hath married two sisters, the one being carnally knowne before: but the brother to marry the brothers wife, was so abhorred amongst all Nations, that I never heard it, That any Christian man so did but my selfe. Wherefore pe see my conscience troubled, and so I pray you report. And so the speaker departing, declared to the Commons the Kings saying.

The heires of King Henry & Quene Anne ratified by parliament.

The. Kings words to Sir Tho. Audley speaker of the Parliament.

Not long after that, the King, belike perceiving the minds of the Clergy not much favouring his Cause, sent for the Speaker againe and twelve of the Common house, having with him eight Lords, and said to them; Welbeloved Subjects, We had thought the Clergy of our Realme had bene our Subjects wholly, but now we have well perceived that they be but halfe our Subjects, yea and scarce our Subjects. For all the Prelates at their Consecration make an oath to the Pope, cleane contrary to the oath that they make unto us, so that they seeme to be his Subjects, and not ours: and so the King, delivering to them the copy of both the othes, required them to invent some order that he might not thus be deluded of his spirituall subjects.

The Kings words to certaine of the common house.

The spirituall men the Popes subiects more then the Kings.

The speaker thus departed, and caused the oathes to be read in the common house, the very tenor whereof here ensueth.

The oath of the Clergy to the Pope.

The oth which the clergy commonly giveth to the Pope.

I John Bishop or Abbat of A. from this houre forward shall be faithfull and obedient to Saint Peter, and to the holy Church of Rome, and to my Lord the Pope, and his successors Canonically entring. I shall not be of counsell nor consent, that they shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken or suffer any violence, or any wrong by any meanes. Their counsell to me credited by them, their messengers or Letters I shall not willingly discover to any person. The Popedome of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and regalities of Saint Peter I shall helpe and retaine, and defend against all men. The Legate of the See Apostolike going and coming, I shall honourably entreate. The rights, honors, priviledges, authorities of the church of Rome, and of the pope and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted, I shall not be in counsell, treaty, or any act, in the which any thing shal be imagined against him or the Church of Rome, their rights, States, honours or powers: and if I know any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and, as soone as I can, I shall advertise him, or such as may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy Fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions and commandements Apostolike, to my power I shall keepe and cause to be kept of other. Heretikes, Schismatiks, and rebels to our holy Father and his successours, I shall resist and persecute to my power. I shall come to the Synod when I am called, except I be letted by a Canonicall impediment. The lights of the Apostles I shall visite personally or by my deputy. I shall not aliene or sell my possessions without the popes Counsell; so God me helpe and the holy Evangelists.

Pope Quondam.

¶ This Oth of the Clergy men, which they were wont to make to the bishop of Rome (now pope quondam) was abolished and made void by Statute, and a new oth ministred & confirmed for the same, wherein they acknowledged the King to be the supreme head under Christ in this Church of England, as by tenour thereof may appeare hereunder ensuing.

The Oath of the Clergy to the King.

The oth of the clergy to the King.

I John B. of A. utterly renounce and clearely forsake all such clauses, words, sentences and grants which I have or shall have hereafter of the popes holinesse, of and for the bishoprike of A. that in any wise hath bene, is, or hereafter may be hurtfull or prejudiciall to your Highnesse, your heires, successours, dignity, priviledge or estate royall: and also I doe sweare that I shall be faithfull and true, and faith and truth I shall beare to you my Soveraigne Lord, and to your heires Kings of the same, of life and lim, and earthly worship above all creatures, to live and die with you and yours against all people; and diligently I shall be attendant to all your needs and businesse, after my wit and power: and your counsell I shall keepe and hold: knowledging my selfe to hold my bishoprike of you onely: beseeching you of restitution of the temporalities of the same: promising (as before) that I shall be faithfull, true, and obediently subject unto your sayd Highnesse, heires, and successours during my life, and the services and other things due to your Highnesse, for the restitution of the temporalties of the same bishoprike, I shall truely doe and obediently performe: So God me helpe and all Saints.

These oathes, thus being recited and opened to the people, were the occasion that the Pope lost all his interest and jurisdiction here in England within short while after. Upon the occasion and reason whereof, the matter falling out more and more against the Pope, Sir Thomas More, of whom mention is made before, being a great maintainer of the Pope, and a heavy troubler of Christs people and now not liking well of this oath, by Gods good worke was enforced to resigne up his Chancellorship, and to deliver up the great Seale of England into the Kings hands. After whom succeeded Sir Thomas Audley, keeper of the great Seale, a man in eloquence and gifts of tongue no lesse incomparable, then also for his godly disposed mind, and favourable inclination to Christs religion, worthy of much commendation.

Sir Thomas More.

Tho. Audly made Lord Chancellor.

These things being done in the Parliament, the King within short time after proceeded to the marriage of the foresaid Lady Anne Bullen, mother to our most noble Queene now, who without all controversie was a speciall comforter and aider of all the professours of Christs Gospell, as well of the learned as the unlearned, her life being also directed according to the same, as her weekely almes did manifestly declare; who besides the ordinary of a hundred crownes, and other apparell that she gave weekely, a yeare before she was crowned, both to men and women, gave also wonderfull much privy almes to widdowes and other poore houlholders continually till she was apprehended, and she ever gave three or foure pound at a time to the poore people, to buy them kine withall, and sent her subamner to the townes about where she lay, that the parishioners should make a bill of all the poore houlholders in their parish, and some townes received seven, eight, or ten pound to buy kine withall, according as the number of the poore in the townes were. She also maintained many learned men in Cambridge. Likewise did the Earle of Wiltshire her father, and the Lord Rochford her brother, and by them these men were brought in favour with the King: of whom some are yet alive and can testifie the same; which would to God they were now as great professours of the Gospell of Christ, as then they appeared to be: which were Doctour Heath, and Doctor Thirlby; with whom was joyned the Lord Paget, who at that present was an earnest protestant, and gave unto one Raynold West Luthers bookes, and other books of the Germains, as Francis. Lambert. de Sectis, and at that time hee read Melanthons Rhetoricke openly in Trinity Hall in Cambridge, and was with his M. Gardiner a maintainer of D. Barnes and all the protestants that were then in Cambridge, and holpe many religious persons out of their cowles.

The marriage of Queene Anne.

The great almes of Qu. Anne.

Heath. Thirlby. L. Paget.

Lord Paget maintainer D. Barnes.

It hath beene reported unto us by divers credible persons which were about this Queen, and daily acquainted with her doings, concerning her liberall and bountifull distribution to the poore, how her grace carried ever about her a certaine little purse out of the which shee was wont daily to scatter abroad some almes to the needy, thinking no day well spent wherein some man had not fared the better by some benefit at her hands. And this I write by the relation of certaine noble personages which were the chiefe and principall of her waiting maids about her, specially the Dutchesse of Richmond by name.

The praise of Qu. Anne.

Also concerning the order of her ladies and gentlewomen about her, one that was her silkwoman, a gentlewoman not now alive, but of great credit and also of fame for her worthy doings, did credibly report, that in all her time she never saw better order among the ladies & gentlewomen of the court, than was in this good Queens daies, who kept her maids & such as were about her so occupied in sowing and working of shirts & smocks for the poore, that neither

The name of this gentleman was Wilkinson

The good rule of the Queen D. Annes time

was

was there seene any idlenesse then among them, nor any leisure to follow such pastimes as daily are seen now adates to raigne in Princes Courts.

The King diuorced from Lady Katharine and from the Pope, both at one time.

Thus the King, being diuorced from the Lady Dowager his brothers wife, married this gracious Lady, making a prosperous and happy change for vs, being diuorced from the foresaid Princesse, and also from the Pope, both at one time. Notwithstanding, as good and godly purposes are neuer without some incommodity or trouble following, so it happened in this diuorcement, that the said Princesse, procuring from Rome the Popes curse, caused both the King and the Realme to be interdicted: Whereof more is hereafter to be spoken.

In the meane time Queene Anne, shortly after her marriage being great with childe, the next yeare following, which was 1533. after the first diuorcement publiquely proclaimed, was crowned with high solemnity at Westminster: and not long after her coronation, the seuenth day of September, shee was brought to bed, and deliuered of a faire Lady: for whose good deliverance Te Deum was sung in all places, and great preparation made for the Christening.

Anno 1533. Queene Anne crowned. Queene Elizabeth borne.

The Maior and his brethren with forty of the chiefe Citizens were commanded to be present, with all the Nobles and Gentlemen. The Kings Palace, and all the walls betweene that and the Friers, was hanged with Arras, and the Friers Church. Also the Font was of siluer, and stood in the middest of the Church, three steps high, which was couered with a fine cloth, and diuers Gentlemen, with aprons and towels about their neckes, gaue attendance about it. Ouer the Font hung a faire Canopy of Crimsin satten fringed with gold. About it was a raile couered with Say. Betweene the Quire and the body of the Church was a close place with a pan of fire to make the child ready in. These things thus ordered, the childe was brought into the hall, and then every man set forward. First the Citizens, two and two: then the Gentlemen, Esquires, and Chapleines. Next after followed the Aldermen, and the Maior alone. Next the Maior followed the Kings Councel. Then the Kings Chappell. Then Barons, Bishops, and Earles. Then came the Earle of Esser, bearing the couered basons gilt. After him, the Marquesse of Exceter, with the taper of Virgin wax. Next him, the Marquesse of Dorset, bearing the salt. Behind him the Lady Mary of Norfolke, bearing the Chrysome, which was very rich of Pearle and Stone. The old Duchesse of Norfolke bare the child in a Mantle of purple Velvet, with a long traine furred with Ermine. The Duke of Norfolke, with his Marshall rod, went on the right hand of the said Duchesse, and the Duke of Suffolke on the left hand. Before them went the Officers of Armes. The Countesse of Kent bare the long traine of the Childes Mantle. Betweene the Countesse and the Child, went the Earle of Wiltshire on the right hand, and the Earle of Darby on the left hand, supporting the said Traine. In the midst ouer the Child, was borne a Canopy by the Lord Rochford, the Lord Vaulx, the Lord William Howard, and the Lord Thomas Howard the elder. In this order they came vnto the Church doore, where the Bishop of London met it, with diuers Abbats and Bishops, and began the obseruances of the Sacrament. The Archbishop of Canturbury was Godfather, and the old Duchesse of Norfolke, and the old Marchionesse of Dorset, widowes, were Godmothers, and the Child was named Elizabeth.

Tenure god. fathers to Queen Elizabeth.

After all things were done at the Church doore, the Childe was brought to the Font and christened. This done, Garter, the chiefe king of Armes, cried aloud; God of his infinite goodnesse, send prosperous life and long, to the high and mighty Princesse of England, ELIZABETH. Then the Trumpets blew, and the Child was brought vp to the Altar, and immediatly confirmed by the Archbishop, the Marchionesse of Exceter being Godmother. Then the Archbishop of Canturbury gaue the Princesse a standing cup of Gold. The Duchesse of Norfolke gaue her a standing cup of Gold, fretted with Pearle. The Marchionesse of Dorset, three gilt Boles pounced, with a Cover. The Marchionesse of Exceter three standing Boles gilt and graven, with a Cover. And so after a solemne banquet ended with Hypocras, Wafers, and such like in great plenty, they returned in like order againe vnto the Court with the Princesse, and so departed.

At the marriage of this Noble Lady, as there was no small joy vnto all good and godly men, and no lesse hope of prosperous successe to Gods true Religion; so in like manner, on the contrary part, the Papists wanted not their malicious and secret attempts, as by the false hypocrisie and feigned holinesse of a false feigned hypocrite, this yeare being espied and found out, may sufficiently appeare what their diuelish deuices and purposes were. For certaine Monks, Friers, and other euill disposed persons, of a diuelish intent, had put into the heads of many of the Kings subiects, That they had a reuelation of God and his Saints, that he was highly displeased with King Henry for the diuorcement of the Lady Katharine: and surmised among other things, That God had reuealed to a Nun, named Elizabeth Barton, whom they called the holy maid of Kent, That in case the King proceeded in the said diuorce, hee should not be King of this Realme one moneth after, and in the reputation of God not one day nor houre. This Elizabeth Barton, by false dissimulation practised and shewed to the people marvellous alteration of her visage and other parts of her body, as if shee had beene wrapt or in a trance, and in those feigned trances, by false hypocrisie (as though shee had beene inspired of God) shee spake many words in rebuking of sinne, and reproving the Gospell, which shee called heresie; and among them vttered diuers things to the great reproach of the King and Queene, and to the establishing of Idolatry, Pilgrimage, and the derogation of Gods Glory. Which her naughtinesse being espied out by the great labour and diligence of the Archbishop of Canturbury, the Lord Cromwell, and Master Hugh Latimer, shee was condemned and put to death, with certaine of her affinity and counsell; in the moneth of April, Anno, 1533. The names of which Conspirators with her were these; Edward Bocking, Monke of Canturbury, Richard Master, Parson of Aldington, John Dering, Monke of Canturbury, Hugh Rich, Frier Marden of the Gray Friers of Canturbury, Richard Risby, Henry Gold, Bachelor of Diuinity, and Parson of Aldermary, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, John Adeson, Priest, his Chapleine, Thomas Laurence, the Bishops Register of Canturbury, Edw. Thwaits, Thomas Abell. Of the which persons, the said Elizabeth Barton, Henry Gold, Richard Master, Edward Bocking, John Dering, Hugh Rich, Richard Risby, were attainted of treason by act of Parliament, and put to execution.

The maid of Kent with her false feigned hypocrisie apprehended. Elizabeth Barton with her false conspirators.

The residue, as Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Thomas Gold, Thom. Laurence, Edw. Thwaits, John Adson, Thomas Abel, being convict and attainted of Misprision, were condemned to prison, and forfeited their goods and possessions to the King. Ex Statut. An. 25. Reg. Hen. 8.

Edward Hall, a Writer of our English stories, making mention of this Elizab. Barton aforesaid, adioyneth next in his booke the narration of one Pavier, or Paby, a notorious enemy (no doubt) to Gods Truth. This Pavier being the Towne-Clerke of the city of London, was a man (saith he) that

A marvellous iudgement of God against Pavier an open enemy to his Word.

that in no case could abide to heare that the Gospel should be in English: insomuch that the said Hall himselfe heard him once say unto him, and to other by swearing a great oath, that if hee thought the Kings highnesse would set forth the Scripture in English, and let it be read of the people by his authority, rather than he would so long live, he would cut his owne throat; but hee broke promise, saith Hall, for hee did not cut his throat with a knife, but with an halter did hang himselfe. Of what mind and intent he so did, God judge.

My information further addeth this, touching the said Pavier or Paby, that hee was a bitter enemy, very busie at the burning of Richard Bainham above mentioned. Who hearing the said Bainham at the stake speaking against Purgatory and transubstantiation; set fire, said hee, to this heretique, and burne him. And as the traine of gunpowder came toward the martyr, hee lifted up his eyes and hands to Heaven, saying to Pavier, God forgive thee, and shew thee more mercy than thou doest to mee. The Lord forgive Sir Thomas More, and pray for mee all good people, and so continued hee praying, till the fire tooke his bowels and his head, &c.

Pavier a bitter enemy against Richard Bainham.

After whose martyrdome, the next yeere following, this Pavier the town-Clerke of the city, went and bought ropes. Which done, hee went up to an high garret in his house to pray, as hee was wont to doe, to a rood which hee had there, before whom hee bitterly wept: and as his owne maid comming up found him so doing, hee bad her take the rusty sword and goe make it cleane, and trouble him no more, and immediatly hee tied up the rope, and hung himselfe. The maids heart still throbbed, and so came up, and found him but newly hanged. Then she having no power to help him, ran crying to the Church to her mistresse to fetch her home. His servants and Clerkes hee had sent out before to Finsbury, and to Walter Edney, Sergeant to the Lord Major, dwelling over Bishopsgate, to tarry for him at Finsbury court till hee came: but hee had dispatched himselfe before, so that they might long looke for him before hee could come. Which was, Anno, 1533.

Pavier a persecutor hanged himselfe.

To this story of Pavier, may also be added the like terrible example of Doctor Forford, Chancellor to the Bishop of London, a cruell persecutor, and a common Butcher of the good Saints of God; who was the condemner of all those aforenamed, which were put to death, troubled or abjured under Bishop Stokesley thorow all the Diocesse of London. This Forford dyed about this present yeere and time: of whose terrible end it was then certainly reported and affirmed, by such as were of right good credit, unto certaine persons, of whom some be yet alive, that hee died suddenly sitting in his chaire, his belly being burst, and his guts falling out before him.

The terrible hand of Gods judgement upon Forford the Bishops Chancellor.

About the same time died also William Warham, Archbishop of Canturbury: in whose roome succeeded Thomas Cranmer, which was the Kings Chapleine, and a great disputer against the unlawfull marriage of Lady Katharine, Princesse Dowager, being then so called by act of Parliament.

The death of William Warham Archbishop of Canturbury. Thom. Cranmer Archbishop of Canturbury.

Wee heard before, how the Parliament had enacted that no person after a certaine day, should appeale to Rome for any cause. Notwithstanding which act, the Queene, now called Princesse Dowager, had appealed to the court of Rome before that act made: so that it was doubted, whether that appeale was good or not. This question was well handled in the Parliament house, but much better in the Convocation house, and yet in both houses it was alleged, yea, and by bookes shewed, that in the Councels of Chalcedon, Africke, Toletane, and divers other famous Councels in the Primitive Church, yea, in the time of S. Augustine, it was affirmed, declared, and determined, that a cause arising in one province, should be determined in the same, and that neither the Patriarch of Constantinople should meddle in causes moved in the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Antioch, nor any Bishop should intermeddle within anothers Province or Country. Which things were so Clerkly opened, and so cunningly set forth to all intents, that every man that had wit, and was determined to follow the truth, and not wilfully wedded to his owne mind, might plainly see, that all appeales made to Rome were clearely voyd, and of none effect. Which Doctrines and Councels were shewed to the Lady Katharine Princesse Dowager; but she (as women love to lose no dignity) ever continued in her old song, trusting more to the Popes partiality, than to the determination of Christs verity.

Queene Katharine appealeth to Rome. Concluded by Councels of the primitive Church, that none should appeale out of their province.

Whereupon the Archbishop of Canturbury, Cranmer above named, accompanied with the Bishops of London, Winchester, Bathe, Lincolne, and divers other great Clerkes in a great number rode to Dunstable, which is six miles from Ampthil, where the Princesse Dowager lay: and there by a Doctor, called Doctor Lee, shee was accited to appeare before the said Archbishop, in cause of Matrimony, in the said towne of Dunstable: and at the day of appearance shee would not appeare, but made default, and so was called peremptorily, every day fifteene daies together, and at the last, for lacke of appearance, and for contumacy, by the assent of all the learned men there being present, shee was divorced from the King, and their marriage declared to be voyd and of none effect: which sentence given, the Archbishop, and all the other returned backe againe.

Lady Katherine solemnly divorced from the King.

¶ Where note, that although their divorce following after the new marriage needed not at all to be made, the first marriage being no marriage at all before God, yet to satisfie the voyce of the people, more than for any necessity, the King was contented, through the perswasions of some, so to doe. For else as touching God and conscience, what great need was there of any divorce, where before God no marriage was to be accounted, but rather an incestuous and detestable adultery, as the act of Parliament doth terme it? But to our matter againe.

A note.

After the dissolution of this first marriage made betweene the King and the Lady Princesse Dowager, shee nevertheless bearing a stout mind, would not yet relent, neither to the determination of the Universities, nor to the censure of the Clergie, nor of the whole Realme; but following the counsell rather of a few Spaniards, to molest the King and the Realme by suite, and meanes made to the Pope, procured certain writings, first of monition and aggravation, then of excommunication and interdiction to be sent downe from Rome, wherein the Pope had interdicted both the King and the whole Realme. But the Popes curser being not the hardiest man, belike, that ever shewed his head, thought it much more sure for him to discharge his popish carriage without the Kings reach, and so keeping himselfe a loofe off (like a prety man) set up his writings in the towne of Dunkirke in Flanders. In the which towne, first upon the North doore of the Church was set up a monition, that the King of England should surcease the suite of divorce; the which John Butler, Clerke, then Commissary of Calice, by commandement, took downe in a night.

Writings set up at Dunkirke against the King.

John Butler of Calice tooke downe the writ at Dunkirke against the King. King Henry and the whole time indicted by the Pope.

After that, before Whitsunweeke, there was set up in the same place an excommunication, aggravation, reaggravation, and interdiction. For the which also, the said Butler by commandement was sent to Dunkirke to take it downe. And because the Councell of Calice would be certified of his diligence therein, they sent a servant of the Lord Lisle, then Deputy of Calice, whose name was

Cranbell,

Cranwell; and upon Wednesday in Whitson weeke, at seven of the clocke in the morning, hee took it downe whole, and brought it with him, and deliuered the same to the Lord Deputy aforesaid: which was about the yeere, 1533.

This being knowne and certified to the King, hee was motioned by his Councell, That such as were about her, and moued her thereunto, should be put from her. And therefore the Duke of Suffolke was sent to Bugden, beside Huntingdon, where the said Lady Katharine lay: who perceiuing her stomacke to continue froward still, in answering him with high words, and suddenly so in a fury to part from him into her priuy chamber, and shut the doore, brake up the order of her Court, and discharged a great sort of her houshold seruants, and yet left her a conuenient number to serue her like a Princesse. They that remained still were sworne to serue her as Princesse only, and not as Quéene: of whom some said, they were once sworne to serue her as Quéen, and otherwise would not serue, and so were dismissed. The other which were sworne to serue her as Princesse, shee vtterly refused for her seruants, and so shee remained with the fewer, liuing after this about the space of two yeeres.

The Lady Katharines Court discharged.

The abolishing of the Pope out of England.

THese things thus finished and dispatched concerning the marriage of Quéene Anne, and diuorce of Lady Katharine Dowager, next followeth the yeere, 1534. In the which was assembled the high Court of Parliament againe, after many prorogations, vpon the third day of February; wherein was made an act of succession, for the more surety of the Crowne: to the which euery person being of lawfull age should be sworne. During this Parliament time, euery Sunday preached at Pauls Crosse a Bishop, which declared the Pope not to be head of the Church.

Anno 1534.

Preaching against the Pope.

After this, Commissions were sent ouer all England, to take the oath of all men and women to the Act of succession. At which few repined, except Doctor Iohn Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, sir Thomas More, late Lord Chancellor, and Doctor Nicolas Wilson, Parson of Saint Thomas Apostles in London. Wherefore these three Persons, after long exhortation to them made by the Bishop of Canturbury at Lambeth, refusing to be sworne, were sent to the Tower, where they remained, and were oftentimes motioned to be sworne: but the Bishop and Sir Thomas More excused them by their Writings, in which they said, That they had written before the said Lady Katharine to be Quéene, and therefore could not well goe from that which they had written. Likewise the Doctor excused, that hee in preaching had called her Quéene, and therefore now could not well vnsay it againe. Howbeit at length hee was well contented to dissemble the matter, and so escaped: but the other two stood against all the Realme in their opinion.

1 Edw. Hall.

The Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More sent to the Tower.

The Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More refuse to be sworne.

From the month of March this Parliament furthermore was prorogued to the third day of November aboue said. At what time, amongst diuers other statutes, most graciously, and by the blessed will of God it was enacted, That the Pope, and all his College of Cardinals, with his pardons and Indulgences, which so long had clogged this Realme of England, to the miserable slaughter of so many good men, and which neuer could be removed away before, was now abolished, eradicate and exploded out of this Land, and sent home againe to their owne countrey of Rome, from whence they came. God be euerlastingly praised therefore, Amen.

¶ An Act concerning the Kings Highnesse to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and to haue authority to reforme and redresse all errors, heresies and abuses in the same. Chap. 1.

ALbeit the Kings Maiesty iustly and rightly is and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognised by the Clergie of this Realme in their Conuocations, yet neuertheless for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of vertue in Christs religion within this Realme of England, and to represse and extirpe all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore vsed in the same: be it enacted by authority of this present Parliament, that the King our Soueraigne Lord, his heires and successors, Kings of this Realme, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called Anglicana Ecclesia, and shall haue and enioy annexed and vnited to the Imperiall crowne of this Realme, as well the title and stile thereof, as all honours, dignities, preheminences, iurisdictions, priuileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities to the said dignity of supreme Head of the same Church belonging and appertaining. And that our said Soueraigne Lord, his heires and successors, Kings of this Realme, shall haue full power and authority from time to time, to visit, represse, redresse, reforme, order, correct, restraine, and amend all such errors, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, whatsoeuer they be, which by any manner of Spirituall authority or iurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, represſed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of vertue in Christs Religion, and for the conseruation of the peace, vnity, and tranquillity of this Realme; any vsage, custome, forreine lawes, forreine authority, prescription, or any thing or things, to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

¶ The Kings Proclamation for the abolishing of the vsurped power of the Pope.

THrusty and Welbeloued, wee greet you well. And whereas not only vpon good and iust and vertuous grounds and respects, edified vpon the Lawes of holy Scripture, by due consultation, deliberation, aduisement, and consent, as well of all other our Nobles and Commons Temporall, as also Spirituall, assembled in our high Court of Parliament, and by authority of the same, wee haue by good and wholesome Lawes and Statutes, made for this purpose, extirped, abolished, separated, and secluded out of this our Realme, the abuses of the Bishop of Rome, his authority and iurisdiction of long time vsurped, as well vpon vs and our Realme, as vpon all other Kings and Princes and their Realmes (like as they themselues haue confessed and affirmed) but also forasmuch as our said Nobles and Commons, both spirituall and temporall, assembled in our high Court of Parliament, haue vpon good, lawfull, and vertuous grounds, and for the publique weale of this our Realme, by one whole assent, granted, annexed, knit, and vnited to the Crowne Imperiall of the same, the title, dignity, and stile of supreme Head or Gouernour in earth, immediatly vnder God, of the Church of England, (as wee be, and vndoubtedly haue hitherto beene: which title and stile both the Bishops and Clergie of this our Realme haue not only, in Conuocation assembled, consented, recognized, and approued lawfully and iustly to appertaine vnto vs, but also by word, oath, profession, and writing vnder their

The Kings Proclamation against the Pope.

The stile of supreme head annexed to the Crowne of England.

their signes and seales, have confessed, ratified, corroborated and confirmed the same, utterly renouncing all other oaths and obedience to any other forreine Potentates, and all forreine jurisdictions and powers, as well of the said Bishop of Rome, as of all other whatsoever they be, as by their said professions and writings corroborated with the subscription of their names, and appension of their seales more plainly appeareth: We let you to wit, that calling to our remembrance the power, charge, and commission given unto us of Almighty God, and upon a vehement love and affection toward our loving and faithfull subjects, perceiving right well what great rest, quietnesse, and tranquillity of conscience, and manifold other commodities might insurge and arise unto them, if that the said Bishops and other of the Clergy of this our Realme should set forth, declare, and preach to them the true & sincere Word of God, and without all manner colour, dissimulation, and hypocrisie, manifest and publish the great and innumerable enormities, and abuses which the said Bishop of Rome, as well in the title and stile, as also in authority and jurisdiction of long time unlawfully and unjustly hath usurped upon us and our progenitors, and also other Christian Princes; have therefore addressed our letters unto the Bishop of the Diocesse, straitly charging and commanding him in the same, that not only he in his owne proper person, shall declare, teach and preach unto the people forthwith upon the receit of our said letters unto him directed, every Sunday and other high feasts through the yere, the true, meere and sincere Word of God; and that the same title, stile, and jurisdiction of supreme head appertaineth only to our Crowne and dignity royall, likewise, as the said Bishop & all other the Bishops of our Realme have by oath affirmed and confirmed by subscription of their names, and setting to their seales, but also give warning, monition, and charge, to all manner Abbats, Priors, Deanes, Archdeacons, Provosts, Parsons, Vicars, Curats, and all other Ecclesiasticall persons, within his said Diocesse, as well to teach, preach, publish, and declare in all manner Churches our foresaid just title, stile, and jurisdiction, every Sunday and high feast through the yere, and further to monish and command all other Schoolemasters within his said Diocesse, to instruct and teach the same unto the children committed unto them, as also to cause all manner prayers, orizons, rubricks, canons of Masse bookes, and all other bookes in the Churches, wherein the said Bishop of Rome is named, or his presumptuous and proud pompe and authority preferred, utterly to be abolished, eradicate and raced out, and his name and memory to be never more (except to his contumely and reproach) remembred, but perpetually suppressed and obscured: and finally, to desist and leave out all such Articles as be in the generall sentence, which is usually accustomed to be read foure times in the yere, and doe tend to the glory and advancement of the Bishop of Rome, his name, title, and jurisdiction.

The Popes name and memory abolished.

Whereupon we esteeming and reputing you to be of such singular and vehement zeale and affection toward the glory of Almighty God, and of so faithfull, loving and obedient heart towards us, as you will not onely doe and accomplish with all power, wisedome, diligence, and labour, whatsoever should or might be to the preferment and setting forward of Gods Word, but also practice, study, and endeavour your selfe, with all your policy, wit, power, and good will, to amplifie, defend, and maintaine all such interest, right, title, stile, jurisdiction, and authority, as is in any wise appertaining unto us, our dignity and prerogative, and crowne Imperiall of this our Realme: have thought good and expedient, not only to signifie unto you by these our letters the particularities of the charge, monition, and commandement given by us unto the said Bishop, as before is specified, but also to require, and straitly charge and command you, upon paine of your allegiance, and as ye shall avoyd our high indignation and displeasure at your uttermost peril, laying apart all vaine affections, respects, or other carnall considerations, and setting onely before your eyes the mirror of truth, the glory of God, the dignity of your Soveraigne Lord and King, and the great concord and unity, and inestimable profit and utility, that shall by the due execution of the premisses insue to your selfe and all other faithfull and loving subjects, ye make or cause to be made diligent search and wait, and especially in every place of your Shirewicke, whether the said Bishop doe truly, and sincerely, and without all manner cloke, colour, or dissimulation, execute, and accomplish our will and commandement, as is aforesaid. And in case ye shall heare, perceive, and approveably understand, and know that the said Bishop, or any other Ecclesiasticall person within his Diocesse, doe omit and leave undone any part or parcell of the premisses, or else in the execution and setting forth of the same, doe coldly and feignedly use any manner sinister addition, wrong interpretation, or painted colour: then We straitly charge and command you, that forthwith upon any such default, negligence, or dissimulation of the said Bishop, or any other Ecclesiasticall person of his Diocesse, contrary to the true tenour, meaning and effect of the said charge by us to him appointed aforesaid, ye doe make indelayedly, and with all speed and diligence, declaration, and advertisement, to us and our Councell, of the said default, and of the behaviour, manner, and fashion of the same.

And forasmuch as We upon singular trust, and assured confidence which We have in you, and for the speciall love and zeale We suppose and thinke ye beare toward us and the publique and commonwealth, unity and tranquillity of this our Realme, have specially elected and chosen you among so many, for this purpose, and have reputed you such men, as unto whose wisedome, discretion, truth and fidelity, We might commit a matter of such great weight, moment, and importance, as whereupon the unity and tranquillity of our Realme doth consist: if ye should contrary to our expectation and trust which We have in you, and against your duty and allegiance towards us, neglect or omit to doe with all your diligence and wisedome, whatsoever shall be in your power for the due performance of our mind and pleasure to you before declared in this behalfe, or halt, or stumble at any part or specialty of the same; be ye assured that We like a Prince of justice will so extremely punish you for the same, that all the world besides shall take by you example, and beware, contrary to their allegiance, to disobey the lawfull commandement of their Soveraigne Lord and Prince in such things, as by the faithfull execution whereof, ye shall not only advance the honour of Almighty God, and set forth the Majesty and Imperiall dignity of your Soveraigne Lord, but also bring an inestimable weale, profit, and commodity, unity and tranquillity to all the common State of this our Realme, whereunto both by the Lawes of God, nature, and man ye be utterly bound.

Given under our Signet, at our Palace of Westminster, the 9. day of June.

Furthermore, That no man shall cavill or surmise this fatall fall and ruine of the Pope to have come rashly upon the Kings owne partiall affection, or by any sensuall temerity of a few, and not by

by the graue and aduised iudgement, approbation, and consent, generally and publiquely, as well of the Nobles and Commons temporall, as also upon substantiall grounds, and the very strength of truth, by the discussion and consultation of the spirituall and most learned persons in this Realm: it shall be requisite moreouer to these premisses to adioyne the words and testimones also of the bishops own oathes and profession made to the King, yelding and rendring unto him only the stile of supreme head next under Christ of the church of England, all other seruice, subiection, and obedience to be given to any other forreigne Potentate, which should be prejudicial to the Kings highnesse in this behalfe, being excluded, and that both frankly and freely, of their own voluntary motion, and also upon the faith and fidelity of their Priesthood, as by their own words and hand-writing may appeare, in forme as hereunder followeth.

The Oath of Stephen Gardener to the King.

The oath of Stephen Gardener to the King.

EGo Stephanus Wintonien. Episcopus, purè, spontè, & absolutè, in verbo pontificio, profiteor ac spondeo Illustrissimæ vestræ Regiæ Majestati, singulari ac summo Domino meo, & patrono, Henrico Dei gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Regi, Fidei defensori, Domino Hiberniæ, atque in terris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ supremo immediatè sub Christo capiti, quòd posthac nulli externo imperatori, Regi, Principi aut Prælato, nec Romano Pontifici (quem Papam vocant) fidelitatem & obedientiam, &c.

In English:

I Stephen Bishop of Winchester doe purely of mine own voluntary accord, and absolutely, in the word of a Bishop, professe and promise to your Princely Maiesty, my singular and chiefe Lord and patron, Henry the eighth by the grace of God, King of England and of France, Defendor of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and in Earth of the Church of England supreme Head immediately under Christ, that from this day forward I shall sweare, promise, giue, or cause to bee given to no forreigne potentate, Emperour, King, Prince, or prelat, nor yet to the B. of Rome, whom they call Pope, any oth or fealty, directly or indirectly, either by word or writing; but at all times, & in every case and condition I shall obserue, hold, and maintaine, to all effects and intents, the quarrell and cause of your royall Maiesty and your successors, and to the uttermost of my power shall defend the same against all manner of persons whomsoeuer I shal know or suspect to bee aduersaries to your Maiesty, or to your successors; and shall giue my Faith, truth, and obedience, sincerely, and with my very heart, only to your royall Maiesty, as to my supreme Prince. I professe the papacy of Rome not to bee ordained of God by holy Scripture, but constantly do affirme, and openly declare, and shall declare it, to be set up only by man, and shall cause diligently other men likewise to publish the same. Neither shall I enter any treatie with any person or persons either priuily or apertly, or shall consent thereto, that the Bishop of Rome shall have or exercise here any authority or iurisdiction, or is to be restored to any iurisdiction hereafter.

Dependent of Cardenet excommunicateth the Pope.

Furthermore, that the said bishop of Rome now being, or any that shall succeed him hereafter in the said See, is not to be called Pope nor supreme Bishop or universall Bishop, nor most holy Lord, but only ought to be called Bishop of Rome, and fellow brother (as the old manner of the most antient Bishops hath been:) this I shall to my power openly maintaine and defend.

And I shall firmely obserue and cause to bee obserued of other, to the uttermost of my cunning, wit, and power, all such Lawes and Acts of this Realm, how and whatsoeuer, as have been enacted and established for the extirpation and suppression of the papacy, and of the authority and iurisdiction of the said bishop of Rome. Neither shall I appeale hereafter to the said Bishop of Rome, nor ever consent to any person that shall appeale to him; neither shall I attempt, prosecute, or follow any suit in the Court of Rome, for any cause of right or iustice to be had, or shall make answer to any plea or action, nor shall take upon mee the person and office either of the plaintife or defendant in the said Court. And if the said Bishop by his Messenger or by his Letters shall make any meanes or signification unto me, of any matter whatsoeuer it be, I shall with all spæd and diligence make declaration and advertisement therof, or cause the same to be signified either to your Princely Maiesty, or to some of your secret Counsell, or to your successors, or any of their priuy Counsell. Neither shall I send or cause to be sent at any time any writing or messenger to the said bishop or to his Court, without the knowledge and consent of your Maiesty or your successors willing me to send writing or messenger unto him. Neither shall I procure, or give counsell to any person to procure bulls, breeves, or rescripts whatsoeuer, either for me or for any other, from the said bishop of Rome or his Court. And if any such shall be procured against my will and knowledge, either in generall or in speciall, or else howsoeuer they shall be granted unto them, I shall utter and disclose the same, and not consent therunto, nor use them in any case, and shall cause them to be brought to your Maiesty, or your successors.

Furthermore, for the confirmation hereof I give my faith and truth by firme promise, and in the faith of a bishop, that against this my foresaid profession and promise made, I shall defend my selfe by no dispensation, exception, nor any remedy or cautell of law or example, during this my naturall life. And if heretofore I have done or made any protestation in preiudice of this my profession and promise here made; the same I do revoke at this present, and for ever hereafter, and here utterly do renounce, by these presents. Wherunto I have subscribed and underwritten the name both of my selfe and of my bishoprick, with my proper hand, and therto also have put to my seale, in perpetuall and undoubted testimony of the premisses.

Given the tenth day of February, Anno 1534. and of our Soveraigne Lord King Henry the eight, twenty six.

Steph. Winton.

¶ The like Oath of John Stokesley Bishop of London.

The oath of Stokesly.

I John Bishop of London do purely and of mine owne voluntary accord, and absolutely in the word of a Bishop, professe and promise to your princely Majesty, my singular and chiefe Lord and patron, Henry the eight, by the grace of God King of England and of France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and in earth of the same Church of England supreme head immediately under Christ, &c. Like to the Oath before.

Ioan. London.

¶ The like Oath and hand-writing of Edward Lee, Archbishop of Yorke.

The oath of Lee, archbishop of Yorke.

I Edward by the permission of God archbishop of Yorke, do purely of mine own voluntary accord,

accord, and absolutely, in the word of a bishop, profesſe and promise to your royall Majesty, my singular and chiefe Lord and patron, &c. In like form to the oath before.

Edovardus Eborac.

The like oth and handwriting of Cuthbert Bishop of Duresme.

The oth of Tonstall of Duresme.

I Cuthbert, by the permission of God bishop of Duresme, doe purely of mine own voluntary accord, and absolutely, in the word of a bishop, profesſe and promise to your royall Majesty, my singular and chiefe Lord and Patron, &c. As before.

Per me Cuthbertum Dunelm.

And so likewise all the other bishops after the same order and forme of oath were obliged and bound to the King, as to the supreme head of the Church of England immediatly under Christ, renouncing and abiuring utterly and voluntarily the Popes too long usurped iurisdiction in this realm, testifying moreover the same both with their own hand, and also with their seale.

Besides these confirmations and testimonials of the bishops aforesayd, ye shall heare yet moreover the decree and publike sentence of the university of Cambridge, written likewise and subscribed, and signed with the publike Seale of their Vniuersity, the tenour of which their Letter here followeth.

A Letter of the Vniuersity of Cambridge against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome.

VNiuersis Sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ filiis, ad quos præsentes literæ perventuræ sunt, cœtus omnis regentium & non regentium Academiæ Cantabrigiensis, salutem in omnium saluatore Iesu Christo. Cum de Romani pontificis potestate, &c.

In English.

A Letter of the Vniuersity of Cambridge.

TO all and singular children of the holy mother Church, to whose hands these presents shall come, the whole society of regents and not regents of the Vniuersity of Cambridge, sendeth greeting in our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Whereas now of late it hath risen up in question among us, concerning the power of the bishop of Rome, which hee doth both claime to himselfe by the holy Scripture over all Prouinces and Nations in Christendome, and hath now of long time exercised in this Realm of England; and forasmuch as our censure concerning the cause is required, to wit, Whether the bishop of Rome hath any power or authority in this Kingdome of England allotted to him by God in the Scripture, more than any other forrein bishop, or no: We thought it therfore good reason, and our duty for the searching out of the verity of the said question, that we should employ therein our whole endevour and study, whereby we might render and publish to the world, what our reason and censure is touching the premisses. For therefore we suppose, that Vniuersities were first provided and instituted of Princes, to the end that both the people of Christ might in the Law of God be instructed, and also that false errours, if any did rise, might through the vigilant care and industry of learned divines be discussed, extinguished, and utterly rooted out. For the which cause we in our assemblies and Convocations (after our accustomed manner) resorting and conferring together upon the question aforesayd, and studiously debating and deliberating with our selves how and by what order we might best proceed for the finding out of the truth of the matter; and at length chusing out certain of the best learned Doctours and Bachelers of Divinity, and other masters, have committed to them in charge, studiously to insearch and peruse the places of holy Scripture, by the viewing and conferring of which places together, they might certifie us what is to bee sayd to the question propounded.

The censure the Vniuersity of Cambrid against the Popes supremacy.

Forasmuch therefore, as we having heard, and well advised, and throughly discussed in open disputations, what may be sayd on both parts of the foresayd question, those reasons and arguments doe appeare to us more probable, stronger, truer, and more certaine, and sounding much more neere to the pure and native sense of Scriptures, which do deny the bishop of Rome to have any such power given him of God in the Scripture. By reason & force of which arguments wee being perswaded, and consopning together in one opinion, have with our selves thus decreed to answer unto the question aforesayd, and in these writings thus resolutely doe answer in the name of the whole Vniuersity, and for a conclusion undoubted doe affirme, approve, and pronounce, that the bishop of Rome hath no more State, authority, and iurisdiction given him of God in the Scriptures, over this Realm of England, than any other externe Bishop hath. And in testimony and credence of this our answer and affirmation, we have caused our common seale to be put to these our foresayd Letters accordingly.

The Bishop Rome hath more state England th hath any oth Bishop.

At Cambridge in our regent house: Anno Dom. 1534.

Steph. Wint. *De vera obedientia.*

Steph. Wi *De vera obe entia.*

YOu have heard before of Stephen Gardiner, of Lee, of Tonstall, and of Stokesley, how of their voluntary minde they made their profession unto the King, every one severally, taking and accepting a corporall oath, utterly and for ever to renounce and reiect the usurped superiority of the Bishop of Rome. Now for a further testimony and declaration of their iudgements and opinions which then they were of, following the force both of truth and of time then present, yee shall heare over and beside their oaths, what the foresayd Bishops in their own Bookes, Prologues, and Sermons doe write, and publish abroad in Print, touching the sayd cause of the Popes Supremacy.

And first, God willing, to begin with Stephen Gardeners Booke De vera obedientia, wee will briefely note out a few of his own words, wherein with great Scriptures and good deliberation he not only confuteth the Popes usurped authority, but also prooveth the marriage betweene the King and Queen Katharin his brothers wife not to bee good nor lawfull, in these words.

Steph. W against the marriage of t King with t brothers W in his books *De vera ob entia.*

Of the which morall precepts in the old Law, to speake of some (for to rehearse all it needs not) the Leviticall precepts touching forbidden & incestuous mariages, as far as they concern chast & pure wedlock, wherein originall of mans increase consisteth, are alwaies to bee reputed of such sort, that although they were first given to ỹ Iewes, yet because they appertain to the law of nature, & expound the same more plainly to us, therefore they belong as well to all manner of people of the whole world for evermore. In which doubtles, both the voice of nature and Gods commandement agreeing in one have forbidden that which is contrary and divers from the one & from the other. And amongst these sith there is commandement that a man shall not marry his brothers wife, what could the Kings excellent Majesty doe otherwise, than he did by the whole

Steph. Winc. against the marriage with his brothers wife.

whole consent of the people, and judgement of his Church, that is, to be divorced from unlawful marriage, and use lawfull and permitted copulation and obeying (as mete it was) conformably unto the commandement, cast off her, whom neither Law nor right permitted him to retaine, and take him to chast and lawfull marriage? Wherein although the sentence of Gods Word (whereunto all things ought to stoope) might have sufficed; yet his Majesty was content to have the assisting consents of the most notable grave men, and the censures of the most famous Universities of the whole world; and all to the intent that men should see he did both that he might doe, and ought to doe uprightly, seeing the best learned and most worthy men have subscribed unto; shewing therein such obedience as Gods Word requireth of every good and godly man; so as it may be said, That both hee obeyed God, and obeyed him truly. Of which obedience, forasmuch as I am purposed to speake, I could not passe this thing over with silence, whereof occasion so commodiously was offered me to speake.

Winchesters reasons against the Popes supremacy.

Steph. Winc. Lutherane his booke *de vera obedientia.*

MOreover, the said Gardener in the forenamed booke De vera Obedientia, what constancy hee pretendeth, what arguments he inferreth, how earnestly and pithily he disputeth on the Kings side against the usurped state of the bishop of Romes authority, by the words of his booke it may appeare: whereof a briefe collection here followeth.

The sword of the Church how farre it reacheth.

IN the processe of his foresaid booke, he alledging the old distinction of the Papists, wherein they give to the Prince the regiment of things temporall and to the Church of things spirituall, comparing the one to the greater light, the other to the lesser light, he confuteth and derideth the same distinction, declaring the sword of the Church to extend no farther, than to teaching and excommunication, and referreth all preheminence to the sword of the Prince: alledging for this the second Psalme; And now you Kings be wise, and be learned ye that judge the earth, &c.

Psal. 2.

2 Par. 28.

Exod. 32.

Also the example of Salomon, who being a King, according to his fathers appointment ordained the offices of the Priests in their ministeries, and Levites in their order, that they might give thankes, and minister before the Priests, after the order of every day, and Porters in their divisions gate by gate.

3 Reg. 22.

And speaking more of the said Salomon, he saith: For so commanded the man of God, neither did the Priests nor Levites omit any thing of all that he had commanded, &c.

Beside this, he alledgeth also the example of King Ezechias, 2. Paralip. 28. He alledgeth moreover the example and fact of Justinian, which made lawes touching the faith, bishops, clerkes, heretiques and such other.

Aaron (saith he) obeyed Moses. Salomon gave sentence upon Abiathar the high Priest.

1 Mach. 10.

1 Mach. 14.

Alexander the King, in the first of Machabées writeth thus to Jonathas; Now have we made thee this day the High-priest of thy people, &c. So did Demetrius to Simon.

Mat. 16.

Then comming to the words of Christ spoken to Peter, Matthew 16. upon which words the Pope pretendeth to build all his authority: to this he answereth, That if Christ by those words had limited to Peter any such speciall state or preheminence above all Princes, then were it not true that is written; Cœpit Iesus docere & facere; forasmuch as the words of Christ should then be contrary to his owne facts and example, who in all his life never usurped either to himselfe any such domination above Princes, shewing himselfe rather subject unto Princes; nor yet did ever permit in his Apostles any such example of ambition to be seene; but rather rebuked them for seeking any manner of majority amongst them.

The Kings stile and title approved by Steph. Winc.

And where hee reasoneth of the Kings stile and title, being called the King of England and of France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and supreme head in earth of the Church of England immediately under Christ, &c. Thus he addeth his mind and censure, saying, that he seeth no cause in this title, why any man should be offended, that the King is called head of the Church of England, rather then of the realme of England; and addeth his reason thereunto saying, If the Prince and King of England be the head of his Kingdome, that is, of all English men that be his subjects, is there any cause why the same English subjects should not be subject to the same head likewise in this respect because they are Christians, that is to say, for the title of godlinesse, as though that God, which is the cause of all obedience, should now be the cause of rebellion.

At length thus he concludeth with an exclamation saying, To say (saith he) that a King is the head of the Kingdome, and not of the Church, what an absurd and a foolish saying is this?

The King is as well the head of the Church, as of his Kingdome.

And further, adding for example the subjection of the servant and wife: If the servant (saith he) be subject to his master, or wife to her husband, being Infidels, doth their conversion afterward, or name of Christians, make them lesse subjects then they were before? As religion therefore doth not alter the authority of the master over the servant, nor of the husband over the wife; no more (saith he) doth it betweene the Prince and subjects.

Paul making no exception nor distinction of subjection, save onely of that which belongeth to God, willeth all men to obey their Princes; And what Princes? Those Princes which beare the sword. And although wee are bound by the Scriptures to obey our bishops and spirituall pastors of the Church, yet that obedience diminisheth nothing the chiefe and head authority that ought to be given to the Prince, no more than the obedience of the servant to his master, or of the wife to her husband exempteth them from subjection due to their superior powers.

A rule of the Law.

And herewithall he inferreth a principle of the Law: Divers jurisdictions (saith hee) proceeding from one person doe not marry nor hinder themselves, but rather doe confirme and fortifie one another.

Againe, whereas the bishop of Rome under the name of Peter doth appropriate to himselfe the highest place in the Church, for that he is the successor of Peter: thereunto hee answereth in one word, but in that one word he answereth enough, and to the full: I would (saith he) he were; for so in very deed hee might well exceed and passe all Kings and Princes, if not in preheminency of dignity, yet in admiration and excellency of vertue. In which kind of superiority the Lord Christ would his Apostles and Ministers to goe before all Kings and Emperors in the whole world.

Winchesters wish that the Pope were Peters successor. Argument. The prerogative was given to him which confessed. Flesh and bloud in Peter did not confesse Christ. Ergo, the prerogative was not given to the flesh and bloud of Peter.

After this, in prosecuting the argument of Peters confession, he argueth thus and saith; That as flesh and blood did not reveale to Peter that confession, so neither was that prerogative given to the flesh and blood of Peter, but to the better part, that is, to the spirit of Peter, which is to meane, in respect of the spirituall confession of Peter, and not in respect of any carnall place or person, &c.

Item, If the Scholler ought not to be above the master, how then could either Peter take that upon him, which Christ his master so constantly did refuse; or how can the Bishop of Rome now claime

that by ſucceſſion, whereof no example is to be found either in the head, or his predeceſſour before him? for ſo we read in Euſebius, both of Peter, James, and John, that they did arrogate no ſuch primacy unto them, but were content that James, ſurnamed Iuſtus, ſhould bee the Biſhop of the Apoſtles.

Primatus or Primacy, what it ſignifieth.

And as for the name and ſignification of the word Primatus, i. Primacy, if it be taken for the firſt nomination, or the firſt place given, ſo he granteth that Peter had the preferment of the firſt name and place in the order of the Apoſtles. But it followeth not, that with this primacy he had alſo a kingdome given. And though he were bid of the Lord to confirme his brethren, yet was he not bid to exerciſe an impery upon his brethren; for ſo were they not his brethren, but his ſubjects.

He ſaith confirme thy brethren, but not thy ſubiects.

Primus Primatus. I Primacy meaneth as much as the firſt ſtanding in vocation, and is the name of vertue, and not of power.

That Peter was Primus, that is, firſt or chiefe in the number of them which confeſſed Chriſt, it is not to be denied. For firſt he confeſſed, firſt he taught the Iewes, firſt he ſtood in defence of the verity, and was the firſt and chiefe prolocutor among them: but yet that maketh not, that he ſhould therefore vindicate a generall primacy and rule over all other ſtates, and poteſtates of the world, no more then Apelles, becauſe he is noted the firſt and chiefe of all Painters, therefore ought to beare rule over all Painters; or becauſe the Univerſity of Paris is nominate for the firſt and chiefe of other Univerſitie, ſhall therefore the French King, and all other Princes in their publike adminiſtration, wherein they are ſet of God, become ſubjects and underlings to that Univerſity?

Thus after many other reaſons and perſwaſions contained in the ſaid booke De obedientia (for I doe but ſuperficially ſkim over the top onely of his probations and arguments) finally in the end of his peroration, he concludeth the whole ſumme of his mind, in this effect; firſt, denying that the biſhop of Rome had ever any ſuch externe juriſdiction aſſigned to him abſolutely from God, to raigne over Kings and Princes. For the probation whereof he hath alledged ſufficiently, as he ſaith, the examples and doings of Chriſt himſelfe, which ought to be to us all a ſufficient document.

And as concerning the terme of Primacy, albeit it be uſed ſometime of the Fathers, yet the matter being well conſidered and rightly expounded, maketh nothing for the large dominion of the biſhop of Rome, which now he doth uſurpe.

Alſo as for the prerogatives granted unto Peter, by the which prerogatives our Sauiour would crowne his owne gifts given unto him, crowning not the fleſh and blood of Peter, but the marvellous teſtimony of his confeſſion, all this maketh nothing for the Popes purpoſe.

Succeſſion of Peter.

Likewiſe as concerning the locall ſucceſſion of Peter, the Pope hath nothing thereby to claime. If he will be ſucceſſour of Peter, he muſt ſucceed him in faith, doctrine, and conditions; and in ſo doing, he neither will, neither yet ſhall need to ſeeke for honour, but ſhall bee honoured of all good men, according as a good man ſhould be, and that much more than hee being a good man would require.

Steph. Mint. taketh his vale of the Pope, but not his ultimum vale.

And thus Stephen Mincheſter taking his leave & bidding the Pope farewell, endeth with a friendly exhortation, willing him to be wiſe and circumſpect, and not to ſtrive ſtubbornly againſt the truth. The light of the Goſpell, ſaith he, ſo ſpreadeth his beames in all mens eyes, that the workes of the Goſpell be knowne, the myſteries of Chriſts doctrine are opened, both learned and unlearned, men and women being Engliſhmen borne, doe ſee and perceive, that they have nothing to doe with Rome, nor with the biſhop of Rome, but that every Prince in his owne dominion is to be taken and accepted as a Vicar of God, and Vicegerent of Chriſt in his owne bounds. And therefore ſeeing this order is taken of God, and one in the Church ſhould beare the office of teaching, another ſhould beare the office of ruling (which office is onely limited to Princes) he exhorteth him to conſider the truth, and to follow the ſame, wherein conſiſteth our true and ſpeciall obedience, &c.

The office of teaching.

The office of ruling.

To this booke of Stephen Mincheſter De obedientia we will adjoyne for good fellowſhip the preface alſo of Edmund Boner, Archdeacon then of Leiceſter, prefixed before the ſame, to the intent that the reader ſeeing the judgements of theſe men as they were then, and againe the ſudden mutation afterward of the ſaid parties to the contrary opinion, may learne thereby what vaine glory and pompe of this world can worke in the fraile nature of man, where Gods grace lacketh to ſuſtaine. The Preface of Boner, before the ſaid booke of Mincheſter De obedientia, proceedeth thus in effect, as followeth.

The Preface of *Edmund Boner* Archdeacon of Leyceſter, prefixed before *Stephen Gardeners* booke, *De vera obedientia.*

Boners preface before Mincheſters booke of obedience.

FOraſmuch as ſome there be no doubt (as the judgements of men be alwaies variable) which thinke the controverſie which is betweene the Kings royall Majeſty, and the biſhop of Rome, conſiſteth in this point, for that his Majeſty hath taken the moſt excellent and moſt vertuous Lady Anne to wife, which in very deed is farre otherwiſe, and nothing ſo: to the intent therefore that all true hearty favourers of the Goſpell of Chriſt, which hate not, but love the truth, may the more fully underſtand the chiefe point of the controverſie, and becauſe they ſhall not be ignorant what is the whole voyce and reſolute determination of the beſt and greateſt learned biſhops, with all the Nobles and commons of England, not onely in that cauſe of matrimony, but alſo in defending the doctrine of the Goſpell: here ſhall be publiſhed the oration of the biſhop of Wincheſter (a man excellently learned in all kind of learning) entituled *De vera obedientia*, that is, concerning true obedience. But as touching this biſhops worthy praiſes, there ſhall be nothing ſpoken of me at this time, not only becauſe they are infinit, but becauſe they are farre better knowne to all Chriſtendome, then becommeth me here to make rehearſall. And as for the oration it ſelfe (which as it is moſt learned, ſo is it moſt elegant) to what purpoſe ſhould I make any words of it, ſeeing it praiſeth it ſelfe enough, and ſeeing good Wine needeth no Taverne buſh to utter it? but yet in this oration, whoſoever thou art, moſt gentle Reader, thou ſhalt beſide other matters ſee it notably and learnedly handled, of what importance, and how invincible the power and excellency of Gods truth is, which as it may now and then be preſſed of the enemies, ſo it cannot poſſibly be oppreſſed and darkned after ſuch ſort, but it ſheweth it ſelfe againe at length more glorious and more welcome. Thou ſhalt ſee alſo touching obedience, that it is ſubject to truth, and what is to be judged true obedience. Beſides this, of mens traditions, which for the moſt part be moſt repugnant againſt the truth of Gods Law. And there by the way, he ſpeaketh of the Kings ſaid highneſſe marriage, which by the ripe judgement, authority, and priviledge of the moſt and principall Vniverſities of the World, and then with the conſent of the whole Church of England, he contracted with the moſt excellent, and moſt Noble Lady Queene Anne. After that, touching the Kings Majeſties title, as pertaining to the ſupreme head of the Church of England. Laſt of all, of the falſe pretenſed ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome

Queene Anne.

The doctrine of the Goſpell.

See how the clawbacks are cling together in truth and falſehood, all to fatch themſelves the world, the time ſent.

Mens traditions.

The contents of Mincheſters booke De vera obedientia.

The King marriage to Queene Anne.

in

Supreme head. The Bishop of Romes pretensed supremacy.

in the Realme of England most justly abrogated: and how all other Bishops being fellowlike to him in their function, yea and in some points above him within their own Provinces, were before time bound to the King by their oath.

But be thou most surely perswaded of this, good Reader, That the Bishop of Rome, if there were no cause else but onely this marriage, would easily content himselfe, specially having some good morsell or other given him to chew upon. But when he seeth so mighty a King, being a right vertuous and a great learned Prince, so sincerely and so heartily favour the Gospell of Christ, and perceiving the yearely and great prey (yea so large a prey, that it came to as much almost as all the Kings revenues) snapped out of his hands, and that he can no longer exercise his tyranny in the Kings Majesties Realme (* alas heretofore too cruell and bitter) nor make Lawes, as he hath done many, to the contumely and reproch of the Majesty of God, which is evident that he hath done in time past, under the title of the Catholique Church, and the authority of Peter and Paul (when notwithstanding he was a very ravening Wolfe, dressed in Sheeps clothing, calling himselfe the servant of servants) to the great damage of the Christian Commonwealth: here, here began all the mischiefe, thereof rose these discordes, these deadly malices, and so great and terrible bustling; For if it were not thus, could any man beleeve that this Iupiter of Olympus, (which falsely hath arrogated unto himselfe an absolute power without controllement) would have wrought so diligently by all meanes possible, to stir up all other Kings and Princes so traiterously against this so good and godly and so true Gospell-like Prince, as he hath done? Neither let it move thee (gentle Reader) that Winchester did not before now apply to this opinion: for he himselfe in this Oration sheweth the cause why he did it not. And if he had said never a word, yet thou knowest well what a witty part it is for a man to suspend his judgement, and not to be too rash in giving of sentence. It is an old said saw; Mary Magdalen profited us lesse in her quicke beleefe that Christ was risen, than Thomas that was longer in doubt. A man may rightly call him Fabius, that with his advised taking of leisure restored the matter. Albeit I speake not this as if Winchester had not bolted out this matter secretly with himselfe before hand (for he without doubt tried it out long agoe) but that running faire and softly hee would first with his painefull study plucke the matter out of the darke, although of it selfe it was cleere enough, but by reason of sundry opinions it was lapped up in darkenesse, and then did he debate it wittily to and fro; and so at last after long and great deliberation had in the matter, because there is no better counsellor than leisure and time, hee would resolutely with his learned and consummate judgement confirme it.

Boner knew well what mortall would best please his father of Rome, and what money and tribes would done stop his mouth.

Seeing thou nowest the doone to bee such a cruell tyrant, why then wouldest thou against thy knowledge become his daughter man?

Hee writeth against the Pope with bolted iudgement.

Thou shouldest, gentle Reader, esteeme his censure and authority to be of more weighty credence, inasmuch as the matter was not rashly and at all adventures, but with iudgement (as thou seest) and with wisedom examined and discussed. And this is no new example, to be against the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, seeing that not onely this man, but many men of tentimes, yea and right great learned men afore now, have done the same even in writing, whereby they both painted him out in his right colours, and made his sleights, falshood, frauds and deceitfull wyles openly knowne to the world. Therefore if thou at any time heretofore have doubted either of true obedience, or of the Kings Maiesties marriage, or title, or else of the Bishop of Romes false pretended supremacy, as if thou haddest a good smelling nose, and a sound iudgment, I thinke thou diddest not: yet having read this oration, (which, if thou favour the truth, and hate the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and his satanicall fraudulent falsehood, shall doubtlesse wonderfully content thee) forsake thine error, and acknowledge the truth now freely offered thee at length, considering with thy selfe, that it is better late so to do, than never to repent. Fare thou heartily well, most gentle Reader, and not only love this most valiant King of England and of France, who undoubtedly was by the providence of God born to defend the Gospell, but also honor him and serve him most obediently. As for this Winchester, who was long agoe without doubt reputed among the greatest learned men, give him thy good word, with highest commendation.

The end of Bishop Boners prologue.

Note. The inconstant inurability of Winchester and Boner.

What man reading and advising this Booke of Winchester, De vera Obedientia, with Boners preface before the same, would ever have thought any alteration could so worke in mans heart, to make these men thus to turne the Cat (as they say) in the pan, and to start so suddenly from the truth so manifestly known, so pithily proved, so vehemently defended, and (as it seemed) so faithfully subscribed? If they dissembled all this that they wrote, subscribed, and sware unto: what perjury most execrable was it before God and man? If they meant good faith, & spake then as they thought, what pestilent blindnesse is this so suddenly fallen upon them, to make that false now, which was true before, or that to bee now true, which before was false? Thus to say and unsay, and then to say again, to doe & undo, and as a man would say to play fast and loose with truth, truly a man may say is not the doing of a man which is in any case to bee trusted, whatsoever hee doth or saith. But here a man may see what man is of himselfe, when Gods good humble spirit lacketh to bee his guid.

The sermon of Tonstall before the King, made on Palme Sunday.

Furthermore, to adde unto them the iudgement also and arguments of Tonstall Bishop of Duresme, let us see how hee agreeth with them, or rather much exceedeth them, in his sermon made before King Henry upon Palme Sunday, remaining yet in Print: in the which sermon disputing against the wrongfull supremacy of the bishop of Rome, hee proves by manifest grounds most effectuously, both out of the Scripture, antient Doctors, and of councels, not only that the Bishop of Rome hath no such authority by the Word of God committed to him, as hee doth challenge; but also in requiring and challenging the same hee reproveth and condemneth him with great zeale and ardent spirit, to be a proud Lucifer, disobedient to the ordinary powers of God set over him, contrary to Christ and Peter: and finally, in raising up war against us for the same, he therefore rebuketh and defieth him, as a most detestable sower of discord, and a murderer of Christian men.

That Popes and Bishops ought to bee subiect to their soveraignes. 1 Pet. 2.

FIrst by the Scripture he reasoneth thus, and proveth, That all good men ought to obey the Potestates and Governors of the world, as Emperors, Kings, and Princes of all sorts, what name soever the said supreme powers do beare or use for their countries in which they be, for so S. Pet. doth plainly teach us, 1 Pet. 2. saying, Be yee subject to every humane creature for Gods cause, whether it bee King, as chiefe head, or Dukes or Governors, &c. So that S. Peter in his Epistle commandeth all worldly Princes in their office to be obeyed as the Ministers of God, by all christian men: and according unto the same, S. Paul, Rom. 13. saith, Let every living man be subject to the high powers: for the high powers be of God, and whosoever resisteth the high powers, resisteth the ordinance of God, and purchaseth thereby to himselfe damnation.

Whosoever resisteth the high powers resisteth God.

And in the same place of Tonstall it followeth. And lest men should forget their duty of obedience to their Princes, it is thrice repeated, That they bee the ministers of God, whose place in their governance they represent: so that unto them all men must obey, Apostles, Patriarches, Primats, Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and all of the Clergy, &c. And therefore, saith he, the bishop of Rome, oweth to his Soveraigne and superiour like subiection by the Word of God, taught unto us by Peter and Paul, as other bishops doe to their Princes, under whom they be, &c.

Also, an other expresse commandement we have of Christ, Luke 22. who upon the occasion of his disciples striving for superiority, discussed the matter, saying on this wise, The Kings of the people and Nations have dominion over them, and those that have power over them be called gracious Lords, but so it shall not bee amongst you: but whosoever amongst you is the greater, shall bee as the younger; and whosoever amongst you shall bee chiefe, shall bee as a servant and a Minister, &c. Luke 22.

And againe, Christ speaking to Pilate of his Kingdome, declareth that his Kingdome is not of this World, and therefore saith Tonstall, those that goe about to make of Christs spirituall Kingdome a worldly Kingdome, doe fall into the errour of some heretikes that loke that Christ, after the day of iudgement, shall raigne with all his Saints here in the Earth carnally in Jerusalem, the Iewes doe beleeve that Messias is yet to come, and when hee shall come, hee shall raigne worldly in Ierusalem. John 18.

By these and such other places it may well appeare, that Christ neither before his incarnation, (as Tonstal saith) nor after his incarnation, did ever alter the authority of worldly Kings and Princes, but by his own word commanded them still to bee obeyed of their subiects, as they had been in the ancient time before, &c. and for example of the same hee alledgeth first the example of Christ himselfe, Matth. 22. who being asked of the Iewes, whether they should give tribute to Cæsar or no, hee bad them give to Cæsar those things that be his, and to God those things that bee his; signifying, that tribute was due to Cæsar, and that their soules were due to God, &c. Matth. 22. Examples of Christs humble subiection.

Also in the seventeenth of Matthew it appeareth that Christ bad Peter pay tribute for him and his Disciples, when he was demanded of him. And why? Because hee would not change the order of obeysance to worldly Princes due by their Subiects, &c. Matth. 17.

Another example of Christ he citeth out of the 6. of Iohn, where after Christ had fed five thousand and more, with a few Loaves, and fewer Fishes, and that the Iewes would have taken him and made him their King, hee fled from them, and would not consent unto them: For the Kingdom, saith he, that hee came to set heere in Earth, was not a worldly and temporall Kingdom, but an Heavenly and spirituall Kingdom, that is, to raigne spiritually by grace and faith in the hearts of all Christian and faithfull people, of what degree, or of what nature soever they be, and to turne all people and nations, which at his comming were carnall and lived after the lusts of the flesh, to be spirituall, and to live after the lusts of the spirit, that Christ with his Father of Heaven might raigne in the hearts of all men, &c. John. 6.

And heere in these examples of Christs humility farther is to be noted, how Christ the Sonne of God did submit himselfe not only to the rulers and powers of this world, but also dejected himselfe, and in a manner became servant to his own Apostles: so far off was he from all ambitious and pompous seeking of worldly honor: for so it appeared in him, not only by washing the feet of his Apostles, but also the same time a little before his passion, when the Apostles fell at contention among themselves, who among them should be superiour, he setting before them the example of his own subiection asketh this question: Who is superior; hee that sitteth at the Table, or hee that serveth at the Table? Is not hee Superiour that sitteth? but I am amongst you, as hee that ministreth, and serveth &c. Luke 22.

The like examples Tonstall also inferreth of Peters humility. For where we read in the Acts, how the Centurion, a noble man of great age, did prostrate himselfe upon the ground at the feet of Peter; then Peter, not suffering that, eft-soones tooke him up and bad him rise, saying, I am also a man as thou art. Examples of Peters subiection. Acts 10.

So likewise did the Angell, Apocalyps nineteen, and the 22. to whom when John would have fallen down to have adored him which shewed him those visions, the Angell sayd unto him: See thou doe not so; for I am the servant of God, as thou art, &c. Apoc. 19. 22

Againe, in the foresayd Peter, what an example of reverent humility is to be seen in this, that notwithstanding hee with other Apostles having his commission to goe over all the world, yet nevertheless he being at Ioppa, and sent for by Cornelius, durst not go unto him, without the vision of a sheete let downe from Heaven, by the which vision he was admonished not to refuse the Gentiles: or else he knew in himselfe no such primacy over all people and places given unto him, nor no such commission so large above the other, &c.

Furthermore, the sayd Peter, being rebuked of Paul his fellow brother, tooke no scorne thereof, but was content, submitting himselfe to due correction.

But here sayth Tonstall, steppeth in the bishop of Rome and sayth, that Peter had authority given him above all the residue of the Apostles, and alledgeth the words of Christ spoken to him, Matth. the sixteenth. Thou art Peter, and upon this Rocke I will build my Church, and will give to thee the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt binde upon Earth, shall bee bound in Heaven. This sayd Christ, sayth the Pope, and Saint Peter is buried at Rome, whose successour I am, and ought to rule the Church, as Peter did, and to be porter of Heaven gates, as Peter was, &c. The Popes objections. Matth. 16.

And Christ sayd also to Peter after his resurrection, Feed my sheepe; which he spake to him only, so that thereby he had authority over all that be of Christs flock; and I, as his successour, have the same. And therefore whoso will not obey me, King or Prince, I will curse him, and deprive him of his Kingdome of Seigniory: for all power is given to me that Christ hath, and I am his Vicar General as Peter was here in earth over all, and none but I, as Christ is in Heaven. John. 21. The ambition & pride of the Pope.

This ambitious and pompous obiection, sayth Tonstall, of the Pope and his adherents, hath of late yeares much troubled the world, and made dissension, debate, and open war in all parts of Christendome, and all by a wrong interpretation of the Scripture. Who if he would take those places after the right sense of them, as both the Apostles themselves taught us, and all the ancient best learned interpreters do expound them, the matter were soone at a point. But otherwise, sith they pervert the Scripture, and preach another Gospell in that point to us, then ever the Apostles preached, we have therein a generall rule to follow: That though an Angell came from Heaven, and would tell us such new expositions of those places, as are now made, to turne the words, which were spoken for spirituall authority of preaching the Word of God and The Scriptures falsly perverted by the Pope. Galath. 1.

and ministring of the Sacraments, to a worldly authority, we ought to reject him, as Saint Paul willeth us, Galat. 1.

To open therefore the true sence of the Scripture in the places afore said, and first to begin with the sixteenth chapter of Matthew: here is to be observed, that the question being put in generall of Christ to all his Apostles, what they thought or judged of him; Peter answering for them all (as he was alwaies ready to answer) said, Thou art Christ the Sonne of the living God. To whom Jesus answered againe; Blessed be thou Simon the sonne of Iona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven: And I say unto thee, thou art Peter, and upon this Rocke will I build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevaile against it. That is to say, Upon this rocke of thy confession of me to be the sonne of God I will build my Church; for this faith containeth the whole summary of our faith and salvation, as it is written, Romans 10. The Word of faith that we doe preach is at hand, in thy mouth and in thine heart. For if thou confesse with thy mouth our Lord Iesus Christ, and with thy heart do beleeve that God raised him from death to life, thou shalt be saved, &c. And this confession being first uttered by the mouth of Peter, upon the same confession of his, and not upon the person of Peter, Christ buildeth his Church, as Chrysostome expoundeth that place in the 26 sermon of the Feast of Penticost; saying; Not upon the person of Peter, but upon the faith Christ hath builded his Church. And what is the Faith? This; Thou art Christ the Sonne of the living God. What is to say, Vpon this Rocke? That is, Upon this confession of Peter, &c. And with this saying of Chrysostome all ancient Expositors (saith Tonstall) treating of that place, doe agree: for if we should expound that place, that the Church is builded upon the person of Peter, we should put another foundation of the Church, than Christ: which is directly against S. Paul, saying, No man may put any other foundation but that which is put already, which is Christ Iesus, &c.

And because Peter was the first of all the Apostles that confessed this, That Christ is the Sonne of God, by the which Faith all men must be saved; thereof commeth the primacy, that is, the first place or standing of Peter in the number of all the Apostles.

And as Peter was the first of them that confessed Christ to be the Sonne of God, so was he most ardent in his Faith, most bold and hardy in Christ, as appeared by his comming out of the ship in the great tempest; and also most vehement in his makers cause, as appeared by drawing out his Sword; and after the Lords resurrection is declared out of the second, third, and fourth chapters of the Acts; where the Jewes withstanding the Apostles preaching the Faith of Christ, Peter as most ardent in faith, was ever most ready to defend the Faith against the impugners thereof, speaking for them all unto the people, &c. and therefore hath these Honourable names given him by the ancient Interpreters, that sometimes he is called the mouth of the Apostles, the Chiefe of the Apostles, sometime the Prince of the Apostles, sometime the President of the whole Church, and sometime hath the name of primacy or priority attributed unto him. And yet that the said Peter, notwithstanding these honourable names given to him, should not have a rule or a judiciall power above all the other Apostles, it is plaine by Saint Paul and many other.

First, S. Paul, Gal. 2. plainly declareth the same, saying; That as the Apostleship of the Circumcision, that is, of the Iewes, was given by Christ to Peter; so was the Apostleship of the Gentiles given to me among the Gentiles. Hereby it appeareth that Paul knew no primacy of Peter concerning people and places, but among the Iewes. And thereof Saint Ambrose, expounding that place saith thus; The primacy of the Iewes was given chiefely to Peter, albeit James and John were joyned with him; as the primacy of the Gentiles was given to Paul, albeit Barnabas was joyned with him: so that Peter had no rule over all. *Ambrosius.*

Also in the Acts 10. when Peter was sent for to Cornelius a Gentile, he durst not goe to him without a speciall vision given him from Heaven by the Lord. Acts 10.

Item, that all the Apostles had like dignity and authority, it appeareth by S. Paul, Ephes. 2. where he saith; Now yee are not strangers nor Forreigners, but yee be Citizens with the Saints, and of the household of Almighty God, builded (saith he) upon the foundations of the Apostles and the Prophets, Christ being the Corner-stone; upon whom every edifice being builded, groweth up to an holy Temple in our Lord, &c. Here he saith that they be builded not upon the foundation of Peter onely, but upon the foundation of the Apostles, so that all they be in the foundation set upon Christ the very rocke, whereupon standeth the whole Church. Ephes. 2. The Church founded not of Peter onely, but of the Apostles.

In the 21 chapter also of the Apocalyps, the new City, and the heavenly Jerusalem of Almighty God is described of the Holy-Ghost, not with one foundation onely of Peter, but with twelve foundations, after the number of the Apostles. Apoc. 21.

S. Cyprian, lib. de simplic. Prælat. giveth record likewise to the same, that the Apostles had equall power and dignity given to them by Christ: and because all should preach one thing, therefore the beginning therof first came by one, which was Peter, who confessed for them all, That Christ was the Sonne of the living God. Saying further, That in the Church there is one office of all the bishops, whereof every man hath a part allowed wholly unto him. Now, if the Bishop of Rome may meddle over all, where he will, then every man hath not wholy his part, for the Bishop of Rome may also meddle in his part joyntly with him; so that now he hath it not wholly, which is against Cyprian. *Cypria. lib. De simplic. Prælato.* Every Bishop hath his part wholly to himselfe.

S. Austen likewise expounding the Gospell of John, in the 50 treaty, speaketh there of the keyes of Peter, which he saith were given of Christ to Peter, not for himselfe alone, but for the whole Church. *Aug. in Iohan. tractat. 50.*

Cyrillus expounding the last Chapter of John, and there speaking of the words of Christ spoken unto Peter, Feede my sheepe, &c. thus understandeth the same; That because Peter had thrice denied Christ, whereby he thought himselfe he had lost his Apostleship, Christ to comfort him againe, and to restore him to his office that he had lost, asked him thrice whether he loved him, and so restored him againe to his office, which else he durst not have presumed unto; saying unto him, Feede my sheepe, &c. With which exposition the ancient holy Expositors of that place doe likewise agree. So that by these words of feeding Christs sheepe, the bishop of Rome can take no advantage to maintaine his Universall Patriarchality over all Christian Dominions. *Cyrillus in ult. cap. Iohan.* *Pasce oves meas* maketh nothing for the Popes universall patriarchality.

Againe, whereas the Bishop of Rome saith, that Peter by these words of Christ spoken to him hath a preheminence above the other, S. Paul, Acts 20. proveth the contrary: where he, speaking to the Bishops assembled at Miletе, saith to them, Take heed to your selves, and to all your Flocke, in which the Holy-Ghost hath put you to governe, &c. Acts 20. προσέχετε.

And Peter himselfe likewise, 1 Pet. chap. 5. saith, Ye that be Priests feed the flocke of God among you, &c.

So that by these Scriptures conferred together, it may appeare, that neither the sixteenth chapter of

Scriptures wrongfully alledged for the Popes ſupremacy.

Matthew, nor the one and twentieth of John, doe prove that Peter had power, authority, or dignity given him of Chriſt over all the other, that they ſhould be under him: and yet notwithſtanding his primacy, in that he firſt of all the Apoſtles confeſſed Chriſt to be the ſonne of the living God (with the which confeſſion all the other Apoſtles did conſent, and alſo preached the ſame) ſtandeth ſtill. Which confeſſion firſt by Peter made, all other that will be ſaved muſt follow alſo, and be taught to confeſſe the ſame. And thus the Biſhop of Romes power over all, which he would prove by thoſe places wrongfully alledged for his purpoſe, utterly quatleth, and is not proved. And thus much for the Scriptures and Doctors.

Now further proceeding in this matter, the ſaid Tonſtall commeth to councels, and examples of the primitive Church, as followeth.

Examples of the primitive Church againſt the Popes ſupremacy.

Fauſtinus, Legate to the Biſhop of Rome, in the firth Councell of Carthage, alledged that the Biſhop of Rome ought to have the ordering of all great matters in all places by his ſupreme authority, bringing no Scripture for him (for at that time no Scripture was thought to make for it) but alledged for him, and that untruely, the firſt Councell of Nice to make for his purpoſe. After this, when the Booke was brought forth, and no ſuch article found in it, but the contrary, yet the Councell at that time ſent to Conſtantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, where the Patriarchall Sées were, to have the true copy of the Councell of Nice, which was ſent unto them. And another copy alſo was ſent from Rome, whither alſo they ſent for the ſame purpoſe.

The ſupremacy of Rome repro-ved by the Councell of Nice.

After that the copy was brought to them, and no ſuch Article found in it, but in the fifth Chapter thereof the contrary, that all cauſes Eccleſiaſticall ſhould either be determined within the Dioceſſe, or elſe, if any were grieved, then to appeale to the Councell provinciall, and there the matter to take full end, ſo that for no ſuch cauſes men ſhould goe out of their provinces; the whole Councell of Carthage wrote to Celeſtine, at that time being biſhop of Rome, That ſince the Councell of Nice had no ſuch article in it, as was untruely alledged by Fauſtinus, but the contrary, they deſired him to abſtaine hereafter to make any more ſuch demaund, denouncing unto him that they would not ſuffer any cauſe great or ſmall, to be brought by appeale out of their countrey; and thereupon made a Law, That no man ſhould appeale out of the countrey of Affricke, upon paine to be denounced accurſed. Wherewith the Biſhop of Rome ever after held him content, and made no more buſines with them, ſéeing he had nought to ſay for himſelfe to the contrary. And at this Councell Saint Auguſtine was preſent, and ſubſcribed his hand. Read more hereof before.

The Councell of Nice falſified by Fauſtinus the Popes Legat.

It was determined alſo in the firth Article of the ſaid Councell of Nice, That in the Orient, the Biſhop of Antioch ſhould be chiefe; in Egypt the Biſhop of Alexandria; about Rome the Biſhop of Rome; and likewiſe in other countries the Metropolitanes ſhould have their preheminence: ſo that the Biſhop of Rome never had medling in thoſe countries.

The firſt article of Nicene Councell.

The foure chiefe Patriarches equall in power.

And in the next article following, the Biſhop of Jeruſalem (which City before had béene deſtroyed, and almoſt deſolate) was reſtored to his old prerogative, to be the chiefe in Paleſtine and in the countrey of Jury.

By this yée ſée how the Patriarch of Rome, during all this time of the primitive Church, had no ſuch primacy preheminent above other Patriarks, much leſſe over Kings and Emperours, as may appeare by Agatho biſhop of Rome long after that, in whoſe time was the firſt Councell generall. Which Agatho after his election ſent to the Emperor, then

Pope Agatho ſubiected to the Emperour.

being at Conſtantinople, to have his election allowed, before he would be conſecrate, after the old cuſtome at the time uſed.

In like ſort, another biſhop of Rome called Vitalianus did the ſame, as it is written in the Decrées, Diſtinct. 63. Cap. Agatho.

Pope Vitalianus ſubiect to the Emperour 63. Diſt. Agatho.

The like did S. Ambroſe and S. Gregory before them, as it is written in the chapter cum longè, in the ſame Diſtinction. During all which time the biſhops of Rome followed well the doctrine of S. Peter and S. Paul, left unto them, to be ſubjects, and to obey their Princes.

63. Diſt. cum longe.

Biſhop Tonſtall a right Lutheran.

Thus after that Biſhop Tonſtall, playing the earneſt Lutheran, both by Scriptures and ancient Doctours, alſo by examples ſufficient of the primitive Church, hath proved and declared, how the Biſhops of Rome ought to ſubmit themſelves to the higher powers whom God hath appointed every creature in this world to obey; now let us likewiſe ſée how the ſaid Biſhop Tonſtall deſcribeth unto us his diſobedience intollerable, his pride incomparable, and his malignant malice moſt execrable.

The diſobedience, the pride and the malice of the Pope deſcribed.

And firſt ſpeaking of the diſobedience of Adam and Eue, then of the pride of Nabuchadonoſor, and of Lucifer, at length he compareth the Biſhops of Rome to them all. Who firſt for diſobedience refuſe to obey Gods commandement, and contrary to his Word will be above their governours, in refuſing to obey them.

The pride of the Pope deſcribed.

Secondly, beſides this rebellious diſobedience in theſe Biſhops of Rome, not ſufferable, their pride moreover ſo farre exceedeth all meaſure, that they will have their Princes, to whom they ow ſubjection, proſtrate upon the ground, to adore them by godly honour upon the earth; and to kiſſe their fét, as if they were God, whereas they be but wretched men, and yet they looke that their Princes ſhould doe if unto them, and alſo all other Chriſtian men, owing them no ſubjection, ſhould doe the ſame.

The Popes exalted above the clouds and ſtarres of heaven.

And who be theſe I pray you, that men may know them? Surely (ſaith he) the biſhops of Rome be theſe whom I doe meane, who following the pride of Lucifer their father, make themſelves fellowes to God, and doe exalt their ſeate above the ſtarres of God, and doe aſcend above the clouds, and will be like to Almighty God. By ſtarres of God be meant the Angels of Heaven; for as ſtarres doe ſhew unto us in part the light of Heaven, ſo do Angels ſent unto men, ſhew the heavenly light of the grace of God to thoſe to whom they be ſent. And the clouds ſignified in the old Teſtament the Prophets, and in the New doe ſignifie the Apoſtles and preachers of the Word of God. For as the clouds doe conceive and gather in the skie moiſture, which they after powre downe upon the ground to make it thereby more fruitfull; ſo the Prophets in the Old Teſtament, and the Apoſtles and preachers in the New, doe powre into our eares the moyſture of the heavenly doctrine of the Word of God, to make therewith by grace our ſoules, being ſére and dry, to bring forth fruit of the ſpirit. Thus doe all ancient Expoſitors, and amongſt them Saint Auguſtine, interpret to be meant in Scripture, ſtarres and cloudes, in the expoſition of the five and fortieth Pſalme.

But Saint John the Evangeliſt writeth in the nineteenth chapter of the Apocalyps, and in the two and twentieth alſo, that when he would have fallen downe at the Angels foote that did ſhew him thoſe viſions there written, to have adored him with godly worſhip, the Angell ſaid unto him: See thou doe not ſo, for I am the ſervant of God, as thou art: give adoration and godly worſhip to God, and not to me. Here it appeareth, that the Biſhops of Rome ſuffering all men proſtrate before them to kiſſe their fét (yea the ſame Princes, to whom they owe ſubjection) doe climbe up above the ſtarres and Angels

Apoc. 19.

ſo,

The Pope erected above Gods.

tes, offering their fæt to be kiſſed, with ſhoes and all. For ſo I ſaw my ſelfe being preſent foure and thirty yæres agoe, when Julius, then Biſhop of Rome ſtood on his fæt, and one of his Chamberlaines held up his skirt, becauſe it ſtood not (as hæ thought) with his dignity, that hæ ſhould doe it himſelfe, that his ſhoe might appeare, whileſt a Noble man of great age, did proſtrate himſelfe upon the ground, and kiſſed his ſhoe: which hæ ſtately ſuffered to be done, as of duty. Where mæ thinke I ſaw Cornelius the Centurion, Captaine of the Italian band, ſpoken of in the tenth Chapter of the Acts, ſubmitting himſelfe to Peter, and much honoring him: but I ſaw not Peter there to take him up, and to bid him riſe, ſaying, I am a man as thou art, as Saint Peter did ſay to Cornelius: ſo that the Biſhops of Rome, admitting ſuch adoration due unto God, doe climb above the heavenly cloudes, that is to ſay, above the Apoſtles ſent into the world by Chriſt, to water the earthly and carnall hearts of men, by their heavenly doctrine of the Word of God.

The Pope climbeth above the Apoſtles.

Thus Biſhop Tonſtall having deſcribed the paſſing pride of the Pope, ſurmounting like Lucifer, above Biſhops, Apoſtles, Angels and Stars of heaven, proceeding then further, to the later end of his Sermon, commeth to ſpeake of his rage and malice moſt furious and peſtilent, in that hæ being juſtly put from his kingdome here to weake his ſpitefull malice, ſtirreth up warre againſt us, and bloweth the horne of miſchiefe in giving our land for a ſpoile and prey to all, whoſoever at his ſetting on will come and invade us. But let us heare his owne words preaching to the King and all Engliſh men, touching both the Popes malice, and the treaſon of Cardinall Poole.

The Pope ſtirreth up warre againſt England.

The treaſon of Cardinall Poole.

Now, ſaith hæ, becauſe hæ can no longer in this Realme wrongfully uſe his uſurped power in all things (as hæ was wont to doe) and ſucke out of this Realme by avarice inſatiable, innumerable ſummes of money yærely, to the great exhauſting of the ſame: hæ therefore, moved and repleat with furious ire and peſtilent malice, goeth about to ſtirre all Chriſtian nations, that will give eares to his divelliſh inchantments, to move warre againſt this Realme of England, giving it in prey to all thoſe, that by his inſtigation will invade it.

The Pope giveth England away for a prey.

And here expounding theſe foreſaid words (To give in prey) he declareth what great miſchiefe they containe, and willeth every true Engliſhmen well to mark the ſame. Firſt to make this Realme, ſaith he, a prey to all venturers, all ſpoilers, all ſnaphaunſes, all forlorne hopes, all cormorants, all ravenors of the world, that will invade this Realme, is to ſay, Thou poſſeſſioner of any lands of this Realme, of what degræ ſoever thou be, from the higheſt to the loweſt, ſhalt be ſlaine and deſtroyed, and thy lands taken from thæ by thoſe that will have all for themſelves: and thou maieſt be ſure to be ſlaine, for they will not ſuffer thæ, nor none of thy progeny to live to make any claime afterward, or to be revenged, for that were their unſurety. Thy wife ſhall be abuſed before thy face: thy daughter likewiſe deflowred before thæ: thy children ſlaine before thine eyes: thy houſe ſpoyled: thy cattell driven away and ſold before thy viſage: thy plate, thy money by force taken from thæ; all thy goods, wherein thou haſt any delight, or haſt gathered for thy children, ravened, broken and diſtributed in thy preſence, that every ravenor may have his ſhare. Thou merchant art ſure to be ſlaine, for thou haſt either money or ware, or both, which they ſearch for. Thou Biſhop or Prieſt, whatſoever thou be, ſhalt never eſcape, becauſe thou wouldeſt not take the Biſhop of Romes part, and rebell againſt God & thy Prince, as he doth. If thou ſhalt flæ and eſcape for a ſeaſon, whatſoever thou be, thou ſhalt ſee and heare of ſo much miſery and abhomination, that thou ſhalt judge them happy that be dead before: for ſure it is, thou ſhalt not finally eſcape: for, to take the whole Realme in prey, is to kill the whole people, and to take the place for themſelves, as they will doe if they can.

Cardinall Poole traitor to England.

And the Biſhop of Rome now of late, to ſet forth his peſtilent malice the more, hath allured to his purpoſe a ſubject of this Realme, Reginald Poole, comen of a Noble blood, and thereby the more errant traytor, to goe about from Prince to Prince, and from countrey to countrey, to ſtirre them to warre againſt this Realme, and to deſtroy the ſame, being his native country: whoſe peſtilent purpoſe, the Princes that hæ breaketh it unto have in much abomination, both for that the Biſhop of Rome, (who being a Biſhop ſhould procure peace) is a ſtirrer of warre, and becauſe this moſt errant and unkind traytor is his miniſter to ſo divelliſh a purpoſe, to deſtroy the countrey that hæ was borne in, which any Heathen man would abhorre to doe.

The Popes name and memory aboliſhed.

And ſo continuing in his diſcourſe againſt Cardinall Poole and the Biſhop of Rome for ſtirring the people to warre and miſchiefe, hæ further ſaith, and ſaith truly, that for theſe many yæres paſt, little warre hath bæne in theſe parts of Chriſtendome, but the Biſhop of Rome either hath bæne a ſtirrer of it, or a nouriſher of it, and ſeldome any compounder of it, unleſſe it were for his ambition or profit. Wherefore ſince, as Saint Paul ſaith, That God is not the God of diſſenſion, but of peace, who commandeth by his Word, Peace always to be kept; wæ are ſure that all thoſe that goe about to breake peace betwæne Realmes, and to bring them to warre, are the children of the Divell, what holy names ſoever they pretend to cloake their peſtilent malice withall; which cloking under hypocriſie is double divelliſhneſſe, and of Chriſt moſt deteſted, becauſe under his bleſſed name they doe play the Divels part. 1 Cor. 14.

And in the later end of his Sermon, concluding with the thirty ninth Chapter of Ezechiel, where the Prophet ſpeaketh againſt Gog and Magog, ſpeaking about to deſtroy the people of God, and prophecieth againſt them, That the People of God ſhall vanquiſh and overthrow them on the mountaines of Iſrael, that none of them ſhall eſcape, but their carkaſſes ſhall there be devoured of Kites and Crowes, and birds of the aire; ſo likewiſe ſaith hæ of theſe our enemies, wiſhing, that if they ſhall perſiſt in their peſtilent malice to make invaſion into this Realme, then their great Captaine Gog (the Biſhop of Rome hæ meaneth) may come with them to drinke with them of the ſame cup, which hæ maliciouſly goeth about to prepare for us, that the People of God might after live quietly in peace. Ezech. 39.

The Pope compared to Gog.

Wæ have heard hitherto the oaths, cenſures, and judgements of certaine particular Biſhops, of Yorke, of Winchester, of London, of Dureſme, and alſo of Edmund Boner, Archdeacon then of Leycester, againſt the Popes unlawfull uſurpation. Now for the more fortification of the matter, and ſatisfying of the reader, it ſhall not be much out of purpoſe, beſides the conſent and approbation of theſe aforeſaid, to inferre alſo the publike and generall agreement of the whole Clergie of England, as in a totall ſumme together, confirmed and ratified in their owne publike booke, made and ſet forth by them about the ſame time, called then the Biſhops booke. In the which booke, although many things were very ſlender and unperfect, yet as touching this cauſe of the Biſhop of Romes regality, we will heare (God willing) what their whole opinion and provinciall determination did conclude, according as by their owne words in the ſame booke is to be ſeene word for word, as followeth, ſubſcribed alſo with their owne names; the catalogue of whom, under their owne confeſſion, ſhall appeare.

Wæ

Testimonies out of the Bishops booke, against the Popes supremacy.

WEe thinke it convenient, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spirituall charge, that whereas certaine men doe imagine and affirme, that Christ should give unto the Bishop of Rome power and authority, not only to be head and governour of all Priests and Bishops in Christs Church, but also to have and occupy the whole Monarchy of the world in his hands, and that hee may thereby lawfully depose Kings and Princes from their Realms, Dominions and Seigniories, and so transferre and give the same to such persons as him liketh, that is utterly false and untrue; for Christ never gave unto Saint Peter, or unto any of the Apostles, or their successors, any such authority. And the Apostles, Saint Peter and Saint Paul, doe teach and command, that all Christian people, as wel Priests and Bishops, as others, should be obedient and subject unto the Princes and Potentates of the world, although they were infidels.

And as for the Bishop of Rome, it was many hundred yeares after Christ, before hee could acquire or get any primacy or governance above any other Bishops, out of his Province in Italy: since the which time hee hath ever usurped more and more. And though some part of his power was given to him by the consent of the Emperors, Kings & Princes, and by the consent also of the Clergy in Generall Councels assembled: yet surely he attained the most part thereof by marvellous subtilty and craft, and especially by colluding with great Kings and Princes, sometime training them into his devotion by pretence and colour of holinesse and sanctimony, and sometime constraining them by force and tyranny. Whereby the said Bishops of Rome aspired and rose at length unto such greatnesse in strength and authority, that they presumed and tooke upon them to be heads, and to put lawes by their owne authority, not only unto all other Bishops within Christendome, but also unto the Emperors, Kings, and other the Princes & Lords of the world, and that under the pretence of the authority committed unto them by the Gospell. Wherein the said Bishops of Rome doe not only abuse and pervert the true sense and meaning of Christs Word; but they doe also cleane contrary to the use and custome of the Primitive Church; and so doe manifestly violate, as well the holy Canons made in the Church immediatly after the time of the Apostles, as also the decrees and constitutions made in that behalfe by the holy Fathers of the Catholike Church assembled in the first generall Councels. And finally, they do transgresse their owne profession, made in their creation. For all the Bishops of Rome alwaies, when they be consecrated & made Bishops of that See, doe make a solemne profession and vow, that they shall inviolably observe and keepe all the Ordinances made in the eight first generall Councels: among the which it is specially provided and enacted, that all causes shall be finished and determined within the Province where the same begun, and that by the Bishops of the same Province, and that no Bishop shall exercise any jurisdiction out of his owne Dioceese or Province; and divers such other Canons were then made and confirmed by the said Councels to represse and take away out of the Church all such primacy and jurisdiction over Kings and Bishops, as the Bishops of Rome pretend now to have over the same. And we find that divers good Fathers, Bishops of Rome, did greatly reprove, yea, and abhorre (as a thing cleane contrary to the Gospell, and the decrees of the Church) that any Bishop of Rome, or else where, should presume, usurpe, or take upon him the title and name of the universall Bishop, or of the head of all Priests, or of the highest Priest, or any such like title. For confirmation whereof, it is out of all doubt, that there is no mention made, neither in Scripture, nor in the writings of any authenticall Doctor or Author of the Church, being within the time of the Apostles, that Christ did ever make or institute any distinction or difference to be in the preheminence of power, order, or jurisdiction, betweene the Apostles themselves, or betweene the Bishops themselves, but that they were all equall in power, order, authority and jurisdiction. And that there is now, and since the time of the Apostles, any such diversity, or difference among the Bishops, it was devised by the antient Fathers of the Primitive Church for the conservation of good order and unity of the Catholique Church, and that either by the consent and authority, or else at the least by the permission and sufferance of the Princes, and civill powers for the time ruling, &c.

How the Bishop of Rome rose by ambition.

Concilium tertium Carthaginense, cap. 26.

First the generall Councell of Nice decreed, that the Patriarches of Alexandria, and Antiochia, should have like power over the countries about those cities, as the Bishops of Rome had over the countries about Rome.

In the Councell of Milevitane, it was decreed, that if a Clerke of Aphricke would appeale out of Aphrick unto any Bishop beyond the sea, hee should be taken as a person excommunicate.

In the generall Councell of Constantinople the first, it was likewise decreed, that every cause betweene any persons, should be determined within the provinces where the matters did lie: and that no Bishop should exercise any power out of his owne Dioceese or Province. And this was also the mind of holy S. Cyprian, and of other holy men of Aphrica.

To conclude therefore, the Pope hath no such primacy given him, either by the words of Scripture, or by any generall Councel, or by common consent of the holy Catholique Church.

Gregorius lib. 4. Epistolarum indictione 13. Epist. 13.

And shortly after followeth; and for the better confirmation of this part, wee thinke it also convenient, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spirituall charge, that Christ did by expresse words prohibit, that none of his Apostles, nor any of their successors should, under the pretence of the authority given unto them by Christ, take upon them the authority of the sword; that is to say, the authority of Kings, or of any civill power in this world, yea, for any authority to make Lawes or Ordinances in causes appertaining unto civill powers. Truth it is, the Priests and Bishops may execute all such temporall power and jurisdiction, as is committed unto them by the Ordinance and Authority of Kings, or other civill powers, and by the consent of the people (as Officers and Ministers under the said Kings and Powers) so long as it shall please the said Kings and People to permit and suffer them so to use and execute the same. Notwithstanding, if any Bishop of what estate or dignity soever he be, be hee Bishop of Rome, or of any other City, Province, or Dioceese, doe presume to take upon him authority or jurisdiction in causes or matters which appertaine unto Kings, and the civill Powers and their Courts, and will maintaine or thinke that hee may so doe by the authority of Christ and his Gospell, although the Kings and Princes would not permit and suffer him so to doe; no doubt, that Bishop is not worthy to be called a Bishop, but rather a tyrant, and an usurper of other mens rights, contrary to the Lawes of God, and is worthy to be reputed none otherwise than hee that goeth about to subvert the kingdome of Christ. For the kingdome of Christ in his Church is a spirituall, and not a carnall kingdome of the world; that is to say, the very kingdome that Christ by himselfe or by his Apostles and Disciples sought here in this world, was to bring all nations from the carnall kingdome of the Prince of darknes unto the light of his spirituall kingdome, and so himselfe to raigne in the hearts of the people, by grace, faith, hope, and charity. And therefore, sith Christ did never seeke nor exercise any worldly kingdome or dominion in this world, but rather, refusing and flying from the same, did leave the said worldly governance of kingdomes, Realmes, and nations, to be governed by Princes and Potentates, (in like manner as he did find them) and commanded also his Apostles and Disciples to doe the semblable, as it was said before; whatsoever Priest, or Bishop will arrogate or presume to take upon him any such authority, and will pretend the authority of the Gospell for his defence therein, hee doth nothing

The Bish. of Rome iudged to be a tyrant and usurper.

thing else but (in a manner as you would say) crowneth Christ again with a crown of Thorne, and traduceth and bringeth him forth again with his mantle of purple upon his back, to bee mocked and scorned of the world, as the Iewes did to their own damnation.

This doctrine was subscribed and allowed by the witnesse and testimony of these Bishops and other learned men, whose names hereunder follow, as appeareth in the Bishops booke before named.

Testes.

Testimonies of Bishops and Doctors of England against the Pope.

- Thomas Cantuarien sis.
- Edouardus Eboracensis.
- Iohannes Londonensis.
- Cuthbertus Dunelmensis.
- Stephanus Wintonien sis.
- Robertus Carliolensis.
- Iohannes Exonien sis.
- Iohannes Lincolnien sis.
- Iohannes Bathonien sis.
- Rolandus Coventr. & Lichfield.
- Thomas Elien sis.
- Nicolaus Sarum.
- Ioannes Bangor.
- Edouardus Herefordien sis.
- Hugo Wigornien sis.
- Ioannes Roffen sis.
- Richardus Cicestren sis.
- Gulielmus Menevensis.
- Robertus Assavensis.
- Robertus Landavensis.
- Guil. Norwicensis.
- Richardus Wolman, Archiacon. Sudbur.
- Guilielmus Knight, Archidiacon. Richmond.
- Ioannes Bel, Archidiacon. Glouceſter.
- Edmundus Boner, Archidiacon. Leiceſter.
- Guilielmus Skippe, Archidiacon. Dorſet.
- Nicolaus Heth, Archidiacon. Stafford.
- Cuthbertus Maſhall, Archidiac. Nottingham.
- Richardus Curten, Archidiacon. Oxon.
- Guilielmus Glise.
- Galfridus Dounes.
- Robertus Oking.
- Radulphus Bradford.
- Richardus Smith.
- Simon Mathew.
- Ioannes Prin.
- Guilielmus Buckmaſter.
- Guiliélmus May.
- Nicolaus Wotton.
- Richardus Cox.
- Ioannes Edmunds.
- Thomas Robertſon.
- Ioannes Baker,
- Thomas Barret.
- Ioannes Haſe.
- Ioannes Tyſon.

These were Doctors of Divinity, and of both Lawes.

I Iudge now thy selfe, loving Reader, per confessata & allegata; that is, by these things heretofore confessed, alleged, allowed, proved and confirmed, by penne set forth, by words defended, and by oath subscribed by these Bishops and Doctors, if either Martin Luther himself, or any Lutheran else could or did ever say more against the proud usurpation of the Bishop of Rome, than these men have done. If they dissembled otherwise than they meant, who could ever dissemble so dapely, speaking so pithily? if they meant as they spake, who could ever turne head to faile so suddenly and so shortly as these men did? But because these things we write for edification of other, rather then for commendation of them, let us marke therfore their reasons, and let the persons go.

The Bishops of England then and Luther.

And although the said proofes and arguments heretofore alledged, might suffice to the full discussion of this matter against the Popes usurped primacy, yet because many do yet remaine, which will not be satisfied, to refell therefore and confute this popish Article of the Popes vaine and proud primacy, with as much matter and furniture of reasons and allegations, as the writings and testimonies of these Bishops and others doe minister unto us; wee mind (the Lord willing) to annex to these former confirmations of the Bishops aforesaid, another supplement also of a certaine Epistle sent by Bishop Tonstall, and by John Stokesley Bishop of London, to Cardinall Poole, for a more ample confutation of the usurped power. Concerning the argument of which Epistle, here is first to be understood, that about this time, or not much after, Cardinall Poole, brother to the Lord Mountague, was attainted of high treason, and fled away unto Rome, where, within a short time after, hee was made Cardinall of Saint Mary Cosmeden: Of whom more is to be spoken hereafter, the Lord so permitting, when wee come to the time of Queene Mary. In the meane time he remaining at Rome, there was directed unto him a certaine Epistle exhortatory by Stokesley, Bishop of London, and Tonstall, Bishop of Duresme, perswading him to relinquish and abandon the supremacy of the Pope, and to conforme himselfe to the religion of his King. The copy of which Epistle, for the reasons and arguments therein contained about the same matter, wee thought here not unworthy to be put in, or unprofitable to be read. The tenor whereof here followeth.

The Epistle of Tonstall and Stokesley, to Poole.

¶ The true copy of a certaine Letter written by Cuthbert Tonstall Bishop of Duresme, and Iohn Stokesley bishop of London, to Cardinall Poole; proving the Bishop of Rome to have no speciall superiority over other Bishops.

FOr the good will that wee have borne unto you in times past, as long as you continued the Kings true subiect, we cannot a little lament and mourn, that you neither regarding the inestimable kindnesse of the Kings Highnesse heretofore shewed unto you in your bringing up, nor the honour of the House that you bee come of, nor the wealth of the Countrey that you were borne in, should so decline from your duty to your Prince, that you should bee seduced by faire words and vaine promises of the Bishop of Rome, to winde with him, going about by all meanes to him possible, to pull down and put under foot your naturall Prince and master, to the destruction of the Country that hath brought you up, and for a vaine glory of a red hat to make your selfe an instrument to set forth his malice, who hath stirred up, by all meanes that he could, all such Christian Princes as would give eares unto him, to depose the Kings highnesse from his Kingdom, and to offer it as a prey for them that should execute his malice, and to stirre, if he could, his subiects against him, in stirring and nourishing rebellions in his Realme, where the office and duty of all good Christian men, and namely of us that bee

This Letter was testified by Cuthbert Tonstall to Mathew Archbishop of Canturbury and others to be his owne, about 14. dayes before his death Read his trayterous Oration to the Emperor in his booke intituled, *De Ecclesiæ Concordia*, moving him to seeke the destruction of King Henry, and the whole Realme of England.

bee Prieſts, ſhould be to bring all commotion to tranquillity, all trouble to quietneſſe, all diſcord to concord; and in doing contrary, we doe ſhew our ſelves to be but the Miniſters of Satan, and not of Chriſt, who ordained all us that be Prieſts to uſe in all places the legation of peace, and not of diſcord. But ſince that cannot bee undone that is done, ſecond it is to make amends, and to follow the doing of the prodigall ſonne ſpoken of in the Luke 15. Goſpell, who returned home to his father, and was well accepted, as no doubt you might be, if you will ſay as he ſaid in knowledging your folly, and do as he did, in returning home again from your wandring abroad in ſervice of them, who little care what come of you, ſo that their purpoſe by you be ſerved. And if you be moved by your conſcience, that you cannot take the King your maſter as ſupreme head of the Church of England, becauſe the biſhop of Rome hath heretofore many yeares uſurped that name univerſally over all the Church, under pretence of the Goſpell of Saint Matthew, ſaying, Thou art Peter, and upon this Rocke I will build my Church: Mat. 18. The place of Mathew, - Tu es Petrus expounded. Surely that Text many of the moſt holy and antient Expoſitors wholly do take to be meant of the faith, then firſt confeſſed by the mouth of Peter; upon which faith, confeſſing Chriſt to be the ſon of God, the Church is builded, Chriſt being the very loweſt foundation ſtone, whereupon both the Apoſtles themſelves, and alſo the whole faith of the Church of Chriſt, by them preached thorow the world, is founded and builded; and other foundation none can be, but that only, as S. Paul ſaith; No other foundation can any man lay beſide that which is laid, which is Chriſt Jeſus. 1 Cor. 3.

And where you thinke that the Goſpell of Luke proveth the ſame authority of the Biſhop of Rome, ſaying: Peter, I have prayed for thee, that thy faith ſhall not faile: and thou being once converted, confirme thy brethren. Surely that ſpeaketh only of the fall of Peter, knowne to Chriſt by his godly preſcience, whereof he gave an inkling, that after the time of his fall, he ſhould not deſpaire, but returne againe, and confirme his brethren, as hee ever, being moſt fervent of them, was wont to doe. Luke 22. The place of Luke expounded. The place doth plainly open it ſelfe that it cannot be otherwiſe taken, but this to be the very meaning of it, and not to be ſpoken but to Peter: for elſe his ſucceſſors muſt firſt faile in the Faith, and then convert, and ſo confirme their brethren. And whereas you thinke that this place of the Goſpell of Iohn, Fede my ſheepe, was ſpoken onely to Peter, and that thoſe words make him ſhepheard over all, and above all; Saint Peter himſelfe teſtifieth the contrary in his canonicall Epiſtle, where hee ſaith to all Prieſts, Fed the flocke of Chriſt which is among you, which he bad them do by the authority that Chriſt had put them in as followeth: And when the chiefe ſhepheard ſhall appeare, ye ſhall receive the incorruptible crowne of eternall glory. The ſame likewiſe S. Paul in the Acts teſtifieth, ſaying, Give heed to your ſelves and to the whole flock, wherein the holy Ghoſt hath ſet you to governe the Church of God. Where, in the originall Text, the word ſignifying Regere, to govern, ποιμαίνειν, is the ſame that was ſpoken to Peter, Paſce, Fed, for it ſignifieth both in the Scripture. And that by theſe words he was not conſtitute a ſhepheard over all, it is very plaine by the fact of Saint Peter, which durſt not enterprize much converſation among the Gentiles, but eſchewed it as a thing unlawfull, and much rather prohibited then commanded by Gods law, untill he was admoniſhed by the revelation of the theete full of divers biands, mentioned in the Acts of the Apoſtles: where if Chriſt by theſe words, Fede my ſheepe, had given ſuch an univerſall governance to Peter, then Peter, being more fervent then other of the Apoſtles to execute Chriſts commandement, would of his own courage have gone, without any ſuch new admonition, to Cornelius: except peradventure you would ſay, that Peter did not underſtand the ſaid words of Chriſt, for lack of the light which the later men have obtained to perceive, and thereby underſtand the words of Chriſt to Peter, better than Peter himſelfe did. And ſtrange alſo it were to condemne Peter as an high traitor to his Maſter after his aſcenſion: as he indeed were worthy, if his Maſter had ſignified unto him, that the Biſhops of Rome, by his dying there, ſhould be heads of all the Church; and he knowing the ſame by theſe words, Feed my ſheepe, yet notwithſtanding his Maſters high legacy and commandement, would flee as he did from Rome, untill his Maſter, encountring him by the way, with terrible words cauſed him to returne. Of this flying away of P. from Rome tried before.

And becauſe this Hiſtory peradventure cannot weigh againſt an obſtinate mind to the contrary; What ſhall we ſay to the words of S. Ambroſe, declaring and affirming that as great and as ample primacy was given to Paul, as to Peter? Upon theſe words of Paul, Hee that wrought by Peter, &c. thus hee writeth; Petrum ſolum nominat & ſibi comparat, quia primatum ipſe acceperat ad fundandam Eccleſiam; ſe quoque pari modo electum ut primatum habeat in fundandis Eccleſiis Gentium, &c. That is to ſay, Hee nameth Peter only, and compareth him to himſelfe, becauſe he received a primacy to build a Church; and that he in like ſort was choſen himſelfe to have a primacy in building the Churches of the Gentiles. And thortly after it followeth; Of thoſe (that is to ſay of the Apoſtles) which were the chiefeſt, his gift, he ſaith, was allowed, which he had received of God; ſo that he was found worthy to have the primacy of preaching to the Gentiles, as Peter had in preaching to the Iewes. And as he aſſigned to Peter for his companions thoſe which were of the chiefeſt men amongſt the Apoſtles, even ſo alſo did hee take to himſelfe Barnabas, who was joyned unto him by Gods judgement; and yet did he challenge to himſelfe alone the prerogative or primacy which God had given him, as to Peter alone it was granted among the other Apoſtles. So that the Apoſtles of the circumciſion gave their hands to the Apoſtles of the Gentiles; to declare their concord in fellowſhip, that either of them ſhould know that they had received the perfection of the ſpirit in the preaching of the Goſpell, and ſo ſhould not need either other in any matter. And thortly after, ſaith S. Ambroſe, who durſt reſiſt Peter the chiefe Apoſtle? but another ſuch a one, which by the confidence of his election might know himſelfe to be no leſſe, and ſo might reprove boldly that thing which he inconſideratly had done. As great primacy given S. Paul, as Peter. Equality in degree amongſt the Apoſtles.

This equality of dignity which Saint Ambroſe affirmeth by Scripture to be equally given to Peter and Paul, Saint Cyprian and Saint Hierome do extend to all the Apoſtles. Cyprian ſaying thus; Hoc erant utique & cæteri Apoſtoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari conſortio præditi, & honoris & poteſtatis; all the reſt of the Apoſtles were the ſame, that Peter was, being indued with like equality of honour and power. And Saint Hierome thus, Cuncti Apoſtoli claves regni cœlorum acceperunt & ex æquo ſuper eos Eccleſiæ fortitudo fundatur: All the Apoſtles received the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven, and upon them, as indifferently and equally, is the ſtrength of the Church grounded and eſtabliſhed. Which S. Hierome alſo, as well in his Commentaries upon the Epiſtle to Titus, as in his Epiſtle to Euagrius, ſheweth that theſe primacies long after Chriſts aſcenſion were made by the deviſe of men, whereas before by the common agreement and conſent of the Clergy every of the Churches were governed, yea the patriarchall Churches. Acts 20. Cyprian. 2 ſimplicitate clericorum. Contra Iovinianum. Acts 10.

The

The words of Saint Jerome be these; Sciant ergo Episcopi se magis ex consuetudine, quam dispensationis Dominicæ veritate, presbyteris esse majores: Let the Bishops understand, that they be greater than other Priests, rather of custome, than by the verture and verity of the Lords Ordinance. And in his said Epistle to Euagrius hee hath the like sentence, and addeth thereto, Vbicunque fuerit Episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, &c. Whereseoever a Bishop be, either at Rome, or at Gugubium, or at Constantinople, hee is of all one worthinesse, and of all one Priesthood. And that one was elected which should be preferred before other, it was devised for the redresse of schismes, lest any one, challenging too much to himself, should rent the Church of Christ. These words only of Saint Jerome be sufficient to prove that Christ by none of these three texts (which be all that you and others doe allege for your opinion) gave to Peter any such superiority, as the Bishop of Rome by them usurpeth, and that Peter, nor no other of the chiefe Apostles, did vindicate such primacy or superiority, but utterly refused it, and therefore gave preeminence above themselves to one, that though hee be sometimes called an Apostle, yet hee was none of the twelve, as Eusebius in the beginning of his second booke, called Historia Ecclesiastica, doth testifie, alleging for him the great and antient Clerke Clemens Alexandrinus, saying thus, Petrus, Iacobus, ac Iohannes, post assumptionem Salvatoris, quamvis ab ipso fuerant omnibus pene prælati, tamen non sibi vindicarunt gloriam, sed Iacobum, qui dicebatur Iustus, Apostolorum Episcopum statuunt, Peter, James, and John, after Christs ascension into Heaven, although they were by him preferred almost before all other, yet they challenged not that glory to themselves, but decréed that James, who was called Iustus should be chiefe Bishop of the Apostles. By these words it is cleare, that James was the Bishop of the Apostles, not because, as some men doe glose, hee was elected by the Apostles, but because he had thereby the primacy and honour of a Bishop in Jerusalem, above the rest of the apostles.

And one thing is especially to be noted, and also marvelled at, that the Bishops of Rome doe challenge this primacy only by Peter, and yet Saint Paul, who was his equall, or rather superiour by Scripture in his Apostleship amongst the Gentiles, whereof Rome was the principall, suffered at Rome where Peter did, and is commonly in all the Romane Church joyned with Peter in all appellations and titles of preheminence, and both be called Principes Apostolorum, The chiefe of the Apostles. Upon both is equally founded the Church of Rome. The accounting of the Bishops of Rome many yéares agréeth thereunto. For Eusebius saith, that Clemens tertius post Paulum & Petrum pontificatum tenebat, Clement was the third Bishop after Saint Paul and Peter, reckoning them both as Bishops of Rome, and yet therein preferring Saint Paul; with like words, saying of Alexander Bishop of Rome, that Quinta successione post Petrum atque Paulum plebis gubernacula sortitus est. Alexander obtained the governance of the people by succession, the fifth Bishop after Peter and Paul. Ireneus also saith, as Eusebius reciteth, that Fundata & ædificata Ecclesia, beati Apostoli Lino officium Episcopatus injungunt. After the Church was once founded and builded, the holy Apostles charged Linus with the Bishoprick. Whereby appeareth, that they both joyntly constituted him Bishop of Rome, and received only their Apostleship injoyned to them by Christ. And therefore if the Bishops of Rome challenge any preheminence of authority by Peter, they should as well, or rather challenge the same by Paul, because they both founded it, and both there preached, and both there suffered, resigning first that Bishoprick to Linus and all at once.

And if you will peradventure leane to the former preaching there by Peter, which by Scripture cannot be proved, yet then at least Saint Paul and his successors in Ephesus, should have like primacy, because he founded first that Church, though Saint John after that did build it, as witnesseth Eusebius, saying; Ecclesia quæ est apud Ephesum, à Paulo quidem fundata est, à Ioanne vero ædificata. The Church which is at Ephesus, was founded of Paul, but it was built of Saint John. And so Peter should have no other primacy in Rome, but as Paul had in Ephesus, that is to say, to be counted as the first Preacher and converter of the people there to the Faith of Christ: and as well might all the Bishops of Ephesus challenge the primacy of all nations, both Gentiles and Jewes, by Saint Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles their founder, as the Bishop of Rome by Saint Peter the Apostle only of the circumcision, in case hee were the first founder, challenging primacy over all. But undoubtedly, this primacy over all, that the Bishops of Rome of late doe challenge, was not allowed, nor yet knowne nor heard of amongst the antient Fathers, though they had their Church of Rome in high estimation, as well for the notable vertuous dæds that the Clergy did there shew and exercise abundantly to their neighbours (as witnesseth the said Eusebius, alleging there the Epistle that Dionysius Alexandrinus wrote to Soter, Bishop of Rome, testifying the same) as for that the city of Rome was the most ample and chiefe City of the World, witnessing Saint Cyprian, saying; Plane, quoniam pro magnitudine sua debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere, illic majora & graviora commisit; Certainly, because that Rome ought for the greatnesse thereof to excell Carthage, there Novatus committed the greater and more grievous offences. Which Saint Cyprian also, when hee had ordained and appointed certaine decrees and statutes unto the Bishop of Rome, hee did not submit them to his reformation or judgement, but only signified his owne sentence to like him also; and yet adding thereunto, that if any Bishops (meaning as well of Rome as of others) which were of the contrary opinions to him, would otherwise thinke or doe, hee would not then that his sentence should be to them prejudiciall, neither would hee thereby compell them to any thing, but would that they should follow their owne minds and customes: partly for that every one of the Bishops hath liberty of his owne will, and partly for that every Governour shall make an account to God of his owne dæd, as it appeareth plainly in his Epistle to Stephanus and Julianus. And in the third Epistle to Cornelius, towards the end, speaking of the appeale that one Felicissimus a Novatian, after his condemnation in Africa, made to Rome, hee impugneth such appeales, saying; Quia singulis pastoribus portio gregis est ascripta, quam regat unusquisque & gubernet, rationem sui actus Domino redditurus, &c. For as much as every Pastor hath his owne flocke committed unto him, which every one ought to rule and governe, and must give account to the Lord of his administration, it is decréed of us all, and wée thinke it both méet and just, that every mans cause and plea should there be heard, where the crime is committed. This holy and excellent Clerke & martyr Saint Cyprian would never either have impugned their appeale to Rome from their owne primacies, or so earnestly having maintained his determinations in the Councels of Affricke contrary to the opinion of the Bishops of Rome and to their customes, without any submission by word or writing, if the primacy over all, which the Bishops of Rome doe challenge and usurpe, had bæne grounded upon the plaine Scriptures, as you with some others doe thinke: and it is to be supposed also, that hee would

in

C. 1. super Tim.

Diference betwixt Bishops & Priests by it is come.

The first foundation of a Church maketh no primacy.

Lib. 4. cap. 24.

Cypr. Lib. 2. ad Cornelium.

James the Iust was the Bishop of the Apostles.

Seeing Paul is chiefe apostle of the Gentiles, it is against reason yt the Romes should allenge the primacy by Peter.

Lib. 3. cap. 21.

Appeale to Rome forbidden.

Lib. 5. cap. 6.

Cypr. lib. 3. Epist. ad Cornelium.

in all his Epiſtles have called them Patres, or Dominos, Fathers or Lords, as ſuperiours, and not alwaies fratres & collegas, brothers and fellowes in office, as but only his equalls.

Concil. Aphrica. Aug. Ep. 16.

Which thing yet more plainly doth appeare by the acts of the Councels of Affricke in Saint Auguſtines time: by which it is evident, that though the Faith of Chriſt was by the Romanes firſt brought into Affricke, (as Saint Auguſtine doth confeſſe) yet it was not read nor knowne that the Biſhops of Rome uſed or challenged any ſoveraignty in Affricke, unto this time. And yet then hee did not challenge it by the right of Gods Word, but by the pretence of a certaine Canon ſuppoſed to be in the Councell of Nice: Which Article could never be found, though it were then very diligently ſought for through all the principall Churches of the Eaſt and South; but only was alleged of Julius, Biſhop of Rome, out of his owne Library. And you may be well aſſured, that if the Scriptures had made for it, neither the Biſhop of Rome would have left that certaine proofe by Scriptures, and truſted only to the teſtimony of an Article of that Councell, being in doubt and unlikely to be found; nor yet Saint Auguſtine, with his holy and learned company, would have reſiſted this demand, if it had beene either grounded upon Scriptures, or determined in that or other Councels, or yet had ſtood with equity, good order or reaſon. Howbeit the largeneſſe and magnificence of the buildings of that city, and the antient excellency and ſuperiority of the ſame in temporall Dominions, was the only cauſe that in the Councels (where the Patriarchall Sees were ſet in order) the Biſhop of Rome was lotted to the firſt place, and not by any ſuch conſtitution made by Chriſt, as appeareth well by that, that Conſtantinople being at the ſame time of this ordering of the Patriarchall Sees, moſt amply enlarged by the Emperors, being before a ſmall towne, and of no renowne, and by them moſt magnificently builded and advanced with all worldly titles, prerogatives, and privileges temporall like unto Rome, and therefore called Nova Roma, new Rome, was therefore advanced alſo to the ſecond See and place; Antiochia in the Eaſt (where Saint Peter firſt took the chaire before he came to Rome, and where Chriſtian men had firſt their name given them) yea, and Jeruſalem (which was the firſt mother city of our Faith, and where Chriſt himſelfe firſt founded the Faith) and alſo Alexandria, being recited to the third, fourth and fifth places, becauſe at that time they were not in ſo high eſtimation in the world, though in the Faith of Chriſt all they were Antients, and ſome of them mothers to Rome.

Vide duas Epiſtolas ad Bonifacium pap. to conciliorum, Fol. 307. 308.

Diſt. 16. Viginti.

Truth it is, that the Biſhops of the Orient, for debates in matters of the Faith amongſt themſelves, made ſuites to the Biſhop of Rome; but that was not for the ſuperiority of juriſdiction over them, but becauſe they were greatly divided, and thoſe countries, as well Biſhops as others, much infected with the hereſies of the Arrians, whereof the Weſt was in a manner cleare: and among them of the Orient, none were counted indifferent to decide thoſe matters, but were all ſuſpected of affection for one cauſe or other. Wherefore they deſired the opinions of the Biſhops of the Weſt, as indifferent, and not intangled with affections of any of thoſe parts, neither corrupted with any of the Arrians, as appeareth by the Epiſtles of Saint Baſil, written in all their names for the ſaid purpoſe. In the which alſo it is eſpecially to be noted, that their ſute was not made to the Biſhop of Rome ſingularly, or by name, but (as the titles doe ſhew) to the whole congregation of the Biſhops of Italy and France, or of the whole Weſt, and ſometime preferring the French and Italian Biſhops, ſaying, Gallis & Italis, and never naming the Romans. And for a cleare proofe that the antient Fathers knew not this primacy of one above all, wee need none other teſtimony but their determination in the Councell of Nice, that Alexandria, and Antiochia, and univerſally all other Primates, ſhould have the whole governance of their confine Countries, like as the Biſhop of Rome had of thoſe that inhabited within his ſuburbs. And this determination proveth alſo, that your three Scriptures meant nothing leſſe than this primacy over all. For God forbid that wee ſhould ſuſpect that Councell as ignorant of thoſe plaine Scriptures, to which ſince that time all Chriſtendome hath leaned, as the anchor of our Faith. And if you like to reade the antient Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtories, there you may ſee, that Athanaſius, and other Patriarchs did execute that primacy, as in making, conſecrating, and ordering of Churches, Biſhops and Clerks, in their countries Eaſt and South, as the Biſhops of Rome in that time did in the Weſt and North.

The old Fathers never knew the primacy of the Church of Rome.

And if you would yet any thing object againſt any of theſe witneſſes, then to eſchew contention, and for a finall concluſion, let the Biſhop of Rome ſtand to his owne confeſſion made many yeares paſt by his predeceſſor Agatho, to the Emperors, Conſtantine, Heraclius, and Tiberius, in his Epiſtle written to them in his name, and in the name of all the Synod which hee thought to be under the See Apoſtolique: wherein, ſoone after the beginning of the Epiſtle, hee comprehendeth them all under the name of the Biſhops dwelling in the North and Weſt parts of their Empire; ſo that there in his owne Epiſtle hee confeſſeth all his ſubjects and obedienciaries to be only of the North and Weſt. And ſo it appeareth evidently by his owne confeſſion, that neither by Gods Law nor mans law hee had to doe with any perſon of the Eaſt or South. And this his high ſoveraignty over all, challenged (as you and others ſay) by Scripture, as by his owne confeſſion doth appeare, is brought into a little and ſtraight angle. And this Agatho was not a man unlearned, as appeareth by the acts of the firth Synod of Conſtantinople, in the fourth act, wherein is written at large and expreſſed the ſaid Epiſtle and Confeſſion. And the primacy of Peter, which antient Doctors ſpeake of, which was only in preaching and teaching the Faith of Chriſt, which hee firſt among all the Apoſtles, and firſt of all mortall men, did expreſſe with his mouth, did after ſo adhere to his owne perſon, that it was never derived either to any ſucceſſor, or to any other Apoſtle, but chiefly to himſelfe; for all other afterwards profeſſing the ſame, ſpake it according unto him who had profeſſed it before. Moreover, all the Apoſtles (as Saint John ſaith) be foundations in the heavenly Jeruſalem, and not Peter only. Alſo Cyprian affirmeth, (as is aforeſaid) that all the Apoſtles were of equall dignity and power; which all ancient authors likewiſe do affirme. For Chriſt gave the Apoſtles like power in the Goſpell, ſaying; Goe, and teach all nations, baptiſing them, &c. And Saint Paul (as is ſaid before) knew no other primacy given to Peter to preach in any place but among the Jewes, as hee himſelfe had among the Gentiles, as hee writeth to the Galathians. Whereupon Saint Ambroſe writing (as is aforeſaid) affirmeth the ſame. And that the mother of all Churches is Jeruſalem (as is afore ſaid) and not Rome, the Scripture is plaine, both in the Prophet Eſay; Out of Sion ſhall the Law proceed, and the Word of the Lord out of Jeruſalem: Upon the which place Saint Jerome ſaith; In Hieruſalem primum fundata Eccleſia totius orbis Eccleſias ſeminavit: Out of the Church being firſt founded in Jeruſalem, ſprung all other Churches of the whole world: and alſo in the Goſpell which Chriſt before his aſcention commanded his Apoſtles to preach throughout all the world, beginning firſt at Jeruſalem;

In the time Pope Agath the See of Rome had n rule over t Eaſt & Sou Churches. Peters prim cy hath no ſt tutors.

Apoc. 21.

Matth. 21.

Eſay 2.

len; ſo that the biſhop of Romes Univerſall power by him claimed over all cannot by any Scripture be juſtified: as if you have read the ancient fathers expoſitions of the ſaid Scriptures (as we ſuppoſe you have, ſince your letters ſent hither concerning this matter) and would give more credence to their humble and plaine ſpeaking, than to the latter contentious and ambitious writers of that high and above the Ideas of Platoes ſubtilty (which palleth, as you write, the Lawyers learning and capacity) we doubt not but that you perceive and thinke the ſame.

Chriſt may have head of his Church, and yet not preach nor minister Sacraments.

And where you thinke that the King cannot be taken as ſupreme head of the Church, becauſe hee cannot exerciſe the chiefe office of the Church in preaching and miniſtring of the Sacraments; it is not requiſite in every body naturall, that the head ſhould exerciſe either all manner of offices of the body, or the chiefe office of the ſame. For albeit the head is the higheſt and chiefe member of the naturall body, yet the diſtribution of life to all the members of the body, as well to the head as to other members, commeth from the heart, and it is the miniſter of life to the whole body, as the chiefe act of the body.

Neither yet hath this ſimilitude his full place in a myſticall body, that a King ſhould have the chiefe office of adminiſtration in the ſame: and yet not withſtanding the ſcripture ſpeaking of King Saul ſaith, I made thee head amongſt the tribes of Iſrael. And if a King amongſt the Jewes were the head in the tribes of Iſrael, in the time of the law, much more is a Chriſtian King head in the tribes of ſpirituall Iſrael, that is, of ſuch as by true faith ſee Chriſt who is the end of the law. The office deputed to the Biſhops in the myſticall body, is to be as eyes to the whole body, as Almighty God ſaith to the Prophet Ezechiel; I have made thee an overſeer over the houſe of Iſrael. And what Biſhop ſoever refuſeth to uſe the office of an eye in the myſticall body, to ſhew unto the body the right way of beleeving and living, which appertaineth to the ſpiritual eye to doe, ſhall ſhew himſelfe to be a blind eye; & if he ſhall take any other office in hand then appertaineth to the right eye, he ſhall make a confuſion in the body, taking upon him an other office then is given him of God. Wherefore if the eye will not take upon him the office of the whole head, it may be anſwered, it cannot ſo doe, for it lacketh waine. And examples ſhew likewiſe that it is not neceſſary alway that the head ſhould have the faculty or chiefe office of adminiſtration, as you may ſee in a navy by ſea; where the admirall, who is captaine over all, doth not meddle with ſteering or governing of every ſhip, but every particular maſter muſt direct the ſhip to paſſe the ſea in breaking the waves by his ſteering and governance, which the Admirall the head of all doth not himſelfe, nor yet hath the faculty to doe, but commandeth the maſters of the ſhip to doe it. And likewiſe many a Captaine of great armies, which is not able, nor never could peradventure ſhoot, or breake a ſpeare by his owne ſtrength, yet by his wiſedome and commandement onely atchieveth the warres, and attaineth the victory.

Pſ. 15.

1 Ezech. 3.

A biſhop is an eye in the head. What the head of a myſticall body.

The office of a biſhop ſtands not in ruling, but in commanding.

And where you thinke that unity ſtandeth not onely in the agreeing in one faith and doctrine of the Church, but alſo in agreeing in one head; if you meane the very and onely head over all the Church our Saviour Chriſt, Whom the Father hath ſet over all the Church, which is his body, wherein all good Chriſtian men doe agree, therein you ſay truth. But if you meane of any one mortall man to be the head over all the Church, and that to be the Biſhop of Rome, we doe not agree with you. For you doe there erre in the true underſtanding of the Scripture; or elſe you muſt ſay that the ſaid Counſell of Nice, and other moſt ancient did erre, which divided the adminiſtration of Churches, the Orient from the Occident, and the South from the North, as is before expreſſed, and that Chriſt the univerſall head is preſent in every Church, the Goſpell ſheweth, where 2 or 3 be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midſt of them. And in another place, Behold, I am with you untill the end of the world. By which it may appeare Chriſt the univerſall head every where to be with his myſticall body the Church; who by his ſpirit worketh in all places (how farre ſoever they be diſtant) the unity and concord of the ſame. And as for any other univerſall head to be over all, than Chriſt himſelfe, Scripture proveth not, as it is ſhewed before. And yet for a further proofe, to take away the ſcruples that peradventure doe to your appearance riſe of certaine words in ſome ancient Authors, and eſpecially in Saint Cyprians Epiſtles, as that the unity of the Church ſtood in the unity with the biſhop of Rome, though they never call him ſupreme head; if you will weigh and conſider all their ſayings together, you ſhall perceive that they neither ſpake nor meant otherwiſe, but when the Biſhop of Rome was once lawfully elected and inthroned, if then any other would by faction, might, force, or otherwiſe (the other living and doing his office) enterpriſe to put him downe, and uſurpe the ſame biſhopricke, or exerciſe the others office himſelfe, as Novatianus did attempt in the time of Cornelius; then the ſaid Fathers reckoned them Catholiques that did communicate with him that was ſo lawfully elected: and the cuſtome was, one Primacy to have to doe with another, by congratulatory letters, ſoone after the certainety of their election was knowne, to keepe the unity of the Church; and all they that did take part with, or maintaine the Uſurper, to be ſchiſmatikes, becauſe that Uſurper was a ſchiſmatike; Quia non ſit fas in eadem Eccleſia, duos ſimul Epiſcopos eſſe, nec priorem legitimum Epiſcopum ſine ſua culpa deponi; Becauſe it was not lawfull for two Biſhops to be at once together in one Church, neither the former Biſhop being lawfull to be depoſed without his fault were proved. And this is not a prerogative of the Church of Rome, more than of any other cathedrall, peciall, Patriarchall, or Metropoliticall Church, as appeareth in the third Epiſtle of the firſt Booke, and in the eighth of the ſecond, and of the fourth Booke of Saint Cyprian to Cornelius. Whoſe words and reaſons, although peradventure they might ſeeme to include the unity of the Church in the unity of the Biſhop of Rome, becauſe they were all written to him in his owne caſe, may as well be written unto any other Biſhop lawfully choſen, who percaſe ſhould be likewiſe diſturbed as the Biſhops of Rome then were by any factions of ambitious heretiques.

Anſwer to S. Cyprian.

The Church of Rome hath no more prerogative then any other Church.

The unity of the Church ſtandeth not on the unity of the biſhop of Rome.

And where you thinke the name of ſupreme head under Chriſt, given and attributed to the Kings Majeſty, maketh an innovation in the Church, and perturbation of the order of the ſame; it cannot be any innovation or trouble to the Church to uſe the name that God hath called him to, which good Chriſtian Princes did uſe in the beginning, when faith was moſt pure, as Saint Auguſtine, Ad Glorium & Eleuſium ſaith; Ait enim quidam, non debuit Epiſcopus pro conſulari judicio purgari, &c. One there is which ſaith, that a Biſhop ought not to have beene put to his purgation before the judgement ſeate of the Deputy, as though hee himſelfe procured it, and not rather the Emperour himſelfe cauſed this enquiry to be made, to whoſe juriſdiction (for the which he muſt anſwer to God) that cauſe did ſpecially pertaine. Chryſoſtome writeth of that Imperiall authority thus: Læſus eſt qui non habet parem ullum ſuper terram: ſummitas & caput eſt omnium hominum ſuper terram: Hee is offended that hath no Peere at all upon the earth, for hee is

Auguſt. Epiſt. 162.

The Imperiall authority is next under God.

the higheſt potentate, and the head of all men upon earth. And Tertullian ad Scapulam ſaith, Colimus ergo & imperatorem ſic, quomodo & nobis licet, & ipſi expedit, ut hominem à Deo ſecundum, &c. We honour and reverence the Emperour in ſuch wiſe, as is lawfull to us and expedient to him, that is to ſay, as a man next and the ſecond to God, from whom he hath received all the power he hath, and alſo inferiour to God alone, whoſe pleaſure it is ſo to have it: for thus he is greater than all men, whilſt he is inferiour but to God alone.

Tertul. in Apologet.

And the ſaid Tertullian in his booke apologetical ſpeaking of the Emperours, ſaith, Sciunt quis illis dederit imperium, &c. They know who hath given to them their government; they know that God is he alone, under whoſe onely power they be, and take themſelves as ſecond to God, after whom they be chiefe above all other. Theophylact alſo to the Romans upon this place, Omnis anima poteſtatibus ſublimioribus ſubdita ſit, ſaith, The Apoſtle there teacheth every man, Sive Sacerdos ille ſit, ſive Monachus, ſive Apoſtolus, ut ſe principibus ſubdat, that whether he be a Prieſt, or a Monke, or an Apoſtle, he ſhould ſubject himſelfe to Princes: that is, although thou be an Apoſtle, an Evangeliſt, a Prophet, or whatſoever thou art, be ſubject. Non enim, ſaith he, ſubvertit pietatem hæc ſubjectio; For this ſubjection overthrowes not godlineſſe: And the Apoſtle ſaith not onely, Let him obey, but let him be ſubject.

Theophil. in Rom.

And if the Apoſtles be ſubject to Princes, much more all Biſhops and Patriarchs, yea the Biſhops of Rome and all other.

It is written alſo in the Chronicles, David ſaid to Solomon, behold the Prieſts and Levits divided in Companies, to doe all manner of ſervice that pertaineth to the Houſe of God. Alſo David did appoint chiefely to thanke the Lord, Aſaph and his brethren, &c. and Jehoſaphat the King did conſtitute Levits and Prieſts, and the ancient families of Iſrael for the judgement & cauſe of the Lord towards all the inhabitants of the earth; and hee charged them ſaying, Thus ſhall yee doe in the feare of the Lord, faithfully and in a perfect heart. Further more Ezechias appointed the Prieſts and the Levits in their order, to wait by courſe every man according to his office. And it followeth, Ezechias gave commandement to the people dwelling in Jeruſalem, that they ſhould give their portions unto their Prieſts and Levits, that they might attend to the Law of the Lord. Where it followeth alſo, that by the precept of Ezechias the King, and of Azarias the Biſhop of the houſe of the Lord, all things were done, to whom pertained all the diſpenſation of the Houſe of the Lord. And in the end it is ſaid, Ezechias did theſe things in all Jury; he wrought that which was good, right and true before his Lord God in all the furniture of the miniſtery of the houſe of the Lord, according to the law and ceremonies, deſirous to ſeeke his Lord God with all his heart, as he did, and proſpered therein. Joſias alſo did ordaine Prieſts in their offices, and commanded many things.

1 Paral. 28.
2 Paral. 16.
2 Paral. 19.
Chron. 31.
Chron. 31.

By all which it may appeare, that chriſtian Kings be ſoveraignes over the Prieſts, as over all other their ſubjects, and may command the prieſts to doe their offices, as well as they doe others; and ought by their ſupreme office to ſee that all men of all degrees doe their duties, whereunto they be called eyther by God or by the King; and thoſe Kings that ſo doe chiefely doe execute well their office. So that the Kings highneſſe taken upon him, as ſupreme head of the Church of England, to ſee that as well ſpirituall men as temporall doe their duties, doth neither make innovation in the Church, nor yet trouble the order thereof; but doth as the chiefe and beſt of the Kings of Iſrael did, and as all good Chriſtian Kings ought to doe. Which office good Chriſtian Emperours alwaies tooke upon them, in calling the univerſall Councels of all countries in one place and at one time, to aſſemble together, to the intent that all hereſies troubling the Church might there be extirped; calling and commanding as well the biſhop of Rome, as other patriarks and all primates, as well of the Eaſt as of the Weſt, of the South as of the North, to come to the ſaid Councels. As Martianus the Emperour did in calling the great Councell of Chalcedon, one of the foure chiefe and firſt generall Councels, commanding Leo then biſhop of Rome to come unto the ſame. And albeit Leo neither liked the time, which he would for a ſeaſon ſhould have beene deferred; nor yet the place, for he would have had it in Italy, whereas the Emperour by his owne commandement had called it to Chalcis in Aſia: yet he anſwered the Emperour, that he would gladly obey his commandement, and ſent thither his agents to appeare there for him, as doth appeare in the Epiſtles of Leo to Martian then Emperour, forty one, forty ſeven, forty eight, and in the forty ninth Epiſtle to Pulcheria the Empreſſe. And likewiſe deſireth Theodoſius the Emperour to command a Councell of biſhops to be called in Italy, for taking away ſuch contentions and troubles, as at that time troubled the quietneſſe of the Churches. And in many moe Epiſtles of the ſame Leo it doth manifeſtly appeare, That the Emperours alwaies aſſembled generall Councels by their commandements: and in the firth generall Councell it appeareth very plainely, that at that time the Biſhops of Rome made no claime nor uſed any title to call themſelves heads Univerſall over all the catholike Church, as it doth appeare in the ſuperſcription or ſalutation of the foreſaid Synodicall preamble, which is this, word for word.

To the moſt godly Lords and moſt noble victors and conquerors, the welbeloved children of God and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Conſtantine the great emperour, and Heraclius and Tyberius Cæſars, biſhop Agatho the ſervant of the ſervants of God, with all the convocations ſubject to the Councell of the See apoſtolike, ſendeth greeting. And he expreſſeth what countries hee reckoned and comprehended in that ſuperſcription or ſalutation; for it followeth, that thoſe were under his aſſembly, which were in the North & Eaſt parts, ſo that at that time the biſhop of Rome made no ſuch pretence to be over and above all, as he now doth by uſurpation, vendicating to himſelfe the ſpirituall Kingdome of Chriſt, by which he raigneth in the hearts of all faithfull people, and then changeth it to a temporall Kingdome over and above all Kings, to depoſe them for his pleaſure, preaching thereby the fleſh for the ſpirit, and an earthly kingdome for an heavenly, to his own damnation, if he repent not: whereas he ought to obey his Prince by the doctrine of S. Peter in his firſt Epiſtle, ſaying, Be ye ſubject to every ordinance of man, for the Lords ſake, whether it be to the King as to the chiefe, or unto Governors, as ſent of him to the puniſhment of the evill doers, and to the praiſe of the good. Againe, S. Paul, Let every ſoule be ſubject to the higher powers. With other things before alledged. So that this his pretenſed uſurpation to be above all Kings is directly againſt the Scriptures, given to the Church by the apoſtles, whoſe doctrine whoſoever overturneth, can be neither the head, nor yet the leaſt member of the Church.

1 Pet. 2.
Rom. 13.

Whereforе, albeit ye have hitherto ſticked to the ſaid wrongfully uſurped power, moved thereto, as yee write, by your conſcience; yet ſithence now yee ſee further, if yee liſt to regard the meere truth, & ſuch ancient authors as have beene written to you of in times paſt, we would exhort you, for the wealth of your ſoule, to ſurrender into the Biſhop of Romes hands your red hat, by which he ſeduced you, truſting ſo to make you, being come of a Noble blood, an inſtrument to advance his vaine-glory; where-

Generall councels called by the Emperors.

of

of by the said hat he made you participant, to allure you thereby the more to his purpose.

In which doing yee shall returne to the truth from which yee have erred, doe your duty to your soveraigne Lord from whom ye have declined, and please thereby Almighty God, whose Lawes yee have transgressed: and in not so doing yee shall remaine in error, offending both Almighty God, and your naturall soveraigne Lord, whom chiefely yee ought to seeke to please. Which thing, for the good mind that we heretofore have borne you, We pray Almighty God of his infinite mercy that you doe not. Amen.

When all other the Kings subjects, and the learned of the realme had taken and accepted the oath of the Kings supremacy, onely Fisher the Bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas More refused (as is aforesaid) to be sworne: who therefore falling into the danger of the Law, were committed into the Tower, and executed for the same, An. 1535. This John Fisher aforesaid had written before against Oecolampadius, whose booke is yet extant, and afterward against Luther.

Anno 1535

John Fisher Bishop of Rochester enemy to Christs gospell.

Also amongst other his acts he had beene a great enemy and persecutor of John Frith, the godly and learned martyr of Jesus Christ, whom he and Sir Thomas More caused to be burned a yeere and a halfe before: and shortly after the said Fisher, to his confusion, was charged with Elizabeth Barton (called the holy maid of Kent) and found guilty by Act of Parliament, as is above recorded. For his learning and other vertues of life this Bishop was well reputed and reported of by many, and also much lamented of some. But whatsoever his learning was, pitty it was that he, being endued with that knowledge, should be so farre drowned in such superstition; more pity that he was so obstinate in his ignorance; but most pity of all, that he so abused the learning he had to such cruelty as he did. But this commonly wee see come to passe, as the Lord saith, That whoso striketh with the sword shall perish with the sword, and they that staine their hands with blood seldome doe bring their bodies dry to the grave; as commonly appeareth by the end of bloody tyrants, and especially such as be persecutors of Christs poore members. In the number of whom was this Bishop and Sir Tho. More, by whom good John Frith, Tewkesbury, Thomas Hytten, Bayfield, with divers other good Saints of God were brought to their death. It was said, That the Pope, to recompence Bishop Fisher for his faithfull service, had elected him Cardinall, and sent him a Cardinals Hat as farre as Calice; but the head that it should stand upon was as high as London bridge, ere ever the Popes hat could come to him. Thus Bishop Fisher and Sir Tho. More, which a little before had put John Frith to death for heresie against the Pope, were themselves executed and beheaded for treason against the King, the one the 22 of June, the other the 6 of July, Anno 1535.

God revenged with blood.

Bishop Fisher & Sir Tho. More persecuto.

Bishop Fisher & Sir Tho. More, beheaded.

Of Sir Thomas More something hath been touched before, who was also recounted a man both witty and learned: but whatsoever he was beside, a bitter persecutor he was of good men, and a wretched enemy against the truth of the Gospell, as by his bookes left behind him may appeare, wherein most slanderously and contumeliously he writeth against Luther, Zuinglius, Tindal, Frith, Barns, Bayfield, Bainham, Tewkesbury, falsely belying their articles & doctrine, as (God granting me life) I have sufficient matter to prove against him.

Belying lies of Sir Th. More.

Briefly, as he was a sore persecutor of them that stood in defence of the gospell, so againe on the other side such a blind devotion he bare to the Pope-holy See of Rome, and so wilfully stood in the popes quarell against his owne Prince, that he would not give over till he had brought the Scaffold of the Tower Hill, with the Axe and all upon his owne necke.

Sir Thomas More a persecutor.

Edward Hall in his Chronicle, writing of the death and manners of this Sir Thomas More, seemeth to stand in doubt whether to call him a foolish wise man, or a wise foolish man. For as by nature he was endued with a great wit, so the same againe was so mingled (saith he) with taunting and mocking, that it seemed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be well spoken, except he had ministred some mocke in the communication; insomuch as at his comming to the Tower, one of the Officers demanding his upper garment for his fee, meaning his gowne, he answered that he should have it, and tooke him his cap, saying it was the uppermost garment that he had. Likewise even going to his death, at the Tower gate, a poore woman called unto him, and besought him to declare that he had certaine evidences of hers in the time that he was in office (which after he was apprehended she could not come by) and that he would intreate that she might have them againe, or else she was undone. He answered; Good woman, have patience a little while, for the King is so good to me, that even within this halfe houre he will discharge me of all businesses, and helpe thee himselfe. Also when he went up the staire of the Scaffold, he desired one of the Sheriffes Officers to give him his hand to helpe him up, and said, When I come downe againe, let me shift for my selfe so well as I can. Also the hangman kneeled downe to him, asking him forgiveneese of his death, as the manner is. To whom he answered, I forgive thee; but I promise thee that thou shalt never have honour of the striking off my head, my necke is so short. Also even when he should lay downe his necke on the blocke, he having a great gray beard, stroked out his beard, and said to the hangman, I pray you let me lay my beard over the blocke, lest you should cut it; thus with a mocke he ended his life.

M. More a scoffer unto his death.

There is no doubt but that the Popes Holynesse hath hallowed and dignified these two persons long since for Catholique Martyrs. Neither is it to be doubted, but after an hundred yeares expired, they shall be also shrined and portified, dying as they did in that quarrell of the Church of Rome, that is, in taking the Bishop of Romes part, against their owne ordinary and naturall Prince. Whereunto (because the matter asketh a long Discourse, and a peculiar Tractation) I have not in this place much to contend with Cope my Friend. This briefely for a Memorandum may suffice; That if the causes of true Martyrdome ought to bee pondered, and not to bee numbred, and if the end of Martyrs is to bee weighed by judgement, and not by affection; then the cause and quarrell of these men standing as it doth, and being tried by Gods Word, perhaps in the Popes Kingdome they may goe for Martyrs, in whose Cause they died; but certes in Christs Kingdome their Cause will not stand, howsoever they stand themselues.

The like also is to be said of the three Monkes of the Charter-house, Ermewe, Middlemore, and Nudigate, who the same yeere in the moneth of June were likewise attached and arraigned at Westminster, for speaking certaine traiterous words against the Kings Crowne and Dignity; for the which they were hanged, drawne, and quartered at Tyburne: whom also, because Cope my good friend doth repute and accept in the number of holy Catholique Martyrs, here would be asked of him a question; What Martyrs be they, which standing before the Judge, deny their owne words and sayings, and plead not guilty, so as these Carthusians did? Whereby it appeareth, that they would neither have stood nor have died in that Cause, as

Rochester, More, Ermew, Middlemore, Nudigate, executed for treason.

they did, if they might otherwise have escaped by denying. Wherefore if my friend Cope had bene so well advised in setting out his martyrs, as God might have made him, he would first have sene the true records, and bene sure of the ground of such matters, whereupon he so confidently pronounceth, and so censoriously controlleth others.

Ex actis in termino Paschæ. Anno 27. Reg. Henr. 8.

In the same cause and quarrell of treason also, the same yeare, a little before these aforesaid, in the moneth of May were executed with the like punishment John Houghton, Prior of the Charterhouse in London, Robert Laurence Prior of the Charterhouse of Belvaile, Aulken Webster Prior of the Charterhouse of Erham.

Beside and with these Priors suffered likewise the same time, two other Priests, one called Reignold, brother of Sion, the other named John Haile vicar of Thistlewoath.

9 Carthusians died in prison refusing the Kings supremacy.

Divers other Charterhouse Monks also of London were then put in prison, to the number of nine or ten, & in the same prison died, for whom we will, the Lord willing, reserve another place hereafter to intreat of more at large.

M. Copes nine Worthies.

In the meane time, for so much as the foresaid Cope in his doughty Dialogues, speaking of these nine Worthies, doth commend them so highly, and especially the three Priors above recited, here by the way I would desire Walter Cope simply and directly to answere me to a thing or two that I would put to him, and first of this John Houghton that angelicall Prior of the Charterhouse, his old companion and acquaintance, of whom thus hee writeth; Atqui cum Iohannem illum Houghtonum cogito, non tam hominem quàm Angelum in humana forma intueri mihi videor, cujus eminentes virtutes, divinas dotes, & heroicam animi magnitudinem, nemo unquam poterit satis pro dignitate explicare, &c. By these his owne words it must needs be confessed, that the authour of these Dialogues, whosoever he was, had well sene and considered the forme and personable stature, proportion and shape of his excellent body, with such admiration of his personage, that, as hee saith, as oft as hee calleth the said John Houghton to mind, it seemeth to him even as though he saw an Angell in the shape and forme of a man. Whose eminent vertues moreover, whose divine gifts, and heroicall celsitude of mind, no man saith he, may sufficiently expresse, &c. And how old was this Walter Cope then would I know, when he saw and discerned all this? For as I understand, Walter Cope, being yet at this present scarce come to the age of forty yeares, hee could not then be above nine yeares old (the other suffering Anno 1535.) in the which age in my mind, Walter Cope had small discretion to judge either of any such angelicall proportion of this mans personage, or of his divine qualities, and heroicall celsitude of his mind, and yet he remembreth him in his Dialogues.

Copus in Dialog. 9. pag. 995.

Copes Dialogues suspected not to be his owne.

Which thing, among many other probabilities, maketh mee vehemently to suspect that these Dialogues printed in Antwerpe, Anno 1566. were brought over by Walter Cope there to be printed, but were penned and framed by another Pseudocopus, whatsoever, or in what Fleet soever hee was, unlesse my markes doe greatly faile me. But as the case is of no great weight, so I let it passe, returning to other matters of more importance.

Shortly after the overthrow of the Pope, consequently began by little and little to follow the ruine of Abbeyes and religious Houses in England, in a right order and method by Gods divine providence. For neither could the fall of monasteries have followed after, unlesse that suppression of the Pope had gone before; neither could any true reformation of the Church have bene attempted, unlesse the subversion of these superstitious houses had bene joyned withall.

Whereupon, the same yeare in the moneth of October, the King having then Thomas Cromwell of his Counsell, sent Doctor Lee to visit the Abbeys, Priories, & Nunneries in all England, and to set at liberty all such religious persons as desired to be free, and all other that were under the age of foure and twenty yeares; probiding withall, that such Monkes, Chanons, and Friers, as were dismissed, should have given them by the Abbat or Prior, instead of their habite, a secular Priests gowne, and forty shillings of money. And likewise the Nuns to have such apparell as secular women did then commonly use, and suffered to goe where they would. At which time also from the said Abbeyes and Monasteries were taken their chief jewels and reliques.

Suppression Abbeys first beginneth in England. Religious n under age le out of Mona steries.

The King l beginneth t the Jewels o Abbeys.

When the King had thus established his supremacy, and all things were well quieted within the realme, he like a wise Prince, & having wise counsell about him, forecasting with himselfe what forreine dangers might fall unto him by other countries about, which all were yet in subjection to the Bishop of Rome, save onely a few Germane Princes, and misdoubting the malice of the Pope, to provide therefore betime for perils that might ensue, thought good to keepe in by all meanes possible with other Princes.

Anno 1536.

And first to entertaine the favour of the French King, who had bene sicke a little before, and now was lately recovered to health, in signification of publique joy and friendship the King commanded a solemne & famous procession to be ordained through the City of London, with the Waits and children of the Grammar Schooles, with the Maiors and ushers in their araye: then followed the Orders of the Friers and Chanons, and the Priors with their pompe of Copes, Crosses, Candlesticks, and Vergers before them. After these, followed the next pageant of Clerkes and Priests of London, all in Copes likewise. Then the Monks of Westminster and other Abbeyes, with their glorious gardeviance of Crosses, Candlesticks, and Vergers before them in like sort. Last of all came the Quire of Pauls with their Residentiaries, the Bishop of London and the Abbats following after in their Pontificalibus. After these courses of the Clergy went the companies of the City, with the Lord Maior and Aldermen in their best apparell, after their degrees. And lest it might be thought this procession of the Church of London to make but a small or beggerly shew, the furniture of the gay Copes there worne was counted to the number of seven hundred and foure tene. Moreover, to fill up the joy of this procession, and for the more high service to Almighty God, besides the singing quires, and chanting of the Priests, there lacked no minstrels withall, to pipe at the processions. Briefely here lacked nothing else but only the Ordnance to shot off also. But because that is used in the processions at Rome, therefore for difference sake the same is reserved onely for the Popes owne processions, and for none other in the moneth of October.

A solemne cession in L don for the French Kings hea

A piping p cession.

This grand procession was appointed for a triumph or a thankesgiving for the late recovery of the French Kings health, as is aforesaid.

Over and besides this, the King, to nourish and retaine amity with Kings and Princes, lest the Pope, being exiled now out of England, should incite them to warre against him, directed sundry Embassadors and Messengers with letters and instructions. To the Emperor was sent Sir Thomas Wyat, to the French King Sir Francis Brian, and Doctor Edward Fox, who was also sent to the Princes of Germany, to the Scottish King was sent Sir Ralph Sadler, Gentleman of the Privy chamber.

Embassad sent to sun Kings.

In Scotland the same time were call abroad divers

Sir Ralph Sadler Ambas. for to the Scottish King.

divers railing Ballets and slanderous rhymes against the King of England, for calling of the Lady Dowager, and for abolishing the Pope: for the which cause the foresaid Sir Ralph Sadler being sent into Scotland, with lessons and instructions how to addresse himselfe accordingly, after he had obtained accesse unto the King, and audience to be heard, first declareth the effectuous and hearty commendations from the Kings Majesty his Graces Uncle, and withall delivered his Letters of credence. Which done, after a few words of Courtly entertainement, as occasion served him to speake, the said Sir Ralph Sadler obtaining audience, thus began in the King his Maisters behalfe to declare, as followeth.

The Oration of the Kings Ambassador.

Oration of Sir Ralph Sadler to the Scottish King.

WHereas there is nothing after the glory of Almighty God in this World so much to be tendered by Kings, Princes, or any honest persons, or so highly to be regarded and defended, as their honor, estimation, good fame, and name, which whosoever neglecteth is to be esteemed unnaturall: and unlesse a man labour to avoyd and extinguish the false reports, slanders, and diffamations made of him by malicious persons, he may well be suspected in conscience to condemne himselfe: the King your Uncle considering the same, and hearing of sundry Ballets, Criminations, and infamous libels made and untruly forged and devised in Scotland against his Grace, by your Graces subjects, not onely upon trust to finde with your Grace such naturall affection, friendship, and amity, as the nerenesse of blood betweene Uncle and Nephew, necessitude of reverence, proximity both of kinns and dominions together doth require; but also upon assurance that your Grace and wisedome will consider how these slanders and diffamations, although they were but against a private person, whatsoever he were, most commonly redound and are imputed to the whole degree and estate: as the diffamation of Kings toucheth Kings, and so of other degrees and dignities: doth send at this time to your Grace, his Nephew (other he might have sent more worthy, but me at this time, for lacke of a better, hath he sent) to desire, pray, and require your Grace, according as the nerenesse of blood, connexion of estate, and other things before expressed, of right and justice doe require: beseeching your Grace, gently to weigh and balance, and well to ponder the malice of these the said slanderers, and to call in againe all the said diffamatory Ballets, libels, and other writings, punishing the authors and setters forth thereof according to their demerits. And furthermore, to cause open proclamations to be made thorow your realme, that none of your inhabitants there shall in any manner wise so misuse himselfe hereafter upon such great paine and punishment as to your Grace and your Counsell shall be thought convenient for the transgression thereof: so that other by their correction, and by the fearefull example of the penalty, may beware how to commit the like offence in time comming.

Example of malicious folly in a commonwealth.

The example of such slanders is very pernitious to all Kings: for by such slanders of other Princes, the slanderers take boldnesse so to deale afterward with their owne King as they have done with other, and the nert step from such slanderous words is to attempt deeds, and so to fall to sedition: of the importance and danger whereof no man is ignorant.

Wherefore your Grace, at the contemplation of your deere Uncle, in tendering his procedings, shall doe well to follow therein the loving steps of his good Brother and Allye the French King, who hath already at Roane and sundry places else, caused certaine slanderous preachers to be sore punished; and further directed commissions thorow his realme for repressing the same. As also other Princes shall be ready (his Majesty trusteth) to doe the like in their Dominions, if like occasion shall be given to require the same of them. In which so doing, your Grace may be assured in this your gentle dealing in that part, to winne your Uncles most sincere and kind heart, to the increase of your amity and allyance, which as to you shall be most honourable, so shall it be no lesse profitable unto him.

And thus to conclude with the first part of my narration, concerning the slanderous and diffamatory libels, lest I should seeme with prolixity of matter more than needs to abuse your Graces silence; I will now descend to the other point of that which I have to utter unto your Grace, as touching the Popes Nuntio or messenger. Of whose late arrivall the Kings Majesty your Uncle having partly intelligence, but not certainely knowing the speciall cause of his comming from Rome, and yet hearing by the common bruit and talk of your subjects, what his errand should be, that is to practise some annoyance by his pretended censures against the Kings Majesty your Uncle: he therefore premonishing your grace before, as fearing the worst, most iustly maketh his complaint thereof unto your Grace his Nephew, requiring you, that forasmuch as the foresaid bruits and reports are slanderous to his Majesty, and seeing that neither the Emperour nor the French King, nor any other Princes have consented thereto, or understood thereof, the Kings majesty therefore your Uncle, willing to stop those bruits and talkes, desireth and most heartily prayeth your Grace, at his instant request to vouchsafe to consider and weigh:

The second point.

Supremacy of Princes.

First, The supremacy of Princes by the holy Scripture granted unto him and other Princes in earth under Christ upon their Churches.

Secondly, To weigh what the Gospell and Gods Word calleth a Church.

Also what superstitions, Idolatrys, and blind abuses have crept into all realmes, to the high displeasure of Almighty God by reason thereof.

Fourthly, what is to be understood by the true censure or excommunication of the Church, and how no such can be in the power of the Bishop of Rome, or of any other man, against his Majesty or any other Prince, having so just ground to avoyd from the root, and to abolish that execrable authority, which the Bishop of Rome hath usurped and doth usurpe upon all Princes, to their great detriment and damage.

As touching the consideration of which 4 points, although the Kings Majesty your Uncle doubteth not your grace to be furnished & provided with sufficient knowledge, rightly to discerne and judge upon the same; yet if it shall so please your Grace further to know your Uncles mind touching the said points, I assure your Highnesse in the behalfe of your foresaid Uncle his Majesty, that he will not sticke to send unto you such learned, wise, and discreet men, as shall amply informe you thereof, and of such other things as your Grace having once a smack thereof, shall think most worthy for a Prince to know.

His request therefore to your Highnesse is, that you will consider of what moment and importance it shall be unto your Grace (having the Scots your subjects so evill instructed in the premisses) for you to assent and agree to any such censure, and so by such example to give such an upper hand over your selfe and other Princes to that Usurper of Rome, as is very like hereafter to happen in other places of Christendome, wheresoever the true declaration of the truth & word of God shall have free course, to scourge them, unlesse they will adore, worship, and kisse the feet of that corrupt holinesse, which

Romes yoke.

desireth nothing else but pride and the Universall thrall of Christendome under Romes yoke.

But because the censures of that Nuncio be not yet opened, but lie secret and uncertaine under muttering, I shall cease further to proceed therein, till further occasion shall minister to me more certaine matter to say and to judge. In the meane time for so much as it is most certainely come to the intelligence of the Kings Majesty, that the Abbat of Arboth should be chosen of late and elected to be a Cardinall in this your Realme of Scotland, his Majesty therefore for the good love and hearty good will he beareth unto your Grace, as the Uncle is bound unto the Nephew, knowing that you as yet perceive not so well the hypocrisie & deceitfull guile and malice of the Romans and their practises, as he himselfe doth by his long experience; could not but hearing thereof advertise your Grace, that his advice is, you should not suffer any of your subjects to take upon him that red hat of pride, whereby he shall incontinently, the same being received (unlesse he be of a contrary nature to any man that ever was yet of that sort) not onely be in manner discharged of his obedience, and become the bishop of Romes true liege man; but also shall presume of his Cardinalship to be your fellow, and to have the rule as well as you. Then should the bishop of Rome crepe into your owne very bosome, know all your secrets, and at last, unlesse you will be yoked and serve their pleasure in all points, your Grace is like to smart for it. The thing perchance in the beginning shall seeme to your Grace very honourable and pleasant: but wisedome it is to beware of the taile, which is very blacke and bitter.

The Abbat of Arboth chosen Cardinall of Scotland.

Inconvenience that commeth by Cardinals.

His Majesties father, and grandfather to your Grace, had a Cardinall, whereof he was weary, and never admitted other after his decease, knowing the importable pride of them. In like manner also his Highnesse by the experience of one, hath utterly determined to avoyd all the sort: so well his Grace hath knowne and experienced their mischiefe, yoke, and thraldome that thereby is laid upon Princes. By reason whereof, as his Highnesse is the more able by his own experience to informe your Grace, so of good will and meere propensity of heart, caused partly by nature and kinne, partly by conjunction and vicinity of Dominions adjoyning so neere together, he is no lesse ready to forwarne your Grace before, wishing that God will so work in your Princely heart and noble stomacke, that his Majesties monition and friendly warning, as it proceedeth from a sincere affection and tender care of his part unto his Nephew, so it may prevaile and take place in your mind, that your grace wisely in weighing with your selfe, what supreme right Princes have and ought to have upon their Churches and lands where they goberne, and what little cause the Bishop of Rome hath thereto, to proceed by unjust censures against them: your Grace may therein not onely stand to the just defence of your deare Uncle, but also may endevour to follow his steps therein, and to take his counsell, which he doubteth not, but shall redound not onely to your Graces honour, to the benefit, weale, and profit of your realme and subjects, but especially to the glory of Almighty God, and advancement of his true religion.

And thus have I expounded unto your Grace, the summe of my errand and message from the Kings Majesty your Uncle, who as he would be glad to be advertised by answer, of your Graces purpose, mind, and intention in this behalfe, so for my part, according to my charge and duty, I shall be prest and ready with all diligence to give mine attendance upon your pleasure for the same accordingly.

The summe and effect of the Kings Message sent to the French King in defence of his proceedings.

The Kings message to the French King.

THe King considering the present state of his marriage, which was not yet well digested nor accepted in the Courts of other Princes: and also having intelligence of the straight amity intended by the marriages betweene the Emperour and the French King, and also of the Popes inclination to pleasure the Emperour, and further understanding of the order and meaning of the French Kings counsell, not greatly favouring his purposes, sent therefore into France for his Embassador Edward Fox Doctor of Divinity, his Chaplaine and Counsellour, with instructions and admonitions how to frame and attemper himselfe in those the Kings affaires. The contents of which his instructions came to this effect: That the said Edward Fox, first declaring to the French King the most affectuous commendations made on the Kings behalfe, with declaration of the Kings most intire and hearty good will to understand of his prosperity, and the good successe of his affaires, which his Majesty no lesse desired than his owne: and also after the Kings letters being delivered to him and to other personages of his counsell, then, after his accesse made unto the King, he should utter and insinuate unto the King his masters mind and intent in these three speciall points following.

Three cauſes to be declared in the Kings defence.

The first was, to declare the justnes of the Kings cause concerning the late marriage with Queene Anne, and divorcement of the King from his brothers wife.

The second to signifie and expresse the injuries done by the Pope, as afterward shall be declared.

The third was, to win and allure to the Kings devotion the Chancellor of France.

And as touching the declaration of the justnesse of the Kings cause, first he taking with him certain bookes printed, containing the determinations of Universities in that behalfe, with reasons and authorities confirming the same, should distribute the said bookes to the bishop of Saint Line, and to other bishops, to Mounsieur de Langez, and other of the Kings Counsell moe, and to prove after the best fashion, to obtaine their approbations of the same bookes, and with dexterity to assay whether he could induce them of the University of Paris, and other learned men, to send forth this booke with their authorities and approbations. That done, then he being acquainted with all those points and articles of the Kings cause, in communicating and conference (as the cause required) should not onely make answer to such things as should be objected, but also furnish and maintaine the justnesse of that opinion, with his learning, in such sort as he could best invent and cogitate.

The Popes injuries done to the King of England.

As touching the second part which contained the injuries done by the Pope against the King, the said Embassadour in that behalfe being a man no lesse acquainted, then also well beaten and ripe in the manifold misbehaviours of the Pope, from the beginning of the cause, should declare and expresse to the French King, how injuriously the said Pope had demeaned himselfe towards the Kings Highnesse: first, in sending a commission decretall, and then commanding it to be burnt: as also in promising by schedule of his owne hand, not to call the cause out of England; and moreover, approving first the justnesse of the Kings cause, yet notwithstanding afterward went from the same and did contrary.

The Pope inconstant in his deeds and contrary to himselfe.

Touching all which injuries received at the Popes hand, though the King had great cause justly to complaine,

plaine, yet other iniuries there were beſide theſe wherewith the King moſt eſpecially was moued.

The Pope calleth and citeth the King to Rome.

The one was for calling and citing the Kings Highneſſe to appeare at Rome.

Two ſpeciall iniuries of the Pope againſt the King.

The other was for reiecting the perſon of the Kings truſty ſubiect and Chapleine, Walter Kerne his Embaſſador, from making ſuch allegations as to the King in that caſe appertained; beſide ſundry other no ſmall griefes and inconueniences, which here might be ſhewed and alleged: but in theſe two eſpeciall iniuries the King thought himſelfe moſt chiefly touched and agrieued. In opening and ripping up of which iniuries, and firſt in the ſaid iniurious calling of the King to Rome, inſtructions were giuen to the ſaid Embaſſador to explicate the open violation therein of the moſt antient and generall Councels, the Councell of Nice, the Councell of Affricke, and the Councell of Milen. In which Councels the contrary was, for quietneſſe of the world, prouided and ordered: Declaring withall, how agreeable the ſame is to all lawes, reaſon, and equity, that Princes ſhould not be compelled to repaire to Rome at the Popes calling, nor be bound in a matter of ſuch weight and moment to ſend out of their Realmes and Dominions, the writings, inſtruments, and monuments containing the ſecrets of their affaires, or to make and truſt a Proctor, being in ſo farre diſtant parts in a matter of ſuch importance, to abide and fulfill that which the ſaid Proctor ſhould agree vnto there. The matter and caſe whereof did not ſo much concerne the ſtate of any one Prince alone, as it touched the dignity of all other Chriſtian Kings ſo neere, that vnleſſe they would ſuffer themſelues to be yoked with the Popes authority, it was time (in as much as the Pope now made this enterpriſe on them) to ſearch and know the bottome and ground both of his and of their authority; and if any thing by negligence or miſuſe had beene loſt, to recouer the ſame, rather than to ſuffer it to decay any more. As touching all which griefes, hurts, inconueniences, preiudice, and euill example which might thereof enſue, the Kings Highneſſe doubted not but that his good brother the French King, would aſſiſt and concurre with his Highneſſe for maintenance and defence of the ſame.

The Pope diſcauterly the counſell of Nice, Aphricke and Milevitan.

The ſecond point to be declared.

For declaration of the ſecond notable griefe and iniury done by the Pope to the Kings Highneſſe, thus furthermore he was willed to inſinuate to the French king, what iniury, or rather contumely the Kings Highneſſe received at the Popes hand, in not ſuffering the Kings ſubiect and Embaſſador to alleage ſuch matter in defence of his Prince, as by law, reaſon, and equity was to be heard and admitted, for as much as the ſaid Embaſſador, Doctor Kerne, the Kings Chapleine being at Rome, at ſuch time as citations were there publiſhed againſt the Kings Highneſſe, and vnderſtanding his Grace by them to be called before one Capaſuccha, Deane of the Rote, was there ready to make anſwer to the Quenes agents complaint, and had by the aduiſe of other great learned men conceiued a certaine matter containing cauſes reaſonable and lawfull, why the Kings Highneſſe ſhould not be bound to appeare there, either by himſelfe, or by his Proctor. Which matter alſo he did exhibit on the Kings behalfe, as a true ſubiect by law of nature is bound to maintaine and allege in defence of his Prince that is abſent, and ought by equity to preſerue him from condemnation. And yet this notwithſtanding, the ſaid Capaſuccha, not regarding nor conſidering the matter alleged, demanded, whether the ſaid Doctor had any prorie from the King, or no, for ſuch purpoſe, and vpon default and lacke of the ſaid prorie (which was not neceſſary in this caſe) proceeded in the principall cauſe. By reaſon whereof the ſaid Doctor Kerne appealed to the Pope, alleging iniury to be done not onely to the Kings Highneſſe, but alſo to himſelfe, for that ſuch matter as he did allege, was not conſidered nor regarded, but proceſſe made. To the which appellation notwithſtanding the ſaid Capaſuccha gaue an ambiguous and a doubtfull anſwer; which was, that as much as Doctor Kerne was by the law a lawfull perſon, ſo much he would giue place, & deferre appellationi, and otherwiſe not.

The Kings Embaſſador ſhould not be heard at Rome.

Thus, vpon declaration of this doubtfull anſwer paſſed certaine daies, the ſaid Capaſuccha promiſing alwaies to open his ſaid anſwer and ſentence more plainly, and to giue a determinate reſolution. Which hee neuertheleſſe did not, albeit hee was diuers times vrged thereunto; but ſo paſſed the time, and ſuddenly returned to proceſſe. Whereupon the ſaid Doctor Kerne appealed eftſoons againe, and put vp a ſupplication to the Pope, for admiſſion of the ſaid appeale. By reaſon whereof the matter was reaſoned in the ſignature. In which ſignature by no law it could be ſhewed why the ſaid Doctor Kerne ſhould not be admitted to alege in defence of the Kings Highneſſe, but onely that they there among themſelues being the greater number, which were of the Emperors Dominions, and feed of him (among which was alſo the ſaid Capaſuccha) gaue their voyces as the Pope ſaid, that Doctor Kerne ſhould not be heard, Sine mandato Regiæ Majeſtatis. Whereunto when Doctor Kerne replyed, ſaying: whatſoeuer they decreed or ſaid, there was no law to maintaine and beare it: it was ſaid againe by Cardinall Anconitate, that the Pope might iudge after his conſcience. And vpon this reſolution, they determined there to proceede in the principall cauſe: vnleſſe the King would ſend a prorie, intending by this iniury and wrong, to inforce his Highneſſe to the exhibition of a prorie there, to his Highneſſe high preiudice, to the pernitious example of the like to be done to other Princes, and alſo to the derogation of the liberties and prerogatiues of his gracious Realme. Vnto the obſeruation whereof his Highneſſe is bound by his oath, and alſo by the ſame oath is bound to recouer and reſtore ſuch liberties and priuileges as by any of his predeceſſors haue beene loſt, diminiſhed or decayed in time paſt.

The Pope would haue the King to appeare by prorie at Rome.

The third part or purpoſe of this meſſage.

Theſe, with other like iniuries and wrongs of the Pope done to the King, the foreſaid Embaſſador D. For, according as he had in charge and commiſſion, did declare, open, and ſhew vnto the French king, to the intent to ſollicite the ſaid king, to doe by his mediation for the remedy and redreſſing of thoſe foreſaid iniuries and wrongfull dealings of the Pope in this behalfe.

Furthermore, for the third purpoſe touching the Chancellor of France, forſomuch as he was one of the chiefe perſonages whom the French king moſt truſted in his great affaires (by whoſe aduice all matters of learning were then conduced and trained) the King thought it not vnprofitable by all waies and meanes to win and allure his friendſhip and amity alſo vnto his deuotion, either that by his meanes and derterity the Kings purpoſes might be aduanced the better, or at leaſt for a Ne noceat; that is, to mitigate and diminiſh ſuch fauour as hee by the Admirall or otherwiſe was moued to ſhew to the Imperialls. For the which cauſe the King committing in charge to his Embaſſador aforeſaid, willed and inſtructed him how and what to doe, and after what manner to attemperate himſelfe to all occaſions and times of opportunity; as firſt to deliuer to him from the King his Letters of credence, and withall to declare and extend the Kings moſt effectuous commendations, with the hearty good will and ſincere affections which his Highneſſe bare to the ſaid Cardinall, Chancellor of France, with no leſſe deſire alſo moſt gladly to do that thing which might be to his commodity and benefit, according as the manifold pleaſures, gratuities,

tuities, and kindnesse done on his part for the Kings Highnesse did worthily deserve. Then after such words of mollification, to enter into further communication with him, in such sort as might best serve his honour.

The vain-glory and avarice of the Cardinall.

And for as much as the Cardinall was then noted much to be moved with the affections of vain-glory and covetise; therefore amongst other communication, it was devised to inferre mention of the Papality, noting what waies and meanes might be used to attaine unto that dignity. Wherein if the Kings highnesse could stand him in any stead, as hee thought the person of the said Chancellor most meet for the same, so hee would not faile to move and to procure it to the best furtherance of his advancement. And finally, to declare how desirous the Kings Highnesse was to retaine and make sure unto him the amity & friendship of the said Chancellor, and that his Highnes devising by what meanes and waies hee might doe the same (albeit his Grace knew well, that the faith and sincerity of the said Chancellor towards his Master was such, as no gift, pension, or other offer could advance or increase that good will which for his Masters sake hee would imploy in the Kings Highnesse affaires) thought, that for declaration of his hearty good will towards the said Chancellor, it were convenient to offer unto him some yeerely remembrance, &c.

The fashion of Princes Courts to be noted.

This was the summe and effect of the Message which the King sent unto the French King, and to other of his Councell, by his Embassador, Master Edward Fore, which was especially to signifie and make manifest to the said French king, the unjust dealings and prejudiciall procedings of the Pope, in calling up the King of England to appeare at Rome by proxie, which was derogatory to the Kings dignity and crowne, and also prejudiciall both to generall Councels of the Primitive time, and to the antient lawes and statutes of this Realme (as is afore declared) and no lesse hurtfull for example to all other Princes and Kings likewise, &c.

Stephen Gardiner Embassador to the French king.

This message so done, shortly after was sent to the said French king, Stephen Gardener, Bishop of Winchester, with the Kings answer and message againe on this manner: That forasmuch as the saying of the French king to the Embassadors was this: That notwithstanding all the Kings Realme should agree and condescend never so much to the right and title which the succession procreated of this his lawfull matrimony hath in this his Realme; yet when outward parties shall conceive any other or contrary opinion thereof, great trouble and, veration might insue. Whereunto the King made answer againe, declaring that hee could not but greatly marvell, that the King his brother, being so wise a Prince, and thereto well expert and learned in Chronicles and Histories, not only of his owne Realme, but also of all others, or any of his Counsell, being men of such experience as they were taken to be, would thinke that the opinion and consent of other outward Realmes was so highly to be considered and regarded of any Prince or King, in establishing or in executing things which might be lawfully done, and which touched the preservation of the rights, prehemінences, dignity, and state of his Realme, and did also notably conferre unto the singular benefit and tranquillity of the same, so as the words both of the said King his brother, and of the great Master did pretend. Who furthermore were not ignorant themselves, that many things have beene by his noble Progenitors Kings of France attempted and done, as well in cases of matrimony, as otherwise, which in some part in the opinion of the Popes of Rome then being, and in some part in the opinion of divers other outward Princes, States, Seigniories, and common people, have beene thought not perfectly good, nor yet much acceptable unto them; and yet that notwithstanding his said Progenitors knowing themselves the prosecuting of those causes to be beneficiall to them and to the Realme, have not therefore desisted from their said purposes, but diligently imploying their owne strength and powers with the succours of their friends, have finally atchieved their said enterprises, without requiring or greatly regarding the opinion or agreement thereunto of outward Princes.

The Kings answer to the French king.

Kings in the right of their Realmes are not bound to the agreement of outward Realmes.

Againe, whereas the Chancellor of France made this overture to the said Bishop of Winchester, Whether the King would be contented to have indifferent Judges to be appointed by the authority of the Pope, to determine his cause, with a Commission decretall from the same, declaring, Quid juris, &c. The King, by his Embassador thereunto answering, declared, that the Pope having done unto him so notable and evident injuries as hee had done, it were his office and duty now to labour himselfe to end this matter, and to study how to make due satisfaction to God and his Justice, which hee hath, tam indignis modis, offended and violated, and to deliver himselfe out of the danger, and the perpetuall infamy of the world, which hee hath incurred by reason of these his most ungodly doings, and not to looke that the King should make any request or sute unto him therefore, or recompence for the same, &c.

The overture of the Chancellor of France, to the King, to take indifferent Judges by the Popes authority.

The Kings answer to the overture.

Furthermore, whereas the Pope, at the request of the French king, had in open Consistory prorouged execution of his censures and excommunication against the King unto the first day of November, and word thereof was sent to the King by his Embassadors, from the great master of France, that the King might have the said prorogation made authentiquely in writing, if hee would: The King answering thereunto, thought it not unprofitable, that his Embassadors resident in France should receive into their hands the possession of the said new prorogation, conceived and written in authentique forme and manner, according to the order of the lawes.

The King requited by the French king to relent to the Pope.

After this againe came other letters to the King from France, namely, from the great Master of France, tending to this end; That if the King would doe nothing for the Pope (meaning by the revocation of such acts of Parliaments as were made in the Realme of England, to the Popes prejudice) it were no reason, neither should it be possible for the French King to induce the Pope to any gratuity or pleasure for the King in his affaires.

The Kings answer to the French kings request.

Whereunto the King answering againe, sendeth word to the French king, trusting and hoping well of the perfect friendship of the French king his good brother, that hee will never suffer any such perswasion to enter into his brest, whatsoever the great Master, or any other shall say to the contrary thereof, nor that hee will require any thing more of him to doe for the Pope, Chancellor, or other, than his Counsell hath already devised to be done in this behalfe, especially, considering the words of the said French kings promise made before, as well to the Duke of Norfolke, as to the other Embassadors, promising his friendship to the King simply, without requiring him to revocate or infringe any such act or constitution made by the Realme and Parliament to the contrary. Perswading moreover, and laying before the eyes as well of the Pope, as of the French king, how much it should redound to the Popes dishonour and infamy, and to the slander also of his cause, if hee should be seene so to pact and covenant with the King upon such conditions, for the administration of that thing which hee in his owne conscience hath reputed and adjudged to be most rightfull and agreeable to justice and equity, and ought of his office and duty to doe in this matter simpliciter & gratis, and without all worldly respects, either for the advancement of

The Pope seeketh not for justice, but his owne lucre and commodity.

of his priuate lucre and commodity, or for the preseruation of his pretensed power and authority. For surely it is not to be doubted, but that the Pope, being minded and determined to giue sentence for the inualidity and nullity of the Kings first pretensed matrimony, hath conceiued and established in his owne conscience a firme and certaine opinion and persuasion, that hee ought of iustice and equity so to doe.

Then to see the Pope to haue this opinion indeed, and yet refuse this to doe for the King, unlesse hee shall be content for his benefit and pleasure, Cedere iuri suo, and to doe some things prejudiciall unto his subiects contrary to his honour: it is easie to be foreseene, what the world and the posterity shall iudge De tam turpi mundinatione iustitiæ, & illius tam fœda & sordida lucri & honoris ambitione. And as for the Kings part, if hee shall not attaine now iustice at the mediation of his good brother, knowing the Pope to be of this disposition and determination in his heart, to satisfie all his desires, being moued thereunto by iustice, and that the let thereof is no default of iustice in the cause, but only for that the King would not condescend to his request: it is to the King matter sufficient enough for discharge of his conscience to God and to the world, although hee neuer did execute indeed his said determination. For sith his corrupt affection is the onely impediment thereof, what need either the King to require him any further to doe in the cause, or else his subiects to doubt any further in the iustnesse of the same.

Albeit if respects to benefits and merits done towards the Pope and See of Rome, should be regarded in the attaining of iustice in a cause of so high consequence as this is, reason would, that if it would please the Pope to consider the former kindnesse of the King shewed unto him in time past, (whereof he is very loth to enter the rehearsall, Ne videatur velle exprobrare quæ de aliis fecerit bene) hee should not now require of him any new benefit or gratuity to be shewed unto him, but rather study to recompence him for the old graces, merits, pleasures and benefits before receiued. For surely hee thinketh that the Pope cannot forget, how that for the conseruation of his person, his estate and dignity, the King hath not heretofore spared for any respect, in using the office of a most perfect and stedfast friend, to relinquish the long continued good will established betweene him and the Emperor, and to declare openly to all the world, that for the Popes sake, and in default of his deliberance, hee would become enemy to the said Emperor, and to make against him actuall warre.

Beside this, the King hath not failed him with right large and ample subuentions of money, for the better supporting of his charges against the enterprises of the said Emperor, combining and knitting himselfe with the French king, to procure the aduancement of the said French kings army into Italy, to the charges whereof the King did beare little lesse than the one halfe: Besides notable losses sustained as well in his customes, subsidies, and other duties, as also to the no little hinderance and damage of his subiects and merchants, occasioned by discontinuance of the traffique and entercourse heretofore used with the Emperors subiects. In doing of all which things, the King hath not beene thus respective, as the Pope now sheweth himselfe towards him, but like a perfect friend hath beene alwaies contented frankly, liberally, and openly to expone all his study, labour, trauell, treasure, puissance, Realme and diuers subiects for the Popes aid, and maintenance of the state and dignity of the Church and See of Rome. Which things although hee doth not here rehearse animo exprobrandi, yet hee doubteth not but the same, weighed in the ballance of any indifferent mans iudgement, shall be thought to be of that weight and value, as that hee hath iustly deserued to haue some mutuall correspondency of kindnesse to be shewed unto him at the Popes hands; especially in the ministration of iustice, and in so reasonable and iust cause as this is, and not thus to haue his most rightfull petition rejected and denied, because hee will not follow his desire and appetite in reuoking of such acts, as be here made and passed for the weale and commodity of his Realme and subiects.

¶ Thus yee haue heard how instantly the King had laboured by the meanes of the French king, to the Pope being then in France, for right and iustice to be done for the dissolution and nullity of his first pretensed matrimony with his brothers wife. Which when it could not be attained at the Popes hands, unlesse the King would recompence and requite the same, by reuoking of such statutes as were made and enacted here in the high Court of Parliament, for the surety of succession and establishment of the Realme; what the King thereunto answered againe, yee heard, declaring that to be a farre unequall recompence and satisfaction for a thing which ought of right and iustice to be ministred unto him, that a King therefore should reuocate and undo the acts and statutes passed by a whole Realme contrary to his owne honour, and weale of his subiects, &c.

Where is moreouer to be vnderstood, how that the Pope with all his papists, and the French king also, and peraduenture Stephen Gardener too, the Kings owne Embassador, had euer a speciall eye to disproue and disappoint the Kings succession by Quæne Anne, whom they knew all to be a great enemy unto the Pope, thinking thereby that if that succession were diminished, the Popes kingdome might soone be restored againe in England. But yet for all their unjust and crafty packing, they were through Gods prouidence frustrate of their desired purpose. For although they so brought to passe the next yeare following, to annull the order of that succession by a contrary Parliament, yet neither did they so annihilate it, but that both King Edward followed, yea, and also the same succession afterward by the said King and other Parliaments was restored againe, and yet, God be praised, hath hitherto raigned, and doth yet flourish in the Realme of England.

Now, as wee haue declared the Kings doings in the Realme of Scotland and of France proceeding further in the Kings proceedings with other Princes, let us see how the King defended himselfe and his cause before the Emperor, sending his Embassador unto him, using these words before his Majestie, as here followeth.

The Oration of the Kings Embassador before the Emperor in defence of his cause.

SIr, the King my Maister, taking and reputing you as his perfect friend, confederate and allie, and not doubting, but you remembring the mutuall kindnesse betweene you in times past, will shew your selfe in all occurrents to be of such minde and disposition, as iustice, truth, and equity doth require, hath willed mee by his Letters, to open and to declare unto you, what hee hath done, and in what wise hee hath proceeded concerning such marriage as by many yeares was supposed to haue beene betweene your Aunt and his Grace. In which matter there being two principall points specially to be regarded and considered: that is to say, the iustice of the cause, and the order of the processe therein, his highnesse hath so vsed him in both, as no man may right-wise complaine of the same.

For as touching the iustnesse of the cause, that is

The Pope seeketh iustice. The Pope doth against his one conscience.

The Pope forgetteth his old benefactors & friends.

The benefits of the King upon the Pope, when Boas taken by the D. of Burbon.

Mistook that time for a time.

The crafty packing of the Papists.

The papists frustrate of their purpose.

The Oration of the Embassador to the Emperor.

Diuisions consisting in two parts.

The instnesse of the Kings cause.

is to say, of that marriage betweene him and your said Aunt to be naught, and of no moment, ne effect, but against the Law of God, nature, and man, and indispensable by the Pope, and in no wise available; his highnesse hath done therein as much as becommeth him for discharge of his conscience, and hath found so certaine, so evident, so manifest, so open and approved truth, as whereunto his Majesty ought of good congruence to give place, and which by all other ought to be allowed and received, not as a matter doubtfull, disputable, or depending in question and ambiguity; but as a plaine determined and discussed verity of the true understanding of Gods Word and Law, which all Christian men must follow and obey, and before all other worldly respects preferre and execute. In attaining the knowledge whereof, if his Highnesse had used onely his owne particular judgement and sentence, or the mind only and opinion of his owne naturall subjects (although the same might in his conscience have sufficed) it would not much have repugned, if some other had made difficulty to assent to him in the same, till further discussion had been made thereupon. But now, for as much as besides his owne certaine understanding, and the agreement of his whole Clergy to the same in both Provinces of this Realme, his Majesty hath also for him the determination of the most famous Universities of Christendome, and most indifferent to pronounce and give judgement in this case, and among them, the University of Bononi, (all feare of the Pope set apart) concluding against his power, and also Padua (the Venetians threats not regarded) giving their sentence for the truth and evident words of Gods Law; there should no man, as seemeth to him, gaine-say, or withstand, either in word or deed, the truth thus opened, but for his honour and duty to the observation of Gods Law, willingly embrace and receive the same.

Universities standing with the Kings cause.

According whereunto his Grace perceiveth also as well in his Realme, as elsewhere, as a notable consent and agreement amongst all Divines, and such as have studied for knowledge of Gods Law without contradiction of any number, unlesse it be such as applying their minde to the maintenance of worldly affections, doe either in defence of such lawes as they have studied, or for satisfaction of their private appetite, forbeare to agree unto the same. The number of whom is so small, as in the discerning of truth it ought not to be regarded in a case so plainly described and determined by Gods Word, as this is.

Both the number and matter maketh with the King.

And if percase your Majesty here not regarding the number, but the matter, shall seeme to consider in this case, not so much who speaketh, as what is spoken; to answer thereunto, I say, Sir, the King my Master is of the same minde, for his owne satisfaction, and taketh himselfe to be in the right, not because so many say it, but because hee being learned, knoweth the matter to be right. Nevertheless reason would, and inforceth also, that strangers to the cause, and not parties therein, should be induced to believe that to be truth that such a number of Clerks doe so constantly affirme; especially not being otherwise learned to be judges of their sayings, as your Majesty is not. And if you were, then could your Highnesse shew such reasons, authorities and grounds as cannot be taken away, and be so firme and stable, as they ought not of Christian men in any part to be impugned, like as hath beene partly heretofore shewed by his sundry Embassadors to your Imperiall Majesty, and should eftsoons be done, were it not too great an injury to that which is already passed in the Realm, to dispute the same againe in any other Countrey: which being contrarious to the Lawes and Ordinances of his Realme, he trusteth your prudency will not require, but take that which is past for a thing done, and justly done; and as for Gods part, to leave his conscience to himselfe, Qui Domino suo stat aut cadit; and for the world, to passe over as a friend that which nothing toucheth you, and not to marvell though the said King my Master, regarding the wealth of his soule principally, with the commodity of his person, and so great benefit and quiet of his Realme, have percase done that which he for his privat phantasie would had not chanced; like as his Highnesse also would wish it had not hapned that such cause had been given unto him to compell him so to doe.

But these things in their outward visage be but worldly, and inwardly touch and concerne the soule. Quid autem prodest homini si universum mundum lucretur, animæ vero suæ detrimentum patiatur? Primùm quærite regnum Dei, &c. And yet neither is his Highnesse ignorant what respect is to be had unto the world, and how much hee hath laboured and travelled therein, hee hath sufficiently declared and shewed to the world in his acts and procedings. For if hee had utterly contemned the order and processe of the world, or the friendship and amity of your Majesty, hee needed not to have sent so often and sundry Embassates to the Pope, and to you both, nor continued and spent his time in delayes, as hee hath done hitherto, but might many yeares past have done that hee hath done now, if it had so liked him, and with as little difficulty then as now, if hee would have without such respect followed his pleasure in that behalfe. But now I doubt not, your Majesty doth well remember how often the King my Master hath sent unto your highnesse, and that your Majesty hath heard also what suites hee hath made to the Pope, and how the said Pope hath handled him againe, onely in delay and dalliance, with open commission given to his Legates to determine and give sentence for him by a Commission decretall, and secretly to give him instructions to suspend and put over the same. By which meanes, and other semblable, hee perceived plainly himselfe to be brought into such a labyrinth, as going forward that way hee were like to come to no end, and was therefore compelled to step right forth at once to the mazes end, there to quiet and repose himselfe at the last.

The second part of his Oration touching the manne of the Kings procedings.

How the Pope dallied with the King by delayes.

And is it not time to have an end in seven yeares, or else to seeke for it another way? The Pope hath shewed himselfe both unwilling to have an end, and also ready and prone to doe him injury, as well in citing him to Rome, as also sending forth certaine Briefes to his Grace slanderous, and for the injustice and iniquity of them, to himselfe dishonourable: and hee gave his Highnesse good and just cause to suspect, whether any end to be made at his hand (if any hee would make) might be in his conscience received and followed. For the Pope doing injury in some point, why should hee be thought a convenient Judge, not using himselfe indifferently in this matter (as many mo particularities may be shewed and declared) considering there is a generall Councell, willing all matters to be determined where they first began, and that the whole body of our Realme hath, for the wealth of the same, by a law established the determination of such causes? By reason whereof the Bishop of Canturbury, as Metropolitane of our Realme, hath given sentence in due judgement for the Kings party. It is not to be asked, nor questioned, whether that matter hath been determined after the common fashion, but whether it hath in it common Justice, truth, and equity of Gods Law? For observation of the common order, his Grace hath done that lay in him, and inforced by necessity, hath found the true order maintainable by Gods Word and generall Councels, which he hath in substance followed with effect, and hath done as becommeth him, tendering either Gods Law, or his Person, or the wealth of his Realme, like as hee doubteth not but

This generall Councell was the first Councell of Constantinople.

your

your Majesty (as a wise Prince) remembring his cause from the beginning hitherto, will of your selfe consider and thinke, that among mortall men nothing should be immortall, and suites must once have an end, Si possis recte, si non quocunque modo. And if hee cannot as hee would, his Highnesse then to doe as hee may; and hee that hath a journey to be perfected, must, if hee cannot goe one way, allay another. Whatsoever hath been herein done, necessity hath inforced him (that is to say, Gods Law) in the matter, and such manner of dealing of the Pope as hee hath shewed unto him in the same, doing sundry injuries without effect of justice, wherein hee promised the same. But as for the Kings matter to the Pope, hee shall intreat with him apart. As touching your Majesty, hee taketh you for his friend, and as to a friend he openeth these matters unto you, trusting to find your Majesty no lesse friendly hereafter unto him, than hee hath done heretofore.

By these matters thus passed and discoursed to and fro betweene the King and these forraine Princes above rehearsed, many things are to be understood of the Reader, whose is disposed to behold and consider the state and proceeding of publike affairs, as well to the Church appertaining, as to the commonwealth. First, how the King cleareth himselfe both justly and reasonably for his divorce made with the Lady Katharine, the Emperors Aunt. Secondly, how hee proveth and defendeth his marriage with Quæne Anne to be just and lawfull, both by the authority of Gods Word, and the comprobation of the best and most famous learned men and Universities, and also by the assent of the whole Realme.

The Kings divorce just.

The Kings marriage with Quæne Anne lawfull.

The Pope appelled.

Furthermore, for the stablishing of the Kings succession in the Imperiall crowne of this Realme, for the suppression of the Pope, and uniting the title of supremacy unto the Kings Crowne, what order was therein taken, and what penalty was set upon the same, may appeare by the act of Parliament set forth, Anno 1534. Ex H. reg. 26. cap. 13. in these words following.

The Kings Supremacy. An. 26. H. 8. cap. 13.

If any person or persons after the first of February next, doe maliciously imagine, invent, practice, or attempt to deprive the King of the dignity, title, or name of his royall estate, &c. that then every such person and persons so offending in any of the premisses, their aiders, counsellors, consenters, and abettors, being thereof lawfully convict, according to the lawes and customes of this Realme, shall be reputed, accepted, and adjudged traytors, and that every such offence in any the premisses committed or done after the said first day of February, shall be reputed, accepted, and adjudged high treason; and the offenders therein, their aiders, consenters, counsellors, and abettors, being lawfully convict of any such offence, shall have and suffer such paines of death and other penalties, as is limitted and accustomed in cases of high treason.

Forging of the Kings Supremacy made Statute.

Upon this and such other acts concluded in those Parliaments, what stomacke the Pope tooke, what fierre hee kept, and what practises he wrought with Cardinall Poole, to stirre up other nations to war against us, what difficulty also there was with the Emperor, with the French king, and with the King of Scots, about the matter, and what labour was used on the Kings part to reconcile the Princes for his owne indemnity, to keepe from him their wars and invasions, and specially to obtaine the Popes approbation, and to avoid his censures of excommunication, and finally, what despitefull injuries, and open wrongs the Pope wrought against him, upon the which Pope the King had bestowed so much money, and great treasures before, all this likewise by the premisses may appeare.

Wherefore, to end now with these, and to goe forward in our story, as the order and computation of yeares doe give, we have now consequently to enter into the story of the good Martyr of God, William Tyndall, being this present yeare sadly betrayed and put to death. Which William Tyndall, as he was a speciall Organe of the Lord appointed, and as Gods mattocke to shake the inward rootes, and foundation of the Popes proud Prelacy, so the great Prince of darknesse, with his impious imps, having a speciall malice against him, left no way unsought how craftily to intrap him, and sadly to betray him, and maliciously to spill his life, as by the processe of his story here following may appeare.

The Life and Story of the true Servant and Martyr of God, *William Tyndall*; who, for his notable paines and travell may well be called the Apostle of England in this our later age.

William Tyndall, martyr. Anno 1536.

WIlliam Tyndall, the faithfull Minister and constant Martyr of Christ, was borne about the borders of Wales, and brought up from a childe in the University of Oxford, where hee by long continuance grew up, and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues, and other liberall Arts, as specially in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereunto his minde was singularly addicted: Insomuch that hee, lying then in Magdalen Hall, read privily to certaine Students and fellowes of Magdalen College some parcell of Divinity; instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. Whose manners also and conversation, being correspondent to the same, were such, that all they that knew him, reputed and esteemed him to be a man of most vertuous disposition, and of life unspotted.

The first taste of Gods truth in Magdalen College by the meanes of W. Tyndall.

Thus hee, in the University of Oxford increasing more and more in learning, and proceeding in degrees of the Schooles, spying his time, removed from thence to the University of Cambridge, where after hee had likewise made his abode a certaine space, being now further ripened in the knowledge of Gods Word, leaving that University also, he resorted to one master Welch a Knight of Glocester-shire, and was there Schoolemaster to his children, and in good favour with his Master. This Gentleman, as hee kept a good ordinary commonly at his table, there resorted to him many times sundry Abbats, Deanes, Archdeacons, with divers other Doctors, and great beneficed men; who there together with Master Tyndall sitting at the same table, did use many times to enter communication and talke of learned men, as of Luther, and of Erasmus; also of divers other controversies and questions upon the Scripture.

Then Master Tyndall, as hee was learned and well practised in Gods matters, so hee spared not to shew unto them simply and plainly his judgement in matters, as hee thought: and when as they at any time did vary from Tyndall in opinions and judgement, hee would shew them in the booke, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirme his sayings. And thus continued they for a certaine season, reasoning and contending together divers and sundry times, till at length they waxed weary, and bare a secret grudge in their hearts against him.

Tyndall disputing with the Doctors.

Not long after this, it happened that certaine of these great Doctors had invited M. Welch and his wife to a banquet; where they had talke at will and pleasure, uttering their blindnesse and ignorance without any resistance or gain-saying. Then Master Welch and his wife, comming home, and calling for M. Tyndall, began to reason with him about those matters, whereof the Priests had talked before at

Tindall instructeth M. Welch and his wife in the truth.

at their banquet, Master Tyndall answering by Scriptures, maintained the truth, and reproved their false opinions. Then said the Lady Welch, a stout and a wise woman (as Tyndall reported) Well (said she) there was such a Doctor which may dispend an hundred pounds, and another two hundred pounds, and another three hundred pounds: and what, were it reason, thinke you, that wee should believe you before them? Master Tyndall gave her no answer at that time, and also after that (because hee saw it would not availe) hee talked but little in those matters. At that time hee was about the translation of a booke called Enchiridion militis Christiani, which being translated, hee delivered to his Master and Lady. Who, after they had read and well perused the same, the Doctorly Prelates were no more so often called to the house, neither had they the cheere and countenance when they came, as before they had. Which thing they marking, and well perceiving, and supposing no lesse but it came by the meanes of Master Tyndall, refrained themselves, and at last, utterly withdrew themselves, and came no more there.

Enchiridion a booke of Erasmus, translated by Tyndall.

The Priests storme against Tyndall.

As this grew on, the Priests of the countrey clustering together, began to grudge and storme against Tyndall, railing against him in Alehouses and other places. Of whom Tyndall himselfe, in his prologue before the first Booke of Moses, thus testifieth in his owne words, and reporteth that hee suffered much in that countrey by a sort of unlearned Priests, being full rude and ignorant (saith hee) God knoweth: (which have scene no more Latine, than that only which they reade in their Portesses and Missalles: which yet many of them can scarcely reade) except it be Albertus de secretis mulierum, in which yet, though they be never so sorrily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to teach the Midwives, as they say, and also another called Lindwood, a Booke of Constitutions to gather Tythes, Mortuaries, Offerings, Customes, and other pillage, which they call not theirs, but Gods part, the duty of Holy-Church, to discharge their consciences with all. For they are bound that they shall not diminish but increase all things unto the uttermost of their powers, which pertaine to Holy-Church. Thus these blind and rude Priests flocking together to the Alehouse (for that was their preaching place) raged and railed against him, affirming that his sayings were heresie: adding moreover unto his sayings, of their owne heads, more than ever hee spake, and so accused him secretly to the Chancellor, and other of the Bishops officers.

The rudenesse of the country Priests.

Tindall troubled by the Priests of the countrey.

It followed not long after this, that there was a sitting of the Bishops Chancellor appointed, and warning was given to the Priests to appeare; amongst whom Master Tyndall was also warned to be there. And whether hee had any misdoubt by their threatnings, or knowledge given him that they would lay some things to his charge, it is uncertaine: but certaine this is (as hee himselfe declared) that hee doubted their privy accusations; so that hee by the way, in going thitherwards, cryed in his mind heartily to God, to give him strength fast to stand in the truth of his Word.

Tyndall called before the Bishops Chancellor.

Tyndall could not have his accusers brought out.

When when the time came of his appearance before the Chancellor, hee threatned him grievously, reviling and rating him as though hee had beene a Dog, and laid to his charge many things whereof no accuser yet could be brought forth, (as commonly their manner is, not to bring forth the accuser) notwithstanding that the Priests of the Countrey the same time were there present. And thus Master Tyndall after those examinations, escaping out of their hands, departed home, and returned to his Master againe.

One good old Doctor amongst many naught.

The Pope Antichrist.

There dwelt not farre off a certaine Doctor, that had beene an old Chancellor before to a Bishop, who had beene of old familiar acquaintance with Master Tyndall, and also favoured him well. Unto whom Master Tyndall went and opened his mind upon divers questions of the Scripture: For to him hee durst be bold to disclose his heart. Unto whom the Doctor said; Doe you not know that the Pope is very Antichrist, whom the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life: and said moreover, I have beene an Officer of his; but I have given it up, and defie him and all his works.

The Blasphemy of a blinde Doctor.

The Popes Law preferred before Gods Law.

It was not long after, but Master Tyndall happened to be in the company of a certaine Divine, recounted for a learned man, and in communing and disputing with him, hee drave him to that issue, that the said great Doctor burst out into these blasphemous words, and said; Wee were better to be without Gods Lawes than the Popes. M. Tyndall hearing this, full of godly zeale, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replyed againe, and said; I defie the Pope, and all his lawes: and further added; that if God spared him life, ere many yeares hee would cause a boy that driveth the Plough to know more of the Scripture than hee did.

After this, the grudge of the Priests increasing still more and more against Tyndall, they never ceased barking and rating at him, and laid many sore things to his charge, saying, that he was an heretique in Sophistrie, an heretique in Logicke, an heretique in Divinity: and said moreover to him, That he bare himselfe bold of the Gentlemen there in that countrey; but notwithstanding, shortly hee should be otherwise talked withall. To whom Master Tyndall answering againe, thus said, That hee was contented they should bring him into any countrey in all England, giving him ten pounds a yeare to live with, and binding him to no more but to teach children and to preach.

Tyndall departeth from M. Iffley Welch.

To be short, Master Tyndall being so molested and vexed in the countrey by the Priests, was constrained to leave that countrey, and to seeke another place: and so comming to Master Welch, hee desired him of his good will that hee might depart from him, saying on this wise to him; Sir, I perceive that I shall not be suffered to tarry long here in this countrey, neither shall you be able, though you would, to keepe mee out of the hands of the spiritualty; and also what displeasure might grow thereby to you by keeping mee, God knoweth: for the which I should be right sorry. So that in fine, Master Tyndall, with the good will of his Master, departed, and effsones came up to London, and there preached a while, according as hee had done in the countrey before, and specially about the towne of Bristoll, and also in the said towne in the common place called S. Austines greene. At length he bethinking himselfe of Cuthbert Tonstall then Bishop of London, and especially for the great commendation of Erasmus, who in his annotations so extolleth him for his learning, thus cast with himselfe, that if hee might attaine unto his service, hee were a happy man. And so comming to Sir Henry Gilford the Kings Controller, and bringing with him an Oration of Isocrates which hee had then translated out of Greeke into English, hee desired him to speake to the said Bishop of London for him: which he also did, and willed him moreover to write an Epistle to the Bishop, and to go himselfe with him. Which hee did likewise, and delivered his Epistle to a servant of his, named William Hebilthwait, a man of his old acquaintance. But God, who secretly disposeth the course of things, saw that was not the best for Tyndalls purpose, nor for the profit of his Church, and therefore gave him to find little favour in the Bishops sight. The answer of whom was this; That his house was full, he had more than hee could well finde, and advised him to seeke in London

Tyndall cometh to London.

An Oration Isocrates translated out of Greeke into English by Tyndall.

Tyndall sueth to Bishop Tonstall to his Chaplein.

Tonstall refuseth M. Tyndall.

dom abroad, where he said he could lacke no service, &c. And so remained he in London the space almost of a yere, beholding and marking with himselfe the course of the world, and especially the demeanor of the Preachers, how they boasted themselves, and set up their authority and Kingdome: beholding also the pompe of the Prelates, with other things moe which greatly misliked him. Insomuch that he understood not onely there to be no roome in the bishops house for him to translate the New Testament; but also that there was no place to doe it in all England. And therefore finding no place for his purpose within the Realme, and having some aide and provision by Gods providence ministred unto him by Humfrey Mumouth above recited, (as you may see before) and certain other good men, he tooke his leave of the realme, and departed into Germany. Where the good man, being inflamed with a tender care and zeale of his countrey, refused no travell nor diligence how by all meanes possible to reduce his brethren and countrimen of England to the same taste and understanding of Gods holy Word and verity, which the Lord had indued him withall.

Tindall departeth into Germany.

The causes moving Tindall to translate the Scripture to the English tongue.

Wherupon he considering in his mind, and partly also conferring with John Frith, thought with himselfe no way more to conduce thereunto, then if the Scripture were turned into the vulgar speech, that the poore people might also read and see the simple plaine Word of God. For first, he wisely calling in his mind perceived by experience, how that it was not possible to stablish the lay people in any truth, except the Scripture were so plainely laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the processe, order, and meaning of the text: For else whatsoever truth should be taught them, these enemies of the truth would quench it againe, either with apparant reasons of Sophistry and traditions of their owne making, founded without all ground of Scripture; or else jugling with the text, expounding it in such a sence, as impossible it were to gather of the text, if the right proces, order and meaning thereof were seene.

Tindall went into Saxony.

Tindall came to Antwerpe.

Againe, right well he perceived and considered, this onely, or most chiefly to be the cause of all mischiefe in the Church, that the Scriptures of God were hidden from the peoples eyes; For so long the abominable doings, and idolatries maintained by the Pharisaicall Clergy, could not be spied, and therefore all their labour was with might and maine to keepe it downe, so that either it should not be read at all, or if it were, they would darken the right sence with the mysk of their Sophistry, and so entangle them which rebuked or despised their abhominations, with arguments of Philosophy, and with worldly similitudes, and apparant reasons of naturall wisedome; and with wresting the Scripture unto their owne purpose, contrary unto the processe, order, and meaning of the Text, would so delude them in descanting upon it with allegories, and amaze them, expounding it in many senses laid before the unlearned lay people, that though thou felt in thy heart, and wert sure that all were false that they said, yet couldst thou not salve their subtill riddles.

Being of Scripture the use of miss.

The new Testament and the 5 bookes of Moses translated with Tindals prologues.

For these and such other considerations this good man was moved (and no doubt stirred up of God) to translate the Scripture into his mother tongue, for the publique utility and profit of the simple vulgar people of the Countrey; first setting in hand with the new Testament, which he first translated about the yere of our Lord 1527. After that he tooke in hand to translate the Old Testament, finishing the five bookes of Moses, with sundry most learned and godly prologues prefixed before every one, most worthy to be read and read againe of all good Christians; as the like also he did upon the new Testament.

He wrote also divers other workes under sundry titles, amongst the which is that most worthy monument of his, entituled, The obedience of a Christian man; wherein with singular dexterity he instructeth all men in the office and duty of Christian obedience; with divers other Treatises; as The wicked Mammon, the practise of Prelates; with Expositions upon certaine parts of the Scripture, and other Books also, answering to Sir Tho. More, and other adversaries of the truth, no lesse delectable, than also most fruitfull to be read; which partly before being unknowne unto many, partly also being almost abolished and worne out by time, the Printer hereof (good Reader) for conserving and restoring such singular treasures, hath collected and set forth in print the same in one generall Volume, all and whole together, as also the Workes of John Frith, Barnes, and other, as are to be seene, most specially and profitable for thy reading.

The bookes of William Tindall being compiled, published, and sent over into England, it cannot be spoken what a doore of light they opened to the eyes of the whole English Nation, which before were many yeres shut up in darknesse.

At his first departing out of the realme he tooke his journey into the further parts of Germany, as into Saxony, where he had conference with Luther, and other learned men in those quarters, where after that he had continued a certaine season, he came downe from thence into the Netherlands, and had his most abiding in the Towne of Antwerp, untill the time of his apprehension, whereof more shall be said (God willing) hereafter.

Amongst his other bookes which he compiled, one Worke he made also for the declaration of the Sacrament (as it was then called) of the Altar; the which he kept by him, considering how the people were not as yet fully perswaded in other matters tending to superstitious ceremonies and grosse idolatry. Wherefore he thought as yet time was not come to put forth that Worke, but rather that it should hinder the people from other instructions, supposing that it would seeme to them odious to heare any such thing spoken, or set forth at that time, sounding against their great goddesse Diana, that is, against their Masse, being had every where in great estimation, as was the goddesse Diana amongst the Ephesians, whom they thought to come from heaven.

Tindall beating with time.

Wherefore Master Tindall being a man both prudent in his doings, and no lesse zealous in the setting forth of Gods holy truth, after such sort as it might take most effect with the people, did forbeare the putting forth of that worke, not doubting but by Gods mercifull grace, a time should come to have that abhomination openly declared, as it is at this present day, the Lord Almighty be alwaies praised therefore, Amen.

Darkenesse hateth light.

These godly bookes of Tindall, and especially the New Testament of his Translation, after that they began to come into mens hands, and to spread abroad, as they wrought great and singular profit to the godly; so the ungodly envying and disdaining that the people should be any thing wiser than they, and againe fearing lest by the shining beames of truth, their false hypocrisie and workes of darknesse should be discerned, began to stirre with no small adoe, like as at the birth of Christ Herod and all Hierusalem was troubled with him. But especially Satan the Prince of darknesse, maligning the happy course and successe of the Gospell, set to his might also, how to impeach and hinder the blessed travels of that man; as by this, and also by sundry other mates may appeare. For at what time Tindall had translated the fifth booke of Moses called Deuteronomium, minding to print the same at Vamborough, he sailed thitherward: where by the

Satan an enemy to all good purposes, especially to the Gospell.

William Tindall lost his bookes and copies by shipwracke.

way upon the coast of Holland hee suffered shipwracke, by the which he lost all his bookes, writings and copies, and so was compelled to begin all againe anew, to his hinderance and doubling of his labours. Thus having lost by that ship both money, his copies and time, he came in another ship to Hamborough, where at his appointment master Coverdale tarried for him, and helped him in the translating of the whole five bookes of Moses, from Easter till December, in the house of a worshipfull widow, mistresse Margaret Van Emmerson, Anno 1529, a great sweating sickenesse being the same time in the Towne. So having dispatched his businesse at Hamborough, he returned afterward to Antwerpe againe.

M. Coverdale a helper of M. Tindall in the translation of the Testament.

Thus as Satan is and ever hath beene an enemy to all godly endeavours, and chiefely to the promoting and furtherance of Gods Word, as by this and many other experiments may be seene, so his ministers and members, following the like quality of their master, be not altogether idle for their parts; as also by the Popes Chaplens and Gods enemies, and by their cruell handling of the said master Tyndall the same time, both here in England and in Flanders, may well appeare.

When Gods will was that the new Testament in the common tongue should come abroad, Tindall the translator thereof added to the later end a certaine Epistle, wherein he desired them that were learned to amend, if ought were found amisse. Wherefore if any such default had beene, deserving correction, it had been the part of courtesie and gentlenesse, for men of knowledge and judgement to have shewed their learning therein, and to have redressed that which was to be amended. But the spirituall fathers then of the clergy, being not willing to have that booke to prosper, cryed out upon it, bearing men in hand, that there were a thousand heresies in it, and that it was not to be corrected, but utterly to be suppressed. Some said it was not possible to translate the Scripture into English; some that it was not lawfull for the lay people to have it in their mother-tongue, some that it would make them all heretikes. And to the intent to induce the temporall Rulers also unto their purpose, they made matter, and sayd that it would make the people to rebell and rise against the King. All this Tindall himselfe in his owne Prologue before the first booke of Moses declareth, and addeth further, shewing what great paines was taken in examining that translation, and comparing it with their owne imaginations and termes, that with lesse labour, he supposeth, they might have translated themselves a great part of the bible: shewing moreover, that they scanned and examined every title and poynt in the said translation, in such sort and so narrowly, that there was not one i. therein, but if it lacked a pricke over his head, they did note it, and numbred it unto the ignorant people for an heresie. So great were then the froward devises of the English clergy (who should have beene the guids of light unto the people) to drive the people from the text and knowledge of the Scripture, which neither they would translate themselves, nor yet abide it to be translated of others; to the intent (as Tyndall saith) that the Word being kept still in darkenesse, they might sit in the consciences of the people through vaine superstition and false doctrine, to satisfie their lusts, their ambition, and unsatiable covetousnesse, and to exalt their owne honour, above King and Emperour, yea and above God himselfe, Hæc ille.

The practice of popish prelates to keepe the Scripture from the people.

The causes why the Popes Clergy could not abide the Scripture in the common tongue.

The Bishops and Prelats of the realme, thus (as ye have heard) incensed and enflamed in their minds, although having no cause, against the old and new Testament of the Lord newly translated by Tyndall, and conspiring together with all their heads and counsels, how to repeale the same, never rested, before they had brought the King at last to their consent. By reason whereof, a Proclamation in all haste was devised and set forth under publike authority, but no just reason shewed, that the Testament of Tyndals translation, with other workes moe both of his and of other Writers, were inhibited and abandoned, as ye heard before. Which was about the yeare of our Lord, 1527. And yet not contented herewith, they proceeded further, how to entangle him in their nets, and to bereave him of his life. Which how they brought to passe, now it remaineth to be declared.

them and the t stament, calli it *Doctrinam peregrinam*, strange doctrine.

In the Registers of London it appeareth manifestly, how that the bishops and Sir Thomas More having any poore man under Coram, to be examined before them, namely such as had beene a Antwerpe, most studiously would search and examine all things belonging to Tyndall, where and with whom he holed, whereabout stood the house, what was his stature, in what apparrell he went, what resort he had, &c. All which things when they had diligently learned (as may appeare by the examination of Simon Smith and others) then began they to worke their feats, as you shall heare by the relation of his owne host.

Privy conspiration of the Bishops against M. Tindall.

William Tyndall, being in the Towne of Antwerpe, had beene lodged about one whole yeere in the house of Thomas Poyntz an Englishman, who kept there an house of English Marchants. About which time came thither one out of England, whose name was Henry Philips, his father being cuckomer of Powle, a comely fellow, like as he had been a Gentleman, having a servant with him, but wherefore he came, or for what purpose he was sent thither no man could tell.

The order a manner of ta king of Tin dall, testified Poyntz his host.

Master Tyndall divers times was desired forth to dinner and supper amongst Merchants; by the meanes whereof this Henry Philips became acquainted with him, so that within short space Master Tyndall had a great confidence in him, and brought him to his lodging to the house of Thomas Poynts, and had him also once or twice with him to dinner and supper, and further entered such friendship with him, that through his procurement hee lay in the same house of the said Poyntz; to whom he shewed moreover his bookes and other secrets of his study, so little did Tyndall then mistrust this traytor.

The friendsh of Tindall shewed to P lips his betrayer.

But Poynts, having no great confidence in the fellow, asked Master Tyndall how he came acquainted with this Philips. Master Tyndall answered, that hee was an honest man handsomely learned and very comfortable. Then Poyntz, perceiving that hee bare such favour to him, sayd no more, thinking that hee was brought acquainted with him by some friend of his. The sayd Philips being in the Towne three or foure daies, upon a time desired Poyntz to walke with him forth of the Towne to shew him the commodities thereof, and in walking together without the Towne, had communication of divers things, and some of the Kings affaires: by the which talke Poyntz as yet suspected nothing, but after by the sequele of the matter hee perceived more what hee intended. In the meane time this hee well perceived, that hee bare no great favour eyther to the setting forth of any good thing, or to the procedings of the King of England. But after, when the time was past, Poyntz perceived this to be his mind, to feele if hee could perceive by him, whether hee might breake with him in the matter for lucre of money, to helpe him to his purpose: for he perceived before that he was monied, and would that Poyntz should thinke no lesse; but by whom, it was unknowne.

The papist will spare n cost to fulfi their malici enterprises.

unknowne. For he had desired Pointz before to help him to divers things, and such things as he named he required might be of the best, for said he, I have money enough: but of this talke came nothing but that men should thinke hee had some things to doe; for nothing else followed of his talke. So it was to be suspected, that Philips was in doubt to move this matter for his purpose to any of the Rulers or Officers of the towne of Antwerpe, for doubt it should come to the knowledge of some Englishmen, and by the meanes thereof M. Tindall should have had warning.

Philips well mounted by the English bishops.

So Philips went from Antwerp to the Court of Bruxels, which is from thence twenty foure English miles, the King having there no Embassador: for at that time the King of England and the Emperour were at a controversie, for the question betwixt the King and the lady Katharine, which was Aunt to the Emperor, and the discord grew so much, that it was doubted lest there should have bene warre betweene the Emperor and the King, so that Philips as a Traitor both against God and the King, was there the better retained, as also other traitors moe besides him: who after he had betraied Master Tindall into their hands, shewed himselfe against the Kings owne person, and there set forth things against the King. To make short, the said Philips did so much there, that he procured to bring from thence with him to Antwerpe that procuror generall, which is the Emperours Atturney, with certaine other Officers, as after followeth. The which was not done with small charges and expences, from whomsoever it came.

Within a while after, Pointz sitting at his doore, Philips man came unto him, and asked whether Master Tyndall were there, and said, his master would come to him, and so departed. But whether his master Philips were in the towne or not, it was not knowne; but at that time Pointz heard no more, neither of the master nor of the man. Within three or foure daies after, Pointz went forth to the Towne of Barrow being eightene English miles from Antwerpe, where he had businesse, to dos for the space of a moneth or six weekes, and in the time of his absence Henry Philips came againe to Antwerpe to the house of Pointz, and comming in spake with his wife asking her for master Tyndall, and whether hee would dine there with him, saying; What good meate shall we have? She answered, such as the market will give. Then went he forth againe (as it is thought) to provide, and set the Officers which hee brought with him from Bruxels, in the street, and about the doore. Then about noone he came againe and went to Master Tyndall, & desired him to lend him forty shillings; for (said he) I lost my purse this morning, coming over at the passage betweene this and Bachelin. So master Tyndall tooke him forty shillings, the which was easie to be had of him, if he had it, for in the wyly subtilties of this world he was simple and unexpert.

Hee Philips desired and beheld of M. Tindall.

He simplicity of M. Tindall.

Then said Philips, master Tyndall you shall be my guest here this day. No said master Tindall, I goe forth this day to dinner, and you shall goe with me and be my guest, where you shall be welcome. So when it was dinner time, master Tindal went forth with Philips, and at the going out of Pointz house was a long narrow entry, so that two could not goe in a front. M. Tindall would have put Philips before him, but Philips would in no wise, but put Master Tindall afore, for that he pretended to shew great humanity. So Master Tindall, being a man of no great stature, went before, and Philips a tall comely person followed behinde him; who had set officers on either side of the doore upon two seats, which being there might see who came in the entry; and comming through the same entry, Philips pointed with his finger over M. Tindals head downe to him, that the officers which sat at the doore might see that it was he who they should take, as the officers that took M. Tindall afterward told Pointz, and said to Pointz when they had laid him in prison, that they pitied to see his simplicity when they tooke him. Then they tooke him and brought him to the Emperours Atturney or Procuror generall, where he dined. Then came the Procuror generall to the house of Pointz, and sent away all that was there of master Tindals, as well his books as other things, and from thence Tindall was had to the Castle of Filford, eightene English miles from Antwerpe, and there he remained untill he was put to death.

Hot Tindall was betrayed into his enemies hands.

Tindall had to the Castle of Filford.

Then incontinent, by the helpe of English Merchants, were letters sent in the favour of Tindall to the Court of Bruxels. Also not long after Letters were directed out of England to the Counsell at Brussels, and sent to the Merchants adventurers to Antwerpe, commanding them to see that with speed they should be delivered. Then such of the chief of the Merchants as were there at that time being called together, required the said Pointz to take in hand the delivery of those letters, with letters also from them in the favour of Master Tindall, to the Lord of Barrow and others; the which Lord of Barrow (as it was told Pointz by the way) at that time was departed from Bruxels, as the chiefest Conductor of the eldest daughter of the King of Denmarke, to be married to the Palesgrave, whose mother was sister to the Emperor, she being chiefe Princesse of Denmarke. Who, after he heard of his departure, did ride after the next way, and overtooke him at Acon, where he delivered to him his letters. The which when he had received and read, he made no direct answer, but somewhat objecting, said; there were of their countrey men that were burned in England not long before, as indeed there were Anabaptists burned in Smithfield; and so Pointz said to him: howbeit, said he, whatsoever the crime was, if his Lordship or any other Noble man had written, requiring to have had them, he thought they should not have bene denied. Well, said he, I have no leisure to write, for the Princesse is ready to ride.

Letters sent from England by the Lord Cromwell and others, in the behalfe of M. Tindall.

Then said Pointz; If it shall please your Lordship, I will attend upon you unto the next baiting place, which was at Walfright. If you so doe, said the Lord, I will advise my selfe by the way what to write. So Pointz followed him from Acon to Walfright, the which are fifteene English miles asunder, and there he received Letters of him, one to the Counsell there, another to the company of the Merchants Adventurers, and another also to the Lord Cromwell in England.

Letters from the Lord of Barrow to the Lord Cromwel concerning M. Tindall.

So Pointz road from thence to Bruxels, and then and there delivered to the Counsell the letters out of England, with the Lord of Barrowes Letters also: and received eftsones answer into England of the same by Letters, which he brought to Antwerp to the English Merchants, who required him to goe with them into England. And he, very desirous to have M. Tindall out of prison, let not to take paines with losse of time in his owne businesse and occupying, and diligently followed with the said Letters, which he there delivered to the Counsell, and was commanded by them to tarry untill he had other Letters, of the which he was not dispatched thence in a moneth after. At length the Letters being delivered him, he returned againe and delivered them to the Emperours Counsell at Bruxels, and there tarried for answere of the same.

Pointz sent with Letters from Bruxels to England.

When the said Pointz had tarried three or foure daies, it was told him of one that belonged to the Chancery, that Master Tindall should have bene delivered to him according to the tenour of the Letters; but Philips being there followed the suite

The suit of Philips against M. Tindall.

against Master Tindall, and hearing that he should be delivered to Pointz, and doubting lest he should be put from his purpose, he knew none other remedy but to accuse Pointz; saying, That he was a dweller in the Towne of Antwerp, and there had bene a succourer of Tindall, and was one of the same opinion, and that all this was onely his owne labour and suit, to have M. Tindall at liberty, and no mans else.

Pointz attached by Philips.

Thus upon his information & accusation Pointz was attached by the procuror generall, the Emperours Attorney, delivered to the keeping of two sergeants at armes: and the same evening was sent to him one of the chancery, with the procuror generall, who ministred unto him an oth, that he should truly make answer to all such things as should be inquired of him, thinking they would have had no other examinations of him but of his message. The next day likewise they came againe and had him in examination, and so five or sixe daies one after another, upon not so few as an hundred articles, as well of the Kings affaires, as of the message concerning Tindall, of his aiders, and of his religion. Out of the which examinations, the Procuror generall drew twenty three or twenty foure articles, and declared the same against the said Pointz, the copy whereof he delivered to him to make answer thereunto, and permitted him to have an Advocate and Proctor, that is, a Doctor and Proctor, in the Law: and order was taken that eight daies after he should deliver unto them his answer, and from eight daies to eight daies to procede till the processe were ended. Also that he should send no messenger to Antwerpe, whereas his house was, being twenty foure English miles from Brussels, where he was prisoner, nor to any other place, but by the Post of the Towne of Brussels; nor to send any Letters, nor any to be delivered to him, but written in Dutch, and the Procuror generall, who was party against him, to read them, to peruse and to examine them throughly, contrary to all right and equity, before they were sent or delivered: neither might any be suffered to speake or talke with Pointz in any other tongue or language except onely in the Dutch tongue, so that his Keepers who were Dutch men might understand what the contents of the letters or talke should be. Saving that at one certaine time the Provinciall of the white Friers came to dinner where Pointz was prisoner, and brought with him a yong novice, being an English man, whom the Provinciall after dinner, of his owne accord, did bid to talke with the said Pointz, and so with him he was licenced to talke. The purpose and great policy therein was easie to be perceived. Betweene Pointz and the novice was much pretty talke, as of Sir Thomas More, and of the Bishop of Rochester, and of their putting to death: whose death he seemed greatly to lament, especially dying in such a quarrell, worthy (as he said) to be accounted for martyrs; with other noble Doctrine and deepe learning in Divinity, meete to feed swine withall. Such blindnesse then in those daies raigned amongst them. After this, Pointz delivered up his answere to the Procuror generall, and then after, at the daies appointed, went forth with Replication duplicke, with other answeres each to other in writing, what they could.

Pointz examined.

Talke between Pointz and a novice.

As the Commissioners came to Pointz, Philips the traitor accompanied them to the doore in following the processe against him, as he also did against Master Tindall, for so they that had Pointz in keeping shewed him. Thus Pointz for M. Tindal was sore troubled, and long kept in prison: but at length

Pointz troubled for M. Tindall.

The Martyrdome and burning of Master *William Tindall* in *Flanders*, by *Filford* Castle.

whē hē saw no other remedy, by night he made his escape, and avoyded their hands. But good Tindall could not escape their hands, but remained in prison still, who being brought unto his answer, was offered to have an advocate and a proctor: for in any criminall cause there, it shall be permitted to have counsaile, to make answer in the Law. But hē refused to have any such, saying: that he would answer for himselfe: and so he did.

The condemnation of W. Tindall.

The martyrdō of W. Tindall

Anno 1536.

At last, after much reasoning, when no reason would serve, although he deserved no death, he was condemned by vertue of the Emperours decrē made in the assembly at Ausbrough (as is before signified) and upon the same, brought forth to the place of execution, was there tied to the stake, and then strangled first by the hangman, and afterward with fire consumed in the morning at the town of Filford, an. 1536. crying thus at the stake with a fervent zeale, and a loud voyce; Lord open the King of Englands Eyes.

The prayer of W. Tindall.

W. Tindall converted his keper.

Commendation of W. Tindall, by men that were about him.

Such was the power of his doctrine, and sincerity of his life, that during the time of his imprisonment (which endured a yeare and a halfe) it is said, he converted his kēper, his daughter, and other of his household. Also the rest that were with him conversant in the Castle reported of him, that if he were not a good christian man, they could not tell whom to trust.

The procurator generall, the Emperors Attourny, being there, left this testimony of him, that he was *Homo doctus, pius, & bonus*, that is, a learned, a good, and a godly man.

The same morning in which he was had to the fire, he delivered a Letter to the kēper of the castle which the kēper himselfe brought to the House of the foresayd Pointz in Antwerp, shortly after: which Letter with his examinations and other his disputations, I would might have come to our hands: all which I understand did remain, and yet perhaps do, in the hands of the kēpers daughter. For so it is of him reported, that as he was in the Castle prisoner, there was much writing, and great disputation to and fro, betwēn him and them of the University of Lovaine (which was not past nine or ten miles from the place where he was prisoner) in such sort, that they all had enough to doe, and more than they could well wield, to answer the authorities and testimonies of the Scripture, whereupon he most pithily grounded his doctrine.

His judgement upon Filips the traitor of Tyndall.

Of Iudas that betraied Christ it is written, that he returned the money againe to the Pharisies, and afterward hanged himselfe: So Philips this miserable traitor, after he had bin received of Tindall, and borrowed money of him, and yet betrayed him and pursued him to death: albeit he rejoyced a while after that he had done it, yet the saying so goeth, that he not long time after enioyed the price of innocent bloud, but was consumed at last with Lice.

The worthy vertues and doings of this blessed martyr, who for his painfull travels, and singular zeale to his country, may be called in these our dayes, an Apostle of England, it were long to recite. Amongst many other, this because it seemeth to me worthy of remembrance, I thought not in silence to over passe, which hath unto me bēn credibly testified by certaine grave merchants, & some of them also such as were present the same time at the fact, and men yet alive. The Story whereof is this.

There was at Antwerp on a time, amongst a company of Merchants, as they were at supper, a certaine iugler, which through his diabolicall inchantments of Art Magicall would fetch all kinde of viands, and wine from any place they would, and set it upon the table incontinent before them, with many other such like things. The fame of this iugler being much talked of, it chanced that as master Tindall heard of it, he desired certaine of the Merchants, that he might also be present at Supper to see him play his parts.

To be briefe, the supper was appointed, and the Merchants with Tindall were there present. Whē the iugler being required to play his feates, and to shew his cunning, after his wonted boldnesse began to utter all that he could doe, but all was in vaine. At the last with his labour, sweating and toyling, when he saw that nothing would goe forward, but that all his enchantments were voyd, he was compelled openly to confesse, that there was some man present at supper, which disturbed and letted all his doings. So that a man, even in the martyrs of these our dayes, cannot lack the miracles of true faith, if miracles were now to be desired.

The power of Gods Saints against the Diuell.

As concerning the works and bookes of Tyndall, which extend to a great number, thou was told before, loving Reader, how the Printer hereof mindeth, by the Lords leave, to collect them all in one volum together, and put them out in print. Wherefore it shall not greatly at this time be needfull to make any severall rehearsall of them.

W. Tindals workes looked for to be all set out in one volume.

And as touching his translation of the new Testament, because his enemies did so much carpe at it, pretending it to be so full of heresies, to answer therefore to their slanderous tongues and lying lips, thou shalt heare and understand, what faithfull dealing, and sincere conscience he used in the same, by the testimony and allegation of his own words written in the Epistle to Iohn Frith as followeth:

The faithfull dealing of Tindall in translating the new Testament.

I call God to record against the day whē shall appeare before our Lord Iesus, to give our reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of Gods word against my conscience, nor would doe this day, if all that is in Earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches, might be given me, &c.

And as ye have heard Tyndals own words thus protesting for himselfe, now let us heare likewise the faithfull testimony of Iohn Frith, for Tindall his deare companion and brother, thus declaring in his answer to master More, as followeth.

The testimony of Iohn Frith in his booke of the Sacrament, concerning William Tindall.

The Testimony of Iohn Frith, for Tindall.

AND Tyndall I trust liveth, wel content with such a poore Apostles life, as God gave his son Christ, and his faithfull ministers in this world, which is not sure of so many mites, as ye be yearely of pounds, although I am sure þ for his learning & iudgment in Scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted, than all the bishops in England. I received a Letter from him, which was written since Christmas, wherein among other matters hē writeth this: I call God to record against the day we shall appeare before our Lord Iesus to give a reckoning of our doings, þ I never altered one syllable of Gods word against my cōscience, nor would do this day, if al that is in Earth, whether it be honor, pleasure, or riches might be given mē.

The words of Tindall written to Iohn Frith.

Moreover, I take God to witnesse to my conscience, that I desire of God to my selfe in this world, no more than that, without which I cannot kēpe his Laws, &c. Iudg Christiā Reader whether these words be not spoken of a faithfull cleare innocent heart. And as for his behaviour, it is such, that I am sure no man can reprove him of any sin, howbeit no man is innocent before God, which beholdeth the heart. Thus much out of Frith.

And thus being about to conclude and finish with the life and story of William Tyndall, it shall be requisite now that the Reader doe heare somthing likewise of his supplications made to the King, & Nobles of þ realm, as they are yet extant in

Ex lib. Tind. praxi prælatorum.

his workes to be seen, and worthy in all ages to be marked, the tenour whereof tendeth to this effect as followeth.

Tyndals supplication to the King, Nobles, and subjects of England.

Tindals supplication to the King and states of England.

I Beseech the Kings most noble grace, well to consider all the wayes, by the which the Cardinall, and our holy bishops have led him since he was first King, & to see whereunto all the pride, pompe, and vaine boast of the Cardinall is come, and how God hath resisted him and our prelates in their wiles. We, having nothing to doe at all, have medled yet with all matters, and have spent for our prelates causes, more than all Christendome, even unto the utter beggering of our selves, and have gotten nothing but rebuke and hate among all Nations, and a mock & a scorne of them whom we have most holpen. For the Frenchmen (as the saying is) of late dayes made a play, or a disguising at Paris, in which the Emperour daunced with the Pope, and the French King, and wearied them: the King of England sitting on a high bench and looking on. And when it was asked why he daunced not, it was answered, that he sate there, but to pay Minstrels their wages. As who should say we payd for all mens dauncing. We moved the Emperour openly, and gave the French King double and treble secretly: and to the Pope also. Yea, and though Ferdinandus had money sent openly to blind the world withall, yet the saying is through all Dutchland that wee sent money to the King of Pole, &c.

The King of England pateth for all.

The 2. petition of Tindall.

Furthermore, I beseech his Grace also to have mercy of his own soule, and not to suffer Christ & his holy Testament to be persecuted under his name any longer: that the sword of the wrath of God may be put up again, which for that cause, no doubt, is most chiefely drawn.

The 3. petition of Tindall.

Thirdly, my petition is to his Grace, to have compassion on his poore subiects, that the Realme utterly perish not with the wicked counsell of our pestilent prelates. For if his Grace, which is but a man, should dye, the Lords & commons not knowing who hath most right to enioy the Crowne, the Realme could not but stand in great danger.

The 4. petition of Tindall. Limitation of succession to the Crowne. I pray God this be not a prophesie against England.

My fourth sute & exhortation is to all the Lords temporall of the Realm, that they come and fall before the Kings Grace, and humbly desire his majesty to suffer it to be tried, who of right ought to succeed: and if he or the faile, who next, and who third. And let it be proclaimed openly: and let all the Lords temporall be sworn thereto, and all the Knights, and Squires & Gentlemen, and the commons above eightéene yeares old, that there be no strife for the succession. If they try it by the sword, I promise them, I see no other likelyhood, but it will cost the Realm of England, &c.

The 5. petition of W. Tindall.

Further, of all the subjects of England this I crave, That they repent. For the cause of evill rulers is the sin of the subjects, as testifieth the Scripture. And the cause of false preachers is, that the people have no love unto the truth, sayth Paul, in the second Chapter of the second Epistle to the Thessalonians. We be all sinners an hundred times greater than all that we suffer. Let us therefore each forgive other, remembring the greater sinners, the more welcome if we repent, according to the similitude of the riotous son, Luke the fifteenth. For Christ died for sinners, and is their Saviour, and his blond their treasure, to pay for their sins. He is that fatted Calfe which is slaine to make them good cheere withall, if they will repent and come to their father againe; and his merits is the goodly raiment to cover the naked deformities of their sins.

Finally, if the persecution of the Kings Grace, and other temporall persons conspiring with the spiritualty, be of ignorance, I doubt not but that their Eyes shall be opened shortly, and they shall see and repent, and God shal shew them mercy. But if it be of a set malice against the truth, and of a grounded hate against the Law of God, by the reason of a full consent they have to sin and to walke in their old waies of ignorance, whereunto, being now past all repentance, they have utterly yelded themselves, to follow with ful lust without bridle or snaffle which is the sin against the holy Ghost, then ye shal see even shortly, that God shal turne the point of the sword, wherewith they now shed Christs blond, homeward to shed their own again, after all the examples of the bible.

These things thus discoursed pertaining to the story and doings of Tindall, finally it remaineth to infer certaine of his private Letters & Epistles, whereof among divers other which have not come to our hands, two speciall he wrote to John Frith, one properly under his own name, another under the name of Jacob, but in very deede was written and delivered to John Frith, being prisoner then in the Tower, as ye shall further understand by the sequell hereafter. The copy and tenour of the Epistles here followeth.

A Letter sent from Tindall, unto Master Frith, being in the Tower.

A Letter of Tindall to W. Frith.

THe grace, and peace of God our Father, and of Iesus Christ our Lord be with you, Amen. Dearely beloved brother Iohn, I have heard say, how the hypocrites now that they have overcome that great businesse which letted them, or at the least way have brought it to a stay, they returne to their old nature againe. The will of God be fulfilled, and that which he hath ordained to be ere the world was made, that come, and his glory raigne over all.

Dearely beloved, how ever the matter be, commit your selfe wholly and only unto your most loving father, and most kinde Lord, and feare not men that threat, not trust men that speak faire: but trust him that is true of promise, and able to make his word good. Your cause is Christs Gospell, a light that must be fed with the bloud of faith. The lamp must be dressed and snuffed daily, and that oyle powred in every evening and morning, that the light goe not out. Though we be sinners, yet is the cause right. If when we be buffetted for well doing, we suffer patiently and endure, that is acceptable to God. For to that end we are called. For Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps, who did no sin. Hereby have we perceived love, that he laid down his life for us; therefore we ought also to lay down our lives for the brethren. Rejoyce and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven. For we suffer with him, that we may also be glorified with him: who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subject all things unto him.

Pet. 2.

1 Iohn 3.

Matth 5. Rom. 8. Phil. 3.

Dearely beloved, be of good courage, and comfort your soule with the hope of this high reward, and beare the image of Christ in your mortall body, that it may at his comming be made like to his immortall; and follow the example of all your other deare brethren, which chose to suffer in hope of a better resurrection. Keepe your conscience pure and undefiled, and say against that nothing. Stick at necessary things, and remember the blasphemies of the enemies of Christ, saying; they finde none but that will abjure rather then suffer the extremity. Moreover, the death of them that come againe after they have once denyed, though it bee accepted with G O D, and all that beleeve

Boldnesse & spirit.

Would no conscience standing on things necessary.

leeve, yet it is not glorious: for the hypocrites say, he must needs dye, denying helpeth not. But might it have holpen, they would have denyed five hundred times, but seeing it would not help them, therefore of pure pride and meere malice together, they spake with their mouthes that their conscience knoweth false. If you give your selfe, cast your selfe, yeeld your selfe, commit your selfe wholly and only to your loving father, then shall his power be in you and make you strong, and that so strong, that you shall feele no paine, which should be to another present death; and his spirit shall speake in you, and teach you what to answer, according to his promise: he shall set out his truth by you wonderfully, and worke for you above all that your heart can imagine; yea and you are not yet dead, though the hypocrites all, with all that they can make, have sworn your death. *Vna salus victis nullam sperare salutem*; To looke for no mans helpe, bringeth the helpe of God to them that seeme to be overcome in the Eyes of the Hypocrites: yea, it shall make God to carry you thorow thick and thin for his truths sake, in spite of all the enemies of his truth. There falleth not a haire till his houre be come; and when his houre is come, necessity carrieth us hence though we be not willing. But if we be willing, then have we a reward and thank.

Feare not the threatning therefore, neither be overcome of sweet words; with which twaine the hypocrites shall assaile you. Neither let the persuasions of worldly wisedom beare rule in your heart, no, though they be your friends that counsel you. Let Bilney be a warning to you, let not their visure beguile your Eyes. Let not your body faint. He that endureth to the end shall be saved. If the paine be above your strength, remember, Whatsoever yee shall aske in my name, I will give it you. And pray to your Father in that name, and he shall cease your paine, or shorten it. The Lord of peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you, Amen.

William Tindall.

Two have suffered in Antwerp, In die sanctæ Crucis, unto the great glory of the Gospell; foure at Ryfels in Flanders, and at Luke hath there one at the least suffered, and all the same day. At Roane in France they persecute. And at Paris are five Doctors taken for the Gospel. See, you are not alone; be chearefull and remember that among the hard hearted in England, there is a number reserved by grace: for whose sakes, if need bee, you must be ready to suffer. Sir, if you may write, how short soever it be, forget it not, that we may know how it goeth with you, for our hearts ease. The Lord bee yet againe with you with all his plenteousnesse, and fill you that you flow over, Amen.

If when you have read this, you may send it to Adrian; doe I pray you, that he may know how that our heart is with you.

George Joy at Candlemas being at Barrow printed two leaves of Genesis in a great forme, and sent one Copy to the King, and another to the new Queene, with a Letter to N. to deliver them; and to purchase licence, that he might so go through all the Bible. Out of this is sprung the noise of the new Bible; and out of that is the great seeking for English bookes at all Printers and booke-binders in Antwerpe, and for an English Priest that should print.

This chaunced the ninth day of May.

Sir, your wife is well content with the will of God, and would not for her sake have the glory of God hindred.

William Tindall.

Another notable and worthy Letter of Master William Tyndall, sent to the said Iohn Frith, under the name of Iacob.

The grace of our Saviour Iesus, his patience, meekenesse, humbleneſſe, circumspection, and wisedom, be with your heart, Amen.

Another Letter of William Tyndall.

DEarely beloved brother Iacob, mine hearts desire in our Saviour Iesus, is that you arme your selfe with patience, and be cold, sober, wise and circumspect, and that you keepe you allow by the ground, avoyding high questions, that passe the common capacity. But expound the Law truly, and open the vaile of Moses to condemne all flesh, and prove all men sinners, and all deeds under the Law, before mercy have taken away the condemnation thereof, to be sinne and damnable, and then as a faithfull Minister, set abroach the mercy of our Lord Iesus, and let the wounded consciences drinke of the water of him. And then shall your preaching be with power, and not as the doctrine of the hypocrites; and the spirit of God shall worke with you, and all consciences shall beare record unto you, and feele that it is so. And all doctrine that casteth a mist on those two, to shadow and hide them, I meane the Law of God and mercy of Christ, that resist you with all your power. Sacraments without signification refuse. If they put significations to them, receive them, if you see it may help, though it be not necessary.

High questions to be avoided.

All deeds before they be fulfilled by faith are sin.

Preaching the Law of God, and mercy of Christ.

Sacraments without significations to be refused.

M. Tindall beers bearely with time.

Of the presence of Christs Body in the Sacrament, meddle as little as you can, that there appeare no division among us. Barnes will be hot against you. The Saxons be sore on the affirmative; whether constant or obstinate, I remit it to God. Philip Melancthon is said to be with the French King. There be in Antwerpe that say, they saw him come into Paris with an hundred and fifty Horses, and that they spake with him. If the French men receive the word of God, he will plant the affirmative in them. George Joy would have put forth a Treatise of that matter, but I have stopt him as yet: what he will doe if he get money, I wot not. I beleeve he would make many reasons little serving to that purpose, My minde is that nothing be put forth till we heare how you shall have sped. I would have the right use preached, and the presence to be an indifferent thing, till the matter might be reasoned in peace at leisure of both parties. If you be required, shew the phrases of the Scripture, and let them talke what they will. For as to beleeve that God is every where, hurteth no man that worshippeth him no where but within the heart, in spirit and verity: even so to beleeve that the Body of Christ is every where (though it cannot be proued) hurteth no man that worshippeth him no where save in the faith of his Gospel. You perceive my minde: howbeit if God shew you otherwise, it is free for you to doe as he moveth you.

By the affirmative, he meaneth the opinion which M. Luther and the Saxons do hold of the Sacrament.

M. Tindall againe bearely with time.

I gheſſed long agoe, that God would send a dazing into the head of the spiritualty, to catch themselves in their own subtilty, and I trust it is come to passe. And now me thinketh I smell a counsell to be taken, little for their profits time to come. But you must understand, that it is not of a pure heart and for love of the truth, but to avenge themselves, and to eat the whores flesh, and to suck the marrow of her bones. Wherefore cleave fast to the Rock of the helpe of God, and commit the end of all things unto him: and if God shall call you, that you may then use the wisedom of the worldly, as farre as you perceive the glory of God may come thereof, refuse it not; and ever among thrust in, that the Scripture may bee in the mother tongue,

Ubiquity cannot be prooved. Eating the whores flesh, is to spoile the Popes Church only for the prey and spoile thereof.

Worldly wisedome so farre as it may serve to Gods glory may be used.

tongue, and learning set up in the Vniversities. But if ought bee required contrary to the glory of God, and his Christ, then stand fast, and commit your selfe to God, and be not overcome of mens persuasions; which haply shall say, We see no other way to bring in the truth.

Brother Iacob, beloved in my heart, there liveth not in whom I have so good hope and trust, and in whom my heart rejoyceth, and my soule comforteth her selfe, as in you; not the thousand part so much for your learning and what other gifts else you have, as because you will creepe alow by the ground, and walke in those things that the conscience may feele, and not in the imaginations of the braine: in feare, and not in boldnesse: in open necessary things, and not to pronounce or define of hid secrets, or things that neither help nor hinder, whether it be so or no; in unity, and not in seditious opinions: insomuch that if you bee sure you know, yet in things that may abide leisure you will deferre, or say (till other agree with you) Me thinke the Text requireth this sence or understanding. Yea, and if you be sure that your part bee good, and another hold the contrary, yet if it be a thing that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it passe, and referre the thing to other men, and stick you stiffly and stubbornly in earnest and necessary things. And I trust you be persuaded even so of mee: for I call God to record against the day we shall appeare before our Lord Iesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of Gods Word against my conscience, nor would this day, if all that is in the Earth, whether it bee pleasure, honour, or riches, might bee given me. Moreover, I take God to record to my conscience, that I desire of God to my selfe in this World, no more than that without which I cannot keepe his Lawes.

Low walkings

The upright handling in the translation of W. Tindall.

Finally, if there were in mee any gift that could help at hand, and aid you if need required, I promise you I would not be far off, and commit the end to God. My soule is not faint, though my body be weary. But God hath made me evill favoured in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechlesse and rude, dull and slow witted; your part shall be to supply what lacketh in me: remembring, that as lowlines of heart shall make you high with God, even so meekenesse of words shall make you sinke into the hearts of men. Nature giveth age authority, but meekenesse is the glory of youth and giveth them honour. Aboundance of love maketh me exceed in babling.

A low heart maketh a man high with God.
Authority is the glory of age.
Meekenesse is the glory of youth.

Sir, as concerning Purgatory and many other things, if you be demanded, you may say, if you erre, the Spiritualty hath so led you, and that they have taught you to beleeve as you doe. For they preached you all such things out of Gods Word, and alledged a thousand Texts, by reason of which Texts you beleeved as they taught you, but now you finde them lyers, and that the Texts meane no such things, and therefore you can beleeve them no longer; but are as yee were before they taught you, and beleeve no such thing: howbeit you are ready to beleeve, if they have any other way to prove it; for without proofe you cannot beleeve them when you have found them with so many lies, &c. If you perceive wherein wee may helpe, either in being still or doing somewhat, let us have word, and I will do mine uttermost.

Purgatory hath no proofe by Scriptures.

My Lord of London hath a servant called Iohn Tisen, with a red beard and a blackreddish head, and was once my Scholler; he was seene in Antwerp, but came not among the English men: whither he is gone an Embassador secret I wot not.

The mighty God of Iacob bee with you, to supplant his enemies, and give you the favour of Ioseph, and the wisdome and the spirit of Stephan, bee with your heart, and with your mouth and teach your lips what they shall say, and how to answer to all things. He is our God, if we despaire in our selves, and trust in him: and his is the glory. Amen.

William Tindall.

I hope our redemption is nigh.

This Letter was written an. 1533. in the moneth of January. Which Letter, although it doe pretend the name of Iacob, yet understand good Reader) that it was written in very deede to Iohn Frith, as is above told thee. For the more proofe and evidence whereof, read Frithes booke of the Sacrament, and there thou shalt find a certaine place of this Epistle repeated word for word, beginning thus; I call God to record against the day wee shal appeare before our Lord Iesus to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of Gods word against my conscience, &c. Which Epistle Iohn Frith himselfe witnesseth that hee received from Tindall, as in his testimony above appeareth.

The death of Lady Katharine, and of Queene *Anne*.

{Anno 1536.

The death of Lady Katharin, Prince Dowager.

The death of Queene Anne.

THe same yeere in the which William Tindal was burned, which was the yeere of our Lord 1536. in the beginning of the yeere, first died Lady Katharin Princesse dowager, in the moneth of Ianuary.

After whom, the same yeere also, in the month of May next following, followeth the death also of Q. Anne, who had now bin married to the King the space of three yeeres. In certaine records thus wee find, that the King being in his Iusts at Greenewich, sodainly with a few persons departed to Westminster, and the next day after Queene Anne his wife was had to the Tower, with the Lord Rochford her brother and certaine other; and the nineteenth day after was beheaded. The words of this worthy and Christian Lady at her death were these.

The words of Queene Anne at her death.

Good Christian people, I am come hither to die, for according to the Law, and by the Law I am judged to death, & therefore I will speak nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak any thing of that whereof I am accused and condemned to die, but I pray God save the King, & send him long to raigne over you, for a gentler, or a more mercifull Prince was there never; and to me hee was a very good a gentle & a Soveraigne Lord. And if any person wil meddle of my cause, I require them to iudge the best. And thus I take my leave of the world, and of you al, and I hartily desire you al to pray for mee. O Lord have mercy on mee. To God I commend my soule: and so shee kneeled down, saying, To Christ I commend my soule, Iesus receive my soule, repeating the same divers times, til at length the stroke was given, and her head was stricken off.

Queene Anne beheaded.

Commendations of Queene Anne.

And this was the end of that godly Lady and Queene. Godly I cal her, for sundry respects, whatsoever the cause was, or quarrell objected against her. First, her last words spoken at her death declared no lesse her sincere faith and trust in Christ, then did her quiet modesty utter forth the goodnesse of the cause and matter, whatsoever it was. Besides that, to such as wisely can iudge upon cases occurrent, this also may seem to give a great clearing unto her, that ỹ King the third day after was married in his whites unto an other. Certaine this was, that for ỹ rare and singular gifts of her mind so wel instructed, and given toward God, with such a fervent desire unto the truth and setting forth of sincere Religion, ioyned with like gentlenesse, modesty, and pitty toward al men, there have not many such Queenes before her worne the Crown of England. Principally, this one

one commendation shee left behind her, that during her life, the Religion of Christ most happily flourished, and had a right prosperous course.

The milde nature of Queene Anne in taking admonition.

Many things might be written more of the manifold vertues, and the quiet moderation of her milde nature, how lowly shee would beare, not only to be admonished, but also of her owne accord would require her Chaplens plainly and freely to tell whatsoever they saw in her amisse. Also how bountifull shee was to the poore, passing not only the common

The great alms of Queene Anne.

example of other Queenes, but also the revenues almost of her estate: insomuch that the almes which shee gave in three quarters of a yeere, in distribution, is summed to the number of fourescore or fifteene thousand pounds. Beside the great piece of money which her Grace intended to impart into foure sundry quarters of the Realme, as for a stocke there to be imployed to the behoofe of poore artificers and occupiers. Againe, what a zealous defender she was of Christs Gospell, all the world doth know, and her acts doe and will declare to the worlds end. Amongst which other her acts this is one, that shee placed Master Hugh Latimer in the Bishoprick of Worcester, and also preferred Doctor Sharton to his Bishoprick, being then accounted a good man. Furthermore, what a true faith shee bare unto the Lord, this one example may stand for many: for that when King Henry was with her at Woodstocke, and there being afraid of an old blind Prophesie, for the which neither hee nor other Kings before him durst hunt in the said Park of Woodstock, nor enter into the towne of Oxford, at last, through the Christian and faithfull counsell of that Queene, hee was so armed against all infidelity, that both hee hunted in the foresaid Park, and also entred into the towne of Oxford, and had no harme. But because touching the memorable vertues of this worthy Queene, partly wee have said some thing before, partly because more also is promised to be declared of her vertuous life (the Lord so permitting) by other who then were about her; I will cease in this matter further to proceed.

Stat. An. 28. H. 8. cap. 7.

This I cannot but marvell at, why the Parliament holden this yeere, that is, the twenty eighth yeere of the King (which Parliament three yeeres before had established and confirmed this marriage as most lawfull) should now so suddenly, and contrary to their owne doings, repeale and disable the said marriage againe as unlawfull, being so lawfully before contracted. But more I marvell, why the said Parliament, after the illegitimation of the marriage enacted, not contented with that, should further proceed, and charge her with such carnall desires of her body, as to misuse her selfe with her owne naturall brother, the Lord Rochford, and others, being so contrary to all nature, that no naturall man will believe it.

Parliaments may alwayes erre.

But in this Act of Parliament did lie (no doubt) some great mysterie, which here I will not stand to discusse, but only that it may be suspected some secret practising of the Papists here not to be lacking, considering what a mighty stop shee was to their purposes and proceedings, and on the contrary side, what a strong bulwarke shee was for the maintenance of Christs Gospell, and sincere Religion, which they then in no case could abide. By reason whereof it may be easily considered, that this Christian and devout Deborah, could lack no enemies amongst such a number of Philistims, both within the Realme and without.

Againe, neither is it unlike, but that Stephen Winchester, being then abroad in Embassie, was not altogether asleepe. The suspition whereof may be the more conjecturall, for that Edmund Boner Archdeacon of Leicester, and then Embassador in France, succeeding after Stephen Winchester, did manifestly detect him of plaine Papistry, as in the sequele of their Stories, when wee come to the time, more amply (the Lord granting) shall be expressed.

The lawfulnesse of Queene Annes succession defended.

And as touching the Kings mind and assent, although at that time, through crafty setters on, hee seemed to be sore bent both against the Queene, and to the disheriting of his owne daughter: yet unto that former will of the King so set against her then, I will oppose againe the last will of the King, wherein expressely and by name hee did accept, and by plaine ratification did allow the succession of his marriage to stand good and lawfull.

Defence of Q. Anne against prevo backbiters.

Furthermore, to all other sinister judgements and opinions, whatsoever can be conceived of man against that vertuous Queene, I object and oppose againe (as in stead of answer) the evident demonstration of Gods favour, in maintaining, preserving and advancing the offspring of her body, the Lady ELIZABETH, now Queene, whom the Lord hath so marvellously conserved from so manifold dangers, so royally hath exalted, so happily hath blessed with such vertuous patience, and with such a quiet raigne hitherto, that neither the raigne of her brother EDWARD, nor of her sister MARY, to hers is to be compared, whether we consider the number of the yeeres of their raignes, or the peaceableneese of their state. In whose royall and flourishing regiment wee have to behold, not so much the naturall disposition of her Mothers qualities, as the secret judgement of God in preserving and magnifying the fruit and offspring of that godly Queene.

Paulus Iovius can finde no whoredome in all Rome, but must come and picke matter where none is in England.

And finally, as for the blasphemous mouth both of Cardinall Pole, and of Paulus Iovius, that popish Cardinall, who measuring belike other women by his Curtezans of Rome, so impudently abuseth his pen in lying and railing against this noble Queene: To answer againe in defence of her cause to that Italian, I object and oppose the consent and judgement of so many noble Protestants and Princes of Germany, who being in league before with King Henry, and minding no lesse but to have made him the head of their confederation, afterward hearing of the death of this Queen, utterly brake from him, and refused him only for the same cause.

The Protestants of Germany forsake King Henry for the death of Queene Anne.

The wily practices of the Papists.

But all this seemeth (as is said) to be the drift of the wily Papists, who seeing the Pope to be repulsed out of England, by the meanes chiefly of this Queene, and fearing always the succession of this marriage in time to come; thought by sinister practice to prevent that perill before, whispering in the Kings eares what possibly they could, to make that matrimony unlawfull, and all for the disheriting of that succession.

Againe, Stephen Gardener (who was a secret worker against that marriage, and a perpetuall enemy against Lady Elizabeth) being then abroad with the French King and the great Master of France, ceased not in his Letters, still to put the King in feare, that the forreine Princes and powers of the world, with the Pope, would never be reconciled to the King, neither should he be ever in any perfect security, unlesse hee undid againe such Acts before passed, for the ratification of that succession. Which thing, when they had now brought to passe after their owne desire, in that both now the Queen was beheaded, and Elizabeth the Kings daughter disherited, they thought all things to be sure for ever. But yet Gods providence still went beyond them, and deceived them; for incontinently after the suffering of Queene Anne, the King within three dayes after, married Lady Jane Seimer, of whom came King Edward, as great an enemy to Gods enemy the Pope, as ever his father was, and greater too.

Gods providence still disappointeth the Papists.

& he King married Lady Jane.

In the meane time, as these troublous tumults were in doing in England, Paul the third, Bishop of Rome, for his part was not behind, to helpe forward

forward in his owne advantage. Who seeing his usurped kingdome and seat to be darkned in the Countries of Germany, and also in England, thought it high time to bestir him: and therefore to provide some remedy against further dangers, appointed a generall Councell at Mantua in Italy, requiring all Kings and Princes either personally to be there, or else to send their Embassadors under faire pretenses, as to suppresse heresies, and to reforce the Church, and to warre against the Turke, &c. This Bull was subscribed with the hands of five and twenty Cardinals, and set up in divers great Cities, that it might be knowne and published to the whole world. Unto the which Bull first the Protestants of Germany doe answer, declaring sufficient causes why they refused to resort to that Councell, being indicted at Mantua in the Popes owne countrey. Whose declaration, with their causes grave and effectuall, being set forth in print, and in the English tongue, although they were worthy here to be inserted, yet for brevity, and more speede in our story, I will pretermit the same, and onely take the oration or answer of our King here: wherein hee likewise rendereth reasons and causes most reasonable, why hee refuseth to come or send at the Popes call to this Councell indicted at Mantua. Whose Oration or Protestation, because it containeth matter of some weight and great experience, I thought good here to expresse as followeth.

The seat of the beast darkned. Apoc. 16.

Ex Ioan. Sleid. lib. 10.

A protestation in the Name of the King, and the whole Counsell and Clergie of England, why they refuse to come to the Popes Councell at his call.

The kings protestation why he sends not to the Popes councell.

SEeing that the Bishop of Rome calleth learned men from all parts, conducting them by great rewards making as many of them Cardinalls as hee thinketh most meet, and most ready to defend fraudes and untruths; we could not but with much anxiety cast with our selves, what so great a preparance of wits should meane. As chance was, we ghessed even as it followed. Wee have beene so long acquainted with Romish subtilties and popish deceits, that wee well and easily judged the Bishop of Rome to intend an assembly of his adherents, and men sworne to thinke all his lusts to be lawes; wee were not deceived. Paul the Bishop of Rome hath called a Councell, to the which hee knew well either few or none of the Christian Princes could come. Both the time that hee indicted it, and also the place where he appointed it to be, might assure him of this. But whither wander not these popish Buls: whither goe they not astray? what King is not cited and summoned by a proud Minister and servant of Kings, to come to bolster up errors, frauds, deceits and untruths, and to set forth this fained generall Councell? For who will not thinke that Paul the Bishop of Rome goeth sooner about to make men believe that he pretendeth a generall Councell, than that hee desireth one indeed? No, who can lesse desire it, than they that doe despaire of their cause, except they be Judges, and give sentence themselves against their adversaries? Wee which very sore against our will at any time leave off the procurement of the Realme any common-weale, need neither to come our selves, nor yet to send our procurators thither, no, nor yet to make our excuse for either of both. For who can accuse us, that wee come not at his call, which hath no authority to call us?

The Popes craft espied.

The King not bound to come at the Popes call.

But for a season let us (as a sort of blindlings do) grant that hee may call us, and that hee hath authority so to doe, yet (wee pray you) may not all men see, what availeth it to come to this Councell, where yee shall have no place, except yee be knowne both willing to oppresse truth, and also ready to confirme and stablish errors? Doe not all men perceive as well as wee, with what integrity, fidelity, and religion, these men goe about to discusse matters in controversie, that take them in hand in so troublesome a time as this is? Is it not plaine what fruit the common-weale of Christendome may looke for there, whereas Mantua is chosen the place to keepe his Councell in? Is there any Prince not being of Italy, yea, is there any of Italy, Prince, or other dissenting from the Pope, that dareth come to this assembly, and to this place? If there come none, that dare speake for troden truth, none that will venture his life, is it marvel if the Bishop of Rome being Judgeno man repining, no man gain-saying, the defenders of the Papacy obtain that popish authority, now quailing and almost fallen, to be set up againe.

Who be they that have place in the Popes councell.

The place of the councell indifferent.

No reason that the Pope should be iudge in his owne cause.

Is this the way to help things afflict? to redresse troubled religion? to lift up oppressed truth? Shall men this way know, whether the Roman Bishops (which in very deed are, if yee looke upon either their doctrine or life, farre under other Bishops) ought to be made like their fellowes, that is, to be Pastors in their owne Dioces, and so to use no other power; or else, whether they may make lawes, not only unto other Bishops, but also to Kings and Emperors? O boldnesse, meet to be beaten downe with force, and not to be convinced with arguments! Can either Paul that now Lordeth, or any of his earnestly goe about (if they alone, or at the least without any adversary, be thus in a corner assembled together) to heale the sicknesses, to take away the errors, to plucke downe the abuses that now are crept into the Church, and there be bolstered up, by such Councells as now is like to be at Mantua?

The Bishop of Rome in leaning and life farre under other Bishops.

Is it very like, that these, which prole for nothing but profit, will right gladly pull downe all such things as their forefathers made, only for the increase of money? Whereas their forefathers, when their honour, power, and primacy was called into question, would either in despight of Gods Law maintaine their dignity, or to say better, their intollerable pride: Is it like, that these will not tread in their steps, and make naughty new Canons, whereby they may defend old evill decrees? Howbeit, what need wee to care, either what they have done, or what they intend to doe hereafter, forasmuch as England hath taken her leave of popish crafts for ever, never to be deluded with them hereafter? Roman Bishops have nothing to doe with English people: the one doth not traffique with the other; at the least, though they will have to doe with us, yet we will none of their merchandise, none of their stuffe, Wee will receive them of our counsell no more. Wee have sought our hurt, and bought our losse a great while too long. Surely their decrees, either touching things set up or put downe, shall have none other place with us, than all Bishops decrees have, that is, if wee like them, wee admit them; if wee doe not, wee refuse them. But lest peradventure men shall thinke us to follow our senses too much, and that wee, moved by small or no just causes, forsake the authority, censures, decrees, and popish councels, wee thought it best here to shew our mind to the whole world. Wherefore we protest before God and all men, that wee imbrace, professe, and will ever so doe, the right and holy doctrine of Christ. All the Articles of his Faith, no jot omitted, be all so deare unto us, that wee should much sooner stand in jeopardy of our Realme, than to see any point of Christs Religion in jeopardy with us. Wee protest that wee never went from the unity of his Faith, neither that wee will depart an inch from it. No, we will much sooner lose our lives, than any Article of our belefe

Paul the Pope prolleth for his owne profit.

England forsaketh her leaning of the Popes for ever.

England refuseth the Popes merchandise.

England is not from the unity of faith although they refuseth from the Pope.

shall

shall decay in England. We, which in all this cause seeke nothing but the glory of God, the profit and quietnesse of the World, protest that wee can suffer deceivers no longer. Wee never refused to come to a generall Councell; no, wee promise all our labour, study, and fidelity, to the setting up of troden truth, and troubled Religion, in their place againe, and to doe all that shall lie in us, to finish such controversies as have a great while too long vexed Christendome. Only we will all Christian men be admonished, that wee can suffer no longer, that they be esteemed willing to take away errors, which indeed, by all the wayes their wits will serve them, goe about this alone, that no man, under paine of death may speake against any error or abuse.

We would have a Councell, we desire it, yea, and crave nothing so oft of God, as that wee may have one. But yet wee will that it be such, as Christian men ought to have, that is, franke and free, where every man without feare may say his mind. Wee desire that it be an holy Councell, where every man may goe about to set up Godlinesse, and not apply all their study to oppressing of truth. Wee will it be generall, that is to say, kept at such time, and in such place, that every man which seeketh the glory of God may be present, and there frankely utter his mind: For when it shall seeme generall, either when no man that dissenteth from the Bishop of Rome is compelled to be from it; or when they that be present are not letted by any such terror, to say boldly what they truly thinke: for who would not gladly come to such a Councell, except it be the Pope, his Cardinals, and Popish Bishops? On the other side, who is so foolish, whereas the chiefe point that is to be handled in this Councell is the Popes owne cause, power and primacy, to grant that the Pope should raigne, should be judge, should be president of this Councell? if hee, which indeed can never thinke himselfe able to defend his cause before any other Judge, be evermore made his owne judge, and so controversies not decided, but errors set up, what can be devised in the commonwealth of Christendome more hurtfull to the truth, than generall Councels?

And here to touch somewhat their impudent arrogancy; by what law, power, or honest title take they upon them to call Kings, to summon Princes to appeare, where their Buls command them? In time past, all Councels were appointed by the authority, consent and commandement of the Emperor, Kings and Princes; why now taketh the Bishop of Rome this upon him? Some will say, It is more likely that Bishops will more tender the cause of Religion, gladlier have errors taken away, than Emperors, Kings and Princes. The world hath good experience of them, and every man seeth how faithfully they have handled religious matters. Is there any man that doth not see how vertuously Paul now goeth about by this occasion to set up his tyranny againe? Is it not like that he that chooseth such a time as this is, to keepe a Councell, much intendeth the redresse of things that now are amisse? that hee seeketh the reckoning of Religion, that now calleth a Councell, the Emperor and the French king, two Princes of great power, so bent to wars, that neither they, nor any other Christian Prince can, in a manner, doe any thing but looke for the end of this long warre? Goe to, goe to Bishop of Rome, occasion long wished for offereth her selfe unto you; take her, shee openeth a windowe for your frauds to creepe in at. Call your Cardinalls, your owne creatures, shew them that this is a jolly time to deceive Princes in.

O Fooles; O wicked men. May we not fully so call you? Are yee not Fooles, which being long suspected, not onely of Princes, but of all Christian people in a manner, that in no case you could be brought to a generall Councell, plainely shew the whole world, that by these your conciliables, your hutter mutter in corners, you take away all hope of a lawfull Catholique and generall Councell? Are you not wicked, which so hate truth, that except shee be utterly banished, yee will never cease to vexe her? The living God is alive, neither truth his dearling, hee being alive, can be called to so great shame, contumely, and injury; or if it may be called to all these; yet can it come to none of them. Who is hee that grievously lamenteth not, men to be of such shamefull boldnesse, to shew apertly that they be enemies unto Christ himselfe? On the other side, who will not be glad to see such men as foolish as they be wicked? The world is not now in a light suspicion, as it hath beene hitherto, that you intend no reformation of errors, but every man seeth before his eyes your deceits, your wicked mindes, your immortall hatred that yee beare against the truth. Every man seeth how many miserable Tragedies your pretence of an unity and concord hath brought into Christendome? they see your faire face of peace hath served Sedition, and troubled almost all Christian Realmes. They see, yee never oppugne Religion more, than when yee will seeme most to defend it. They be sorry to see that great wits a long season have spent their whole strength in defence of deceits; Reason to put his whole power to the promoting of pride and ungodlinesse; vertues to serve vices; Holinesse to be slave to Hypocrisie; Prudence to Subtilty, Justice to Tyranny. They be glad that Scripture now fighteth for it selfe, and not against it selfe. They be glad that God is not compelled to be against God; Christ against Christ. They be glad that Subtilty hath done no more hurt to Religion in time past, than now constancy doth good to truth. They see the markes that yee have shot at in all your Councels past, to be lucre, money, gaines. They see you sought your profit, yea, though it were joyned with the slaughter of truth. They see, yee would ever that sooner injury should be done to the Gospell, than that your authority, that is to say, arrogant impudency should in any point be diminished.

And wee pray you, what may Paul the Bishop of Rome seeme now to goe about, which seeing all Princes occupied in great affaires, would steale (as he calleth it) a generall Councel? what other thing, then hereby to have some excuse to refuse a generall Councell hereafter, when time and place much better for the handling of matters of Religion shall be given unto Princes of Christendome? Yee will thinke hee may then doe as Princes now doe. Yee will thinke it lawfull not to come then, because Princes now come not. Wee pray God that wee ever brawle not one with another in Religion: and whereas dissention is amongst us, yet for our parts doe say, that wee, as much as men may, defend the better part, and be in the right way. We pray God that the world may enjoy peace and tranquillity, and that then wee may have both time and place to settle Religion. For except first Princes agree, and so (warre laid aside) seeke peace, hee loseth his labour that seeketh a generall Councell. If the Bishop of Rome may keepe his Councell while they thus be together, will not there be made many pretty Decrees? If they which would come if they had leisure, be absent, and wee, which though wee safely might come, will not lose any part of our right; trow you, in all our absence, that the Bishop of Rome will not handle his profit and primacy well?

Paul, how can any of ours not refuse to come to Mantua, through so many perils, a city so farre set from England, so nigh your friends, kinsmen, and adherents? Is he not unworthy of life, that where hee may tarry at home, will passe through so many jeopardies of life? Can hee which commeth so

Truth may be pressed, it cannot be oppressed.

The Pope enemy to Christ.

The Popes hatred against the truth.

The Pope troubler of all Christian Realmes.

The Popes marks where at he shooteth.

The Popes craft in stealing a generall Councell.

The time and place prettily picked of the Pope.

What an heretique is among the Papists.

to Cremona, a city not farre from Mantua, be safe if he be taken not to be the Bishop of Romes friend that is, (as the common sort of deceived people doth interpret) an heretique? And if there come to Mantua such a number as would furnish a generall Councell, may not Mantua seeme too little, to receive so many guests? Put these two together, all the way from England to Mantua is full of iust perils, and yet if we escape all those, the very place where the Councell is kept is more to be suspected, than all the way. Doe ye not know all civill lawes to compell no man to come to any place, where he shall be in ieopardy of his life all the way? We have no safe conduct to passe and returne by the Dominions of other Princes. And if we had a safe conduct, yet should not we be charged with rashnesse, that where iust terror might have dissuaded us from such a iourney, we committed our selves to such perils? Surely, he that the time being as it is, things standing as they doe, will goe from England to Mantua, may be carelesse, if he lacke not wit; sure of his arrivall, or returne from thence he cannot be. For who doth not know, how oft the Bishops of Rome have plaid false parts with them, that in such matters have trusted to their safe conducts? how oft have they caused by their Perfidie such men to be slaine, as they have promised by their faith before, that they should both come safe, and goe safe? These be no newes, Popes to be false, Popes to keepe no promise neither with God nor man; Popes, contrary to their oathes, to defile their cruell hands with honest mens blood. But we tarry too long in things that as well touch all men, as us.

The way to Mantua long and dangerous.

The falshood of Popes no new thing.

We will, these now laid apart, turne our Oration unto such things, as privately touch both us, King Henry the eighth, and all English men. Is it unknowne to any man what mind Paul the Bishop of Rome beareth to us, King Henry the eighth, to us his Nobility, to us his graces Bishops, and to us all his graces Subiects, for the pulling downe of his usurped power, and proud primacy; for expelling of his usurped iurisdiction; and for delivering of our Realme from his grievous bondage and pollage? Who seeth not him even enflamed with hatred against us, and the flames to be much greater, than he can now keepe them in? He is an open enemy, he dissembleth no longer, provoking all men by all the meanes that he can, to endamage us and our countrey. These three yeeres he hath beene occupied in no one thing so much, as how he might stir up the commons of England, and corrupting some with money, some with dignities. We let passe what letters he hath written to Christian Princes: with how great fervent study he hath exhorted them to set upon us. The good Vicar of Christ by his doing sheweth how he understandeth the words of Christ. He thinketh, he playeth Christs part well, when he may say as Christ did, Non veni pacem mittere in terram, sed gladium, I come not to make peace in earth, but to send swords about; and not such swords as Christ would his to be armed withall, but such as cruell manquellers abuse in the slaughter of their neighbours. We marvell little though they vexe other Princes oft, seeing they recompence our favour shewed to them with contumelies, our benefits with iniuries.

The hatred of the Pope against England.

The Pope bringeth not peace but the sword to the earth; otherwise than Christ did.

We will not rehearse here how many our benefits bestowed upon Roman Bishops be lost. God be with such ungrate Carles, unworthy to be numbred amongst men: Certes such that a man may well doubt, whether God or man hath better cause to hate them. But that we have learned to owe good will even to them that immortally hate us, what could we wish them so evill, but they have deserved much worse? We wish them this hurt alone that God send them a better mind. God be thanked, we have made all their seditious intents sooner to shew their great malice towards us, than to doe us much hurt; yea, they have well taught us, evermore to take good heed to our enemies. Undoubtedly it were good going to Mantua, and to leave their whelps amongst the lambs of our flocke. When we be weary of our wealth, we will even doe then as they would have us now doe. No, no, as long as we shall see his heart so good towards us, we trust upon his warning we shall well provide to withstand his cruell malice. No, let him now spend his deceits, when they can hurt none but such as would deceive, and are deceived.

Benefits cast away upon the Pope.

They have by sundry wayes made us privy, how much we be bound to them. It went nigh their hearts, to see the iudgement of Iulie, of Clement the seventh, of Paul the third, nothing to be regarded with us. They be afraid, if we should sustaine no hurt, because we iustly rejected their primacy, that other Princes would begin to doe likewise, and to shake from their shoulders the heavy burthens that they so long have borne, against Scripture, all right and reason. They be sorry to see the way stopped, that now their tyranny, avarice, and pride, can have no passage into England, which was wont to walke, to triumph, to tosse, to trouble all men. They can scarce suffer privileges, that is to say, licence to spoyle our citizens, given them by our forefathers, and brought in by erroriull custome, to be taken from them. They thinke it unlawfull, that we require things lawfull of them that will be under no lawes. They thinke we doe them wrong, because we will not suffer them to doe us wrong any longer. They see their merchandise to be banished, to be forbidden. They see, that we will buy no longer chalke for cheese. They see, they have lost a faire fleece, vengeable sorry that they can dispatch no more pardons, dispensations, totquots, with the rest of their baggage and trumpery. England is no more a babe. There is no man here, but now he knoweth that they doe foolishly that give gold for lead, more weight of that than they receive of this. They passe not though Peter and Pauls faces be graven in the lead, to make fooles faine. No, we be sorry that they should abuse holy Saints visages, to the beguiling of the world.

The Pope curses not feared in England.

The Pope trumpery patched up in England.

Gold given for leade.

Surely, except God take away our right wits, not only his authority shall be driven out for ever, but his name also shortly shall be forgotten in England. We will from henceforth aske counsell from him and his, when we list to be deceived, when we covet to be in error, when we desire to offend God, truth, and honesty. If a man may guesse the whole worke by the foundation, where deceits begimneth the worke, can any other than deceits be builded upon this foundation? What can you looke for in this Mantuan Councell, other than the oppression of truth and true Religion? If there be any thing well done, thinke, as every man doth, Bishops of Rome to be accustomed to do a few things well, that many evill may the better be taken at their hands. They, when they list, can yeeld some part of their right. They are content that some of their decrees, some of their errors and abuses be reprehended; but they are never more to be feared, than when they shew themselves most gentle. For if they grant a few, they aske many, if they leave a little, they will be sure of a great deale. Scarce a man may know how to handle himselfe, that he take no hurt at their hands, yea, when they blesse him: which seldome doe good, but for an intent to doe evill. Certainly, come who so will to these shops of deceits, to these fatres of fraudes, we will lose no part of our right, in comming at his call, that ought to be called, and not to call. We will neither come at Mantua, nor send thither for this matter, &c.

God grant

The Pope foundation of all deceit.

The Pope will a few things well, that many evills may the better be ceed.

The P ought t called, a not to ca

And so the King, proceeding in the said his protestation, declareth moreover, how the Pope, after he

he had ſummoned his Councell firſt to be kept at Mantua, the three and twentieth day of May, Anno 1537. ſhortly after directed out another Bull, to prorogate the ſame Councell to the moneth of November, pretending for his excuſe, that the Duke of Mantua would not ſuffer him to keepe any Councell there, unleſſe he maintained a number of warriors for defence of the towne. And therefore in his later Bull he prorogueth this aſſembly, commanding Patriarkes, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbats, and other of the Spiritualty, by the vertue of obedience, and under paine of curſing, to be preſent, but ſheweth no place at all where he would be, nor whither they ſhould come. And in very deed no great matter though no place were named. For as good a Councell no where to be called, as where it could not be. And as well no place ſerved him that intended no Councell, as all places. And to ſay truth, much better no place to be named, than to name ſuch as he purpoſed not to come to; for ſo ſhould he breake no promiſe which maketh none. And ſo going forward in his Oration, toward the later end hee thus inferreth by his words of Proteſtation, ſaying:

The Pope againe prorogues his Councell.

Princes as they love the Pope imacy, ſo they ke it from againe.

No, we will the Pope and his adherents to underſtand that which we have oft ſaid, and now ſay, and ever will ſay, He nor his hath no authority, nor juriſdiction in England. We give him no more than he hath, that is, never a deale. That which he hath uſurped againſt Gods Law, and extorted by violence, was by good right take from him againe. But he and his will ſay, we gave them a primacy. We heare them well: we gave it you indeed. If you have authority upon us as long as our conſent giveth it you, and you evermore will make your plea upon our conſent, then let it have even an end where it began; wee conſent no longer, your authority muſt needs be gone. If we being deceived by falſe pretence of evill alledged Scriptures, gave to you that ye ought to have refuſed, why may we not, our errour now perceived, and your deceit eſpied, take it againe? We Princes wrote our ſelves to be inferiors to Popes. As long as we thought ſo, we obeied them as our ſuperiours. Now we write not as we did, and therefore they have no great cauſe to marvell, if we hereafter doe not as we did; both the lawes civill. and alſo the lawes of God, be on our ſide. For a free man borne doth not loſe his liberty, no nor hurt the plea of his liberty, though he write himſelfe a bondman.

Againe, if they leane to cuſtome, we ſend them to Saint Cyprian, which ſaith, That cuſtome, if truth be not joyned with it, is nothing, but Erroris vetuſtas, that is, An old errour. Chriſt ſaid, Ego ſum via, veritas, & vita: I am the way, the truth, and life. He never ſaid, Ego ſum conſuetudo, I am the cuſtome. Wherefore, ſeeing cuſtome ſerveth you on the one ſide, and Scripture us on the other, are ye able to match us? In how many places doth Chriſt monish you to ſeeke no primacy, to preferre your ſelves before no body? no, to be obedient unto all creatures? your old Title; Servus ſervorum, evill agreeth with your new forged dignity. But we will not tarry in matters ſo plaine: We onely deſire God, that Ceſar, and other Chriſtian Princes, would agree upon ſome holy Councell, where truth may be tried, and Religion ſet up, which hath beene hurt by nothing ſo ſore, as by generall not generall Councels; errours and abuſes grow too faſt. Erudimini qui judicatis terram: Get you learning you that judge the earth: and excogitate ſome remedy for theſe ſo many diſeaſes of the ſicke Church. They that be wiſeſt, doe deſpaire of a generall Councell. Wherefore we thinke it now beſt, that every Prince call a Councell provinciall, and every Prince to redreſſe his owne Realme. We make all men privy what we thinke beſt to be done for the redreſſe of religion. If they like it, we doubt not but they will follow it, or ſome other better. Our truſt is, that all Princes will ſo handle themſelves in this behalfe, that Princes may inſoy their owne, and Prieſts of Rome content themſelves with that they ought to have. Princes as we truſt will no longer nouriſh Wolves whelpes, they will ſubſcribe no more to popiſh pride, to the Papacie, &c.

Rome.

The Popes and his dignity agree not together.

We that every Prince reforme his own realme and carry not to generall Councels.

Favour our doings, O Chriſtian Princes. Your honor and ancient Majeſty is reſtored. Remember there is nothing pertaining ſo much to a Princes honour, as to ſet forth truth, and to helpe religion. Make you heed that their deceite worke not more miſchiefe than your vertue can doe good, and everlaſting warre we would all Princes had with this papacie. As for their decrees, ſo hearken to them, that if in this Mantuan aſſembly things be well done, ye take them, but not as authoriſed by them, but that truth, and things that maintaine religion, are to be taken at all mens hands. And even as we will admit things well made, ſo if there be any thing determined in prejudice of truth, for the maintenance of their evill grounded primacy, or that may hurt the authority of Kings, we proteſt unto the whole world that we neither allow it, nor will at any time allow it.

Ye have Chriſtian readers our mind concerning the generall Councell. We thinke you all ſee, that Paul and his Cardinals, Biſhops, Abbats, Monks, Friers, with the reſt of the rabblement, doe nothing leſſe intend, than the knowledge and ſearch of truth. Ye ſee this is no time meete, Mantua no place meet for a generall Councel. And though they were both meete, yet except ſome other call this Councell, you ſee, that we neither need to come, nor to ſend. You have heard how every Prince in his owne Realme may quiet ſthings amiſſe. If there be any of you that can ſhew us a better way, we promiſe with all hearty deſire, to doe that that ſhall be thought beſt for the ſetling of Religion, and that wee will leave our owne adviſes, if any man ſhew us better. Which mind of ours, we moſt heartily pray God that gave it us, not onely to increaſe in us, but alſo to ſend it unto all Chriſtian Princes, all Chriſtian Prelates, and all Chriſtian people.

A little before the death of Quéene Anne, there was a Parliament at Weſtminſter, wherein was given to the King by conſent of the Abbats, all ſuch houſes of religion, as were under three hundred markes. Which was a ſhrewd prognoſticate of the ruine of greater houſes, which indeed followed ſhortly after, as was and might eaſily be perceived before of many, who then ſaid, that the low buſhes and brambles were cut downe before, but great okes would follow after.

The papiſts purpoſe diſappointed.

Although the proceeding of theſe things did not well like the minds of the Popes friends in England, yet notwithſtanding they began againe to take ſome breath of comfort, when they ſaw the foreſaid Quéene Anne diſpatched. Nevertheleſſe they were fruſtrate of their purpoſe (as is afore ſhewed) and that double wiſe. For firſt, after they had their wils of Quéene Anne, the Lord raiſed up another Quéene, not greatly for their purpoſe, with her ſonne King Edward. And alſo for that the Lord Cromwell the ſame time began to grow in authority. Who, like a mighty Pillar ſet up in the Church of Chriſt, was enough alone to confound and overthrow all the malignant deviſes of the Adverſaries, ſo long as God gave him in life here to continue; whoſe ſtory hereafter followeth more at large.

Queene Jane married to the King.

Lord. Cromwell groweth in authority.

Shortly after this foreſaid marriage of the King with this Quéene Jane Seimer above mentioned, in the moneth of June, during the continuation of the Parliament, by the conſent of the Clergy holding then a ſolemne Convocation in

Alteration of religion a little beginneth.

the Church of S. Paul, a booke was set forth containing certaine articles of religion necessary to be taught to the people; wherein they intreated specially but of three Sacraments, Baptisme, Penance, and the Lords Supper. Where also divers other things were published concerning the alteration of certaine points of religion, as that certaine Holydaies were forbidden, and many Abbeyes began to be suppressed. For the which cause the rude multitude of Lincolneshire, fearing the utter subversion of their old religion, wherein they had beene so long nused, did rise up in a great Commotion, to the number welneere of twenty thousand, having for their Captaine a Monke called Doctour Makerel, calling himselfe then Captaine Cobler; but these rebels being repressed by the Kings power, and desiring pardon, some brake up their assembly. For they hearing of the royall army of the King comming against them with his owne person there present, and fearing what would follow of this, first the Noblemen and Gentlemen which before favoured them, began to withdraw themselves, so that they were destitute of Captaines; and at the last they in writing made certaine Petitions to the King, protesting that they never intended hurt toward his royall person. These Petitions the King received, and made this answer againe to them as followeth.

Commotion in Lincolnshire.

A monke, stirrer of the commotion.

The Kings answer to the Rebels.

The Kings answer to the rebels.

FIrst, we begin to make answer to the fourth and sixth Articles, because upon them dependeth much of the rest. Concerning choosing of Counsellours, I never have read, heard, or knowne, that Princes, Counsellours, and Prelates, should be appointed by rude and ignorant common people, nor that they were persons meet, or of ability to discerne and chuse meete and sufficient Counsellours for a Prince. How presumptuous then are ye the rude Commons of one Shire, and that one the most base of the whole realme, and of the least experience, to finde fault with your Prince, for the electing of his Counsellours and Prelates, and to take upon you, contrary to Gods law and mans lawes to rule your Princes, whom ye are bound by all law to obey and serve with both your lives, lands and goods, and for no worldly cause to withstand.

For suppression of religious houses.

As for the suppression of religious houses and Monasteries, we will that ye and all our subjects should well know, that this is granted us by all the Nobles spirituall and temporall of this realme, and by all the Commons in the same, by Act of Parliament; and not set forth by any Counsellour or Counsellours upon their meere will and fantasie, as you full falsely would perswade our Realme to beleeve.

In these visitations of religious houses horrible it is to read what wickednesse and abhomination was therefound and registred by the visitors.

And where ye alledge, that the service of God is much diminished, the truth thereof is contrary; for there be no houses suppressed where God was well served, but where most vice, mischiefe, and abomination of living was used, and that doth well appeare by their owne confessions subscribed with their owne hands in the time of their visitations, and yet we suffered a great many of them (more then we needed by the Act) to stand, wherein if they amend not their living, we feare we have more to answer for, then for the suppression of all the rest. And as for the hospitality for the releefe of the poore we wonder ye be not ashamed to affirme that they have beene a great releefe of poore people, when a great many or the most part hath not past foure or five religious persons in them, and divers but one, which spent the substance of the goods of their houses in nourishing of vice and abominable living. Now what unkindnesse and unnaturality may we impute to you and all our subjects that be of that mind, which had lever such an unthrift sort of vicious persons should enjoy such possessions, profits, and emoluments, as grow of the said houses, to the maintenance of their unthrifty life, than we your naturall Prince, soveraigne Lord and King, which doth and hath spent more of our owne in your defences, than six times they be worth?

The Act of uses.

As touching the Act of uses, we marvell what madnesse is in your braine, or upon what ground ye would take authority upon you to cause us to breake those lawes and statutes which by all the noble Knights and Gentlemen of this realme (whom the same chiefely touched) have beene granted and assented to, seeing in no manner of things it toucheth you the base Commons of our realme.

Also, the grounds of all those uses were false, and never admitted by Law, but usurped upon the Prince, contrary to all equity and justice, as it hath been openly both disputed and declared by all the well learned men in the realme of England, in Westm. hall: whereby ye may well perceive how mad and unreasonable your demands be, both in that and in the rest, and how unmeet it is for us, and dishonourable, to grant or assent unto, and lesse meet and decent for you in such a rebellious sort to demand the same of your Prince.

The Act of tenths.

As touching the fifteene which you demand of us to be released, thinke ye that we be so faint hearted, that perforce ye of one shire (were ye a great many more) could compell us with your insurrections and such rebellious demeanor to remit the same? Or thinke you that any man will or may take you to be true subjects, that first make and shew a loving grant, and then perforce would compell your soveraigne Lord and King to release the same? The time of payment thereof is not yet come; yea, and seeing the same will not counterbaile the tenth peny of the charges which we have and daily doe sustaine for your tuition and safegard, make you sure by your occasions of these ingratitudes, unnaturalnesse, and unkindnesse to us now administred, ye give us cause (which have alwaies been as much dedicate to your wealth, as ever was King) not so much to set our study for the setting forward of the same, seeing how unkindly and untruly ye deale now with us, without any cause or occasion: And doubt ye not, though ye have no grace nor naturalnesse in you to consider your duty of allegiance to your King and Soveraigne Lord, the rest of our realme (we doubt not) hath, and we and they shall so looke on this cause, that we trust it shall be to your confusion, if according to your former Letters you submit not your selves.

The Act of first fruits.

As touching the first fruits, we let you to wit, it is a thing granted us by Act of Parliament also, for the supportation of part of the great and excessive charges, which we support and beare for the maintenance of your wealths and other our subjects: and we have knowne also that ye our Commons have much complained also in times passed, that the most part of our goods, lands, and possessions of the realme, were in the spirituall mens hands; and yet bearing us in hand that ye be as loving subjects to us as may be, ye cannot finde in your hearts that your Prince and soveraigne Lord should have any part thereof (and yet it is nothing prejudiciall unto you our Commons) but doe rebell and unlawfully rise against your Prince, contrary to the duty of allegiance and Gods Commandement. Sirs, remember your follies and traiterous demeanors, and shame not your native Countrey of England, nor offend no more so grievously your undoubted King and naturall Prince, which alwaies hath shewed himselfe most loving unto you, and remember your duty of allegiance, and that ye are bound to obey us your King, both by Gods Commandement and law of Nature.

Wherefore we charge you eftsoones, upon the foreseid bonds and paines, that you withdraw your

your selves to your owne houses every man, and no more to assemble contrary to our Lawes and your allegiances, and to cause the provokers of you to this mischiefe, to be delivered to our Lieutenants hands or ours, and you your selves to submit you to such condigne punishment, as we and our Nobles shall thinke you worthy: for doubt you not else, that we and our Nobles neither can nor will suffer this injury at your hands unrevenged, if yee give not to us place of Soveraignty, and shew your selves as bounden and obedient Subjects, and no more intermeddle your selves from henceforth with the weighty affaires of the Realme, the direction whereof onely appertaineth to us your King, and such Noble men and Counsellours as wee list to elect and chose to have the ordering of the same.

And thus we pray unto Almighty God, to give you grace to doe your duties, to use your selves towards us like true and faithfull Subjects, so as we may have cause to order you thereafter: and rather obediently to consent amongst you to deliver into the hands of our Lieutenant, a hundred persons to be ordered according to their demerits, at our will and pleasure, then by your obstinacy, and wilfulnesse to put your selves, your wives, children, lands, goods, and cattels, beside the indignation of God, in the utter adventure of totall destruction, and utter ruine, by force and violence of the sword.

After the Lincolnshire men had received this the Kings answer aforesaid, made to their petitions, each mistrusting other who should be noted to be the greatest medler, even very suddenly they began to shrinke, and out of hand they were all divided, and every man at home in his owne house in peace: but the Captaines of these rebels escaped not all cleare, but were after apprehended, and had as they deserved. Ex Ed. Hal.

The commotion of Lincolnsh: asswaged.

After this, immediately within sir daies upon the same, followed a new insurrection in Yorkshire for the same causes, through the instigation and lying tales of seditious persons, especially Monkes and Priests, making them believe, that their Silver Chalices, Crosses, Jewels, and other Ornaments, should be taken out of their Churches, and that no man should be married, or eate any good meate in his house, but should give tribute therefore to the King: But their especiall malice was against Cromwell, and certaine other Counsellors.

Popish insurrection in Yorkshire.

The number of these rebels were neere about 40. M. having for their Badges the five wounds, with the signe of the Sacrament, and Jesus written in the middest.

The badges of the rebels.

This their divellish rebellion they termed by the name of a holy pilgrimage, but they served a wrong and a naughty Saint. They had also in the field their Streamers and Banners, whereupon was painted Christ hanging upon the Crosse on the one side, and a Chalice with a painted cake in it on the other side, with other such ensigns of like hypocrisie and fained sanctity, pretending thereby to fight for the faith, and right of holy Church.

A lyp pilgrimage.

As soone as the King was certified of this new seditious insurrection, he sent with all speed against them the Duke of Northfolke, Duke of Suffolke, Marquesse of Exceter, Earle of Shrewsbury, and other with a great Army, forthwith to encounter with the rebels.

The Kings power against the rebels in the North.

These Noble Captaines and Counsellours thus well furnished with habiliment of war, approching toward the rebels, and understanding both their number, and how they were full bent to battell, first with policy went about to assay and practise how to appease all without bloodshed; but the Northerne men, stoutly and sturdily standing to their wicked cause and wretched enterprise, would in no case relent from their attempts. Which when the Nobles perceived, and saw no other way to pacifie their furious minds utterly set on mischiefe, determined upon a battell. The place was appointed, the day assigned, and the houre set; but see the wonderous worke of Gods gracious providence. The night before the day of battell came (as testifieth Edward Hall) fell a small raine, nothing to speake of, but yet, as it were by a great miracle of God, the water which was but a very small ford, and that men, in manner the day before, might have gone dry-shod over, suddenly rose of such a height, deepenesse, and breadth, that the like no man that there did inhabite could tell they ever saw afore; so that that day, even when the houre of battell should come, it was impossible for the one army to come at the other.

A great miracle of God in defending the cause of his Gospell.

After this, that the appointment made betweene both of the armies being thus disappointed (as it is to be thought onely by God, who extended his great mercy, and had compassion on the great number of innocent persons, that in that deadly slaughter had like to have beene murthered) could take no place; then by the great wisedome and policy of the said Captaines, a communication was had, and a pardon of the Kings Majesty obtained for all the Captaines, and chiefe doers of this insurrection, and they promised that such things as they found themselves agrieved withall, they should gently be heard, and their reasonable petitions granted, and that their articles should be presented to the King, that by his Highnesse authority, and wisedome of his Counsell, all things should be brought to good order and conclusion; and with this order every man quietly departed, and those which before were bent as hot as fire to fight, being letted thereof by God, went now peaceably to their houses, and were as cold as water.

A domino factum est istud.

In the time of this ruffle in Yorkshire, and the King lying the same time at Windsor, there was a Butcher dwelling within five miles of the said towne of Windsor, which caused a Priest to preach that all they that took part with the Yorkshiremen, whom hee called Gods people, did fight in Gods quarrell; for the which both he, and the Priest were apprehended and executed.

Popish Priests rebelling against the King.

Divers other Priests also, with other about the same time committing in like sort treason against the King, suffered the like execution. Such a busines had the King then to rid the realme from the servitude of the Romish yokes.

Tantæ molis erat Romanam evertere sedem.

But Gods hand did still worke withall, in upholding his Gospell and trodden truth, against all seditious stirs, commotions, rebellions, and whatsoever was to the contrary, as both by the Stories afore passed, and by such also as hereafter follow, may notoriously appeare.

The yeere next after this, which was of the Lord 1537, after that great execution had beene done upon certaine rebellious Priests, and a few other Lay men, with certaine Noble persons also and Gentlemen, amongst whom was the Lord Darcy, the Lord Hully, Sir Robert Constable, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Francis Bygot, Sir Stephen Hamelton, Sir John Bulmer, and his wife, William Lomeley, Nicholas Tempest, with the abbats of Gerney, and of Kivers, &c. In the moneth of October, the same yeere following, was borne Prince Edward. Shortly after whose birth, Queene Jane his mother, the second day after, died in childbed, and left the King againe a widdower, which so continued the space of two yeeres together. Upon the death of which Queene Jane, and upon the birth of Prince Edward her sonne, these two verses were made which follow.

Prince Edward borne. Queene Jane died in childbed.

Phœnix Iana jacet nato Phœnice, dolendum
Secula Phœnices nulla tulisse duas.

These verses were thought to be made by M. Armigil Wade.

Here by the way is to be understood, that during

during all this season, since the time that the King of England had rejected the Pope out of the realm, both the Emperor, the French King, and the King of Scots, with other forreine potentates (which were yet in subjection under the Pope) bare him no great good favour inwardly, whatsoever outwardly they pretended. Neither was here lacking privy setters on, nor secret working among themselves, how to compasse ungracious mischiefes, if God by contrary occasions had not stopped their intended devises. For first the Pope had sent Cardinal Pool to the French King, to stirre him to warre against the realme of England.

The Pope stirreth warre against England by Cardinall Poole.

Secondly, whereas the French King, by treaty of perpetuall peace, was bound yearely to pay to the King of England at the first daies of May, and November, about 25000 crownes of the sunne, and odde money, and over that ten thousand crownes at the said two termes, for recompence of salt due, as the treaties thereof did purport, that pension remained now unpayd foure yeares and more.

Furthermore, the Emperour, and the French King both, retained Granceter a traiterous rebell against the King, and condemned by Act of Parliament, with certaine other traitours moe, and yet would not deliver him unto the King at his earnest suite and request.

The Emperor, the French King, and the King of Scots, set against the K. of England.

The French King also, digressing from his promise and treaty, made alliance with the bishop of Rome, Clement, in marrying the Dolphine to his niece, called, Katharine de Medices.

The said French King moreover, contrary to his contract made, married his daughter to the King of Scots. All which were prejudiciall; and put the King no doubt in some feare and perplexity (though otherwise a stout and valiant Prince) to see the Pope, the Emperor, the French King, and the King of Scots so bent against him.

And yet all this notwithstanding, the Lord still defended the fulnesse of his cause against them all. For although the French King was so set on by the Pope, and so linked in marriage with the Scots, and lacked nothing now but onely occasion to invade the realme of England, yet notwithstanding he hearing now of the birth of Prince Edward, the Kings sonne by Quene Jane, and understanding also by the death of the said Quene Jane that the King was a widdower, and perceiving moreover talke to be that the King would joyne in marriage with the Germans, began to ware more calme and cold, and to give much more gentle words, and to demeane himselfe more courteously, labouring to marry the Quene of Navarre his sister to the King.

The Embassadors resident then in France for the King, were Stephen Gardener, with Doctor Thirleby, &c. Which Stephen Gardener what he wrought secretly for the Popes devotion, I have not expressely to charge him. Whether he so did, or what he did, the Lord knoweth all. But this is certaine, that when Doctour Boner, Archdeacon then of Leicester, was sent into France by the King (through the meanes of the Lord Cromwell) to succeed Stephen Gardener in Embassie, which was about the yere of our Lord 1538. he found such dealing in the said bishop of Winchester, as was not greatly to be trusted, beside the unkind parts of the said bishop against the foresaid Boner, comming then from the King and Lord Cromwell, as was not to be liked.

{Anno 1538.}

Doctor Boner, the Kings Embassadour in France.

Long it is to recite from the beginning, and few men peradventure would beleeve the brawling matters, the privy complaints, the contentious quarrels and bitter dissensions betweene these two, and especially what despitefull contumelies Doctor Boner received at the hands of Winchester. For understand good reader, that this Doctour Boner all this while remained yet, as he seemed a good man, and

Doctor Boner in the beginning a favourer of the truth, and a Lutheran.

was a great furtherer of the Kings procedings, and a favourer of Luthers Doctrine, and was advanced onely by the Lord Cromwell. Whose promotions here to rehearse; first he was Archdeacon of Leicester, Parson of Bledon, of Dereham, Chelwike, and Cheriburton. Then he was made bishop of Hereford, and at last preferred to be bishop of London. The chiefe of which preferments and dignities were conferred unto him only by the meanes and favour of the Lord Cromwell, who was then his chiefe and onely Patron, and setter up; as the said Boner himselfe in all his letters doth manifestly protest and declare. The copies of which his letters I could here produce and exhibite, but for prolonging my story with superfluous matter. Yet that the world and all posterity may see, how the comming up of Doctor Boner was onely by the Gospell (howsoever he was after unkind unto the Gospell) this one letter of his, which I will here infer, written to the Lord Cromwel out of France, may stand for a perpetuall testimony, the tenour whereof here ensueth.

L. Cromwell the onely setter up of D. Boner.

D. Boners comming up was by the Gospell.

A Letter of Doctour *Boner* the Kings Embassadour resident in France, sent to the Lord *Cromwell*, declaring the order of his promotions and comming up.

Out of Boners owne hand writting.

MY very singular especial good Lord, as one most bounden, I most humbly commend me unto your honorable good lordship. And whereas in times past it hath liked the same, without any my deserts or merits, even only of your singular exceeding goodnesse, to bestow a great deale of love, benevolence, and good affection upon me so poore a man, and of so small qualities, expressing indeed sundry waies the good effect thereof to my great preferment, I was very much bound thereby unto your honorable good lordship, and thought it alway my duty (as indeed it was) both to beare my true heart againe unto your Lordship, and also remembring such kindnesse, to do unto the same all such service and pleasure as might then lie in my small power to doe.

D. Boner confesseth himself much bound to the L. Cromwell.

But where of your infinit and inestimable goodnesse it hath further liked you of late, first to advance me unto the office of Legation from such a Prince as my soveraigne Lord is, unto the Emperour and French King; and next after to procure and obtaine mine advancement to so honourable a promotion as the bishoprieke of Hereford; I must here knowledge the exceeding greatnesse of your Lordships benefit, with mine owne imbecillity to recompence it, and say, as Virgil writeth,

Boner preferred to the Bishoprike of Hereford by the L. Cromwell.

Grates persolvere dignas non opis est nostræ.

Surely my good Lord, I neither am, neither shall be able to requite this your Lordships most speciall kindnesse and bountifull goodnesse at any time, unlesse I should use that civill remedy called in Law acceptilation, which great debtors especially are accustomed to procure to the hands of their creditors: whereby yet nevertheless your goodnesse, the onely doer thereof, should rather be increased, then my duty towards the same thereby diminished. And cessio Bonorum (the onely extreme refuge and helpe of poore debtors devised also in civill) might somewhat helpe herein, saying that it is not possible that I should come Ad tam pinguem fortunam (whereupon that remedy is grounded) whereby I may recompence and requite this debt worthily.

Acceptilation.

Here seeme to lacke for word. but I would not alter any thing in this owne copy.

So that in conclusion there resteth this, that unlesse your Lordships selfe doe lose me, as you have bound me, I shall (and that full gladly) remaine continually your most bounded beadsman. And Sir I most humbly beseech your good Lordship, in the honour of God, seeing this thing is begun, and advanced onely by your goodnesse and meanes

you

you will to the intent the act may be wholly your owne, ſtretch out your goodneſſe, not ſuffering the reſt to be perfected otherwiſe then by your owne hands; wherein as I muſt and ſhall knowledge my ſelfe to be exceedingly beholden unto your good LL. ſo ſhall I the ſame more eſteeme and ſet by, during my life, having ſo attained it by your onely goodneſſe: And verily, if your good Lordſhip be not better to me herein then I can (unleſſe it be of your owne goodneſſe) deſire you, I know not how I ſhall be able to overcome the great charges annexed to this promotion. For though my promotions afore were right honeſt and good, yea, and ſuch as one of farre better qualities then I was, or am of, ought therewith to have beene contented; yet conſidering that of divers of them, that is to wit, Leiceſter, Bledon, Derham, Cheſwicke, and Cheriburton, the firſt fruits, tenths, and charges borne, I have not received clearely one penny, I am now never a whit the more able to beare the great charges of this promotion.

The promotion of Boner.

I ſhall therefore herein and in all things elſe pertaining hereunto, ſeeing your Lordſhip is ſo great a patron, and will needs binde me for ever to be your owne (as indeed I will) referre all together unto your goodneſſe, beſeeching you to take the order and diſpoſition of all into your hands. I cannot tell whether the late biſhop ſtandeth bounden for the firſt fruits, tenths, or other duties, which by ſtatute may be demanded of his ſucceſſour, but I feare it greatly, and beſeech your Lordſhip that I may be holpen therein. My charges now here enforceth me the more to ſpeake and trouble your good Lordſhip, which at the beginning are not a few, and yet not ended. Of my fidelity to your good Lordſhip, I have of five hundred Crownes remaining forty, beſtowed upon horſes, mules, mulet, rayment, and other neceſſaries, ſtanding debtor to Maſter Thirleby nevertheleſſe, and alſo to Maſter Doctor Heines, for an hundred Markes, or fall upon, to them both. And beſides this, ſuch is my chance now at the beginning, divers of my Servants have fallen ſicke, being in great perill and danger, putting me to no little charges.

Over and beſides theſe diſpleaſures comming unto me by not having their ſervice, and other to keepe them, and alſo wanting mine other ſervants in England, which though I have ſent for them, yet neither they, neither my horſes or ſtuffe are come, I muſt and doe take patience, truſting it will mend.

Upon the cloſing up of this Letter, and depeach of this Bearer, God willing I will packe up my geare, and to morrow betime follow the French King, who yeſterday departed from Shambour, and maketh haſt toward Paris. And thus our bleſſed Lord long and well preſerve your good Lordſhip in health.

At Bloys, the ſecond of September in the evening.

Scribled by the weary hand of him that is bounden to be, and is indeed, your Lordſhips beadſman at commandement,

Edmund Boner.

Divers other Letters beſide this of Doctor Boner remaine in writing unto the like effect and purport, which here alſo I might adde for a further demonſtration hereof; but this one in ſtead of many may ſuffice. Now to our purpoſe againe; which is to declare how this Doctour Boner, in the time of his firſt ſpringing up, ſhewed himſelfe a good man, and a faſt friend to the Goſpell of Chriſt and to the Kings proceedings: and contrariwiſe, how Stephen Gardener did halt then both with God and with the King: Alſo what unkindneſſe and contumelies the ſaid Boner received at his hands; what rancour and heart-burning was betweene them; and what complaints the one moved againſt the other, remaineth conſequently by their writings and records to be opened. For the more evident demonſtration whereof, they that have the Letters of the ſaid Doctour Boner, written from France to the King and the Lord Cromwell, may right well perceive. And firſt to note what a Goſpeller hee was; in his Letter from Roane he ſpeaking of his truſty companion, and bearer of his Letters (who was belike Doctour Heynes) he giveth this report both of him and of himſelfe; ſaying,

Rancor and heartburning between the biſhop of Winchester and Boner.

If this bearer had beene ſo much deſirous to pleaſe the Emperour, and follow his religion, as he was ſtudious to ſerve truely your Grace, and to advance the Truth, he had not wanted, &c.

The words of Boner declaring himſelfe to be a goſpeller.

And againe:

And beſides that, hee hath not wanted the evill report of naughty fellowes, naming him a Lutheran; wherein for company I was joyned, ſuch was their goodneſſe, &c.

Boner reconted a Lutheran.

Againe, in another Letter written to the Lord Cromwell, theſe words he hath, ſpeaking of his companion Doctor Heines:

Eſpecially for that the ſaid Doctour Heines by his upright dealing herein, and profeſſing the Truth, neither gate thankes nor reward, but was blazed abroad by honeſt folkes to be a Lutheran. The leſſe hee pleaſeth in Spaine, the better argument it is, that his intent was to ſerve none but the Kings highneſſe and the truth, &c.

D. Boner and D. Heines noted for Lutherans.

And furthermore, in another minute writing to the Lord Cromwell of Stephen Wincheſter, and of his churliſhneſſe toward him, thus he ſaith:

And there I found in Maſter Doctour Thirleby much kindneſſe, and in the Biſhop of Wincheſter as little, &c.

Wincheſter againſt Boner.

And in the ſame Letter it followeth:

And if I had received any entertainement of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, I would likewiſe have ſent you word. I thanke God I need not, for I had nothing of him, &c.

Alſo in another Letter the ſaid Boner writing to the Lord Cromwell concerning one Barnabe, and himſelfe, what cold welcome they both had at the hands of Wincheſter, uſed theſe words following:

And my good Lord I beſeech you to continue your good favour to this honeſt poore man Barnabe, who is body and ſoule aſſuredly your owne, and as well beloved of the Biſhop of Wincheſter as I am: and of my troth I ſuppoſe and beleeve verily, one of the chiefe grudges the Biſhop hath againſt him, is becauſe your Lordſhip of your charitable goodneſſe doth love and favour him.

Stephen Wincheſter againſt Barnabe becauſe the Lord Cromwell favoured him.

Another Letter of Doctour *Boner* to the Lord *Cromwell*, complaining of Wincheſter, and alſo declaring how he was promoted by the ſaid Lord *Cromwell*, to the Biſhopricke of Hereford.

Boner all while ſhewed himſelfe to be a good man and a good goſpeller.

My very ſingular eſpeciall good Lord, according to my moſt bounden duty, I commend me right humbly unto your good Lordſhip, advertiſing the ſame, that the nine and twentieth of the laſt moneth, about foure of the clocke at afternoone, there arrived here Barnabe with your Lordſhips Letters, dated at Ewrige the foure and twentieth of the ſame: and thinking that at the ſaid arrivall, the biſhop of Wincheſter, M. Thirleby and I had beene all lodged together, where in very deed we

had severall lodgings, he went straight to the bishop of Winchesters lodging (master Thirleby and I being then walking in the fields) and the bishop incontinently inquired of him, not how the Kings grace did, as was his duty; but (as Barnabe told me) inquired of him where he left the Kings grace at his comming away, whether he had brought any letters for him: whether master Brian and master Wallop were in the Court at his departing, and finally what newes were in England. To the which questions, when Barnabe had made answer, saying that he left the Kings grace at Byrling, and that master Brian and master Wallop were in the Court at his departing, and withall, that he had no letters from them, ne any other to him, and finally, for the newes that the Kings highnesse had given me the bishopricke of Hereford: the bishop (as Barnabe reporteth, and I doubt not but he saith truly) cast downe his head, making a plaice mouth with his lip, and afterward lifting up his eyes and hands (as cursing the day and houre it chanced) seemed so evill contented therewith, that he would neither bid Barnabe drinke, or tarry supper, ne yet further commune with him, but turning from him called one master Medow, and shewed him of the same tidings, taking it (as it appeared) very heavily, semblably as he doth every thing, that is or may be for my preferment. And when Barnabe perceived that I was not there, and then also this comfortable countenance and good chere made unto him, he went thence and searched for me, who then was walking with master Thirleby, as is before, and by chance communing with him of the bishop of Winchester, giving him advertisement that hee should not be abused by the said bishop, who I said made of him, not for any hearty love I thought hee bare unto him, but either in despite of me, to whom he thought it should be greatly displeasant: or else under colour thereof, and by familiarity, for to grope him and to serve his owne crafty purposes by him. And soone after the departure of master Thirleby from me, who then went to the bishop to supper, I returned towards my lodging, and by the way met with Barnabe, whose salutation was after that sort, that it caused me to wonder at it, especially I having no expectation or hope of such things as hee rehearsed unto me. And surely my good L. I would not beleeve him in the thing he told, till I perceived the same by the superscription of your Lordships letter, which he afterwards delivered unto me: declaring withall (to my great comfort) the prosperous estate of the Kings highnesse, and of your good Lordship. Which knowne, I besought Almighty God to grant the long continuance thereof, and also as was my duty, did give most humble thankes to the Kings highnesse, and to your said good Lordship. And hereupon keeping your Lordships letters still in my hands unbroken, I went incontinently to the lodging of master Thirleby which was in my way, to communicate these my newes and great good fortune with him, and not finding him there, I read over your Lordships letters, sending the same afterward to master Thirleby; and perceiving by Barnabe, that he had other letters for me, which he told me he must deliver unto me secretly, I went to mine owne lodging with him, and there receiving them accordingly, did read them over, both that your Lordships second letter sent to me, and also the other sent to M. Wyat, &c.

The bishop of Winchester inquired not how the King did.

The plaice mouth of Winchester against Boner.

Steph. Wint. against Boners preferment.

D. Boner made bishop of Hertford.

See how Boner reioyceth at his great good fortune, as though he had not enough before, having foure livings, and being meerly well sped for one man.

Your Lordships most bounden Beadesman, and alwaies at commandement,
Edmund Boner.

When the King, by the advice of the Lord Cromwell, and other of his Counsell had appointed Doctour Edmund Boner to returne from the Emperour, and to be resident in France, in the place of Winchester and of Doctour Thirleby, he sent his Letters to the said Bishop of Winchester, and to Master Thirleby, shewing his pleasure unto them in that behalfe, with this clause in the same Letters contained in expresse words as followeth.

And where the said M. Boner wanteth furniture of stuffe and plate meete for that office, our pleasure is, that you master Thirleby shall deliver unto him by indenture, all the plate you have of ours in your custody, and that you my Lord of Winchester shall furnish him with all such other stuffe, as shall be necessary for him. Wherein as you shall doe unto us Pleasure, so we shall be content at your returne, to satisfie you for the same, &c.

The Kings pleasure was not regarded the Bishop Winchester.

The Bishop of Winchester receiving these Letters from the King, and being loath to come into England (whatsoever the matter was) also hearing that Doctor Boner should succeed him, his disdainfull nature did stomacke him exceedingly. But because there was no other remedy but that the Kings commandement must be done, first hee sendeth the Kings letter, with his also to the Emperours Court, unto Master Boner, and to Doctour Heyns, willing them in all haste to repaire to Lyons within two daies. Beside these Letters of Winchester, Doctour Thirleby adjoyned his Letters also with the like quicknesse to the said Doctor Heynes and to Boner, the contents whereof here followeth.

The Letter of Doctor Thirleby to Doctor Heynes and Boner.

D. Thirlebi quicke letter D. Heynes at Doctor Bor. He meaneth here the French King.

With my hearty commendations, and the desire of your company, and now so much rather that I shall thereby have a great benefit, viz. the deliverance from trouble to ease, from a strange Countrey to mine owne, from the waiting upon him that forceth as little for me, as I am acquainted with him, to the service of him whose prosperity and love I account as my life; these shall be to pray you to make no lesse speed hither, than you would make to a good feast when that you be hungry. M. Boner shall know many things, but when you come I shall tell you more, so that you haste you. Come I pray you, I would faine be at home. I saw not my Master these foure moneths. When as you M. Boner shall come to Lyons, it shall be good to goe to Bonuise, he is a good money maker; in faith I can write no more, but bid you come heartily, hastily I would have written, and the sooner the better welcome to Lyons, where this was given the last of July.

The King of England by meaneth.

By him that hath loved you well, and now will love you better, if you haste you hither,
Thomas Thirleby.

At the receit of these Letters, Doctor Boner, and Doctor Heynes did put themselves in a readinesse to repaire incontinent unto Lyons, thinking there to have found Winchester and Thirleby, according to the purport of their letters. But Winchester and Thirleby not abiding their comming, made haste away from Lyons to la Barella; where Boner, in riding in post after him overtooke him. With whom what entertainement and talke hee had, and what accusations he laid to his charge, and what brawling words passed betweene them, and what great misliking Boner had of him for speciall causes here in this brabling matter or brawling dialogue under following may appeare, which for thy recreation, and for the further understanding of Winchesters qualities, I wish thee loving reader to peruse and consider.

But first here is to be noted, that the King and the

the Lord Cromwell, at what time they had appointed Doctor Edmund Boner to be resident Embassador in France, required in their letters, that hee should advertise them by writting, what he did mislike in the doings and behaviour of certaine Persons whom they did then note unto him. Whereupon the said Doctor Boner sendeth this Declaration of Stephen Gardener, Bishop of Winchester, as followeth.

¶ A Declaration sent by Doctor Boner to the Lord Cromwell, describing to him the evill behaviour of Stephen Winchester, with speciall causes therein contained, wherefore, and why he misliked of him.

FIrst, I misliked in the Bishop of Winchester, that when any man is sent in the Kings affaires, and by his Highnesse commandement, the Bishop, unlesse hee be the onely and chiefe inventer of the matter and setter forth of the person, hee will not onely use many cabillations, but also use great strangenesse in countenance and cheere to the person that is sent; over and besides, as small comfort and counsell as may be in the matter, rather dissuading and discouraging the person earnestly to set forward his message, than boldning and comforting him, as is his duty, with helpe and counsell to adventure and doe his best therein. The experience whereof I have had my selfe with him, as well at Roan, the first time I was sent to Rome, commanded by the Kings Highnesse to come by him, and at Marcels, the time of the intimation of the Kings protestation, provocation and appeale, as also lately going to Nice, touching the generall Counsell, and the authority of the Bishop of Rome; and finally, now last of all, at my returne from Spaine, where neither my diligence in comming to him and using him in the beginning with all the reverence I could, neither the Kings letter written unto him in favour, ne yet other thing could mollifie his hard heart, and cankered malicious stomake, but that hee would spitefully speake, and unkindly doe, as indeed hee did, to his great shame and my dishonesty, as followeth.

When riding in post I came to la Barella, a post on this side Lyons, the seventh day of August, hee being in bed there, I tarryed till hee rising up and making himselfe ready, came at last out to mee, standing and tarrying for him in a second chamber, and at his comming thither, he said; What, Walter Boner, good morrow. Ah Sir, yee be welcome, and therewithall he put out his hand, and I kissing mine, tooke him by it, and incontinently after hee said; come on, let us goe and walke a while into the fields, and withall drew towards the doore, preparing him to walke. To whom I said, I would wait upon him. His going to the fields (as appeared afterwards) was not so much to walke, as to have a place where hee might speake loud, and triumph alone against mee calling in his words againe, if hee spake any amisse, and utterly deny them if that made for his purpose. And by chance, or rather then by good wisdome, afore I went forth, I asked for M. Thirleby, and desired I might see him and speake with him. The Bishop that perceiving, and withall that I tacke upon it, he commanded one of his servants to call Walter Thirleby, but yet afore his comming the Bishop would not be idle, but said thus to mee.

Walter Boner, your servant was yesterday with mee, and as I told him, I will tell you; In good faith you can have nothing of mee. Nothing, my Lord, quoth I, merrily speaking, Mary God forbid, that is a heavy word, and much uncomfortable to him that wanteth all things, and trusteth much upon your goodnesse that hath a great deale. In faith, quoth hee, yee shall have nothing of mee: Mary, yee shall have of Walter Thirleby his carriage, mules, his bed, and divers other things, that he may spare, and which he hath kept for you. Well my Lord, quoth I, if I shall have nothing of you, I must make as good shift as I can for my selfe otherwise, and provide it where I may get it. And here the Bishop, because I would not give him thanks for that thing which was not worthy thanks, and that also I would not shew my selfe greatly contented and pleased, though I received nothing at his hands, hee began somewhat to kindle, and asked what I wanted. I told him againe, that I wanted all things saving money and good will to serve the Kings Highnesse.

Tell mee one thing, quoth hee; that you want. One thing, quoth I? Mary amongst many things that I want, I want Papery. That shall yee not need, quoth hee, here in this countrey: and here hee began to tell a long tale, that none used that but Walter Wallop and hee in the beginning. Which is not true generally. And from this hee began to goe, descending by his negatives; my mulets, said he, yee cannot have, for if yee should, I must needs provide other for them againe: my mulet cloathes yee cannot have, because mine armes are on them, not meet for you to beare: my raiment (I being Bishop) that is not meet for you: and so proceeding forth in the rest, nothing had he for mee, and nothing should I have.

And here came Walter Thirleby, who welcommed me very gently, and after an honest sort: To whom the Bishop rehearseth againe his negatives, and maketh a long discourse, bringing in conclusion, for all that hee could doe, that nothing I should have of him, and this rehearsed hee still on end, I am sure above a dozen times, and that with a Pilates voyce, so that all his company, standing more than three or four paire of Buts length off, heard him.

When I saw that hee would make no end, but ever rehearsed one thing still, I said to him, My Lord, I beseech you, seeing I shall have nothing of you, but of Walter Doctor here, let mee give him thanks that deserved it, and trouble you therein no more: but leaving communication therein, let mee desire and pray you, that wee may commune of the Kings matters. And that I may have therein knowledge, as well of the state thereof, as also of your counsell in that behalfe. The Bishop was so hot and warme in his owne matters, that he would not heare, but needs would returne againe, and shew why that I could have nothing of him. My Lord, quoth I, here is still on end one tale, which me thinketh, seeing that I understand it, yee need not so oft to repeat it, especially seeing that it commeth allwayes to this conclusion, that I shall have nothing of you. Yee lie, quoth hee, I said not so. I report me, quoth I, to Walter Thirleby here present, whom I shall desire to beare record of your sad and discreet honest behaviour with me. I say you lie, quoth he: My Lord, quoth I, I thanke you.

I doe not say, quoth he, that yee shall have nothing of me; but I say you can have nothing of me. And though the one here comprehendeth the other, yet there is a great diversity betweene these two manners of speaking: I can spare nothing unto you, and therefore yee shall have nothing; and though I can spare you, yet you shall have nothing; for in the one is an honesty in the speaker, which would if hee could doe pleasure; and in the other there lacketh that honesty.

My Lord, quoth I, to examine whether I shall have nothing, because yee can spare nothing; or shall have nothing, though yee have plenty, because yee will I shall have nothing, it shall not much help me in my journey. Wherefore seeing you bide upon this, that I shall have nothing, I will thanke you for nothing, and provide otherwise for my selfe.

Marg.

Doctor Boner will give no thankes to Winchester for nothing.

Winchester begunneth to kindle.

Winchesters negatives.

Doctor Thirleby present at this parly.

The Pilates voyce of Winc.

Stephen Gardener more respective to his owne matters than to the Kings affaires.

Yee lie quoth Winchester.

Winchesters old sophisticacion.

Bishop-like spoken.

Turd in your teeth, quoth he, and provide as yee will. Bishop-like spoken, by my faith, quoth I, and well it becommeth you to speake thus to mee. Yea mary doth it become me, quoth he, and repeating the words againe, said with a sharpe accent, have nothing of me? Turd in your teeth. Well my Lord, quoth I, this needeth not, saving that yee have a full stomach, and your wit abroad, willing hereby to ease your stomach against me. Yes mary, quoth he, it needeth for me, though it needeth not for you, for I intend, quoth he, I would yee should know it, to satisfie my selfe to the King in all things. If yee doe so, quoth I, yee shall doe the better. Nay, quoth he, I doe it, and will doe it. Well quoth I, yee are the more to be commended, if yee so can doe. Yes, quoth he, I can doe it.

The mellifluous and honey mouthed words of Winchester to Boner.

Now, by my troth, quoth I, seeing the Kings highnesse hath written so tenderly for me unto you, as appeareth by his highnesse Letters that his grace hath done; me thinketh, yee having so great plenty of all things, and I so great need thereof, comming post, as I doe, yee goe about as evill to satisfie your selfe to the King, as any one that I have seene. And I wisse my Lord (quoth I) I would have reckoned, that comming as I doe come, I should have beene both better welcome, and better intreated of you, than now I am, if it had beene for no other respect, than because I am an English man.

The stomach of Steph. Gardener against Boner.

I shall tell you, quoth he, for the Kings sake, yee may looke to have; but for your owne sake yee get nothing. Well, quoth I, then having nothing, I will give no thanks at all, and having any thing, I shall give thanks to the King, and none to you. I tell you, quoth he, yee get nothing. And I tell you againe, quoth I, that I will thanke you for nothing: and here the flesh of his cheeke began to swell and tremble, and he looked upon me as he would have run through me, and I came and stood even by him, and said: Trow you, my Lord, quoth he, that I feare your great lookes? May faith doe I not. Yee had need to get another stomach to whet upon, than mine, and a better whetstone than any ye have. For I assure you, you shall not whet me to your purpose: and if yee knew how little I doe set by this unloving and indiscreet behaviour of yours, you would not use it upon me. And I shall tell you, quoth I, if I were not bridled, and had other respects both to the Kings highnesse my Soveraigne Lord, and also unto other that may command mee, I would have told you ere this time my minde after another sort. Tell me, quoth he, Turd in your teeth. Well my Lord, quoth I, yee would, I perceive by you, and by your words, provoke mee to speake as undiscreetly and bedlemly, as yee doe. But surely ye shall not, howsoever yee shall speake. But this will I tell you, I shall shew how I am handled of you. Mary spare not, quoth hee. Well my Lord, quoth I, you have here full well plaid the part of a Bishop, and it is great joy of you, that with this your furious anger and choler, yee can make all the company here about you to be ashamed of you, as I am sure they are. And for my part, if yee your selfe be not ashamed, or comming to your selfe (for now your anger is such that you heare not your selfe) be not displeased, I shall be ashamed, and pity this your doing without wisedome, and the oftener yee use this manner, the more shall it be to your dishonesty.

The like trembling and leaping of his cheeke and flesh for anger did M. Boner also note in this Gardener disputing with him in Germany. Vide Bucer. de Cælibatu.

Steph. Gardener Bedlem-like.

All the company ashamed of Gardeners talke.

Lo, quoth hee, how fondly he speaketh, as who saith, I were all in the blame. Will yee not heare, quoth he, this wise man? My Lord, quoth I, I would you could heare with indifferent eares, and see with indifferent eyes your selfe. Yee have made a brabling here for nothing, and would that I should give you thanks for that thing which Master Thirleby hath done for me. I look for no thanks of you, quoth he, and said withall, looking spightfully, that he knew me well enough; and that yee was not deceived in me. Well quoth I, and me thinke I know you well enough too, wherefore as yee say you are not deceived in me, so I trust I will not be deceived by you. But I pray you, Sir, quoth I, because yee say yee know me well enough, and that yee be not deceived in me, how doe you know me? for honest and true, or otherwise? If you doe, say it, and I shall make answer.

Brabling for nothing.

The spightfull lookes of Winchester.

I could not drive him to answer hereunto; so that I suppose, either of his owne naughty nature he hath made me an Image after his owne fantasie, or else believed the report of such in conditions, as he is himselfe, who in malice, I suppose, and disdaine may be compared to the Divell in hell, not giving place to him in pride at all. In communication he repeated oft the provision of the M. crownes. I told him they went in my dyets, and that it would be a good while afore they would come out: and further I said, that seeing they had beene simpliciter given to me, I would never thanke him for them, but the Kings highnesse: And I said, that if they were twenty thousand, he should breake so many sleepes afore he should have any part thereof, intreating me as he did. Well, quoth he, you have them. That is truth, quoth I, and nothing thankfull to you.

Steph. Gardner for malice and disdaine and pride, compared by Boner to the Divell of Hell.

Why then, quoth he, seeing you have here divers things of M. Thirlebies, and al other things are parabilia pecuniâ, which you have, you may make thereby good provision for your selfe. That is truth, quoth I, and that can I and will doe, though you tell me not, seeing I have nothing of you, and afore this had provided at Lyons for all things necessary, if yee without necessity had not made that great haste to depart thence, inforcing me thereby to follow you. And yet, quoth I, one thing may I tell you; yee are very desirous I should be provided well for, as appeareth in that you have taken away at Lyons one Horse that Francis had provided for me, and also your servant Mace having an Horse to sell, and knowing my need, by your consent hath sold his Horse to a stranger, rather than he would sell him to me. So that nothing suffering me to have of you, and taking away that provision which I make, and goe about to make, you well declare how heartily you desire I should be provided for. In faith (quoth he) chuse you, yee may provide if you will; and seeing your journey hither from Lyons is vain, you may thither returne againe, and make there provision for your selfe. I thought quoth he, departing from Lyons, to have made easie journeyes; and to have followed the Court till you had come, and now come you squirting in post, and trouble all. I came forth in post, quoth I, by the commandement of the King my Master, and had liberty to returne at pleasure by his Graces Letters, and seeing that I had no Horses for the journy, me thought better to ride in post than goe on foot. Well, quoth he, I will not depart hence this twelve-moneth, except yee be otherwise provided. Provided (quoth I) I must tarry till I may be provided of Horses, if yee speake of that provision: and seeing that this riding in post grieveth you, it causeth me to thinke you are loth to depart, and angry that I should succeed you. I have here already two gownes and a velvet Jacket, so that you shall not be letted an houre by me.

Winchell. pretth Boner his shifts for provision.

The churlish dealing of Winchester.

Winchester angry that Boner should succeed him.

I tell you, quoth he, yee shall otherwise provide, or else I will not depart. For I tell you, quoth he, though you care not for the Kings honour, but wretchedly doe live with ten shillings a day, as yee did in yonder parts, you and your companion, I must and will consider the Kings honour. And I tell you againe, quoth I, I will and doe consider the Kings honour as much as yee at any time will doe, and as sorry will be that it should be touched by any negligence or default in me: yea, and I say more to you (quoth I) though yee may spend farre above me, I

shall

shall not sticke if any thing be to be spent for the Kings honour, to spend as liberally as you, so long as either I have it, or can get it to spend. And whosoever informed you of the wretchednesse and spending scarcely of my companion and mee in the parts where wee have beene, made a false lie, and yee shew your wisdome full well in so lightly believing and rehearsing such a tale.

I cannot tell, quoth hee, but this was openly rehearsed by Walter Brians servants at my table. Yea was? (quoth I) Yea mary was it, quoth hee. Now, by my troth, quoth I, then was the fare that was bestowed upon them very well cast away: for of my fidelity, that weeke that Walter Brian and his servants were with us at Villa Franca, it cost my companion and mee five and twenty pounds in the charges of the house. This they say, quoth hee. Yea quoth I, and therein they lie. And here I shewed him, that being well settled at Nice, and having made there good and honest provision, to our no little charges, Walter Wyat would not rest till hee had gotten us to Villa Franca, where even upon the first words of Walter Haynes, hee was right well content to take of us twenty shillings by the day. Which was not during ten dayes; where at his comming to us to Nice, himselfe and all his servants, and then tarrying with us two dayes, wee tooke not one penny of him. And moreover, at the departing of Walter Wyat from Villa Franca, in post into England, wee found our selves, our Servants, all Walter Wyats servants, to the number of fifteene, all his acquaintance, which dinner and supper continually came to us, sometimes twelve, sometimes ten, and when they were least, five or eight, and for this had not one peny of Walter Wyat, and yet at our comming from Barcelone, where wee tarried about eight dayes, wee gave to Walter Wyat twenty eight pounds, and to his servants five pounds, besides forty shillings that privately I gave to some being of gentle fashion, out of mine owne purse: so that I told him, it was neither Walter Wyat, nor Mason, that found us and our servants, but wee payed for the finding of them, and here it chanced to us to have all the charge, and other men to have all the thanks.

The Bishop when he heard this was amazed, and stood still, finally saying; By my troth, quoth hee, I tell you as it was told mee, and Walter Doctor here can tell whether it was so or no. Yea, and I will tell you more, quoth hee, they said that Walter Heynes, would have beene more liberall a great deale, if you had not been. Now by my troth, quoth I, I shall therein make Walter Heynes himselfe Judge thereof, who can best tell what communication hath been betweene him and me therein.

Thinking that this communication had driven the other matters out of the Bishops wild head, I held my peace; and by and by was hee in hand againe with them as hot as ever he was. My Lord (quoth I) I desired ere while your LL. to make an end of this communication, wherein the longer yee talke, the more yee make me believe that you would (where yee have spoken undiscretly, yea, and unkindly, not regarding the Kings letters) with multitude of words, and great countenance I should thinke yee had not done amisse. But surely you lose your labour, for yee shall never make mee thinke that yee are desirous to doe mee pleasure, neither for mine owne sake, nor for the Kings. For if your words be well weighed, I have as much of you indeed for mine owne sake, as I have for the Kings sake, that is nothing at all.

Here both of us were talking together; but I held on still, and ever enforced him to this: My Lord, quoth I, this is the thing that I shall onely desire of you; that where the Kings Grace hath here in the French court divers affaires (as I take it) yee would therein instruct me in the state thereof, and give me your best counsell and advice: and this I protest unto you, that if yee this will doe, I will attentively heare you, and if yee will not, I shall with paine heare you in your other things, but I will make no answer at all.

For all this the Bishop ended not: but in conclusion, when he saw by no meanes that hee could induce me to answer, he returned homewards, and I brought him unto his lodging and chamber.

It being dinner time, and all things provided, and standing afore him, and he turning his backe from me unto a window: I at his turning towards me againe, put off my bonet, and said, God be with you my Lord. Hee gave no answer to me at all, nor countenance, but suffered me to goe. Whereupon returning to my lodging, which was in Walter Thirlebies chamber, I caused my dinner to be provided, and when it was almost ready, the Bishops Steward, called Pyrrell, came for mee (whether sent from the Bishop or not, I cannot tell) and I told him my dinner was provided for, and withall, that my Lord his Master had given mee such a breakfast, that I need no dinner nor supper, and so the Steward, drinking with mee, returned againe, and I went to dinner at Walter Thirlebies lodging, and after dinner I went to the Bishops lodging, who at my comming, very gently put off his bonet, and so we walked together quietly a while, and shortly after, the Bishop began after this manner; Master Boner, to day we communed of provision for you, and because yee shall lay no blame upon me, I will tell you what I will do for you, I will provide and make ready for you, Mules, Mulets, Horses, servants, money, yea, and all things that shall be necessary.

My Lord, quoth I, here is a large offer, and a great kindnesse come upon you; I marvell, quoth I, that I could heare nothing of this to day in the morning. I tell you, quoth hee, this will I doe, for know you, that I will consider the Kings honour and pleasure, and doubt not but the King will pay me againe. My Lord, quoth I, I have sent my servant already to Lyons, to make provision for mee, and I have sent other abroad here in the towne and countrey, to doe the same: yee shall never need to trouble your selfe herewith. I will, quoth hee, you shall not say another day, that yee could not be provided for. My Lord, quoth I, let me have instructions in the Kings matters, and as for other things I shall not aske of you, because this day yee made mee so plaine answer. After much communication I departed from him lovingly, telling him that I would be at Terrara that night where hee intended to be lodged. And so the Bishop bidding mee farewell, tooke soone after his horse, riding to Terrara to bed.

And by the way I overtooke him, and passing by, doing my duty to him and his company, I came to Terrara, lodging at the post house, and even as the Bishop came into the towne, stood at the post house dore: To whom the Bishop said, wee shall see you soone, Master Boner. Yea, my Lord, quoth I, thinking that thereby hee had desired mee to supper, and at supper time I went to his lodging, having other to eat my supper at home, and glad hee appeared to be that I was come, making merry communication all supper while, but nothing at all yet speaking to mee, or giving any thing to me, saving at the comming of the fruit, hee gave me a peare, I trow, because I should remember mine owne countrey. After supper, hee walked, taking Master Thirleby with him, and I walked with an Italian, being Embassador for the County Mirandula, and after a good space hee returned, and bad the Bishop good night.

I did not after that night dine or sup with the Bishop, till he came to Burges in Berry, where upon the depeach of Frances, and closing up of our Letters sent to the Kings highnesse, the supper was so

Winchester revoketh his words of false report.

The Bishop of Winchesters evil head.

Winchester refused not the Kings letters.

Boner out-scolded by Winchester, and driven to silence.

Doctor Boner taketh his leave of Winchester.

Winchesters good will come upon him at last

Winchesters offer to Boner refused.

Winchester and Boner depart.

Another meeting of Winchester and Boner.

Boner seemeth by this peare to be a Worcestershire man.

so prouided, and set upon the boord, and the Bishop in washing, standing so betweene mee and the doore that I could not get out; and there would he needs that I should wash with him and sup, and I suppose all the way from Barella to Bloys, hee talked not aboue foure times with me, and at euery time saying at Nolyns (where he by mouth told me somewhat of the Kings affaires here in France) and at Veronne (when hee answering to my requests in writing, deliuered me his booke of his owne hand for mine instructions, the copy whereof is now sent herewithall) there was quicke communication betweene us. His talking by the way was with Master Thirleby, who I thinke knoweth a great deale of his doing, and will, if he be the man I take him for, tell it plainly to your Lordship. I my selfe was out of credence with the Bishop, not being applyable to his manners and desires.

The strangenesse between Winchester and Boner.

Winchesters booke of instructions deliuered to Boner.

Thirleby and Winchester great together.

Why Boner was out of credit with Winchester.

Winchesters flesh trembled at the first comming of Doctor Thirleby to succeed him.

And surely, as Master Thirleby told me, at his first comming to Lyons, and then speaking with the Bishop, the Bishop seemed to be so well content to returne, and so glad of his comming to succeed him, that his flesh in his face began all to tremble, and yet would the Bishop make men believe that hee would gladly come home. Which thing, believe it who will, I will never believe; for euer hee was looking for letters out of England, from M. Mallop and Master Brian, whom hee tooke for his great friends: and Master Wyat himselfe reckoned, that the Bishop should have come into Spaine, or else my Lord of Duresme; so that the Bishop of Winchester ever coveted to protract the time, desiring yet withall to have some shadow to excuse and hide himselfe; as tarrying at Barella, he made excuse by my not comming to Lyons; and comming to Varennes, and there hearing by the Embassadors of the Venetians a flying tale of the going of the French king towards Bayon to meete the Emperor, by and by hee said; Lo, where is Master Diligence now? If he were now here (as then I was that night) we would to the Court and present him, and take our leave. But when I in the morning was up afore him, and ready to horse, hee was nothing hasty. No, comming to Nolyns after him, and there tarrying for him, the French king lying at Schavenna, three small leagues off, hee made not halfe the speede and halte that hee pretended.

Winchester loth to returne into England.

Boner called M. Diligence.

I mislike in the Bishop of Winchester, that he cannot be content that any ioyned in commission with him should keepe house, but to be at his table. Wherein either he searcheth thereby a vain-glory and pride to himselfe, with some dishonour to the King, as who saith, there were among all the Kings Embassadors but one able to maintaine a Table, and that were he: or else he doth them same for an evil intent and purpose, to bring them thereby into his danger, that they shall say he doe as liketh him alone, which I suppose verily hath beene his intent.

The second complaint.

Winchester would be alone.

I mislike in the said Bishop, that where hee for his owne pompe and glory hath a great number of servants in their velvets and silkes, with their chaines about their necks, and keepeth a costly table with excellibe fare, and exceeding expences many other wayes; hee doth say, and is not ashamed to report, that hee is so commanded to doe by the Kings Grace, and that is his answer commonly, when his friends tell him of his great charges; and so, under colour of the Kings commandement and honour, hee hideth his pride, which is here disdained.

The third complaint the pomp and glory of Winchester.

I mislike in the said Bishop, that he having private hatred against a man, will rather satisfie his owne stomacke and affection, hindering and neglecting the Kings affaires, than relenting in any part of his sturdy and stubborne will, give familiar and hearty counsell (whereby the Kings highnesse matters and businesse may be advanced and set forth) to him that hee taketh for his Adversary.

The fourth complaint Winchester given more to his owne affections then to the Kings affaires.

I mislike in the said Bishop, that hee ever continually here in this court of France, made incomparably more of the Emperors, King of Portugals, Venetians, and Duke of Ferraries Embassadors, than of any Frenchmen in the Court, which with his pride caused them to disdaine him, and to thinke that he favoured not the French king, but was Imperiall.

The fifth complaint Winchester suspected be Imperiall.

I mislike in the Bishop, that there is so great familiarity and acquaintance, yea, and such mutuall confidence betweene the said Bishop and M. as naughty a fellow, and as very a Papist as any that I know, where he dare expresse it. The Bishop in his letters to Master Wyat, ever sendeth speciall commendations to Mason, and yet refuseth to send any to Master Heynes and me, being with Master Wyat, as wee perceived by the said letters. And Mason maketh such foundation of the Bishop, that hee thinketh there is none such. And hee telled me at Villa Franca, That the Bishop upon a time, when hee had fallen out with Germain, so trusted him, that weeping and sobbing he came unto him, desiring and praying him that hee would speake with Germain, and reconcile him, so that no words were spoken of it, and what the matter was hee would not tell me. That young fellow Germain knoweth all: and Preston, which is servant to the Bishop of Winchester, shewed mee one night in my chamber at Bloys after supper, that Germain is ever busie in shewing the Kings letters to Strangers, and that he himselfe hath given him warning thereof. This thing Preston told me the night before that the Bishop departed hence, and when I would have had more of him therein, he considering how the Bishop and I stood, kept him more close, and would say no further.

The sixth complaint Boner like a true Gospeller complaineth of papist.

Winchester suspected of untrue dealing.

In this declaration of Doctor Edmund Boner, above prefixed, sent to the Lord Cromwell, divers things we have to note: First, as touching Stephen Gardener, Bishop of Winchester, here wee have plaine demonstration of his vile nature and pestilent pride, joyned with malice and disdaine intollerable: whereof worthily complaineth Doctor Boner aforesaid, shewing five speciall causes, why and wherefore hee misliketh that person, according as hee was willed before by the Kings commandement so to doe.

Things in the foresaid declaration to be noted.

The rancor and pride of Stephen Gardiner.

Secondly, in the said Stephen Winchester, this wee have also to note and understand, that as hee here declareth a secret inclination from the truth (which he defended before in his booke De Obedientia) to papistry, joyning part and side with such as were knowne Papists; so hee seemeth likewise to beare a like secret grudge against the Lord Cromwell, and all such whomsoever he favoured.

2 Stephen Gardener revolted to Papistry.

Thirdly, as concerning the forenamed Doctor Edmund Boner the author of this declaration, here is to be seene and noted, that hee all this while appeared a good man and diligent friend to the truth; and that hee was favoured of the Lord Cromwell for the same.

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Fourthly, that the said Doctor Boner was not only favoured of the Lord Cromwell, but also by him was advanced first to the office of Legation, then to the Bishoprieke of Hereford, and lastly, to the Bishoprieke of London, whom the said Doctor Boner in his letters agnizeth and confesseth to be his only Patron, and singular Mecænas.

4 D. Boners comming up onely by the Gospell.

Which being so, we have in this said Doctor Boner greatly to marvell, what should be the cause, that hee, seeing all his setting up, making and preferring came onely by the Gospell, and by them of the Gospels side, he being then so hated of Stephen Gardener, and such as hee was, being also at that time such a furtherer and defender of the Gospell (as appeared both by his preface before Gardeners

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booke De Obedientia, and by his writings to the Lord Cromwell, also by helping forward the printed Bibles at Paris) could ever be a man so ungratefull and unkind afterward, to joyne part with the said Stephen Gardener against the Gospell (without the which Gospell hee had never come to be Bishop neither of Hereford, nor yet of London) and now to abuse the same Bishoprick of London, to persecute that so vehemently which before so openly hee defended? Wherein the same may well be said to him in this case, that hee himselfe was reported once to say to the French King in the cause of Granceter: to wit, That hee had done therein against his honour, against justice, against reason, against honesty, against friendship, against his own promise and his oath so often made, against his owne doctrine and judgement, which then hee professed, against all truth, against the treaties and leagues betweene him and his setters up, and against all together, and to conclude, against the salvation of his owne soule.

Bucers owne words retorted against him.

But to referre this to the booke of his accompts, who shall judge one day all things uprightly, let us proceed further in the continuation of this Doctor Boners Legation. Who being now Embassador in the Court of France (as yee have heard) had given him in commission from the King to entreat with the French king for sundry points, as for the printing of the New Testament in English, and the Bible at Paris; also for slanderous preachers, and malicious speakers against the King; for goods of Merchants taken and spoyled, for the Kings pension to be paid; for the matters of the Duke of Suffolke; for certaine prisoners in France; Item, for Granceter the Traytor, and certaine other Rebels to be sent into England, &c. Touching all which affaires, the said Doctor Boner did employ his diligence and travell to the good satisfaction and contentment of the Kings mind, and discharge of his duty, in such sort as no default could be found in him, save only that the French king one time tooke displeasure with him, for that the said Boner, being now made Bishop of Hereford, and bearing himselfe somewhat more seriously and boldly before the King, in the cause of Granceter the Traytor (wherein hee was willed, by the advertisement of the Kings pleasure, to wade more deepely and instantly) used these words to the French king (as the French king himselfe did afterward report them) saying, That hee had done in deliverance of that foresaid Granceter being an English man, against God, against his honour, against justice, against reason, against honesty, against friendship, against all law, against the treaties and leagues betweene him and his brother, the King of England, yea, and against all together, &c. These words of Bishop Boner, although he denyeth to have spoken them in that forme and quality, yet howsoever they were spoken, did stirre up the stomacke of the French king to conceive high displeasure against him, insomuch that hee, answering the Lord Embassador again, bad him write these three things unto his Master.

Dilligence and suit of Doct. Boner in legation.

Words of Doct. Boner vse to the Frech king.

The French K. displeased with Bish. Boner.

Bish. Boner bidden to write to his Master three things.

First, among other things, that his Embassador was was a great foole.

Secondarily, That he caused to be done better Iustice there in his Realme in one houre, than they did in England in a whole yeere.

Thirdly, That if it were not for the love of his Master, he should have an hundred strokes with a halbard, &c.

And furthermore, the said French king besides this, sending a speciall messenger with his Letters to the King of England, willed him to revoke and call this Embassador home, and to send him another. The cause why the French King took these words of Bishop Boner so to stomack (as the Lord Chancellor said) was this, for that the Kings of France, standing chiefly, and in manner only upon their honour, can suffer that in no case to be touched. Otherwise, in those words (if they had beene well taken) was not so much blame, perchance, as boldnesse, being spoken somewhat vehemently in his Maisters behalfe. But this one thing seemeth to me much blame-worthy, both in this Bishop, and many other, that they in earthly matters, and to please terrene Kings, will put forth themselves to such a boldnesse and forwardnesse, and in Christs cause, the King of all kings, whose cause they should onely attend upon and tender, they are so remisse, cold, and cowardly.

Bishops commonly bolder in Princes matters then in the cause of Christ.

To these letters of the French king, the King of England sent answer againe by other letters, in which hee revoked and called home againe Bishop Boner, giving unto him about the same time the Bishoprick of London, and sent in supply of his place Sir John Wallop, a great friend to Stephen Gardener. Which was in February, about the beginning of the yeere of our Lord, 1540. Here now followeth the oath of Boner to the King, when hee was made Bishop of London.

¶ *The Oath of Doctor Edmund Boner, when hee was made Bishop of London, against the Pope of Rome.*

Doctor Boners oath against the Pope.

YEe shall never consent nor agree that the Bishop of Rome shall practise, exercise, or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, or power within this Realme, or any other the Kings Dominion, but that you shall resist the same at all times, to the uttermost of your power: and that from henceforth ye shall accept, repute, and take the Kings Majesty to be the only supreme head in earth of the church of England, and that to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue meane, yee shall observe, keepe, maintaine, and defend the whole effects and contents of all and singular Acts and Statutes made and to be made within this Realme, in derogation, extirpation, and extinguishment of the Bishop of Rome, and his authority, and other Acts and Statutes made and to be made in reformation and corroboration of the Kings power of supreme head in the earth of the Church of England: and this yee shall doe against all manner of persons, of what estate, dignity, degree, or condition they be, and in no wise doe nor attempt, nor to your power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or apertly, to the let, hinderance, dammage, or derogation thereof, or of any part thereof, by any manner of meanes, or for any manner of pretence: and in case any oath be made, or hath beene made by you to any person or persons in maintenance or favour of the Bishop of Rome, or his authority, jurisdiction, or power, yee repute the same as vaine and adnihilate; so helpe you God, &c.

In fidem præmissorum ego Edmundus Boner, electus & confirmatus Londonensis Episcopus, huic præsenti Chartæ subscripsi.

Ecclesiasticall matters, Anno 1538.

{Anno 1538.}

It will be judged, that I have lingred peradventure too much in these outward affaires of Princes and Embassadors. Wherefore leaving these bymatters pertaining to the Civill state a while, I minde (the Lord willing) to put my story in order againe; of such occurrents as belong unto the Church; first bringing such injunctions and Articles

as were deuised and set forth by the King, for the behoofe of his subiects. Wherein first is to be vnderstood, that the King, when he had taken the title of supremacy from the Bishop of Rome, and had translated the same to himselfe, and was now a full Prince in his owne Realme, although he well perceiued by the wisedome and aduice of the Lord Cromwell and other of his Counsell, that the corrupt state of the Church had need of reformation in many things; yet because hee saw how stubborne and untoward the hearts of many Papists were to be brought from their old perswasions and customes, and what businesse he had with them, only about the matter of the Popes title, he durst not by and by reforme all at once (which notwithstanding had beene to be wished) but leading them faire and softly, as hee might, proceeded by little and little, to bring greater purposes to perfection (which hee no doubt would haue done, if the Lord Cromwell had liued) and therefore first he began with a little booke of Articles (partly aboue touched) bearing this title; Articles deuised by the Kings highnesse to stablish Christian quietnesse and vnity among the people, &c.

The King and his counsell bearing with the weaknesse of the people.

The booke of Articles deuised by the King for quietnesse of the people, &c.

Articles deuised by the King.

IN the contents of which Booke, first he set forth the Articles of our Christian Creed, which are necessarily and expressely to be beleeued of all men. Then with the Kings preface going before, followeth the declaration of three sacraments, to wit, of baptisme, of penance, and of the sacrament of the Altar. In the tractation whereof, he altereth nothing from the old trade receiued heretofore from the Church of Rome.

Of three Sacraments.

Of Iustification.

Further then, proceeding to the order and cause of our iustification, he declareth that the only mercy and grace of the father promised freely vnto vs for his Sonnes sake Iesus Christ, and the merits of his passion and blood, be the onely sufficient and worthy causes of our iustification: yet good workes with inward contrition, hope, and charity, and all other spirituall graces and motions, be necessarily required, and must needs concurre also in remission of our sins, that is, our iustification; and afterward we being iustified, must also haue good workes of charity, and obedience towards God, in the obseruing and fulfilling outwardly of his Lawes and Commandements, &c.

Of Images.

As touching Images, he willeth all Bishops and Preachers to teach the people in such sort as they may know how they may vse them safely in Churches, and not abuse them to Idolatry, as thus; that they be representers of vertue and good example, and also by occasion may be stirrers of mens minds and make them to remember themselues, and to lament their sins, and so farre he permitteth them to stand in Churches. But otherwise, for auoyding of Idolatry, he chargeth all Bishops and Preachers diligently to instruct the people, that they commit no Idolatry vnto them, in censing of them, in kneeling and offering to them, with other like worshippings, which ought not to be done, but only to God.

Of honouring of Saints.

And likewise for honouring of Saints, the Bishops and Preachers be commanded to informe the people how Saints hence departed ought to be reuerenced and honoured, and how not. That is, that they are to be prayed and honoured as the elect seruants of Christ, or rather Christ to be prayed in them for their excellent vertues planted in them, and for their good example left vs, teaching vs to liue in vertue and in goodnesse, and not to feare to die for Christ, as they did. And also as aduancers of our prayers in that they may, but yet no confidence, nor any such honour to be giuen vnto them, which is onely due to God: And so forth charging the said spirituall persons to teach their flocke that all grace and remission of sins and saluation, can no otherwise be obtained but of God onely, by the mediation of our Sauiour Christ, who is onely a sufficient Mediator for our sins; that all grace and remission of sin, must proceed onely by the mediation of Christ and no other.

No mediation but by Christ.

From that he commeth further to speake of rites and ceremonies in Christs Church, as in hauing vestiments vsed in Gods seruice, sprinkling of holy water, giuing of holy bread, bearing of Candles on Candlemas day, taking of ashes, bearing of Palmes, creeping to the Crosse, setting vp the Sepulchre, hallowing of the Font, with other like customes, rites, and ceremonies; all which old rites and customes the foresaid booke doth not by and by repeale, but so farre admitteth them for good and laudable, as they put men in remembrance of spirituall things: but so, that the people withall must be instructed, how the said ceremonies containe in them no such power to remit sin, but onely that to be referred vnto God, by whom onely our sinnes be forgiuen vs.

Of rites and ceremonies.

And so concluding with purgatory, he maketh an end of those Articles, thus saying thereof; that because the Booke of Machabes alloweth praying for soules departed, he therefore disprooueth not that so laudable a custom, so long continued in the Church. But because there is no certaine place named, nor kinde of paines expressed in Scripture, he therefore thinketh necessary such abuses clearely to be put away, which vnder the name of purgatory haue been aduanced: as to make men beleeue, that by the Bishop of Romes pardons, or by Masses said at Scala Cœli, or otherwise, in any place, or before any Image, soules might clearely be deliuered out of purgatory, and from the paines thereof, to be sent straight to heauen, and such other like abuses, &c.

Of Purgatory.

And these were the contents of that booke of Articles deuised, and passed by the Kings authority, a little before the stirre of Lincolnshire and Yorkeshire. Wherein although there were many and great imperfections and vntruths not to be permitted in any true reformed Church: yet notwithstanding, the King and his counsell, to beare with the weaklings which were newly weaned from their mothers milke of Rome, thought it might serue somewhat for the time, in stead of a little beginning till better come.

Milke for newe weanlings.

And so consequently, not long after these Articles thus set forward, certaine other injunctions were also giuen out about the same yere, 1536. whereby a number of Holy dayes were abrogated, and especially such as fell in the harbest time: The keeping of which redounded greatly to the hinderance of gathering in their corne, Hay, Fruit, and other such like necessary commodities. The Copy and tenour of which Injunctions I haue also hereunto annexed, as vnder followeth.

Injunctions abrogating certain holy dayes.

The Kings Injunctions.

FOrasmuch as the number of holy dayes is so excessiuely grown, and yet daily more and more by mens deuotion, yea, rather superstition, was like further to increase, that the same was and should be not only preiudicial to the commonweale, by reason that it is occasion as well of much sloth and idlenes, the very nurse of thieues, vagabonds, and of diuers other vnthriftinesse and inconueniences, as of decay of good Mysteries and Arts, profitable and necessary for the commonweale, and losse of mans soul, many times being cleane destroyed through the superstitious obseruance of the said holy dates, in not taking the opportunity of good and serene weather offered vpon the same in time of harbest, but also pernitious to the soules of many men, which (being intised by the licencious vacation and liberty of those holy dayes)

Injunction of the King.

doe upon the same commonly use and practise more excesse, ryot, and superfluity, than upon any other daies. And sith the Sabbath day was used and ordained but for mans use, and therefore ought to give place to the necessity and behoofe of the same, whensoever that shall occurre, much rather any other holy day instituted by man: It is therefore by the Kings highnesse authority, as supreme head in earth of the Church of England, with the common assent and consent of the Prelates and Clergy of this his realme, in convocation lawfully assembled and congregated, amongst other things, decreed, ordained, and established:

Feasts of dedication to be kept all upon one day.

First, That the feast of dedication of Churches shall in all places throughout this realme, be celebrated and kept on the first Sunday of the moneth of October for ever, and upon none other day.

Church holy daies forbidden.

Item, That the feast of the patron of every Church within this realme, called commonly the Church holy day, shall not from henceforth be kept and observed as a holy day, as heretofore had bene used; but that it shall be lawfull to all and singular persons resident or dwelling within this realme, to goe to their worke, occupation or mystery, and the same truly to exercise and occupy upon the said feast, as upon any other worke day, except the said feast of Church holy day be such as must be else universally observed and kept as a holy day by this ordinance following.

Holy daies in the harvest time put down.

Also that all those Feasts or holy daies which shall happen to fall or occurre either in the harvest time, which is to be accounted from the first day of July, unto the twenty ninth day of September, or else in the Terme time at Westminster, shall not be kept or observed from henceforth as holy daies, but that it may be lawfull for every man to goe to his worke or occupation upon the same, as upon any other worke day, except alwaies the Feasts of the Apostles, or of the blessed Virgin, and of Saint George, and also such Feasts as wherein the Kings highnesse Judges at Westminster doe not use to sit in judgement. All which shall be kept holy and solemne of every man, as in time past have bene accustomed. Provided alwaies, that it may be lawfull unto all Priests and Clerkes, as well secular as regular, in the foresaid holy dates now abrogate to sing or say their accustomed service for those holy daies, in their Churches; so as they do not the same solemnly, nor doe ring to the same, after the manner used in high holy daies, ne do command or indict the same to be kept or observed as holy daies.

ure offering days.

Finally, That the Feasts of the Nativity of our Lord, of Easter day, of the nativity of S. John the Baptist, and of S. Michael the Archangell, shall be from henceforth counted, accepted, and taken for the foure generall offering daies.

After Terme.

And for further declaration of the premisses, be it known that Easter Terme beginneth alwaies the eighteenth day after Easter, reckoning Easter day for one, and endeth the munday next following the Ascension day.

Trinity Term.

Trinity Terme beginneth alwaies the Wednesday next after the Octaves of Trinity Sunday, and endeth the eleventh or twelfth day of July.

Michaelmas Terme.

Michaelmas Terme beginneth the ninth or tenth day of October, and endeth the 28 or 29 day of November.

Hilary Terme.

Hillary Terme beginneth the twenty three or twenty fourth day of January, and endeth the 12 or thirteenth day of February.

In Easter Terme, upon the Ascention day; in Trinity Terme, upon the nativity of Saint John Baptist; in Michaelmas Terme, upon Allhalow day; in Hilary Terme, upon Candlemas day, the Kings Judges at Westminster doe not use to sit in judgement, nor upon any Sunday.

After these Articles and Injunctions thus given out by the King and his Counsell, then followed moreover as time served, other Injunctions moe, concerning Images, reliques, and blind miracles, and for abrogating of Pilgrimages, devised by superstition, and maintained for lucres sake, also for the Pater noster, Creed, and Gods Commandements, and the Bible to be had in English, with divers other points moe, necessary for religion: The words of which Injunctions here also ensue.

Other Injunctions given by the authority of the Kings highnesse, to the Clergy of this his realme.

Other injunctions.

IN the Name of God, Amen. In the yere of our Lord God 1536. and of the most Noble reigne of our Soveraigne Lord Henry the eighth, King of England and of France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and in the earth supreme Head of the Church of England, the twenty eighth, &c. I Thomas Cromwell, Knight, Lord Cromwell, keper of the privy Seale of our said soveraigne Lord the King, and Vicegerent to the same, for & concerning all his jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall within this realme, to the glory of Almighty God, to the Kings highnesse honour, the publique weale of this realm, and increase of vertue in the same, have appointed and assigned these injunctions ensuing to be kept and observed of the Deane, Parsons, Vicars, Curats, and Stipendaries, resident or having cure of soules, or any other spirituall administration within this Deanry, under the paines hereafter limited and appointed.

Confirmation of the Kings supremacy.

THe first is, That the Deane, Parsons, Vicars, and other having cure of soule any where within this Deanry, shall faithfully kepe and observe, and as farre as in them may lie, shall cause to be kept and observed of all other, all and singular Lawes and Statutes of this realme, made for the abolishing and extirpation of the Bishop of Romes pretensed and usurped power and jurisdiction within this realme, and for the establishment and confirmation of the Kings authority and jurisdiction within the same, as of the supreme Head of the Church of England, and shall to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely, sincerely, and without any colour or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open, by the space of one quarter of a yere now next ensuing, once every Sunday, and after at the least twice every quarter of a yere, in their sermons and other collations, that the Bishop of Romes usurped power and jurisdiction, having no establishment nor ground by the Law of God, was for most just causes taken away and abolished, and that therefore they owe unto him no manner of obedience or subjection, and that the Kings power is within his dominion the highest potentate and power under God, to whom all men within the same dominion, by Gods Commandement owe most loyalty and obedience afore and above all other Potentates in earth.

Against the Popes primacy.

Item, whereas certaine articles were lately devised and put forth by the Kings highnesse authority, and condescended unto by the Prelates and Clergy of this his realme in Convocation (whereof part were necessary to be holden and beleved for our salvation, and the other part doe concerne and touch certaine laudable ceremonies, rights, and usages of the Church, mete and convenient to be kept and used for a decent and politique order in the same) the said Deane, Parsons, Vicars, and other Curates shall so open and declare, in their sermons and other collations, the said articles unto them that be under their Cure, that they may plainely know and discerne which of them be necessary to be beleved and observed for their salvation,

and which be not necessary, but onely doe concerne the decent and politique order of the said Church, according to such commandement and admonition as hath bẽn given unto them heretofore by the authority of the Kings highnesse in that behalfe.

The Kings articles to be read to the people.

Moreover, That they shall declare unto all such as be under their cure the articles likewise devised, put forth, and authorised of late, for and concerning the abrogating of certaine superstitious holy-daies, according to the effect and purport of the same articles, & perswade their parishioners to keepe and observe the same inviolably, as things wholesome, provided, decreed, and established by the common consent and publique authority for the Commonweales commodity, and profit of all this realme.

Images abolished.

Besides this, to the intent that all superstition and hypocrisie, crept into divers mens hearts, may vanish away, they shall not set forth or extoll any Images, Reliques, or miracles, for any superstition or lucre, nor allure the people by any intreatments to Pilgrimages of any Saints, otherwise than is permitted in the articles lately put forth by the authority of the Kings Majesty, and condescended unto by the Prelates and Clergy of this his realme in Convocation, as though it were proper or peculiar to that Saint to give this commodity or that, seeing all goodnesse, health, and grace ought to be both looked and asked for only of God, as of the very author of the same, and of none other, for without him it cannot be given; but they shall exhort as well their parishioners, as other pilgrimes, that they doe rather apply themselves to the keeping of Gods Commandements, and the fulfilling of his workes of charity; perswading them that they shall please God more by the true exercise of their bodily labour, travell, or occupation, and providing for their families, than if they went about to the said pilgrimages; and it shall profit more their soules health, if they doe bestow that on the poore and needy, which they would have bestowed upon the said Images or Reliques.

Pilgrimages forbidden.

Prayers in the mother tongue.

Also in the same their sermons and other collations, the Parsons, Vicars, and other Curates aforesaid shall diligently admonish the fathers and mothers, maisters and governors of youth, being within their Cure, to teach or cause to be taught their children and servants, even from their infancy, the Pater noster, the articles of our faith, and the tenne Commandements in their mother tongue, and the same so taught shall cause the said youth oft to repeat and understand. And to the intent this may be the more easily done, the said Curats shall in their sermons deliberately and plainely recite of the said Pater noster, articles, or commandements, one clause or article one day, and another another day till the whole be taught and learned by little and little, and shall deliver the same in writing, or shew where printed bookes containing the same be to be sold to them that can read, or will desire the same; and thereto that the said fathers and mothers, Maisters and governors doe bestow their children and servants, even from their childhood, either to learning, or to some honest exercise, occupation, or husbandry, exhorting, counselling, and by all the waies and meanes they may, as well in their said sermons and collations, as otherwise, the said fathers, mothers, maisters, and other governors being under their cure and charge, diligently to provide and foresee, that the said youth be in no manner wise kept or brought up in idlenesse, lest at any time afterward they be driven, for lacke of some mistery or occupation to live by, to fall to begging, stealing, or some other unthriftinesse, forasmuch as we may daily see, through sloath and idlenesse divers valiant men fall, some to begging, some to theft and murther, which after brought to calamity and misery, impute a great part thereof to their friends and governours, which suffered them to be brought up so idly in their youth; where if they had bene brought up and educated in some good literature, occupation, or mystery, they should (being rulers of their owne families) have profited as well themselves, as divers other persons, to the great commodity and ornament of the Commonweale.

For bringing up of youth in some art or occupation.

Also that the said Parsons, Vicars, and other Curates shall diligently provide, that the Sacraments and Sacramentals be duely and reverently ministred in their Parishes. And if at any time it happen them either in any of the cases expressed in the Statutes of this realme, or of speciall licence given by the Kings Majesty, to be absent from their Benefices, they shall leave their cure not to a rude and unlearned person, but to an honest well learned, and expert Curate, that may teach the rude and unlearned of their Cure, wholsome doctrine, and reduce them to the right way, that they doe not erre; and alwaies let them see, that neither they nor their Vicars doe seeke more their owne profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the soules that they have under their Cure, or the glory of God.

Placing of good Vicars and Curates.

Item, That every Parson or Proprietary of any Parish Church within this realme shall on this side the Feast of Saint Peter ad vincula, next comming, provide a booke of the whole Bible both in Latine and also in English, and lay the same in the Quire, for every man that will, to looke and read thereon, and shall discourage no man from the reading of any part of the Bible, either in Latine or English, but rather comfort, exhort, and admonish every man to read the same, as the very word of God, and the spirituall food of mans soule, whereby they may the better know their duties to God, to their soveraigne Lord the King, and their Neighbour; ever gently and charitably exhorting them, that using a sober and a modest behaviour in the reading and inquisition of the true sense of the same, they doe in no wise striffely or eagerly contend or strive one with another about the same, but referre the declaration of those places that be in controversie to the judgement of them that be better learned.

Every parish provide a Bib in English.

Also the said Deane, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and other Priests shall in no wise at any unlawfull time, nor for any other cause than for their honest necessity, haunt or resort to any Tabernes or Alehouses, and after their dinner and supper they shall not give themselves to drinking or ryot, spending their time idly by day or by night, at tables or cards playing, or any other unlawfull game, but at such times as they shall have such leisure, they shall read or heare somewhat of holy Scripture, or shall occupie themselves with some honest exercise, and that they alwaies doe those things that appertaine to good congruence and honestly, with profit of the Common-weale, having alwaies in mind, that they ought to excell all other in purity of life, and should be example to all other to live well and Christianly.

Priests not haunt Alehouses.

Furthermore, because the goods of the Church are called the goods of the poore, and in these daies nothing is lesse seene than the poore to be sustained with the same, all Parsons, Vicars, Prebendaries, and other beneficed men within this Deanry, not being resident upon their Benefices, which may dispend yearely twenty pounds or above, either within this Deanry or elsewhere, shall distribute hereafter yearly amongst their poore parishioners or other inhabitants there, in the presence of the Churchwardens or some other honest men of the Parish, the fortieth part of the fruits and revenues of their said Benefices, lest they be worthily noted of ingratitude, which reserving so many parts to themselves, cannot vouchsafe to impart the fortieth portion thereof amongst the poore people of that parish

Parsons resident, to give the 40. part to their parish.

that

that is so fruitfull and profitable unto them.

Every beneficed man worth 100. pound to finde a scholler at the Universitie.

And to the intent that learned men may hereafter spring the more, for the executing of the said premisses, every Parson, Vicar, Clerke, or beneficed man within this Deanry, having yerely to spend in benefices or other promotions of the Church, an hundred pounds, shall give competent exhibition to one Scholler, and for as many hundred pounds more as he may dispend, to so many schollers more shall give like exhibition in the Universitie of Oxford or Cambridge, or some Grammer schoole, which after they have profited in good learning, may be partners of their patrons cure and charge, as wel in preaching, as otherwise in the execution of their offices, or may when need shall be, otherwise profit the Common wealth with their counsell and wisedome.

Beneficed men maintaine their mansions.

Also that all Parsons, Vicars and Clerks, having Churches, Chappels, or Mansions within this Deanery, shall bestow yerely hereafter upon the same Mansions or Chancels of their Churches being in decay, the fift part of those their benefices, till they shall be fully repaired, and the same so repaired they shall alwaies keepe and maintaine in good estate.

All which and singular Injunctions shall be inviolably observed of the said Deane, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, Stipendaries, and other Clerkes, and beneficed men, under paine of suspension, and sequestration of the fruits of their benefices, untill they have done their duties according to these Injunctions.

After these Injunctions and articles afore expressed (which were given about the yere of our Lord, 1536. and 1537.) it was not above the space of a yere, but other Injunctions also were published, to the further instruction of the people in the procedings of religion, whereby both the Parsons of churches, and the parishes together, were enjoyned to provide in every Church to be a Bible in English: also for every parishioner to be taught by the minister, to understand and to say the Lords Prayer and Creed in their owne vulgar tongue, with other necessary and most fruitfull injunctions, the tenour whereof followeth.

Injunctions exhibited, Anno 1538.

Injunctions by the King.

IN the name of God, Amen. By the authority and commission of the most excellent Prince Henry by the grace of God, K. of England, and of France, Defender of the faith, Lord of Ireland, and in the earth supreme head under Christ of the church of England; I Thomas Lord Cromwell, Lord privy Seale, Vicegerent to the Kings said Highnesse for all his jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall within this Realme, doe for the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, increase of vertue, and discharge of the Kings Majesty, give and exhibite unto you M. these injunctions following to be kept observed and fulfilled upon the paine hereafter declared.

First, that ye shall truly observe and keepe all and singular the Kings highnesse injunctions given unto you heretofore in my name by his Graces authority, not onely upon the paines therein expressed, but also in your default now after this second monition continued, upon further punishment to be straightly extended towards you by the Kings Highnesse arbitrement or his Vicegerent aforesayd.

The Bible to be set up in Churches.

Item, that ye shall provide on this side the feast of M. next comming, one booke of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said Church, that ye have Cure of, whereas your parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same and read it. The charges of which booke shall be ratably born betweene you, the parson and parishioners aforesaid, that is to say, the one halfe by you, and the other halfe by them.

Item, that ye shall discourage no man privily nor apertly from the reading or hearing of the said Bible, but shall expressely provoke stirre, and exhort every person to read the same, as that which is the very lively word of God, that every Christian person is bounden to embrace, beleeve and follow, if he looke to be saved, admonishing them nevertheless to avoyd all contention and altercation therein, and to use an honest sobriety in the inquisition of the true sense of the same, and to referre the explication of the obscure places, to men of higher judgement in Scripture.

Item, that ye shall every Sunday and holy day through the yere openly and plainly recite to your parishioners, twice or thrice together, or oftner if need require, one article or sentence of the Pater noster, or Creed in English, to the intent they may learne the same by heart, and so from day to day, to give them one like Lesson or sentence of the same, till they have learned the whole Pater noster, and Creed in English by rote: and as they be taught every sentence of the same by rote, ye shall expound and declare the understanding of the same unto them, exhorting all Parents and Housholders, to teach their Children and Servants the same, as they are bound in conscience to doe: and that done, ye shall declare unto them, the tenne Commandements, one by one, every Sunday and Holy-day, till they be likewise perfect in the same.

The Lords prayer to be learned in English.

Item, that ye shall in Confessions every Lent, examine every person that commeth to Confession to you, whether they can recite the articles of our Faith, and the Pater noster in English, and heare them say the same particularly: wherein if they be not perfect, ye shall declare to them, that every Christian person ought to know the same before they should receive the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and monish them to learne the same more perfectly by the next yere following: or else, like as they ought not to presume to come to Gods bord without perfect knowledge of the same (and if they doe, it is to the great perill of their soules) so ye shall declare unto them that ye looke for other injunctions from the Kings highnesse by that time, to stay and repell all such from Gods bord, as shall be found ignorant in the premisses: wherefore doe ye thus admonish them, to the intent they should both eschew the perill of their soules, and also the worldly rebuke that they might incurre hereafter by the same.

Sermons quarterly to be made.

Item, that ye shall make or cause to be made in the said Church, and every other Cure ye have, one Sermon every quarter of a yere at the least, wherein ye shall purely and sincerely declare the very Gospell of Christ, and in the same exhort your hearers to the workes of charity, mercy and faith, specially prescribed and commanded in Scripture, and not to repose their trust or affiance in other workes devised by mens fantasies besides Scripture: as in wandring to pilgrimages, offering of Money, Candles, or Tapers to fained reliques; or Images, or kissing or licking the same, saying over a number of Beads not understood, ne minded on, or such like superstition: for the doing whereof, ye not onely have no promise of reward in Scripture, but contrariwise gre at threats and maledictions of God, as things tending to Idolatry and Superstition, which of all other offences, God Almighty doth most detest and abhorre, for that the same diminisheth most his honour and glory.

Images pulled downe.

Item, that such fained Images as ye know in any of your cures if to be so abused with pilgrimages or offerings of any thing made thereunto, ye shall

for avoyding of that most detestable offence of Idolatry, forthwith take downe without delay, and shall suffer from henceforth no candles, tapers, or Images of ware, to be set afore any Image or Picture, but onely the light that commonly goeth about the Crosse of the Church by the rood-loft, the light afore the Sacrament of the Altar, and the light about the Sepulchre: which, for the adorning of the Church and divine Service, ye shall suffer to remaine still, admonishing your parishioners, that Images serve for none other purpose, but as the bookes of unlearned men, that can no letters, whereby they might be admonished of the lives and conversation of them, that the said Images do represent. Which Images if they abuse for any other intent than for such remembrances, they commit Idolatry in the same to the great danger of their soules: and therefore the Kings highnesse, graciously tendering the weale of his subjects soules, hath in part already, and more will hereafter travell for the abolishing of such Images, as might be occasion of so great offence to God, and so great danger to the soules of his loving subjects.

Good ministers to be placed.

Item, that in all such Benefices or Cures, as ye have, whereupon you be not your selfe resident, ye shall appoint such Curates in your stead, as both can by ability, and will also promptly execute these injunctions, and doe their duty otherwise, that ye are bound to doe in every behalfe accordingly, and profit their cure no lesse with good example of living than with declaration of the Word of God, or else their lacke and defaults shall be imputed unto you, who shall straightly answer for the same, if they doe otherwise.

Item, that you shall admit no man to preach within any of your Benefices or cures, but such as shall appeare unto you to be sufficiently licensed thereunto by the Kings highnesse, or his graces authority, or the bishop of the diocesse, and such as shall be so licensed, ye shall gladly receive, to declare the Word of God without any resistance or contradiction.

Pilgrimages and Images abandoned.

Item, if ye have heretofore declared to your parishioners any thing to the extolling and setting forth of pilgrimages to feined reliques or Images, or any such superstition, you shall now openly afore the same recant and reprove the same, shewing them, as the truth is, that ye did the same upon no ground of Scripture, but as being led and seduced by a common error and abuse crept into the Church through the sufferance and avarice of such as felt profit by the same.

The word of God to be preached without stop or interruption.

Item, if ye doe or shall know any within your Parish, or elsewhere, that is a letter of the word of God to be read in English, or sincerely preached, or of the execution of these injunctions, or a fautor of the bishop of Romes pretenced power, now by the lawes of this realme justly rejected and extirped: ye shall detect the same to the Kings highnesse, or his Honourable Counsell, or to his Vicegerent aforesaid, or to the Justice of Peace next adjoyning.

Register booke for every parish.

Item, that you and every Parson, Vicar, or Curate, within this diocesse, shall for every Church keepe one booke of Register, wherein ye shall write the day and yeare of every Wedding, Christening, and Burying, made within your Parish for your time, and so for every man succeeding you likewise, and also therein set every persons name that shall be so wedded, christened or buried, and for the safe keeping of the same booke, the parish shall be bound to provide of their common charges one sure coffer with two lockes and keyes; whereof the one to remaine with you, and the other with the wardens of every such parish wherin the said book shall be laied up: which booke ye shall every Sunday take forth, and in the presence of the said Wardens or one of them, write and record in the same, all the weddings christenings and buryings, made the whole weeke before: and that done to lay up the said booke in the said coffer as afore, and for every time the same shall be omitted, the party that shall be in the fault thereof, shall forfeit to the said Church three shillings foure pence, to be imployed on the reparation of the same Church.

Item, that ye shall once every quarter of a yeare, read these and the other former Injunctions given unto you by authority of the Kings highnesse, openly and deliberately before all your parishioners, to the intent that both you may be the better admonished of your duty, and your said parishioners the more incited to ensue the same for their part.

Tythes to be payed.

Item, forasmuch as by a law established, every man is bound to pay his tithes, no man shall by colour of duty omitted by their Curates, detaine their tithes, and so redouble one wrong with another, and be his owne judge, but shall truely pay the same as hath beene accustomed to their parsons and curates without any restraint or diminution: and such lacke and default as they can justly finde in their parsons and curates, to call for reformation thereof, at their Ordinaries and other Superiours hands, who upon complaint and due proofe thereof, shall reforme the same accordingly.

Item, that no Parson shall from henceforth alter or change the order and manner of any fasting day that is commanded and indicted by the Church, nor of divine prayer, nor of service, otherwise than is specified in the said injunctions, untill such time as the same shall be so ordered and transported by the Kings highnesse authority: the evens of such saints, whose holy daies be abrogated, onely excepted, which shall be declared henceforth to be no fasting daies, except also the commemoration of Thomas Becket sometimes archbishop of Canturbury, which shall be cleane omitted, and instead thereof, the feriall service used.

Becketts day abrogate.

Knoling of Aues forbidden.

Item, that the knoling of the Aues after service and certaine other times, which hath beene brought in and begun by the pretence of the bishop of Romes pardon, henceforth be left and omitted, lest the people do hereafter trust to have pardon for the saying of their Aues betweene the said knoling, as they have done in times past.

Suffrages of saints reiected.

Item, where in times past, men have used in divers places in their processions, to sing Ora pro nobis, to so many Saints, that they had no time to sing the good suffrages following: as Parce nobis domine, and Libera nos domine, it must be taught and preached, that better it were to omit Ora pro nobis, and to sing the other suffrages being most necessary and effectuall. All which and singular injunctions, I minister unto you and to your parishioners by the Kings highnesse authority to be committed in this part, which I charge and command you by the same authority to observe and keepe, upon paine of deprivation, sequestration of your fruits, or such other coercion as to the King or his Vicegerent for the time being shall be seene convenient.

The King better deserving the name of supreme governour than the Pope.

By these articles and injunctions thus comming forth one after another, for the necessary instruction of the people, it may appeare, how well the King then deserved the title of his supreme government, given to him over the Church of England: by the which title and authority he did more good for the redressing and advancing of Christs Church and Religion here in England, in these three yeares, then the Pope, the great Vicar of Christ, with all his Bishops and Prelates had done the space of three hundred yeares before. Such a vigilant care was then in the King and in his Counsell, how by all waies and meanes to redresse Religion, to reforme errors, to correct corrupt customes, to helpe ignorance, and to reduce the misleading of Christs flocke drowned in blind Popery, Superstition, Customes, and Idolatry, to some better forme of

more

more perfect reformation. Whereunto he provided not onely these articles, precepts, and injunctions above specified, to informe the rude people; but also procured the bishops to helpe forward in the same cause of decayed doctrine, with their diligent preaching and teaching of the people, according as ye heard before, how that in the yeere 1534. during the whole time of Parliament, there was appointed every sunday a bishop to preach at Pauls crosse, against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome.

Amongst which bishops, John Longland bishop of Lincolne, the Kings Confessor, and a great persecutor of the poore flocke of Christ (as is before sufficiently recorded) made a sermon before the King, upon good Friday, this present yeere 1538. at Grenwich, seriously and effectuously preaching on the Kings behalfe, against the usurped supremacy of the bishop of Rome, the contents of whose sermon wholly to expresse were here too long and tedious. So much as may suffice for our purpose I thought should remaine to the posterity, beginning at his Theme, which then he tooke in hand to intreat upon, written in the thirteenth Chapter to the Hebrues, as followeth.

The Sermon of Iohn Longland, Bishop of Lincolne, on good Friday, before the King at Greenwich.

THe words of the Apostle are these, Habemus altare de quo edere non habent potesta em qui tabernaculo deserviunt. Quorum enim animalium infertur sanguis pro peccato in sancta per pontificem, horum corpora cremantur extra castra, Propter quod & Iesus extra portam passus est. Exeamus igitur ad eum extra castra improperium ejus portantes.

These are the words of the Apostle: Many things contained in few words, and the English thereof is this; We have an Altar, we have an altar (saith the Apostle) an Altar, and a sacrifice upon this Altar. And they that serve at the Tabernacle may not eate of this Altar, may not eate of this sacrifice, that is offered upon this Altar. For the Apostle here (Per metonymiam) doth put the Altar for that that is sacrificed upon the Altar. The blood of those beasts that were slaine for the sacrifice was brought into the holy secret high place of the Temple where the Arke was, betweene the high Altar, (as we will say) and the veile by the bishop, and there offered up for the sinne of the people. The bodies of the beasts that were burned without the pavilions or tents, for the which, Propter quod, for which, what; for the fulfilling of which mystery. Also to verifie and fulfill the figure, and that the thing figured might be correspondent to the figure, Iesus suffered without the gate, to sanctifie the people by his blood. Let us goe out therefore and suffer with Christ, bearing his opprobries and rebukes. These be the words of the Apostle now taken.

I will by the helpe of our Lord God declare these words in order, even as they doe stand. Here is an Altar, here is a sacrifice, here is a bishop which did offer this sacrifice, here is a Tabernacle, a serving of the Tabernacle, the blood of the sacrifice which was offered by the bishop for the sins of the people, in the most holy place of the Temple, and the bodies of the beasts (whose blood was offered) were burned without the tents. And this was done the tenth day of the seventh moneth. Ye heare now the words of the Apostle, wherein appeareth the manifest figure of the passion of our Saviour Iesus Christ, which we this day doe honour.

In these words the Apostle toucheth the figure of the Law, and bringeth it to a spirituall understanding; For it was commanded in the law, in the booke of Numbers, the tenth day of the seventh moneth, in the Feast that was called the Feast of the propitiation of mercy, of remission, or the feast of Purgation, when the people were purged. At which time they should take a Colt and a Kid and slay them; whose blood the onely bishop should bring In sancta sanctorum, into the most holy, solemne, and secret place of the Temple, wherein the bishop never came unlesse he brought with him blood to offer in sacrifice. Quia omnia fere in sanguine secundum legem mundabantur, & sine sanguinis effusione non fit remissio, saith the Apostle. Almost all things after the Law, or in the law, were cleansed in blood, and by blood, and without the effusion of blood was no remission: and in that place of the Temple called Sancta sanctorum, the Bishop prayed and offered for the People. The flesh and corps of the sacrifice was burned without the Tents, without their pavillions. And it was not lawfull to any that did serve the Tabernacle to eate of the flesh of that sacrifice. Heb. 11.

Here is a manifest figure (as I said) of the passion of our Saviour Christ. The Altar that was consecrated and hallowed in this solemnity of the blood of the eternall Testament, was that holy Crosse that Christ suffered on. Which as on this day he did consecrate, hallow, dignifie, and dedicate, and did adorne and decke the same with the members of his most precious body, more gloriously than if it had beene imbroidered and insert with precious stones. For as gold which is the most precious mettall is made more precious when it is set with precious stones, & is dignified therewith, whether it be Altar, Image, Crowne, ring, or owch; so was the Altar the holy Crosse, beautified, dignified, adorned, and made precious with the members of that most precious stone Christ, which is as Peter saith, Lapis vivus, ab hominibus reprobatus, à Deo electus, probatus angularis, & preciosus. This Christ is (he saith) the lively stone, which men did reprove, which God did elect for the approved stone, for a Corner stone, for the chiefe stone in the building of his Church, for the stone that joyneth the wals of the Church together, for the stone whereupon the faith of Christ and his Church is builded. A precious stone, a stone of price, a stone of high value, farre passing in the estimation of a good Christian man all other precious stones in the world. This precious stone Christ, with the members of his most precious body, did decke, adorne, and make precious this Altar of the Crosse, when his body was by the Iewes, with violence, extreamely strained upon the same, that all his bones (as testifieth the Prophet) might be numbred. Upon this Altar was the great sacrifice of the world offered, Christ himselfe. He was the sacrifice, and he was the Priest. He offered up himselfe to God his father, for the sinne of man; Obtulit semetipsum immaculatum Deo, ut sanctificaret inquinatos, saith the Apostle. He offered himselfe a pure, cleane, immaculate Host to God, to redeeme the world, to sanctifie sinners, to justifie man. 1 Pet. 2. The stone Christ. Psal. 21. Christ the sacrifice of the world.

This Christ the bishop of good things to come (as the Apostle witnesseth) entred once into the place called Sancta sanctorum, not onely of the Temple, but in Sancta sanctorum, into that holy place of places, into heaven. He entred with sacrificed blood like a bishop. Not with the blood of Goats or Calves, not with the blood of Rammes or Buls, but with his owne precious blood. For if the blood of Goats and Bulls, and the ashes of the burned Calfe sprinkled abroad, were sufficient to the making cleane of the flesh, how much more then is the blood of Christ, who by the holy Ghost did offer up himselfe to God, a most pure, most cleane, and immaculate sacrifice, able to purge, cleanse, and make faire our consciences from the workes of death, and to live in the living God? Heb. 9.

This is our great Bishop, as the Apostle saith, Habemus pontificem magnum qui penetravit cœlos, Iesum filium Dei. We have a a great Bishop,

which did penetrate the Heavens, whose name is Jesus the Son of God. This is our great bishop, our high bishop, our universall bishop. This is the head bishop of all bishops and of all the world, named of God (as the Apostle saith) to be our great bishop, properly called Summus Pontifex, the highest bishop, the bishop of bishops. For this is he onely that is, Summus, maximus, & universalis pontifex.

Levit. 16. Heb. 4. Heb. 5.

The pride of the Pope. The Pope blasphemeth God.

The Bishop of Rome therefore ought herein to be abashed, ashamed, and to abhorre his owne pride. For in this he outragiously doth offend God, and blasphemeth him, in that he presumeth to take this high name from our Bishop Christ; in that he taketh away, as much as lyeth in him, the glory of God, the majesty appertaining unto Christ; in that he taketh upon him these names appropriate onely to Christ, Summus pontifex, maximus pontifex, universalis pontifex, the highest bishop, the greatest bishop, the universall bishop, the bishop of all the world. I much marvell how he dare be so bold to usurpe and take these great names upon him. Greater blasphemy cannot be, then to take from God that that naturally belongeth unto him; then to take from God his glory and honour; then to vindicate and take upon him such high names, as beseemeth no Christian man to usurpe. God said by his Prophet, Non dabo gloriam meam alteri, I will not give my glory away to any other, to any creature. He doth reserve the glory, that laud and honour that belongeth onely unto him, unto himselfe; no man may attempt so farre, no man may take so much upon him.

No greater blasphemy then in the Pope.

Esay 42.

Peter never tooke upon him at Rome as the Pope doth.

Peter, Peter, thou wast once bishop of Rome, and the first bishop of Rome; Didst thou ever take this name upon thee, Summus, Maximus, Vniversalis; No, no, no. And why, For the holy Ghost was in thee. Thou wouldest take no more upon thee then God gave thee. Thou wast not desirous of worldly fame and glory. All that thou soughtest for, was for the glory of God; as all that will read thy Sermons, thy Epistles, and thy life, shall soone perceive. Looke a great number of bishops that next followed Peter in the same See; what were they? holy martyrs, holy livers, which never attempted thus farre. Let the bishop of Rome therefore acknowledge his great fault, his high folly, his unlawfull usurpation, his unpriestly presumption, and humble himselfe to Christ and God his great bishop. Would God he would reforme himselfe, would God hee would keepe himselfe within that compasse of his authority, and encroach no more upon other mens jurisdictions, but diligently keepe and overlooke his owne Diocesse and be content with that; would God he would looke upon his predecessor Saint Gregory in his Register, which was a bishop of Rome, a holy man. Let him learne there how he did rebuke John, that time the Bishop of Constantinople, for taking on him so highly, in such names; universall bishop, highest bishop, greatest bishop; and how he proved it to be against the Law of God. He saith there in one place to this proud bishop John, what answer shalt thou make in that strait examination at that last judgement to Christ the head of the universall holy Church, that goest about to have subject unto thee all the members of Christ, by taking on thee the name of universall bishop? In another place againe in the same booke he saith unto him, who art thou that doest presume to usurpe a new name upon thee of universall bishop, contrary to the statutes of the Gospell and decrees?

Gregorius in registro, lib. 4. indictione 30. Epist. 38.

Idem.

God forbid that ever this blasphemy should come in the hearts of Christian people. In the which the honour of all Priesthood is taken away, when a man shall rashly and arrogantly take that name upon him. Let this bishop of Rome therefore humble himselfe unto our great Universall Bishop Christ, humble himselfe under the mighty hand of God, and know what the Apostle doth write of the honour and power of this Christ our great high Bishop. He is (he saith) Pontifex misericors, fidelis, potens, magnus, humilis, penetrans cœlum, compatiens infirmitatibus nostris, offerens dona & sacrificia pro peccatis nostris, condolens iis qui ignorant & errant: Qui potest salvum facere à morte, offerens preces & supplicationes cum clamore valido & lachrymis, & exauditus est pro reverentia sua: Pontifex appellatus à Deo. Pontifex sanctus, innocens, impollutus, segregatus à peccatoribus, excelsior cœlis: Non habens necessitatem (quemadmodum alii) prius pro suis delictis hostias offerre, deinde pro populo: Pontifex sedens in dextris Dei interpellans pro nobis, emundans conscientias nostras ab operibus mortuis, intrans Sancta sanctorum, per proprium sanguinem. Hic est pontifex confessionis nostræ.

Heb. 2, 3, 4 7, 8, 9.

The titles properties attributed to Christ in the Scripture.

Let earthly bishops learn of this heavenly bishop Christ: some of these properties are appropriate and belong only to God, and not to man. In some we ought to follow him, in some we cannot, ne ought to doe. This our high and great bishop is Misericors (saith the Apostle) mercifull. A mercifull bishop, ready to forgive, ready to remit those that have offended him. He is not cruell, nor vengeable, but full of pitty, full of mercy. And in this we ought to follow him.

Misericors.

He is Pontifex potens, a mighty bishop, mighty and full of power. We be but weake and feeble bishops, not able to doe any thing but by his permission and helpe. He is able to make sicke, to make whole, to make rich, to make poore, to set up, to put downe. Potens, a mighty bishop, mighty and able to remit sinne, to forgive, to save both body and soule from damnation. Potens, a mighty bishop, and full of power. No power in this world but of him: Omnis potestas à Domino Deo est; All power is of him. And as he himselfe witnesseth, Data est mihi omnis potestas in cœlo & in terra; All power is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth. Potens saluare à morte; He can save the body and save the soule. He can deliver the one and deliver the other from everlasting death. Who can forgive sinne but he? Quis potest dimittere peccatum nisi solus Deus? Est potens; He is a mighty bishop: Of him and by him Emperours, Kings, Magistrates, and Potestates, Bishops, Priests, with all other that have power, have their power and authority. Who is able to turne the winde, to make the wind blow or cease, but he? Who is able to say and prove, I will now have it raine, now cleere? the Sunne to shine, the water to flow, to ebbe, with such other, but onely he? This is our mighty Bishop. Pontifex potens, mighty, yea, Omnipotens, Almighty. He can doe all; nothing is to him impossible. Ipse dixit, & facta sunt omnia. Mandavit, & creata sunt universa. Potens ergo est. He is a mighty bishop. We are not so.

Potens. Rom. 14. Math. 28. Mark. 2. *Omnipotens.* Psal. 32.

Fidelis Pontifex. He is a faithfull bishop: faithfull. He is a faithfull bishop to God, referring all lauds, all honour and glory to his Father. In all things that he did, miracles or other, he tooke never the more upon himselfe. He was also a faithfull bishop to the world; for he did all that belonged to the office of a good bishop. The very office of a bishop is, Prædicare, orare & sacrificare, five offerre. To preach, to pray, to doe sacrifice, or to offer. He preached to his people; hee taught the world most wholesome doctrine, whereby he called the people to God, he converted sinners, he called them to penance. He made them weepe and lament their sinnes, they followed his person, they followed his word, they followed his ensample. They came out of all coasts to see him, to heare him, to learne of him. They forsooke meate and drinke, house and home, and followed him wheresoever hee went,

Fidelis.

The office of a bishop.

If hee had placed here *administrare sacramenta, sacrificare*, his partition might have stood.

went, as well in wildernesse as elsewhere. Insomuch that after they had followed him three dayes, hee being moved with pity, lest they should perish for lacke of food, being in wildernesse farre from succour, hee fed them twise miraculously. Once in the desart with five loaves and two fishes hee fed five thousand men, besides women and children, and there were left twelve great Baskets, twelve maunds full of brokelets and offalls at that meale. At another time hee fed in the Wildernesse to the number of foure thousand men, besides women and children, with seven loaves, and a few little fishes, and there was left of fragments, seven maunds full.

Math. 14.

Math. 15.

The second office of a Bishop hee fulfilled also, for hee prayed. Hee was most devout in prayer, so to teach all Bishops and Preachers not to presume in their wit or learning, neither in their capacity, memory, faire tongue or utterance; but that the Preacher doe studiously apply his booke with all diligence to study how to speake, what to speake, afore whom hee shall speake, and to shape his Sermon after the audience. The Preacher ought also besides his study and preaching to pray. For by devout prayer hee shall attaine percase as much or more, as by study or learning. For without prayer the words will little prevaile. Looke in Christ his life, and thou shalt find, that in every thing hee went about, hee prayed, to shew the valiancy, the vertue and strength of prayer; to shew our necessities, our weaknesse and feblenesse of nature. Hee prayed for his people (as Luke witnesseth) the space of one whole night. And what a marvellous devout prayer made hee for his people in the Mount the night afore his passion, when the Chalice of death was represented unto him? when hee sweat water and blood? when he cryed thrice, Transeat à me Calix iste, Let this Chalice, let this passion and blood, let the vertue thereof passe from mee unto all mankind. Let every man have the vertue and merit thereof; Let it worke in all folkes, let every faithfull man and woman be partaker thereof; let it not be lost, but worke to the worlds end. This was a marvellous devout mercifull prayer. And againe, hee suffering and hanging on the Crosse, offered up for his people, Preces & supplicationes cum clamore valido & lachrymis. Hee offered up his prayers and supplications with a huge cry, with a pitious voyce, with a lamentable and deadly shrieke, and with weeping teares to God his Father; hee hanging on the Crosse, even when the spirit should depart the body, not then forgetting his people at the houre when all the people forgetteth both the world and themselves. Which cry was so huge and great, so marvellous, and of that effect, that the heavens trembled thereat, the Angells mourned for pity, the Sunne lost his light, the vaile in the Temple rived in two, the earth quaked, the stones rent asunder and brake in Gobbets, the graves opened, the dead bodies rose to life, and appeared in the city. Centurio, and those that kept Christ to see the execution done, cried, Verè, Filius Dei erat iste: This was the undoubted Sonne of God. His prayer and weeping teares were so pleasant to the Father that hee was heard; Exauditus est pro reverentia sua. Hee was heard, and why? For it was so entire, so devout, so reverently done, in such a manner and fashion, with such a zeale grounded upon such a charity, suffering for our guilt, and not for his owne. And for that hee did the very office of a Bishop, so intirely to pray, and so reverently to offer up himselfe in sacrifice for his people, he was heard, hee was heard, his prayer was heard of God. And that is the third property of a good Bishop to offer sacrifice for his people. Every Bishop, every Bishop, for his Dioceians and for the whole Universall Church. In these three wee ought as much as wee may to follow Christ.

The second office of a Bishop is to pray.

Luke 6.

Luke 22.

Heb. 5. Prayer of Christ on the Crosse.

The heavens trembled. The Angels mourned. The Sunne lost bright. The vaile rived. The earth quaked. The stones rent. The graves opened. The dead rose.

The third office of a Bishop is to minister, and not to sacrifice.

Thus this Christ was and is Pontifex fidelis, a faithfull Bishop. Faithfull: faithfull in his Word, true in his Promise, deceiving no man, but profitting all. In all that hee did or spake, hee sought nothing his owne glory, but the glory of God; teaching thereby all Bishops of the World in all that they goe about, to doe it unto the praise and glory of God. And herein wee ought also to follow him.

Magnus Pontifex, hee is the great Bishop, the high Bishop, the supreme Bishop, the universal Bishop over all the World. No great Bishop but hee. None high, none supreme nor Universall Bishop but hee. *Magnus. No great Bishop but onely Christ.*

And herein the Bishop of Rome outragiously usurpeth upon God, as hee doth upon the World, to take the honour and name (onely to God appropriate) to himselfe, and doth grievously blaspheme and offend God therein. Greater blasphemy cannot be, than to ascribe to God that that no waies belongeth unto him, or to take from God, that that is to him appropriate. It is meet therefore hee doe betimes, and in season leave his unjust incrochments both against his Lord God, and also against the world, lest hee doe provoke God to powre out all his vials of wrath upon him: the Væs, I meane the maledictions and vengeance that John speaketh of in the Apocalyps. I would advise him to cease the injuries which hee hath, and daily doth against thee Christ our great high Universall Bishop, lest thou excommunicate and strike him, lest thou shew thy wrath and judgement against him, and utterly extinct his pride, and ambitious pretensed authority. For thou wilt be knowne, thou wilt be knowne to be, God. And thou art and wilt be our great universall and supreme Bishop, whatsoever the Bishop of Rome shall attempt to the contrary; and thou wilt punish his worldly arrogancy, and strike when thou seest thy time. And though it be long ere thou strike, yet let him beware, for strike thou wilt if thou be utterly provoked, and when thou dost strike, thy stroke is great, thy stroke is dreadfull and sore. It vanquisheth the body, it slayeth the soule, it damneth both. Beware therefore, thou Bishop of Rome, and be content with thine owne Diocesse, with thine owne charge, as other Bishops are with theirs: for further than thine owne Diocesse thy jurisdiction doth not stretch. *The Pope blasphemeth God.* *What is blasphemy.* Apoc. 9. *The stroke of God is slow but sure.* *The Popes power stretcheth no further than his Diocesse.*

A marvellous blindnesse in thee therefore, to take upon thee to answer for all the world, and art not able to answer our great Bishop Christ for thy selfe at the dreadfull day of judgement, when hee shall aske but these few questions of thee; Quomodo intrasti? Quomodo rexisti? Quomodo vixisti? Quomodo pavisti? Quæ & qualia exempla dedisti? Quid ad meam gloriam fecisti? & hujusmodi. How diddest thou enter into the Bishopricke? by mee, or by the world? unlawfully, or lawfully? by Symony or fraely? by labour, by paction, or called of God? How didst thou rule thy Cure, thy Dioces? Didst thou pray for thy people? Didst thou preach me to thy Dioceians? Didst thou give them ghostly and bodily food? Didst thou minister spirituall and ghostly salves (the Sacraments I meane) to heale the sores of their soules? How didst thou live? Didst thou cast away the care, the glory and pompe of the world? Didst thou follow mee in humility, in charity, in compassion, in poverty, in cleannesse, and in chaste living? *Questions to be asked of the Pope in the last judgement.*

How didst thou governe thy Dioceians? Didst thou not make of all things that thou didst meddle with, a money matter, in selling that which was not in thee to sell nor give, which thou calledst thy Pardons, thy commissions, thy breves, thy delegacies, reservations, exemptions, appellations, bulls, and dispensations? Didst not thou under these pretences, and like other doings, deceive the world? What answer shalt thou make to this at that day, *The Pope maketh all things a money matter.*

to

to our and thy great Bishop Christ, when hee shall visit thee and all thy Diocesse, me and all my Diocesse; yea, when he shall visit all the world? What answer shall you then make? I thinke verily thou shalt then have enough to doe, yea, and more than thou canst winde thy selfe out of, to make answer for thy selfe, for thine owne Diocesse, and for thine owne Diocesans, though thou usurpe not upon other mens as thou dost. The Apostle writeth of Christ humbly, and calleth him Magnum Pontificem, the Great Bishop. And hee of Rome is not with this word contented, but will have a higher word for himselfe in the superlative degree, Maximum, pontificem magnum. The greatest Bishop. Oh, where is the humblenesse and meeknesse that should be in him? Alas, hee that taketh on him to teach all the World, how can hee for shame suffer so blasphemous words to passe in his name, to his great shame and rebuke; to the great danger of his soule, and to the perillous ensample unto other? Oh, fie upon pride; It is a common Proverbe, Pride will have a fall.

Pontif. Maximus.

The Popes pride will have a fall.

Humilis.

Our Bishop Christ was humilis, meeke, lowly, and humble in heart. Hee rode not upon any Palfrey or couragious Horse, but upon an Asse, and that but once. Hee never was borne pompously abroad in a chaire upon mens shoulders. He never profered his foot to any body to kisse. Wee reade that hee washed the feet of his Disciples and wiped them.

Iohn 13.

We reade that Mary Magdalen profered to have kissed his feet, but he did prohibit her, saying, Noli me tangere; Touch me not. Hee would not suffer the woman then to touch him. He never had Gard to defend him. Hee never followed the pomp of the world. Hee disdained not to goe upon the ground with his bare feet. What shall I say? He gave ensamples enough to the Bishop of Rome, to me, and all other Bishops, to be meeke and humble: hee to know himselfe, and we our selves, as if he and we diligently looke in Scripture, we shall find. And herein in meeknesse we are bound to follow him.

Matth. 20.

The humility of Christ.

Compatiens.

Compatiens infirmitatibus. This Bishop Christ, had compassion of our infirmities, of our frailties. It is impossible for a man to know the afflictions of a miserable person, that never suffered himselfe affliction, that never had experience of paines, that never felt what paine meant. But this Bishop Christ, had experience of our nature, how weake, how feeble the nature of man is, how weake of himselfe to doe any good worke without the help of God, how feeble to resist temptations. He suffered and felt the infirmities and paines of this naturall body. Hee hath therefore compassion upon man, when he doth see him fall. Hee foreseeth his ruine, teaching Bishops in especiall afore all other, to have compassion and pity upon the sinner, to helpe him spiritually, to comfort him ghostly, to help him to arise from sinne, to allure him to penance, to draw him to vertue, to make him know God, to feare his Justice, to love his Lawes, and thus to seeke all the wayes that he and we can, to save the sinners soule, for whom he shall make answer to God for his owne Diocesans; soule for soule, blood for blood, paine for paine, hell for hell, damnation for damnation. For which soule, our great Bishop Christ (as the Apostle doth witnesse) did offer gifts and sacrifice himselfe, having compassion of them that by ignorance and by error did sinne and offend God. Even when he was in his greatest agony upon the Crosse, he cryed to his Father; Forgive them Father, forgive them, they know not what they doe, they are ignorant people, they know not what is what, nor what danger they runne into by thus intreating me. They know not their offenses, forgive them Father, forgive them. In this compassion wee ought also to follow our great Bishop Christ.

Christ full of compassion.

Heb. 5.

Luke 23.

It followeth in the former Letter, Est Pontifex appellatus à Deo. Hee is a Bishop, and so named of God: hee is the very Bishop. Hee offered up the very sacrifice, the sacrifice of his owne most blessed Body and Blood, whereby the sinne of the World was put away. Every Bishop of the world is not named a Bishop by God. For some come into that office not by the holy Ghost, nor elect of God (as John saith) not entring in ovile ovium per ostium, sed ascendens aliunde. Some there are that enter into the fold of the sheepe of God not by the dore. Some there be that enter in, having charge and cure of soule, not by God, but by worldly meanes, by worldly labour, by importune sutes and intercessions of friends, or by their owne unlawfull labour, by symonie, and such other wayes. Such are not named Bishops by God. Such enter not by the dore, not by him that saith, Ego sum ostium, Ego sum via, veritas & vita. I am the dore, I am the way, I am the life, I am the Truth, I am Pastor Bonus, the very true and good Bishop that entred by God. And all that enter otherwise than by God, Christ calleth them Fures & latrones, Thieves, spoylers, raveners, devourers, and deceivers of the sheepe. Their living shall declare the same. For such as so wilfully doe enter, doe study their owne profits and commodities. Such receive the fruits, and doe nothing for them, such suffer their sheepe to perish for lacke of bodily and ghostly food and sustenance, for lacke of preaching, for lacke of giving good counsell, for lacke of good living, for lacke of good ensample. And such for the most part, live naughtily, carnally, fleshly, viciously, pompously, worldly, and not Bishoply nor Priestly. For they came not in by God, nor by grace. Christ saith, Qui intrat per me, salvabitur, & ingredietur, & egredietur, & pascua inveniet. Hee that entreth by mee shall be saved. Et ingredietur, & egredietur. And he shall goe in, and he shall goe out. What is that to say, He shall goe in, and he shall go out? I thinke and suppose hee meaneth thereby going in, that he shall have grace to enter studiously into the holy Scripture, daily and nightly to meditate, to study, and to profit in the Lawes of God. Et egredietur. And hee shall explaine and truly interpret and publish it unto the people. Et pascua inveniet. And hee shall finde there plenty of spirituall food for himselfe and for his people, to edifie their soules, to instruct and call them to the knowledge of God, to feed them plentifully, that they shall not lacke necessaries to their soules. Let us therefore so live, that we may be called Pontifices appellati à Deo.

Pontifex appellatus.

All Bishops be not called of God.

Iohn 10.

Iohn 10.

Iohn 14.

Heb. 7.

This our great Bishop Christ is also Pontifex sanctus, innocens, impollutus, segregatus à peccatoribus, excelsior cœlis, sedens à dextris Dei, emundans conscientias nostras à peccatis, intrans sancta sanctorum per proprium sanguinem. Hee is sanctus, a holy Bishop, and willeth us to be holy in our conversation, applying our selves unto godlinesse, to the service of God, to live like Bishops, like Priests, pure, cleane, chaste, devout, studious, faithfully labouring in his Word, praying, doing sacrifice, and ever to be godly and vertuously occupied.

Sanctus.

He is innocens, an innocent. He never sinned, he never offended in word, thought, nor deed. Innocens, annoying no creature, profitting all folks, meekely suffering adversities, opprobries, rages, rebukes, and reproches, without grudge or contradiction. Innocens & simplex; simplex sine plica. An innocent, without pleit or wrinckle, without error or doublenesse, without hypocrisie or dissimulation, without flattering or glosing, without fraud or deceit; not serving the body nor the world, but God. In this we ought also to follow our heavenly Bishop.

Innocens.

Simplex.

Impollutus, He was undefiled. Hee lived cleane without spot or blot, without wem or staine. No immunditia in him, no uncleannesse nor filthinesse; but

Impollutus.

but all pure and cleane, chaste and immaculate, all bright and shining in grace and godlinesse; Insomuch that he was segregatus à peccatoribus, cleane segregate from all kind of uncleannesse, from all manner of sinnes, and from sinners. Segregate from them, not from their company; for as Matthew writeth, Publicans and Sinners came and ate and dranke with him and his Disciples in the house of Levi. And hée also came as a Physition to heale the sinner. And yet he was segregate from them, Quantum ad participationem cum eis in peccato; as touching their ill livings, not being participant with them in sinne, but came onely to heale them, and to rid them from sinne and sore of the soule. Hée entred the heavens, not with the blood of Kid nor Goat, but with his owne proper blood. For which, and for his holinesse and perfectnesse, Excelsior cœlis factus est. Hée is extolled and exalted above all the Angels and beatitudes; above all the Heavens, sitting on the right hand of the Father. Whom all the heavenly creatures doe worship, honour, and doe reverence unto. Where hée prayeth for his people, and is Mediator in his manhood to his Father for us.

This our Bishop purgeth our conscience (as witnesseth the Apostle) he cleanseth our soules, hée maketh us inwardly beauteous and faire. The Bishop of Rome lacketh many of these notable vertues. Hée hath few or none of these properties, few or none of these qualities. He is (as we all are sinners) a sinner. To whom this word Magnus, great, is not convenient, nor can be in him any wayes verified. For hée cannot forgive sinne as our Bishop doth, nor justifie as he doth, neither enter in sancta sanctorum, with his owne blood, as hée did. How can hée then be called a great Bishop, that is, (as wee be all sinners) a sinner, a breaker of the Lawes of God, and daily doth, or may faile and sin; And for that cause the Law commanded that every Bishop and Priest should first offer hostes and sacrifice for his owne sins, and afterward for the sins of the people. How can hée therefore be called a great Bishop or Priest?

Our Bishop wée speake of is the very great Bishop. No dole, no fraud, no guile was ever found in his mouth. And when the Prince of the World, the Divell, came to him, he could find no point of sin in him. Wherefore Gabriel the Archangel shewing his nativity unto Mary his mother, said, Hic erit magnus, & filius altissimi vocabitur. Hée shall be great, and shall be called the Sonne of God. And againe, it is written of him, Propheta magnus surrexit inter nos. A great Prophet is risen among us. Sinne maketh a man small and little; little in reputation before God and man. Vertue maketh man great and of high reputation. Shew mée one place in Scripture where you have read, that a sinner was called great; I trow it shall not be found. Will you heare who were called great in Scripture; It is written of Isaac, Quod proficiebat, & factus est magnus valde. He profitted greatly in vertue, and was made great, great in reputation of the world. Moses was called Magnus, great for his vertue. Abraham and John Baptist likewise. Now Jesus our Bishop, is called Magnus Episcopus, magnus sacerdos, And after him never Bishop called Magnus in all Scripture, neither in the reputation of man, unlesse it be in comparison one of another (and so Saints and holy livers are called great in respect of sinners, or other meane livers) but where Christ our Bishop commeth, there he, not in comparison of other, but simpliciter, by his owne magnitude and greatnesse, and of himselfe, ever was and is great, of whom it is written; A summo cœlo egressio ejus; & accursus ejus usque ad summum ejus. And as the Apostle also proveth in many places by expresse words. But now there is no Bishop or Priest in this world that may worthily of himselfe be called great, nor ought to take this name Magnus upon him.

This is he therefore of whom it is written, Magnus Sacerdos ex fratribus suis. The great Bishop above all other. And as hée is called, and in very déed is, Pastor pastorum, Pontifex pontificum, Propheta prophetarum, sanctus sanctorum, dominus dominantium, Rex regum; ita & magnus magnorum est. And hée is called the Heardsman of heardsmen, the Bishop of Bishops, the Prophet of Prophets, the Holy of holiest, the Lord of Lords, the King of Kings; even so hée is called, and verily is Episcopus magnus. Therefore the Prophet did adde; Magnus Sacerdos ex fratribus suis, The great Bishop or Priest. Great of himselfe; great in vertue and power: great of himselfe, and great in comparison afore all other. And therefore the Apostle said, Habemus pontificem magnum, qui penetravit cœlos, Iesum filium Dei; Wée have a great Bishop which did penetrate the heavens, Jesus the Sonne of God.

Here may yee now see, how the Bishop of Rome doth wrongfully incroch upon our great Bishop, Jesus Christ, to take from him not only this Name Magnus; and is not with that name yet contented, but addeth more; viz. Maximus, Summus, sanctissimus, Beatissimus, universalis, and such other; The greatest, the highest, the holiest, the blessedest and universall, in the superlative degrées, and yet there is no great Bishop but Christ onely, no supreme Bishop but hée onely, none holy, none blessed, none universall Bishop but onely hée. The Bishop of Rome and all other Bishops are but Underlings and unworthy Suffragans unto this Bishop Christ.

This our Christ (as witnesseth the Apostle) is Pontifex nostræ confessionis, The Bishop whom we doe confesse to be our great Bishop, our high Bishop, our supreme Bishop, our holy, blessed, and universall Bishop. Which names are reserved onely unto Christ, and to no earthly Bishop; Not to the Bishop of Rome, not to the Bishop of Jerusalem, not to the Bishop of Antioch, nor of Constantinople, nor to any other Bishop. No earthly Bishop may presume to take upon him these high and holy names, only to God appropriate.

The Pope incroacheth upon Christ.

God of thy goodnesse thou mayst, and I trust wilt once make this vain-glorious Bishop of Rome first to know and acknowledge thy Sonne Christ to be the onely supreme and universall Bishop of the world; Secondarily, to know himselfe, his weaknesse, his frailty, and his presumption; To know his office and bounden duty unto thée; To know his owne Dioceese, and to usurpe no further; Thirdly, to have a low, humble, mœke heart and stomach, to feare thée God, and thy judgements, to knowledge his owne faults and usurpations, and to redresse the same.

Now to returne unto our matter, it followeth in the letter first taken; De quo edere non habent potestatem qui Tabernaculo deserviunt, &c. And thus much out of John Longlands Sermon against the Pope.

You heard before by the Kings Injunctions above expressed, and directed out Anno 1538, how all such images and pictures which were abused with Pilgrimage or offerings of any Idolatry were abolished: By vertue of which Injunction, divers Idols, and specially the most notable stocks of Idolatry, were taken downe the same yeare, 1538. as the Images of Walsingham, Ipswich, Worcester, the Lady of Willesdon, Thomas Becket, with many more, having engines to make their eyes to open and roll about, and other parts of their body to stirre, and many other false sugglings, as the blood of Hayles, and such like, wherewith the simple People a long time had béene deceived.

{Anno 1538.}

Images and Pilgrimages destroyed in England.

All

all which were espied out, and destroyed.

Among divers other of these foule Idols, there went also in the same reckoning a certaine old Idolatrous Image in Wales, named Darvell Gatheren: which in the moneth of May, in the yeare above mentioned, was brought up to London, and burnt in Smithfield. With the which Idoll also was burnt the same time and hanged for Treason, Frier Forrest, of whom some mention was partly touched before in the story of Cardinall Wolsey.

The Idoll of Darvell Gatheren in Wales.

Frier Forrest.

THis Forrest was an observant Frier, and had secretly in confessions declared to many of the Kings subjects that the King was not supreme head; and being thereof accused and apprehended, he was examined how hee could say that the King was not supreme head of the Church, when hee himselfe had sworne to the contrary? Hee answered, That hee tooke his oath with his outward man, but his inward man never consented thereunto. And being further accused of divers damnable Articles, and thereupon convicted, hee gladly submitted himselfe to abide the punishment of the Church. Upon this his submission, having more liberty than before hee had to talke with whom he would, he became as farre from his submission as ever he was. And when his abjuration was sent him to reade, he utterly refused it, and obstinately persevered in his errors: wherefore he was fully condemned, after hanged in Smithfield in chaines upon a gallowes quicke, by the middle and armeholes, and fire was made under him, and so was he consumed and burnt to death.

Frier Forrest executed for rebelling against the Kings supremacie.

Frier Forrest burnt in Smithfield.

In the place of execution, there was a Scaffold prepared for the Kings most honourable Councell, and the Nobles of the Realme to sit upon, to grant him pardon, if hee had any sparke of repentance in him. There was also a Pulpit prepared, where the right reverend Father, Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester declared his errors, and manifestly confuted them by the Scripture, with many godly exhortations to move him to repentance. But he was so froward, that hee neither would heare, neither speake. A little before, the foresaid Image, called Darvell Gatheren, comming out of Wales, was brought to the Gallowes, and there also with the foresaid Frier, as is said, was set on fire: whom the Welchmen much worshipped: and had a Prophecie amongst them, That this Image should set a whole Forrest on fire. Which Prophecie tooke effect; for he set this Frier Forrest on fire, and consumed him to nothing. The Frier, when hee saw the fire come, and that present death was at hand, he caught hold upon the ladder, and would not let it go, but so unpatiently tooke his death, as never any man that put his trust in God, at any time so ungodly or unquietly ended his life.

A Welch Prophesie of Darvell Gatheren.

In the moneth of October and November the same yeare, shortly after the overthrow of these Images and Pilgrimages, followed also the ruine of the Abbeys and religious houses, which by the speciall motion of the Lord Cromwell (or rather and principally, by the singular blessing of Almighty God) were suppressed, being given a little before by act of Parliament into the Kings hand; whereupon not only the houses were rased, but their possessions also disparkled among the Nobility in such sort, as all Friers, Monkes, Chanons, Nuns, and other sects of Religion were then so rooted out of this Realme from the very foundation, that there seemeth, by Gods grace, no possibility hereafter left for the generation of those strange weeds to grow here any more, according to the true verdict of our Lord and Saviour Christ in his Gospel, saying, Every plantation being not planted of my Father, shall be plucked up by the roots, &c.

The ruine and dissolution of Abbeyes and Monasteries in England.

Matth. 15.

The History of the worthy Martyr of God *Iohn Lambert*, otherwise named *Nicolson*, with his troubles, examinations and answers, as well before the Archbishop of Canturbury Warham, and other Bishops: as also before King Henry the eighth, by whom at length he was condemned to death, and burned in Smithfield in Anno 1538.

IMmediately upon the ruine and destruction of the Monasteries, the same yeare, and in the moneth of November, followed the trouble and condemnation of John Lambert, the faithfull servant of Jesus Christ, and Martyr of blessed memory. This Lambert being borne and brought up in Norfolke, was first converted by Bilney, and studied in the University of Cambridge. Where after that hee had sufficiently profited both in Latine and Greeke, and had translated out of both tongues sundry things into the English tongue, being inforced at last by violence of the time, hee departed from thence to the parts beyond the seas, to Tyndall and Frith, and there remained the space of a yeare and more, being Preacher and Chaplaine to the English house at Antwerpe, till he was disturbed by Sir Thomas More, and by the accusation of one Barlow, was carryed from Antwerpe to London: where hee was brought to examination first at Lambeth, then at the Bishops house at Otford, before Warham the Archbishop of Canturbury, and other adversaries, having five and forty Articles ministred against him, whereunto he rendered answer againe by writing. The which answers forasmuch as they containe great learning, and may give some light to the better understanding of the common causes of religion now in controversie, I thought here to exemplifie the same, as they came right happily to our hands. The copie both of the Articles, and also of his Answers, here in order followeth.

{ Anno } { 1538. }

Lambert Preacher to the English house at Antwerpe.

Lambert accused by one Barlow.

Lambert brought from Antwerpe to London.

Articles to the number of five and forty laid to Lambert.

INprimis, Whether thou wast suspect or infamed of Heresie?

2 Whether ever thou hadst any of Luthers bookes, and namely, since they were condemned, and how long thou keptst them, and whether thou hast spent any study on them?

3 Whether thou wast constitute Priest, and in what Diocesse, and of what Bishop?

4 Whether it be lawfull for a Priest to marry a wife, and whether a Priest in some case be bound by the Law of God to marry a wife?

5 Whether thou believest that whatsoever is done of man, whether it be good or ill, commeth of necessity?

6 Whether the Sacrament of the Altar be a Sacrament necessary unto Salvation, and whether after the consecration of the Bread and Wine done by the Priest, as by the Minister of God, there is the very Body and Blood of Christ, in likenesse of Bread and Wine?

7 Item, What opinion thou holdest touching the Sacrament of Baptisme, whether thou doest believe that it is a Sacrament of the Church, and a necessary Sacrament unto Salvation, and that a Priest may Baptise, and that the order of Baptising ordained by the Church, is necessary and wholesome?

8 Item, Whether thou believe that Matrimony be a Sacrament of the Church necessary to be observed in the Church, and that the order appointed by the Church for the solemnising thereof, is allowable and to be holden?

Articles against Iohn Lambert.

9 Item,

9 Item, whether thou doest believe Orders to be a sacrament of the Church, and that saying of Masse ordained by the Church is to be observed of Priests; whether it be deadly sin or not, if it be omitted or contemned, and whether the order of Priesthood were invented by mans imagination, or ordained by God?

10 Item, Whether Penance be a sacrament of the Church, and necessary unto salvation, and whether auricular Confession is to be made unto the Priest, or is necessary unto salvation; and whether thou believest that a Christian is bound, besides contrition of heart, having the free use of an apt or free Priest, under necessity of salvation, to be confessed unto a Priest, and not unto any Lay-man, be he never so good and devout; and whether thou believest that a Priest in cases permitted to him may absolve a sinner (being contrite and confessed) from his sins, and enjoyne him wholesome penance?

11 Item, Whether thou doest believe and hold, that the sacrament of Confirmation and extreme Unction be sacraments of the Church, and whether that they doe profit the soules of them which receive them, and whether thou believest the foresaid seven sacraments to give grace unto them that doe duly receive them?

12 Whether all things necessary unto salvation are put in holy Scripture, and whether things onely there put be sufficient, and whether some things upon necessity of salvation are to be believed and observed, which are not expressed in Scripture?

13 Whether thou believest that Purgatory is, and whether that soules departed be therein tormented and purged?

14 Whether holy Martyrs, Apostles, and Confessors departed from this world, ought to be honoured and called upon, and prayed unto?

15 Whether the Saints in Heaven as Mediators pray for us?

16 Whether thou believest that Oblations and pilgrimages may be devoutly and meritoriously done to the sepulchres and reliques of Saints?

17 Whether the Fast in Lent, and other appointed by the Canon Law, and received in common usage of Christian people (unlesse necessity otherwise requireth) are to be observed?

18 Whether it be laudable and profitable, that worshipfull Images be set in Churches for the remembrance of Christ and his Saints?

19 Whether thou believest that Prayers of men living, doe profit soules departed, and being in Purgatory?

20 Whether men may merit and deserve both by their fastings, and also by their other deeds of devotion?

21 Whether thou dost believe that men prohibited of Bishops to preach, as suspect of heresie, ought to cease from preaching and teaching, untill they have purged themselves of suspition before an higher Judge?

22 Whether thou believest that it is lawfull for all Priests freely to preach the Word of God or no?

23 Whether thou believest that it is lawfull for lay-men of both kinds, that is to wit, both men and women, to sacrifice and preach the Word of God, or no?

24 Whether excommunication denounced by the Pope against all heretiques, doe oblige and bind them before God?

25 Whether every Priest is bound to say daily his Mattens and Evensong, according as it is ordained by the Church, or whether hee may leave them unsaid without offence or deadly sin?

26 Whether thou believest that the Heads or Rulers, by necessity of salvation, are bound to give unto the people Holy Scripture in their mother language?

27 Whether is it lawfull for the Rulers for some cause, upon their reasonable advisement, to ordaine that the Scripture should not be delivered unto the people in the vulgar language?

28 Whether thou believest that consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the Church are to be praised?

29 Whether thou believest that the Pope may make Lawes and Statutes, to bind all Christian men to the observance of the same, under paine of deadly sin, so that such Lawes and Statutes be not contrary to the Law of God? *Making of lawes in the Church.*

30 Whether thou believest that the Pope and other Prelates, and their Deputies in spirituall things, have power to excommunicate Priests and lay people, that are inobedient and sturdy, from entring into the Church, and so suspend or let them from administration of the Sacraments of the same?

31 Whether faith onely without good workes may suffice unto a man fallen into sinne after his Baptisme, for his salvation and justifying? *Justification.*

32 Whether a Priest marrying a wife, and that without the dispensation of the Pope, and begetting also children of her without slander giving, doe sin deadly?

33 Item, Whether a Latine Priest after hee hath taken the order of Priesthood, being sore troubled and stirred with pricking of lust and lechery, and therefore marrying a wife for remedy of the same, doe sin deadly? *Difference between a Latine Priest and a Greeke Priest.*

34 Item, Whether thou didst ever pray for Iohn Wickliffe, John Hulle, or Hierome of Prague, condemned of heresie in the Councell of Constance, or for any of them since they died; or whether thou hast done openly or secretly any deeds of charity for them, affirming them to be in blisse, and saved? *Praying for Wickliffe, Hus, and Hierome of Prague.*

35 Item, Whether thou hast recounted them or any of them to be Saints, and worshipped them as Saints?

36 Item, Whether thou dost believe, hold, and affirme, that every generall Councel, and the Councell of Constance also, do represent the universall congregation or Church? *Generall Councells.*

37 Item, Whether thou dost believe the same things which the Councell of Constance, representing the universall Church, hath approved and doth approve for the maintenance of faith, and soules health, and that the same is to be approved and holden of all Christians.

38 Whether the condemnations of Joh. Wickliffe, John Hulle, and Hierome of Prague, done upon their persons, bookes, and documents, by the whole generall Councell of Constance, were duly and rightly done, and so for such, of every Catholique person they are to be holden?

39 Whether thou believest that John Wickliffe of England, John Hulle of Boheme, and Hierome of Prague, were heretiques, and for Heretiques to be named, and their bookes and doctrines to have beene and now be perverse, for the which bookes and pertinacy of their persons, they are condemned by the holy Councell of Constance for Heretiques? *The councell of Constance. Whether John Wickliffe, Joh. Hus, and Hierome of Prague, were Heretiques.*

40 Item, Whether thou believe or affirme, that it is not lawfull in any case to sweare?

41 Whether thou believe that it is lawfull at the commandement of a Judge to make an oath to say the truth, or any other Oath in case convenient, and that also for purgation of infamy? *To sweare.*

42 Item, Whether a Christian person despising the receit of the sacraments of Confirmation, Extreme Unction, or solemnising of matrimony do sin deadly? *The number of sacraments.*

43 Item, Whether thou believe that S. Peter, as Christs Vicar, have power upon earth to binde and loose? *The power of Peter.*

44 Item,

The power of the Pope.

44 Item, Whether the Pope ordinarily chosen for a time, his proper name being expreſt, be the ſucceſſor of Saint Peter?

45 Item, Whether thou haſt ever promiſed at any time by an oath, or made any confederacy or league with any perſon or perſons, that you would allwayes hold and defend certaine concluſions or Articles, ſeeming to you and your accomplices right and conſonant unto the faith, and that you certifie us touching the order and tenor of the ſaid opinions and concluſions, and of the names and ſurnames of them that were your adherents, and promiſed to be adherent unto you in this behalfe?

¶ The anſwer of *John Lambert* to the firſt Article.

Answer to the firſt article.

VNto your firſt demand, wherein you doe aske whether I was ſuſpect or infamed of hereſie? I anſwer, that I am not certain what all perſons at all ſeaſons have deemed or ſuſpected of me, peradventure ſome better, ſome worſe, like as that opinion of the people was never one, but thought diverſly of all the famous Prophets, and of the Apoſtles, yea, and of Chriſt himſelfe: as appeareth in Saint John, how when hee came into Jeruſalem in the Feaſt called Scenopegia, anon there aroſe upon him a great noiſe, ſome ſaying that he was a very good man, other ſaid nay, and called him a ſeducer, becauſe hee led the people from the right wayes of Moſes law into error. Seeing therefore that all men could not ſay well by Chriſt, which is the author of verity and truth, yea, the very Truth it ſelfe, and likewiſe of his beſt ſervants: what ſhould I need to regard, if at ſome time, ſome perſon for a like cauſe ſhould ſuſpect of mee amiſſe, and evill report of mee. Saying, moreover it is ſaid in the Goſpell, Væ vobis cum laudaverint vos omnes homines, &c. Woe be to you when all men ſpeake well of you: for ſo did their fathers to the falſe Prophets. If therefore at any ſeaſon ſuch infamy was put upon me, I am glad that I have ſo little regarded the ſame, that now I have forgotten it. And though I did remember any ſuch, yet were I more than twiſe a foole to ſhew you thereof: for it is written in your owne law, Nemo tenetur prodere ſeipſum, no man is bound to bewray himſelfe. But this I cenſure you, I was never ſo charged with ſuſpition or infamy of this crime, that I was therefore at any time convented and reproved afore any Judge afore that I was troubled for theſe cauſes, for which I was at the firſt put into your hands: and of them, ſeeing you could not prove mee faulty, I wonder why you would never yet pronounce mee quit and innocent, according as I have even lowly deſired of you, and required full inſtantly the ſame. But letting thoſe things paſſe, you have imagined new matters to charge mee with, wherein I thinke certainly, that you could no more have proved mee culpable, than you did in the firſt, that is to wit, no whit culpable in neither, had it not beene, that by long impriſonment you inforced mee to tell what I thought in them, which I have and will freely doe; and that indifferently conſidered, I ſuppoſe ſhall not deſerve any ſore punihment, unleſſe you will beard the truth, wherunto I hope it ſhall not diſagree.

The ſpeech of people divers and inconſtant. Iohn 7.

Luke 6. Praiſe of the world not to be regarded.

No man bound to bewray himſelfe.

Answer to the ſecond article.

¶ To your ſecond demand, where you doe inquire whether ever I had any of Luthers Bookes, and namely, ſince they were condemned, and how long I kept them, and whether ever I have ſpent any ſtudy in them? I ſay that indeed I have had of them, and that both before they were condemned and alſo ſince, but I neither will, ne can tell you, how long I kept them, but truth it is, that I have ſtudied upon them, and I thanke God that ever I ſo did: for by them hath God ſhewed unto me, and alſo to a huge multitude of other, ſuch light, as the

The profit of Luthers bookes.

deceivable darkneſſe of them (I beſeech God amend it) that name themſelves, but amiſſe, to be the holy Church cannot abide. And that appeareth evidently, for they dare not ſtand to any triall. He coveteth above all things, as all his adverſaries doe well know, that all his writings, and the writings of all his adverſaries, might be tranſlated into all Languages, to the intent that all people might ſee and know, what is ſaid of every part, whereby men ſhould the better judge what the truth is. And in this mee thinketh hee requireth nothing but equity; for the Law would have no man condemned, ne juſtified, untill his cauſe were heard and knowne.

But the contrary part, I meane our overthrich Prelacy, which is ſo drowned in voluptuous living that they cannot attend to ſtudy Gods Scripture, ne preach the ſame, which ſhould be the principall part of their office, abhorre this faſhion (albeit it is right indifferent and full equity) no leſſe than they doe abhorre death. And no marvell, for doubtleſſe, if it ſo could be obtained, that the writings of all parties might openly be ſeene and conferred, wee ſhould ſoone ſee their ſleight dealing and facing doctrine, with all other cloked abuſion, lightly overthrowne, as appeareth well in Almaine: for there be the bookes of every party ſeene openly, and tranſlated in the vulgar language, that all people may ſee and reade upon them; and ſo upon the light of the bookes, they lightly follow the true light of Gods Word, refuſing the horror of darkneſſe and falſe doctrine, whereby before they have beene ſeduced from the right teaching and way ſhewed in the Bible. And this is done, not of an hundred, ne of a thouſand, but generally of whole cities, and countries, both high and low, few or none except.

Overthrich Prelates.

Popiſh doctrine will abide no triall.

The fact & doctrine of the Papiſts. Triall & proceeding of things free in Germany.

But our Prelates ſeeing this, and that their dealing ſhould, if this light were ſet up, ſoone be detect and diſcovered, have ſent out commandements that if any perſon ſhould adventure to keepe any ſuch bookes, they ſhall be in ſo doing excommunicate from God, and all his Saints, and curſed as blacke as pitch, whether the bookes be in Latine, Engliſh, French, Dutch, or any other tongue; as indeed men ſeeing the fruit contained in them have ſet them forth in all languages. But this ought not Chriſtian men to thinke any newelty; for ſo did their forefathers the Prelates in Chriſts time, and after to the Apoſtles; yea, and if it were well tried, I thinke it ſhould be ſoone found out, that they have ſo dealt ever ſince unto this day. For when Chriſt went about preaching, the Scribes and Phariſes, which were Biſhops then & Prelates, gave a generall cõmandement, that whoſoever confeſſed him to be Chriſt ſhould be accurſed, and put out of the Synagogue that we call the Church, and ſo they were.

Why Luthers bookes be reſtrained poyſh Prelats.

The tie of popiſh Prelats, and of the Phariſes retolded and conſirmed together.

Looke in the Acts of the Apoſtles, and you ſhall finde how they were in like manner ſerved; yea, looke in the Old Teſtament, and you ſhall find (as I remember) how they procured of one that was a temporall ruler at that ſeaſon, to have the prophecie of Jeremy (for he of all other is moſt vehement againſt the diſſimulation of Prieſts) to be burned: why then ſhould wee eſchew them, or their works (unleſſe we knew a better cauſe why) whom our Prelats reject and caſt away, ſeeing they render no reaſonable cauſe of their enterpriſe? but preſuming of their power, without any due authority that I can find, granted unto them ſo to doe, will; becauſe they ſo command, ſo have all done, according to the tyrannicall ſaying, as I trow, of Sardanapalus, Sic volo, ſic jubeo, ſit pro ratione voluntas, That is to ſay, So will I, ſo doe I command, and that my will for reaſon ſtand.

The Papiſts render reaſon of their doings.

The proceeding of the Papiſts only upon words and commandement, without all reaſon.

But I would to God that ſuch knew what ſpirit they have in them; for if they had indeed the Spirit which they claime and pretend to have, I meane the Spirit of Chriſt, I dare ſay it ſhould ſoone alter thee from ſuch haughty language and doting,

The Spirit of Chriſt, & the ſpirit of the Papiſts farre unlike.

and

and cause them to turne a new leafe; for that spirit is full of softnesse and lenity, lowlinesse and humility, patience and temperancy, voyd of wilfulnesse and tyranny, yea, it should cause them not to prevent, but easily to follow the counsell and doctrine of Christs Apostles and holy Saints that be their interpreters. As Saint Paul, which writing unto the Thessalonians would have them all to prove all things, and to retaine or hold that onely which is good, refraining from all that hath semblance of evill. And Saint John would have Christian people to try the spirits of them that should speake, whether they were of God or no. Also hee writing in another Epistle unto a noble woman, and unto her children, saith, If any person shall come unto you, bringing with them the doctrine that is not of Christ, receive him not into your house, ne make him any cheere. So that in this he would have women to know the doctrine of Christ, and to love that, refusing to give credence unto forraigne teaching, not savouring the same.

1 Thess. 5. Christians bidden to try spirits. 1 John 4.

2 John 1.

In the first Epistle also to the Corinthians, S. Paul writing in generall to all the inhabitants of that City, saith, Brethren, be yee not children in wit and understanding, but as concerning maliciousnesse, be you children. In wit I would have you perfect; and why? Verily for none other cause, but that we should (as he writeth unto the Hebrews) have discretion to judge the good from ill, and the ill from the good, and so to be like men differing from beasts, according unto the saying of the Prophet, See that ye be not like unto an Horse or a Mule which lacke understanding. And wee should pray with him in another Psalme; O Lord teach me the way that I should walke in, for I lift up my soule unto thee.

1 Cor. 14.

Psal. 32.

Psal. 143.

Saint Chrysostome according unto this, in a certaine booke of his Commentaries upon Matthew, the booke is called Opus imperfectum, writeth after this manner, so neere as my remembrance doth serve, and certaine I am that I shall not misreport him, and in that I will be tried whensoever it shall please you to bring the Booke. The Priests that were Pharisies in the time (saith he) of Christ, made an ordinance, that whosoever should knowledge Jesus to bee Christ should bee accursed and excommunicate. If then the Pharisies or Priests that now do occupie their roomes should make a like Ordinance, because they would not have Christs Doctrine to bee professed for hindering of their lucre, should wee therefore give in all points credence unto them, and leave off to seeke after the knowledge of Christs doctrine? Nay truly. Why (quoth hee) shall wee not bee excused herein by ignorance, seeing wee bee forefended by the rulers to have knowledge? Hee answereth, No verily; for if (saith he) when thou desirest to buy Cloth, thou wilt not bee content to see one Merchants ware, but go from the first to the second, from the second to the third, and so further, to know where is the best Cloth and best cheape; thou using such carefull diligence for a temporall profit, art well worthy great reproch, that wilt bee more remisse and negligent for thy soules health. Seeke therefore about from one Doctor or teacher unto another, that thou mayest know who doth most duly and truly teach Christ, and him follow, according to the saying of the Apostle, Proove all, and hold the good; and as it is said in the Gospell, that thou maiest know *Qui sunt probati nummularii, & qui non*, that is to wit, know who be true or lawfull changers or coyners, and who be not.

Saint Chrysostome in opere imperfecto.

Obstinacy of Princes will not discharge our ignorance.

1 Thess. 5.

Matth. 25.

Hee also addeth another similitude or parable. When thou goest (quoth hee) a journey, not knowing perfectly the way, thou wilt, lest thou shouldest faile of the right way, enquire of one man and after of another, and if thou shouldest chaunce to go somewhat wide, yet thou wilt not so leave off thy journey undone, but make inquisition againe to come where thou wouldest rest. So likewise (saith he) ought we to seeke about intentively for the wealth of our soule, Qui sunt probi clavigeri, & qui non, that is to say, who are the right Key-bearers, and who not; meaning thereby the Key-bearers, Christs Apostles, and bearers of his Testimony or message. Which saying although it were written of no authenticall author (howbeit it is written even of him whom I shewed you in the said worke) but uttered of one that were in little estimation, every indifferent person having wit and reason would allent, I doubt not, that it is full true.

Cap. ibid.

The same author also, in an Epistle which you shall finde in a worke called Psegmata Chrysostomi, sheweth, as I remember, how certaine men deemed ill of him, because hee did study Origens worke, which afore was condemned for an heretike: But he maketh an Apology to the same, shewing, that Christian men ought not to be reprehended for so doing. In which Apology he bringeth for his defence the saying of Paul above rehearsed, Prove all things, &c. Likewise did S. Hierome, I wote not well in what place of his works, but you shall finde it in a Treatise called Vnio dissidentium, where hee entreateth De mandatis hominum. When it was objected against him that he retained by him the workes of Eusebius and of Origen, studying upon them, he bringeth for him, that it was so lawfull, the said place of the Apostle, making therewith an answer worthy to be greatly noted.

Psegmata Chrysost.

Lawfull to read and try all bookes.

Hieronie.

The same is also reported in the Booke called Ecclesiastica Historia, or else Historia Tripartita, I wote not now precisely whether. So that these and other moe authorities of the Scripture, and semblable ensamples of holy Interpreters shall prove, that I and other may safely (no good Law inhibiting, unlesse Constitutions Pharisaicall) read and search the workes not onely of Luther, but also of all other, be they never so ill or good; namely, seeing I am a Priest; whom the Bishop of Norwich ought not to have admitted into Orders, unlesse hee had seene mee to have had judgement to discerne good from ill, neither ought any of you to give Orders to any such, in whom ye doe not finde like ability to judge the light from darkenesse, and the truth from falsehood: and therefore if for this you would punish me, I cannot see but you shall condemne your selves, judging rather of sensuall pleasure then of equity, which in men of your Order were a great shame, and much uncomely.

¶ Unto your third Demaund, wherein you doe aske whether I was Constitute a Priest, and in what Diocesse, and of what Bishop; I say that I was made a Priest in Norwich, and of the Bishops Suffragane of the same Diocesse.

Answer to the third article. Lambert made Priest in Norwich.

¶ Unto the fourth, wherein you doe demand whether it be lawfull for a Priest to marry a Wife, and whether a Priest in some case be bound by the Law of God to marry a Wife; I say that it is lawfull, yea, and necessary for all men that have not given to them of God the gift of Chastity, to marry a wife, and that sheweth both Christ and Saint Paul. In the nineteenth of Matthew Christ speaking unto the Pharisies that came to tempt him, in the conclusion, saith in this wise, Whosoever shall forsake his Wife except it be for fornication, and marrieth another, committeth Adultery, and whosoever marrieth her so forsaken, doth also commit Adultery.

Answer to the fourth article. Marriage of Priests, whether it be lawfull and expedient.

Matth. 19.

With that speake his Disciples, if thus the case stand betwixt a Man and his Wife, it shall be hurtfull and not expedient to contract Matrimony. He made answere, Every man cannot away with that saying, but they unto whom it is given

Matth. 19.

of God; meaning, that every man could not abide single or unmarried, but such unto whom was given of God a speciall grace so to continue. And if with your better advise I might be somewhat herein bold, I would suppose that whereas he doth say, Non omnes sunt capaces hujus dicti (Every man cannot away with that saying) this word Non omnes ought to be here taken as it is in many other places of Scripture, as where in the Psalme it is said, Non judicabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens; [It is meant that no person living shall be justified afore God. And in the Epistle to the Galathians, and to the Romans, where it is said, Ex operibus legis non justificabitur omnis caro; (By the workes of the Law no flesh shall be justified in his sight) it is meant thereby Nulla caro: so that, Non omnis, after the rule of equipollence, should be taken for as much as nullus, and then the sense should be thus, Nulli sunt capaces hujus dicti nisi hi quibus datum sit. No man can be capable of this saying, or can so passe their life without marriage, except those which have it given them by a singular grace of God to live chaste.

Non omnes, taken universally in Scripture.

Gal. 2. Rom. 9.

Chastity is a gift onely of God.

Then he proceeded further, saying; There be gelded men which so were borne from their mothers wombe, and there bee some gelded men, which have beene so made by men, and there bee gelded men that have so made themselves for love of the Kingdome of Heaven. In conclusion he saith, Who that receiveth this saying, thinketh that it should be unexpedient for him to marry, and that he may live chaste thorow the gift given him of God, let him take it, and so live. So he leadeth single life to all mens election, without any compelling them thereto.

Matth. 19. *Gelded men three waies to be taken in Scripture.*

Single life ought not to be compelled.

Hereunto assenteth Saint Paul, when that by many reasons he had perswaded the Corinthians to single life; finally, he concludeth thus, This (quoth he) say I unto you, willing that which should be for your profit, but not to bring you in bondage. And a little afore; I would (quoth he) that all men were even as my selfe am. But every one hath a severall gift from God; one one wise, another another wise: shewing thereby, that unto some it is given of God to live continent, and to other to engender and procreate children, and therefore his will cannot come to effect. Which thing you may easily perceive in this, that after he had shewed forth his good will and desire, saying, Velim omnes homines, &c. I would that all men were even as I am, he putteth a Conjunction adversative, that declareth an obstacle or stop, saying, Sed unusquisque proprium donum habet, &c. But every man hath his proper gift of God. Upon this he proceedeth further, whereby you may apertly see, that he would have all men, none except, to marry, wanting the gift of continency. This (quoth hee) I say to the unmarried and widdowes; expedient it were for them to remaine as I doe; but if they cannot live continent, let them contract marriage, for better is it to marry than to burne. This proveth well, that all Priests, wanting continency of heart, had need to marry to avoyd burning lust, unlesse they be inobedient to the mind of Christ that spake in Paul, in observing the traditions of men. In the beginning of the same Chapter also he saith; It is good that a man should not deale with a woman; notwithstanding for avoyding fornication (quoth he) let every man have his wife, and every woman have her husband. He saith here, Quisque & quæque, every man and every woman. And not quidam nec quædam, some man nor some woman; he excepteth neither Priest nor Nunne, but every one both man and woman is bound, for avoyding of burning and fornication, to marry, not having the gift given of chastity.

1 Cor. 7.

Marriage necessary for all men, whosoever lacke continency of heart.

Quisque, quæque, not quidam quædam.

The same also confirmeth your owne Law, Distinct. 29. where it is written thus; Si quis discernit presbyterum conjugatum, tanquam occasione nuptiarum, quòd offerre non debeat, anathema sit. If any man doe hold that a Priest being married, in that respect that he is married, ought not to minister in his function, be he accursed. And in the 31. Dist. Si quis vituperat nuptias, & dormientem cum viro suo fidelem, ac religiosam detestatur, aut culpabilem æstimat, velut quæ regnum Dei introire non possit, anathema sit. If any man shall finde fault with matrimony, and detest a faithfull and devout woman lying with her husband, and thinke her culpable, as one that could not therefore enter into the Kingdome of God, be he accursed. And every where else such like are to be seene.

Dist. 31. Marriage permitted by Popes law.

Moreover, in historia tripartita it is written, that a noble martyr of Christ called Paphnutius, in the Nicene Councell, when all other bishops were purposed to have enacted there, that priests should live unmarried, this holy man resisted them so mightily both with reasons, and also with authority of Scripture, that then their purpose altered, and their first devise could not passe. And one authority I remember was this, which he borrowed of Paul in the second Epistle to Timothy. Your devise (quoth he) may have a semblance of holinesse, but indeed it shall be the destruction and undoing of the same.

Paphnutius

Marriage permitted by the counc. of Nice.

Moreover, in one of the principall Histories of France, called, Les illustrations de Gaulles, Who soever please may there read it as it standeth, with six leaves afore the end of the same; how the author with deepe sorrow lamenteth the Ordinance that decreed first, Priests to live unmarried, shewing and that amply, the miseries that have ensued in France thereby, imputing it unto Calixt the Pope, of whom he maketh a dolefull mention in meter, whereof the first I yet remember, and it is thus, O sancte Calixte, totus mundus odit te, &c. O holy Calixte, all the world hateth thee. Which followeth in writing to all that lust to behold therein. But what need I to make longer treatise hereof, forsomuch as you doe daily both heare and see, what foule abhomination ariseth in every corner, of this pitious law made of men that would presume to be wiser than God, thinking (as we ever doe) that either he would not, or else for lacke of wisedome he could not shew us a sufficient law or way, to direct our life and conversation, to come to the joy and resting place of him promised, and so of us longed and looked for. Whereby we both be farre unreasonable in so deeming of him after our unwise wit, and be much dishonoured. The which I beseech him to helpe, Amen.

Les Illustrations de Gaulle.

Men will be wiser than God.

¶ Unto the fifth, where ye doe aske, whether I beleeve that whatsoever is done of man, whether it be good or ill, commeth of necessity; that is (as you construe) to wit, whether man hath free will so that he may deserve joy or paine? I say (as I said at the beginning) that unto the first part of your riddle, I neither can, ne will give any definitive answer, forsomuch as it surmounteth my capacity, trusting that God shal send hereafter other that shal be of better learning and wit than I, to indite it. As concerning the second part, whereas you doe interpret, that is to say, whether man hath free will or no, so that he may deserve joy or paine; as for our deserving specially of joy, I thinke it very little or none, even when we do the very Commandements and Law of God, and that am I taught by our Saviour in S. Luke, where he saith thus, Which of you, quoth he, having a servant that hath eared your land, or fed your beasts, will say unto him when he commeth home out of the field, goe thy way quickly, and sit downe to thy meate; and rather will not say unto him, make ready my supper, serving me thereat till I have made an end thereof, and afterward take thy selfe meate and drinke. Thinke you that hee is bound to thanke his servant which thus shall doe his

Answer to the 5 Article. Free will to deserve joy or paine.

Dist. 29.

his commandement? I trow (saith hee) nay. Even so you, saith hee, when you have done all things to you commanded, say yet you be unprofitable servants, and have done that which you were bound to doe.

Merits not to be esteemed.

In which words you may clerely see, that hee would not have us greatly esteem our merits, when we have done that is commanded by God, but rather reckoning our selves to be but servants unprofitable to God, forsomuch as he hath no need of our well doing for his owne advancement, but only that he loveth to see us doe well for our owne behoofe: and moreover, that when we have done his bidding, we ought not so to magnifie, neither our selfe, ne our owne free will, but laud him with a meeke heart, thorow whose benefit we have done (if at any time we doe it) his liking and pleasure; not regarding our merit, but his grace and benefit; Whereby only is done all that in any wise is to him acceptable. And thus if we ought not to attend our merits in doing the commandement of God, much lesse should we looke for merit, for observing of our owne inventions or traditions of men, unto which there is no benefit in all scripture, which Paul calleth the word of truth and of faith, promised.

Observing of Gods workes worketh in us no merit. Ergo, muchlesse the observing of mens traditions.

But here may be objected against me, that the reward is promised in many places to them that doe observe the precepts of God. That I affirme to be very soth. Notwithstanding such reward shall never be attained of us, except by the grace and benefit of him which worketh all things in all creatures. And this affirmeth well Saint Augustine, Saint Ambrose, Fulgentius, with other, as yee may see every where in their workes, and especially in the treatise called Vnio dissidentium, wherein he entreateth de gratia & meritis. And of Saint Augustine I remember two or three right notable sentences concerning the same. One is in the ninth Booke of his Confessions, in this forme; Væ etiam laudabili vitæ hominum, si remota misericordia discutias eam. Quia verè non exquiris delicta vehemently, fiducialiter speramus aliquem locum apud te invenire indulgentiæ. Quisquis autem tibi enumerat vera merita sua, quid tibi enumerat nisi munera tua? O si cognoscerent se omnes, & qui gloriatur in domino gloriaretur; Woe be to the life of men, be they never so holy, if thou shalt examine them, setting thy mercy aside. Because thou dost not exactly examine the faults of men, therefore we have a vehement hope and trust to finde some place of mercy with thee. And whosoever recounteth unto thee his merits, what other thing doth he recount but thy benefits? O would to God all men would see and know themselves, and that he which glorieth, would glory in the Lord. Againe, in the first booke he saith thus unto God: Nunquid inops es & gaudes lucris? Nunquid avarus & usuras exigis? Supererogatur tibi ut debeas? & quis habet quicquam non tuum? Reddis debita nulli debens, donas debita nihil perdens. Doth any man give that hee oweth not unto thee, that thou shouldest be in his debt? and hath any man ought that is not thine? Thou rendrest debt, and yet owest to no man. Thou forgivest debt, and yet losest nothing. And therefore his usuall prayer was this: Domine da quod jubes, & jube quod vis, Lord give that thou commandest, and command what thou wilt.

Vnio dissidentium.

Reward how it is promised to workes. August. lib. Confessio. 9.

Confessi. lib. 1.

Also in the booke called Manuale Augustini, or de contemplatione Christi, he saith in this wise: Tota spes mea est in morte domini. Mors ejus meritum meum, refugium meum, salus mea, & resurrectio mea. Meritum meum, miseratio Domini. Non sum meriti inops quamdiu ille misserationum Dominus non defuerit. Et si misericordiæ Domini multæ, multus ego sum in meritis. All my hope is in the Lords death. His death is my merit, my refuge, my health, and my resurrection. My merit is the mercy of the Lord. I am not without merit, so long as the Lord of mercy shall continue. And if the mercies of the Lord be great and rich, then am I also great and rich in merits.

And to conclude, they be Christs owne merits and good workes (as saith Saint Ambrose well nie every where) that he worketh in us, which he doth reward and crowne, and not ours, if one should looke narrowly upon the thing, and speake properly. Howbeit, they yet nevertheless are ours by him, forsomuch as his mercifull bounty imputeth his goods to be ours. So that in this, I wot not how other doe meane, which lust to sell their merits unto their neighbours that happily have scarce enough for themselves: but I doe wholly deeme and beleeve, according as the Scripture with these holy Doctors and such other doe teach, wishing that men ever for good doing should not so much (as the common people doth) regard their merit or reward, for that it is not the thing that ingendreth the love of God in us, but rather maketh men to honour God in a servile fashion, and for the love of themselves, in doing workes for love of reward, or for dread of paine, more then because it so pleaseth God, and liketh him: whereas if we regarded first, yea and altogether, that it is our duty to doe well (which is the keeping of his commandements) and that so we should content his pleasure, reward should undoubtedly ensue good deeds, although we minded no whit the same, as heat followeth evermore the fire unseparat there from. And thus we should serve God with hearty love as children, and not for meed or dread, as unloving thrals and servants.

Good workes how they be Gods, & how they be ours.

To walke with God after a servile fashion, is to worke for merit.

Reward followeth good workes: but yet good workes be not done for reward.

Concerning free will, I meane altogether, as doth Saint Augustine, that of our selves we have no liberty ne ability to doe the Will of God, but are subject unto sinne and thrals of the same, Concluſi ſub peccato, & vænundati ſub eodem; Shut up and sold under sinne, as witnesseth both Esay and also Paul: but by the grace of God we are rid and set at liberty, according to the portion that every man hath taken of the same, some more, some lesse.

No ability in man to doe the will of God.

Rom. 7. 11.

¶ Whereas in your sixth demand, you doe enquire whether the sacrament of the Altar be a sacrament necessary unto salvation, and whether after the consecration of the bread and wine done by the Priest, as by the minister of God, there is the very body and blood of Christ in likenesse of bread and wine. I neither can ne will answer one word, otherwise than I have told since I was delivered into your hands. Neither would I have answered one whit thereunto, knowing so much at the first as now I doe, till you had brought forth some that would have accused me to have trespassed in the same, which I am certaine you cannot doe, bringing any that is honest and credible.

Answer to the 6 Article. The Sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord.

¶ As concerning the other five Sacraments, I make you that same answer that I have done to the Sacrament of the Altar, and none other. That is, I will say nothing untill some men appeare to accuse me in the same, unlesse I know a more reasonable cause than I have yet heard, why I so ought to doe. But as touching the forme and fashion, I shall answer willingly so far forth as my rudenesse will serve, I hold well that such as be duely elect Ministers in the church ought to baptise, except necessity require otherwise: and that the forme used in the Church is in mine opinion not uncommendable. Nevertheless it should edifie much more, if it were uttered in the vulgar language, and cause people in the baptisme of children more effectuously to thanke God for his institution and high benefit thereby represented.

Answer to the seventh article.

Baptisme to be in the vulgar tongue.

In like condition do I also deeme of ministration in all the other, that it should be expedient to have them ministred openly to the vulgar language, for the edifying of the people. As concerning the forme used in matrimony, I like it right well, and thinke

Answer to the eighth article.

it commendable, saving in all Countries lightly Judas hath set in his foot ouer farre, and taketh in hand to sell his Master, accompanied with Simon Magus; saying, What will you giue me if I deliuer unto you Christ? This is the saying of all them that require, without any lawfull authority, in some places twelue pence, in some sixe pence, in some more, in some lesse, but in euery place lightly some money when a couple should be married: and this they call the Churches right. Moreouer, that they will not suffer marriage to be solemnised at all times of the yeere, I thinke it standeth not with Christs rule, but rather is against the same: and that they will not suffer the Banes upon all holydaies to be proclaimed, unlesse a dispensation for money be purchased therefore. All this God forbiddeth. Finally, like as no money ought to be giuen for this, no more should any be taken for any other. But the contrary is seene, which is great pity, yea euen at the receiuing of the Sacrament of the Altar, Priests euery where use to claime somewhat, and in some parts of the West Countrey, no lesse than two pence of euery pole.

Matrimony ought freely to be ministred, and without money.

As touching Priesthood in the primitiue Church, when vertue bare (as ancient Doctors doe deeme, and Scripture in mine opinion recordeth the same) most rome, there were no more Officers in the Churches of God, than Bishops and Deacons, that is to say, Ministers, as witnesseth beside Scripture, full apertly, Hierome in his Commentaries upon the Epistles of Paul, whereas he saith, that those whom we call Priests were all one and none other but Bishops, and the Bishops none other but Priests, men ancient both in age and learning, so neere as they could be chosen. Neither were they institute and chosen as they be now adaies, with small regard of a Bishop or his officer, onely apposing them if they can construe a collect, but they were chosen not onely of the Bishop, but also with the consent of the people among whom they should haue their liuing, as sheweth Saint Cyprian; and the people (as hee saith) ought to haue power to chuse Priests that be men of good learning, of good and honest report: but alacke for pitty, such elections are now banished, and new fashions brought in. Which if we should conferre with the forme of the election shewed of Christ by his Apostle Paul, wee should finde no small diuersity, but all turned upside downe. To conclude, I say, the order or state of Priests and Deacons was ordained by God, but Subdeacons and Conjurers, otherwise called Exorcistæ, and Accolitæ, which we call Benet and Collect, were instituted by the invention of men. And this you may finde in the law, Dist. 21. and other places where it is written, Subdiaconatus tempore Apostolorum non fuit sacer, Subdeaconship in the time of the Apostles was no holy Order.

Answer to the 9. Article.

Bishops and Priests all one in the old time.

The order and state of priests. Election of ministers, in the old time not without the assent of the people.

Subdeacons, Exorcists. Benet and Collect not ordained of God but men. Subdeaconship in the time of the Apostles no holy order.

¶ As touching eare-Confession, I say, that the common fashion now used was never ordained by Christs Law, that is, written in the Bible, neither can you proue by any authority of the same, that wee ought to confesse all our offences particularly, with the circumstances of all and of euery such, to any man. Againe, for the maintenance of this which I haue said, you shall know that Chrysostome standeth stiffely with me in his Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, in an Homily also that he maketh upon the Psalme Miserere, and moreouer in a Sermon that hee maketh, De Pœnitentia, beside many other treatises, wherein hee continueth euer one, testifying in semblable wise.

Answer to the tenth article. Auricular confession not ordained by God.

Chrysost. in epist. ad Heb.

In Psal. Miserere Serm. de pœnitentia.

In like manner doth one of your principall Doctors, writing upon your Canon Law, named Panormitanus, testifie that it is made by the Law of man, and not of God, in cap. Omnis utriusque sexus, In the Booke also called Historia tripartita, you shall finde how it was first institute (as I remember) and after undone againe, because of a huge villany committed with a woman by a minister of the Church, thorow confession.

Panormitanus Abbas in cap. omnis Utriusque sexus. Historia tripartita.

Also it is mentioned in the end of the first Dist. de Pœnitentia, how the Græcke Church, whom I thinke you doe not note to be heretiques, will not yet hitherto allow it. There are also many reasons brought forth, both to proue that confession made to a Priest should not be necessary, and also that confession made unto God should suffice, concluding in this wise, Quibus authoritatibus, &c. I could bring forth other that be yet liuing, men of surmounting and excellent literature, which exactly by many and mighty, both authorities and reasons, doe shew and confirme this my saying to be iust: but I keepe silence, and will not name them, lest I should bring them in hatred. Notwithstanding I neuer said, ne will say, but that men feeling themselues agrieued in conscience with some great temptation, had need to goe unto such whom they know and trust to be of stedfast credence, and to haue good skill in the Law of God, opening their griefe unto them, to the intent they may know, thorow counsell, some ease and remedy thereof.

Dist. de pœnitentia.

The Greeke Church also ed not confess on auricular.

But in this I meane not that they ought to goe unto their Curate, or to any other Priest, whose credence they deeme not all trusty, or their counsell not sage, but to any other whatsoeuer he be, whom they know most sufficient in properties aboue shewed, when their Curate doth lacke them. And this thing is the most behoueable, when men needing counsell be so voyd of knowledge in Christs Law, that they cannot finde therein remedy themselues. For the doctrine of Christ, if it were well knowen, containeth remedies for all infirmities and maladies of the mind, so that men by spiritual knowledge might ease themselues.

Asking counsell in the church is good, but is not tied to any person.

To the other part of your question, where you doe aske whether a Priest in cases unto him limited may loose a sinner confessed and contrite for his sin, inioyning him wholesome penance; I say that only Christ loseth a sinner which is contrite, by his word, and promise, and the Priest doth nothing but shew and declare the word: Neither doth declaration or ministery of the Priest any whit availe for to loose any person, unlesse he that should be loosed give credence unto the word ministred and shewed by the Priest, which word or promise of Christ is called the word of reconciliation or attonement making betwirt God and man. And this testified S. Paul in the 2. to the Corinthians where he saith in this wise, God hath reconciled us unto him through Iesus Christ. See how it is God that loseth us from sinne, which is to make reconciliation or attonement betwirt us and him, and that thorow Christ whom he caused to die for the same purpose. And he (quoth Saint Paul) hath ordained us Ministers of the said attonement. See how Christs Apostles called not themselues the authors of binding and loosing, but Ministers; for he (that is to wit, God) reconciled the world unto him, forgiuing their sinnes. Where you may know what reconciling is. And hath committed (saith Paul) unto us to be messengers of the same word or tidings of attonement or reconciling.

The second part of the question, wherby a Priest loose a sinner. Christ, and not the Priest, loseth the sinn.

2 Cor. 5.

Christ only loseth us from sinne. The Apostles not the authors of binding nor loosing, but ministers.

Also that the power, whereby men are loosed from sinne, is not the Priests power, you may know by the vulgar saying, which is right true, yea and with leisure, I doubt not but that I can shew the same in the Decrees, which is thus; Solus Deus remittit peccata, Onely God forgiueth and pardoneth us of our sinnes. And this was preached at Pauls Crosse the Sunday next after the Epiphany last, the Bishop of London sitting by, the Preacher speaking after this forme, treating of this Text, Ecce agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi, Behold the Lambe of God which taketh away the sinnes of the world. In that said the preacher, testimony is given of Christ

This saying is taken out of *Peter Lombard*, and cited in the decrees.

to

to be a Lambe, it is shewed that he was an innocent man. But in that it is said, That he taketh away the sinnes of the World, is shewed that he was God, alledging there for the confirmation of this part of his purpose the vulgar saying above said by me, Solus Deus remittit peccata. And the same proposition, or another equall with the same useth Chrysostome in an Homily that is made upon this text of Matthew, Vocabitur nomen ejus Iesus, &c. His Name shall be called Iesus, for hee shall save his people from their sinnes. Also Saint Chrysostome, in opere imperfecto, upon this text, Væ vobis Scribæ & Pharisæi, qui clauditis regnum Cœlorum, &c. Woe be unto you Scribes and Pharises, because ye shut up the Kingdome of Heaven before men, &c. As neere as my remembrance doth serve me: or else in some other place, but in the same booke (as I suppose) he affirmeth that the keyes of Heaven are the Word and doctrine of God. This witnesseth moreover Saint Gregory, I trow, in his Booke called Pastoralia, or else it is an Epistle that he writeth, ad Episcopum Constantinopolitanum, in these words: Clavis apertionis est sermo correctoris, qui increpando culpam detegit, quam sæpe nescit qui perpetravit. The key of loosing is the word of the corrector, who rebuking doth disclose the fault, which many times he knoweth not that committeth the same.

Matth. 1.

Matth. 23.

The keyes of binding and loosing is the word of God. *Greg. in pastor.*

Saint Ambrose, agreeing to the same, saith, Verbum Dei dimittit peccata. The Word of God forgiveth sinne. But shall we then say, that Gods Ministers doe not binde and loose? I say no, not as the authors of so doing, but they doe loose and binde in like manner, as it is said of Paul in the Acts of the Apostles, where our Saviour spake unto him in this manner: I shall (said our Saviour) deliver thee from the people and Nations, unto whom I send thee, that thou shouldest open their eyes, that they may be converted from darknesse to light. Here Paul is sayd to open the eyes of mens hearts, albeit to speake properly, it is God that so doth: and therefore David prayeth unto him, Revela oculos meos. Open mine eyes, O Lord. And in like manner it is spoken of I. Baptist in the first of Luke, That he should goe before Christ in the spirit and power of Helias, and turne the hearts of the fathers to their children, and the unbeleevers to the wisedome of the righteous. Albeit to turne mens hearts, and to worke in them belongeth to God. But so use we to speake, Metonymicè. As if your Lordship had defined me to be excommunicate, and thereupon should send a commandement to the parson of Knoll to declare the same, the people would say that the parson of Knoll proclaiming your commandement had accursed me: but yet doth he not properly curse me, but you rather, when he in pronouncing the same doth your act and commandement, rather than his owne.

Ambros.

How ministers bind and loose. Acts 26.

Psal. 119.

Luke 1.

Metonymia, is a figure. When the name that properly belongeth to one, is improperly transferred to another thing.

Touching cases limited to Priests and Ministers, for loosing from sinne, or binding in the same, I doe know no such things shewed in Scripture, which is the perfect way of our life. Neither can any man, I suppose, shew by authority thereof, that one should have more or lesse limited him then another. And if you can or will thereby teach it me, I shall thanke you for your doing, and pray God to requite you.

Power in binding and loosing limitted no more to one minister then another.

Concerning inforcing of penance, I know of none that men need to admit, nor you to put or injoyn the same, except it be renovation of living in casting apart old vice, and taking them unto new vertue, which every true penitent intendeth, or ought to intend verily by the grace and assistance of our Saviour Christ, to shew and performe.

Inforcing of penance.

¶ Unto the eleventh I say, that grace is given unto them, that duely receive the Sacraments of Christ and his Church, but whether by them or no, that I cannot define: for God sendeth his grace where he pleaseth, either with them, or without them, & when he pleaseth: so that it is at his arbitrement, and how and when. Moreover, many a lewd person receiveth the Sacraments, that are destitute of grace, to their confusion. So that I cannot affirm that the Sacraments give grace: yet in due receit of the Sacraments, I suppose and thinke that God giveth unto them grace that so take them, as hee doth unto all good, even without them also.

Answer to the 11 article.

Sacraments, whether they give grace or no.

¶ Whereas in your xii. article you doe aske whether all things necessary unto salvation are put in holy scripture, and whether things only there put be sufficient, and whether some things upon necessitie of salvation are to be beleeved and observed, which are not expressed in Scripture: this is the question, as great learned men have shewed me, whom I doe count my friends, sith the time I appeared at your LL. assignment before M. D Lelle, & M. Welling, with other, in your Chappell of Lambeth, when these questions were first propounded, this I say is the question, which (as they told me) is the head and whole content of all other objected against me. Yea this is both the helme and sterne of all together, and that which they contended right sore to impugne: but love of the truth (wherewith in this point I reckoned me well fenced) would not suffer me to apply and yeld to their will, thinking quod Sanctum est veritatem præferre amicitiæ, that the truth ought to be preferred before all friendship and amity; and also, Si dextra manus scandalizet, deberet præscindi & abjici, If thy right hand offend, it ought to be cut off and cast away.

Doctor Lelle. M. Welling.

Truth to be preferred before friendship. Matth. 5.

But touching an answer unto this question, I suppose verily, that if I had S. Cyrils works by me, I should not need to shew any other answer in this, than he hath shewed aforetime, writing upon this saying of S. John, Sunt & alia multa quæ fecit Iesus, there are many things more which Iesus did. Notwithstanding, forsomuch as every man at all seasons cannot have what he would, & therefore must make other shift, such as he may: I say as I suppose the first part of your question to be very true, & therefore to be affirmed, that is to wit, that all things needfull for mans salvation be mentioned and shewed in holy Scripture, and that the things onely there put be sufficient for the regiment of spirituall living, and mans soules health. And in this shall you finde both the antient doctors standing with me, and moreover the suffrage of holy writ, whose authority is of most soveraigne and infallible stedfastnesse.

Cyrillus in Iohannem. John 21.

All things necessary to salvation contained in Scripture.

Looke what S. Jerome saith upon this verse, Dominus narrabit in scripturis populorum, The Lord shall rehearse it, when he writeth up the people. S. Ambrose also in a Treatise, de Paradiso, doth shew likewise, where he bringeth this text of Paul written in 2. Cozinth. I am afraid lest it may by some meanes be brought to passe, that as the serpent deceived Eve through wilinesse, so your minds may be corrupt from the simple verity that is in Christ. And also in his commentaries upon the Epistle to the Col. upon this text, In Christ Iesus is all treasure of wisedome, and in divers other places of the same worke.

Hieronie. Psal. 87. *Ambrose lib. de Paradiso.*

S. Chrysostome also in his Commentaries upon Paul declaring this saying, Omnis scriptura divinitus inspirata, &c. The whole Scripture given by inspiration of God, &c. And in his booke called Opus imperfectum, I wote not precisely upon what text, but there you shall find, that he would have a true preacher of Gods law not swarving therefro, neither on the right hand, neither on the left, but keeping thereafter, according to the teaching of Salomon: for he that should thereunto ad or withdraw, should enterprise, as saith Chrysost. to be wiser then God. These or else such like words doth he say. I will be demed by the booke brought forth, because my remembrance cannot retaine perfectly all such things.

2 Tim. 3. *Chrysost. in Epist. Pauli & in opere imperfecto.*

The preacher must not swarve either on the right hand or left, from the expresse word of God.

Saint Cyprian maintaineth well the same in an Epistle that hee writeth ad Cecilium fratrem,

Cyprianus ad Cecilium fratrem.

which I would to God were in english, that all men might learne the devout goodnesse in it contained. In the same he teacheth clerely, how we ought to heare Christ onely and his learning, not regarding ne attending to the traditions of men, like as hee doth also in many other places. And this agreeth well with Scripture, which is called the word of Salvation, the administration of righteousnesse, the worde of truth, yea and the truth it selfe, the rod of direction, our spirituall foode, the spirituall sword that we ought to fight with against all temptations and assaults of our ghostly enemies, the seed of God, the kingdome of heaven, and keys of the same, the power of God, the light of the world, which who so followeth shall not be overcome with darknesse, the law of God, his wisedome, and testament. Of which words and such like every one will give matter of substantiall argument, that we following the same doctrine onely shall have sufficient safe conduct to come unto the inheritance promised, albeit none other waies or meanes were annexed with the same. And certaine I am that in this blessed doctrine of Christ is taught how we ought to do truth and mercy, which is all that we need to doe, as testifieth the Psalme, in these words, Vniversæ viæ domini misericordia & veritas, &c. All the waies of the Lord are mercy and truth. And againe, the Prophet willing us to doe as he did, sayeth in this manner, Adhæsi testimoniis tuis domine, noli me confundere. I have cleaved to thy testimonies, O Lord, confound mee not. In like manner the sayd whole Psalme warneth us. Yea, all the Scripture biddeth us sticke fast to the steady and true Word of God, saying, that hee is verax, & viæ ejus veritas; omnis autem homo vanitas & mendax: For hee is true, and all his waies are truth, but all men are vaine and lyers. For that is the sure foundation which cannot faile them that ground thereupon, as reporteth Christ; Every one, saith he, that heareth my words, and doth them, is like to a wise man that buildeth upon a sure foundation. And there ought to be none other foundation to Christian men, but onely the undoubted truth of Jesus to build our faith upon, and direct our living thereafter, as sheweth Saint Paul, saying, Fundamentum aliud nemo, &c. Other Foundation can no man lay, than that which is layd, which is Jesus Christ. And likewise in the Epistle unto the Ephesians, where he saith, Iam non estis hospites & advenæ, sed concives sanctorum, & domestici Dei, &c. Now yee are no more strangers and forreiners, but Citizens with the Saints, and of the household of God.

Scripture, how many names it hath.

The word sufficient for all our direction.

Scripture sufficient to salvation, without any other addition.

Psalm. 25.

Psalm. 118.

1 Cor. 3.

Ephes. 2.
Ephes. 4.

And in the same Epistle, Saint Paul, dilating of Christs beneficence, sheweth how that he ordained in the Church divers Officers, to the edifying of Christian people, that he calleth Christs body, untill all wee may come unto the unity of Faith, which commeth by following of one doctrine which is Christs, whereby we may grow to be perfect men, and that wee should not be here like to children, carried about with every winde of Doctrine, by deceit and wilinesse of men that study to deceive us.

In like forme doth he warne us in his Epistle to the Hebrews, that we should not be carried about as the wind with divers and strange doctrines, but continue in that which ever continueth like and all one, agreeable for all men in all parts, and that at all times; not being changeable as mens constitutions be, whereof loke what one doth counsell or ordaine to be of effect, another annulls the same, according as mens minds doe alway alter and are full unsteddy. Neither doe such pertaine unto all men, for the Greekes, with other (whom the Pope, ne none of his people will yet deny to be of Christs Church) will in no condition admit such, neither for men to live after them, nor to believe them as pertaining to their faith. But they allow well the doctrine that persevereth every one, and is immutable, as sheweth Saint Paul, saying, Iesus Christ yesterday and to day is all one, and so ever shall be. Hee is white Bread, without any sowre leven of pharisaicall traditions, verity without guile, light without any darkenesse, the very strait way that hath neither hooke ne crooke. From this ought we not to turne, neither upon one hand ne other, unlesse we will goe from him that is our felicity and anchor of safety.

Heb. 13.

The inconstancy and variablenesse of mens constitutions. The Popes lawes were never wholly received of all men.

But what should I more entreat of this, except I would recite all Scriptures, which in every part is full of admonitions, exhorting and warning us to cleave fast unto this way, which is the doctrine of the Gospell? which God I beseech him grant us all both to know and love, taking heed that in no wise we be seduced therefrom by Lawes and doctrines of men. Looke also into Colossians, chap. 2. and in the Epistle to Timothy and Titus. So that I conclude, in holy Scripture to be contained sufficiently enough of doctrine, for the regiment and salvation of our soules: and this because learned men doe call the head article laid against me, I would that all men should well note it, and record my saying therein hereafter, whatsoever shall betide of me; for the truth is so indeed, that hereupon hangeth the summe of all. Therefore I shall recite it once againe; I say that in holy Scripture the doctrine there onely contained is sufficient for the salvation of Christian mens soules, God give us grace we may know it, to build our faith stedfastly upon the same, in working thereafter.

The chiefe article objected against John Lambert.

Doctrine in holy Scripture sufficient for salvation of Christian mens soules.

Unwritten veritie.

As touching the later part of your question, I say that there are many things both to be observed, and to be beleeved, that are not expressed in Scripture: as the Civill Lawes of Princes and communalties, ordained for civill regiment of the body, and all other, so that they be not hurtfull to faith or charity, but helpfull to the same, I reckon that we ought to keepe them, not onely for feare of punishment, but also for conscience sake, although such ordinances be not expressely and particularly in Scripture expressed, for they are generally therein contained and spoken of.

Moreover, if you meane by this word expressed, that which in Scripture is clerely shewed out, and appeareth evidently to every Reader or hearer that hath but a meane understanding, so doe I affirme that there are some things which a man ought to beleeve, although they be not of him expressly understood: As I have ever beleeved that the virgin Mary was and is a perpetuall virgin, and that the same might be gathered by the Scripture. But if by this word expressed you meane comprehended or contained (as me thinkes the mind of him that wrote the demand should be) so that he meaneth by this question thus: whether any thing ought to be observed and beleeved, which is not contained in Scripture, and that upon necessity of salvation, then I say that there is nothing either to be observed, or to be beleeved upon necessity of salvation, which is not contained in Scripture, and mentioned in the same either generally or specially. Yet doe I not deny but other things are to be beleeved, as I beleeved that Doctor Warham was Bishop of Canturbury, ere ever I saw your Lordship, and I beleeve verily who was my father and mother, albeit I had none intelligence when they begot me, and such like; and yet in such points although a man have not a stedfast beleefe he may be saved.

Answer to the 13 article.

A purgatory this world.

¶ To the thirteenth, where you doe aske whether I beleeve that purgatory is, and whether that soules departed be therein tormented and purged? I say that there is a Purgatory in this world, and that doth the Scripture, and also the holy Doctors call the fire of tribulation, through which all Christians shall passe, as testifieth Saint Paul in the second

chapter

2 Tim. 2.

chapter of the second Epistle to Timothy. Whose testimony is full notable and true, albeit that few doe know it, and fewer peradventure, will believe it. Marke you the words, good people, and know that they be his, and not mine. They be thus: All that will live godly in Iesus Christ, shall suffer persecution. In this purgatory doe I now reckon my selfe to stand; God send me well to persevere unto his honour. Of this speaketh also Saint Peter in these words which pertaine to the instruction of all Christian people; Virtute Dei custodimini per fidem ad salutem, quæ in hoc parata est ut patefiat in tempore supremo, in quo exultatis nunc, ad breve tempus afflicti in variis experimentis si opus sit, quo exploratio fidei vestræ multo pretiosior auro quod perit, & tamen per ignem probatur, reperiatur in gloriam & honorem. Yee (quoth hee) are preserved through the power of God by faith unto salvation, which is prepared to be revealed in the last time, wherein yee now rejoyce, though for a season (if need require) yee are sundry wayes afflicted and tormented, that the triall of your faith, being much more pretious than gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto laud, glory and honour, at the appearing of Iesus Christ, &c. other purgatory know I none, that you can prove by Scripture, unlesse it be by one place of the same, which well examined, I trow, shall make but little against mée, for the maintenance of any other than I have shewed.

The purgatory of Christians.

1 Peter 3.

But whatsoever they wrought against mée, I trust that holy Doctors shall by their interpretation sustaine the part, the which I doe take upon me, making answer for mée sufficient, so that you shall say, it is no new thing which I have or shall speake: yet that you should see even now somewhat written of antient Doctors concerning the same, I shall shew you what I have read in Saint Augustine; first in a Sermon that hee maketh De Ebrietate, in this wise, saying, Nemo se decipiat fratres; duo enim loca sunt, & tertius non est visus. Qui cum Christo regnare non meruit, cum Diabolo absque ulla dubitatione peribit. That is to say: Brethren, let no man deceive himselfe, for there be two places, and the third is not knowne. Hee that with Christ hath not deserved to raigne, shall without doubt perish with the Divell. In another also that hee maketh, De vanitate hujus seculi, it is said thus: Scitote vos, quod cum anima à corpore avellitur, statim in Paradiso pro meritis bonis collocantur, aut certè pro peccatis, in inferni tartara præcipitatur. Eligite modo quod vultis, aut perpetualiter gaudere cum Sanctis, aut sine fine cruciari cum impiis. Which is thus to say: Know you that when the soule is departed from the body, it is incontinent, for his good deeds, put in Paradise, or else thrown headlong into the dungeon of hell for his sinnes. Chuse yee now which yee list, and purpose while yee be here in this life, either to joy perpetually with Saints, or else to be tormented without end among wicked sinners. Thus saith holy Augustine.

The third place of S. Austin.

That out reading is S. Augustine declareth before the fifty Article. fol. 1005. of purgatory.

To make an end, I hope surely that by the aid of our Saviour, I shall come to Heaven, and raigne with Christ, ere that I shall feele any purgatory, beside that I have and shall sustaine in this life. And he that believeth not stedfastly any other to be, shall yet be saved as well (and God woteth whether better or no, but I thinke no whit lesse) as such as teach the people, or suffer them to be taught, that in going from this station to that, from one Altar to another, they shall cause soules to be delivered: yea, and as well as such as say that a man, being buried in a gray Friers frocke, shall so have remission of the third part of his sinnes, as is granted in a Bull unto the said Religion, and such like. For Saint Augustine shall make with me in his booke called Enchiridion, after he hath confuted the opinion of some that in the Church of Christ living in mischiefe ungraciously, taking thereof no repentance, did yet falsely deeme that they should be saved through the cleansing of purgatory, where he concludeth thus: Such a thing after this life to be, saith he, is not incredible, but whether it be so or no, doubt may be thereof moved, or a question demanded. The same words doth hee againe recite in a Booke called, Quæstiones ad Dulcium, or Dulcitium, I wot not whether it is called, and there hee entreateth the same more copiously; and would I might see the place once againe.

The third part of sins forgiven in that decreed in a gray Friers weede. August. in Enchiridion.

To this agreeth Saint Paul, writing thus to the Corinthians, Omnes nos manifestari oportet coram tribunali Christi, ut reportet quisque ea quæ fiunt per corpus, juxta id quod fecit, sive bonum, sive malum. For wee must all appeare before the judgement Seat of Christ, that every man may receive the things which are done in his body, according to that hee hath done, whether it be good or evill. And againe, where he writeth unto the Hebrewes, I trow it be said in this wise; Memores sitis vinctorum, tanquam una cum illis vincti: eorum qui affliguntur veluti ipsi quoque versantes in corpore. Remember them that are in bonds, even as though you were bound with them: be mindfull of them which are in affliction, as if yee were also afflicted in the body.

Heb. 13.

To the foureteenth, where you aske whether holy Martyrs, Apostles, and Confessors departed from this world, ought to be honoured, called upon, and prayed unto, I answer, as touching the honouring of them, with the very words of S. Augustine, in his Booke, De vera Religione, in his last leafe, where hee saith thus: Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum: quia si pie vixerunt, non sic habentur, ut tales quærant honores, sed illum à nobis coli volunt, quo illuminante lætantur meriti sui nos esse consortes; honorandi sunt ergo propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem. Si autem male vixerunt, ubicunque sunt, non sunt colendi. Againe, a little after the same, hee saith, Nam id ipsum actum est temporali dispensatione ad salutem nostram, ut naturam humanam ipsa Dei virtus, & Dei sapientia incommutabilis, & consubstantialis patri & coæternus susciperet dignaretur, per quam nos doceret, id esse homini colendum, quod ab omni creatura intellectuali & rationali colendum est: hoc est, ipsos optimos angelos, & excellentissima Dei ministeria velle credamus, ut unum cum ipsis colamus Deum, cujus contemplatione beati sunt; neque enim & nos videndo angelum beati sumus, sed videndo veritatem, qua ipsos etiam diligimus Angelos, & his congratulamur.

Answer to the 14. Article.

Praying to Saints.

Id est, ejusdem meriti cujus ipsi sunt participes.

Nec invidemus quod ea pariatiores, vel nullis molestiis interpedientibus perfruuntur, sed magis eos diligimus, quoniam & nos tale aliquid sperare à communi Domino jussi sumus. Quare honoramus eos charitate, non servitute; nec eis templa construimus. Nolunt enim se sic honorari à nobis, quia nos ipsi cum boni sumus, templa summi Dei esse noverunt. Recte itaque scribitur, hominem ab Angelo prohibitum ne se adoraret, sed unum Deum, sub quo ille esset & consservus. This saith Saint Augustine, handling the same matter a little after more at large.

Angels would have no temples builded to them.

The content of this unto you I expound, that know no Latine, for I covet that all persons should know both my thought in this, and all manner of doing, to the intent that all persons I would have true report and testimony, whatsoever shall betide me. Saint Augustine in these words would have, that wee should worship no men departed, be they never so good and holy, for they seeke no such honour, but would have us to worship God alone: no, nor yet no Angell, ne honour the same, but onely in the imitation of them, following their good acts in our living, as they followed our most mercifull God while they were alive, not building Churches in the

Men departed are not to be worshipped.

the name or honour of them, for they would have no such honour done unto them; it is to them no pleasure, but contrariwise. No, the Angels will not that wee should build any Churches in reverence of them; but would that with them we should honour the originall, maker, and performer of all. They refuse all honour, saving that which is called honor charitatis, which is nothing else, but to be loved. Thus saith Saint Augustine. Which love we shall testifie in following their good acts, by helping the poore or helpelesse with almes and mercy, and dealing truely in word and deed, according to our state and calling, both towards God and man; Which is no light matter to them that doe consider the thing well. But whosoever shall truly and duly follow that trade, shall feele it (I dare say) as the burthen of Christs Crosse was unto him, right weighty and grievous when he bare it to Calvary; saving that we need not to feare, for he hath promised to be with us in tribulation, to rid us from the same. For the Prophet David saith; Cum ceciderit Iustus non collidetur, quia Dominus supponit manum suam. That is to wit, When a iust person beginneth to fall, he shall not be borne flat downe to be broken, for the Lord shall put his hand under him to reare him up againe. And in the Gospel hee biddeth, Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis & onerati estis, & ego reficiam vos. That is to say. Come you unto me all that do travell and are sore charged, and I shall comfort or refresh you. Take my yoke upon you, learning of mee that am soft and meeke minded, and you shall fine ease thereby in your soules, for my yoke is easie, and my burthen is light. See you here how he is ever ready to support them that for truth shall sustaine the chargeable and sore vexations put upon them of the world, which cannot endure the truth to prevaile, and the untruth to be disclosed.

The best worshipping of Saints, is in following their good acts.

Psalme 35.

Matth. 11.

Invocation.

As touching invocation, That is to wit, a calling upon them, wee have in Scripture, how wee should call upon Almighty God in all necessities and tribulations. As in the Psalmes every where; as in this, Call upon me in time of your tribulation, and I shall deliver you. Marke how hee saith here, call upon me, appointing neither Saint Thomas, ne M. Iohn Shorne. And also in another place, The Lord is nigh unto them that call upon him, that call upon him truely, and with that hee sheweth who calleth truely upon him, saying thus, Hee shall doe the will or desire of them that reverence him, and shall heare graciously their prayer, and make them safe, for the Lord loveth all that love him, and all sinners shall be destroyed.

Psalme 50.

God onely to be exalted.

What is to call truly upon God.

Psalme 145.

And thus used the holy Prophets, Patriarches, Apostles, and other good faithfull people in old time, in all tribulation and anguish, to resort unto the head Fountaine, which is of grace infinite, as is shewed in other places in this wise; In my trouble I called upon the Lord (saith David) and hee heard mee graciously: when I was troubled, I cried unto the Lord, and hee mercifully heard mee. Also I lift mine eyes unto the mountaines; but from whence shall help come unto mee? Mine help (quoth hee) shall come from the Lord that made both heaven and earth. I reade the first of these verses in forme of interrogation, following Saint Augustine, which (as I remember) interpreteth it in this wise. If I recite not authorities in all places in the most perfect forme, I would pray you somewhat to pardon mee, for you know that I want bookes, and have not them lying by mee. Notwithstanding, I am certaine I shall not decline much from him. The hills toward the which David did lift up his eyes, were Saints and holy men, of whom when he could not have his minde satisfied, hee turned another way, saying; From whence shall helpe come unto me? Anone hee remembring himselfe better, sued unto God himselfe, of whom incontinent hee obtained the accomplishment of his wish, and so witnessed the same for our instruction, saying, Mine help is of the Lord, or commeth from the Lord, which made heaven and earth. This interpretation (as neere as I remember) is after the mind of Saint Augustine; And I suppose verily, that it is not contrary unto the mind of God, ne disagreeing with the sequele of Scripture.

Psalme 4.
Psalme 18.
Psalme 127.

God onely is the giver of help, and not Saints.

Also in this wise it is reported in the new Testament by authority deduced out of the old, where it is written, Every one that calleth upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. And marke how, cum energia, it is said, upon the name of the Lord, without any sending of us either to Saint Christopher, (though hee be painted never so stout) either to Saint Patricks Purgatory in Ireland, or to Saint James in Galicia, in the yeere of grace, or yet to any other Saint or place; but hee would have us that wee should call upon Almighty God, and upon his name, for the love that he beareth to Christ, who is alway our Advocate before our Father, to purchase mercy for our sinnes; and not for our sinnes onely, quoth Saint John (who is the writer of this saying and testimony) but also for the sinnes of all the world. Saint Augustine upon the same noteth, that Saint John in that place saith, Wee have an Advocate, and that Christ is Advocate for him like as hee is for all other to purchase mercy for him, like as hee doth for all other that shall be saved; and that Saint John will not be knowne for our Advocate, but that Christ should be taken for Advocate of all.

Marke 13. Ioel 2.

That is, what a special efficacy for us to marke more attentively.

1 Iohn 3.

Aug. in Ioha

Christ to take care as well as Saints and Apostles, and for us.

Saint Bede (as I remember) upon the same, maketh as much for this purpose as doth Saint Augustine, or well more; so that by course of Scripture wee are taught to resort for all ayd and relefe (as I have said) unto the head Spring and Fountaine of all comfort and mercy, as Saint Paul calleth him, the Father of all mercies, and of all comfort, which is ready to comfort us in all tribulation: Which (as the Psalme reporteth) healeth all our infirmities, and taketh mercy upon all our iniquities. For hee is sweet (as is said in another place) and gentle, and many mercies are laid up for all those that call upon him. Yet he sheweth us no where, I trow, of benefits that wee shall purchase by praying unto Saints departed; and if any person can or will vouchsafe to teach mee that, by some authority of Scripture, I would think my selfe highly beholden to him, whatsoever he were, either great or small, young or old: but I weene it cannot be.

Bede upon Saint Iohn

I have made truely long search, yet could I never finde any such substantiall teaching: howbeit, I offer my selfe ever to learne, and know that my rude wit, foolish youth, unexpert experience, and feeble discretion had need of good instruction as much as any other. Howbeit I see (thanked be God) that sometime hee sheweth some sparkle of light and wisdome to children, hiding the same from other that are reputed of higher prudence; so that the world thereby many times is brought into admiration, seeing such facts done by God before their face, and laugh thereat sometime with indignation, as the Pharises did at the blind man whom Christ had restored to sight, where they said to him; Thou Caitiffe was borne blinde for thy sinnes, and wilt thou teach us that are a great multitude of high officers of the Temple, and Doctors to teach the Law? As who would say, It becommeth thee full ill. Yet wee ought not to marvell greatly at such doing, for so much as Saint Paul, in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, Chap. 1. sheweth of the like practice done in his time, and that he writeth for the instruction of all ages after ensuing, so that it appertaineth (like as all the holy Scripture doth) as well to our time, as it did to that it was first written in. The Doctrine of Christs Crosse, that is to wit, of the new Testament, is to them that perish folly, (saith

John 9.

1 Cor. 1

(saith hæ) but to us that obtaine thereby salvation, (meaning thereby to such as believe) it is the might or power of God; for it is written (saith hæ) by the Prophet Esay, That God aforetime, said, he would destroy the wisdome of the wise, and the understanding or learning of the learned would he throw away and despise.

This Prophecy alleged, Paul thought to be authority sufficient to dissuade the Corinthians from the foolish affiance, vaine-glory, or opinion that they had in men, whom they peradventure over highly esteemed for their offices or solemne titles. So that hæ procedeth forth in the same; Where are yee now (quoth hæ) the worldly wise, the Scribes, That is to say, Doctors and such other like Officers, Hath not God shewed the wisdome of the world to be foolish and unsavoury? For after that by the wisedome of God (which is shewed in Scripture I suppose) the world hath not studied to know God, by wisdome it hath pleased God now to save them that believe through the foolishnesse of preaching, Hæ calleth the Word of God foolish preaching, not because it was foolish, for afore hæ called it godly wisedome, but hæ spake after the opinion of them that set little or naught thereby, esteeming it as Esops Cocke did the pretious stone, and as Swine doe pearles.

The wisdome of this world unfounded. Why the Gospell is called foolish preaching.

After long processe in the same matter, hæ concludes thus; Brethren (saith hæ) you see your calling, how that not many wise men after the flesh are called to the beliefe of the Gospell, nor many mighty men, ne many of noble parentage, but those that be fooles after the estimation of the world hath God chosen to confound the wise, &c.

Therefore, I say (as I said afore) that thankes be to God albeit I am (as I shewed before) voyd of such great prudency that other be well endued with, yet I see partly now their great reasons be not very substantiall, whereby they contend by the treaty of reason, when authority faileth them, to shew that wee ought to pray to Saints departed, to be Mediators for us to Christ. And amongst other, this is one that they leane much upon, bringing it forth so usually, that common people well nigh altogether harpe upon the same; some favouring it, other contrariwise esteeming it of no value.

The reason is this: if when one should desire to come to the speech of our Soveraigne to obtaine some bone of him, næd it were, first to purchase the favour of his Chamberlains, or some other like Officers to bring him to the Kings presence, for else he may wait long in vaine, untill hæ be full acold, ere that hæ shall speake with his Grace, and much lesse is hæ like to obtaine his petition. In like wise it fareth (as they say) betwixt God and us; of whom, if wee would purchase any benefit, wee must first breake unto the Saints departed, making them our friends to go betwixt God and us, as Mediators, and intercessors. But such (with their leave I would speake it) I thinke are deceived, in that they resemble God and the King together. For though the King be a full gracious Prince (as I heare by common report hæ is) yet hæ is not in graciousnesse to be conferred with God; and though he were as gracious as might be, yet hath hæ not the knowledge that is in God, for God knew of all things before the beginning of the world, and is every where, to see not only our outward dealing, but also all secret thoughts of all mens hearts; so that hæ needeth no Mediators to informe him of our desires, as the King doth need. And hæ is full of infinite mercy, that I may as lightly or as soone obtaine of him that which is for my behoofe, as I should win by praying holy Saints to be intercessors to him for me.

Therefore I passing such apparant reasons, take me to the ensample of antiquity, I meane of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and the Apostles, and authority of Scripture, which teach that we need not to feare, but may boldly resort unto Christ himselfe, and his holy Father, for almuch as he bids us in these words and other like so to doe: saying, Come unto me all yee that travell, are vexed and fore charged, and I will refresh and ease you. Marke how hæ biddeth us to resort unto himselfe, and that without feare. For hæ and his Father, which are all one, giveth aboundantly of all goodnesse unto all men, and upbraideth no man for their unworthinesse. But if we intend to obtaine of him, wee must, all doubtfulnesse (as I said before) all put apart, with a sure confidence of his mercy, aske of him that we would have: so that I leave unto other what they list to doe, praying Jesus that wee all may lust for that that is most pleasing to him.

Matth. 11. The Lord only to be sought unto with prayer.

But I thinke concerning my selfe, that according to Christs owne commandement I may without any doubt asking, resort in all incumbrances, to seeke ease thereof, even unto himselfe and to his blessed Father. Therefore hæ biddeth us when we should pray, to say after this fashion: Our Father which, &c. For there is no creature, ne creatures, that ever were or be, that have more, nor so much, neither of might, whereby commeth ability to give helpe; ne of mercy and tendernesse, which should make them willing in proportion agreeable with ability; ne of knowledge, that should teach to minister both the other, as is our Lord God, which not only is Almighty, all mercifull, and all wise, but also infinite in all these glorious properties, so that undoubtedly he can, will, and best knoweth how to relieve and succour us in all necessity and anguish. To whom be honour without end for ever, Amen.

God in might, mercy, and knowledge incomparable.

Might, mercy, knowledge, how, when, and whom to help.

One thing yet I will shew you in this case: of which I was once advertised by a great learned man, who (as I suppose) is now living. I will not name him, lest I should perhaps cause any displeasure to be conceived against him through my relation. The thing was this; I will (quoth he) pray unto Saints, but that shall be when I thinke that God either cannot, or will not give me my petition. But that (as I shewed in the Convocation house) shall never be I hope. And therefore it is to mee needelesse to seeke any further about, standing in such trust and belieke, as I hope I have found upon Gods sure promise.

The saying of a learned man.

Saints are to be prayed to when God is not able or will not heare us.

¶ To the fiftenth Article, where you demand whether the Saints in Heaven, as Mediators, pray for us? I say, That I believe Saints in heaven doe pray for us; for I suppose they know that all men generally living upon earth, be wrapped in manifold miseries, like as they also were, their soules being imprisoned within their bodies, being mortall. Albeit I thinke they know not what particular miseries men upon earth be intangled and clogged with, as sheweth Augustine, or else some other (as I thinke rather) under his name, in a certaine worke, saying, in this wise; Ibi sunt spiritus defunctorum, ubi non vident quæcunque aguntur aut eveniunt in ista vita hominum. Quomodo ergo vident tumulos suos, aut corpora sua, utrum abjecta jaceant an sepulta? Quomodo interfunt miseriæ vivorum? cum vel sua ipsi mala patiantur, si talia merita contraxerunt, vel in pace requiescant, ubi mala nulla nec patiendo nec compatiendo sustineant, liberati ab omnibus malis quæ patiendo & compatiendo cum hic viverent, sustinebant. The summe hereof is, That soules departed feele, nor know of no particular miseries sustained of men living in this world, whereby they should need to take either patience, or else compassion after their decease. Yet, forsomuch as they know in generall, that all men living are clad with frailty, and their charity is not minished after they be hence departed, but increased; therefore I believe verily that they doe pray for us as petitioners, but not as mediators,

An swer to the 15 Article.

Saints know no particular miseries on earth.

Saints in heaven whether they pray for us.

One Mediator, and what a mediator is.

ators, so farre forth as I can see. For Scripture useth to speake but of one Mediator, which I thinke signifieth a maker of peace, or attonement betwixt God the Father and man. Record I take of Paul, which in the Epistle to Timothy, Chapter 2. saith, 1 Tim. 2. Vnus est Deus, Vnus est & Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Christus Iesus, qui dedit semetipsum redemptionem pro omnibus. Erasmus translateth it, 1 Tim. 2. conciliator Dei & hominum, That is to say, There is one God and one Mediator or peacemaker betwixt God and man, the Man called Christ Iesus, which gave himselfe for the redemption of all.

Thus I say, I believe Saints in heaven doe pray for us as petitioners, but not as Mediators. Yea, all the Saints, I weene, doe pray, and long that the day of judgement may come com; according to the saying of S. Paul, Rom. 8. Solicita creaturæ expectatio revelationem filiorum Dei expectat, The fervent desire of the creature waiteth when the Sonnes of God shall be revealed. And againe, Omnis creatura congemiscit, & nobiscum parturit usque ad hoc tempus, Every creature groaneth with us, and travelleth in paine together unto this present; which shall be for the accomplishment of glory, both to them and to all other elect of God, to be his Children and Coinheritors with Christ.

Answer to the 16 Article.

¶ In the sixtenth Article, where you demand whether I believe that oblations and pilgrimages may be devoutly and meritoriously done to the sepulchres and reliques of Saints? I say, That what they may be I cannot perfectly tell: for God can so worke, that unto those whom he hath chosen to be inheritors with him, all things shall turne to a good conclusion, as saith Saint Paul to the Romans in this wise; Vnto those that love God all things shall well succeed and worke together for their furtherance in goodnesse. Of whom it is written in the Psalme, Rom. 8. Psalme 33. Ezech. 33. Blessed is that nation that hath the Lord for their God, the people whom he hath chosen to be his inheritors: Yea, their evill deeds shall not hurt them, but come well to passe for the increase of vertue. For as it is said in the Epistle; Cui minus remittitur, minus diligit, To whom lesse is forgiven, hee loveth lesse. And againe, it hurted not Onesimus, that hee ranne away from his Master Philemon, but God wrought, that by occasion thereof hee met with Paul, which converted him to the faith of the Gospell, who before was without beliefe. Therefore, whether they may be done meritorically or no, I will not define: God woteth. But this I say, That God did never institute any such thing in the New Testament, which is the verity and rule of all Christian people to follow and believe. Yea, that onely is of perfect surety, and none other, but as it is agreeable and hath ground of the same. And like as wee have no certaine Doctrine institute of Christ, ne his Disciples, teaching us thus to doe; no more is there any merit appointed of him therefore, as I shewed afore where I told my mind of our merits.

Pilgrimages and oblations.

Luke 7. All things worke to the best to the godly.

Moreover, where yee put Pie, which I call devoutly, very true devotion (that is called in Latine Pietas) is that which hath annexed therewith divine promises for this present life, and for that which is to come, as witnesseth Paul, 1 Tim. 4. which is nothing else but the observation of Christs Law, that in the Psalme for the pureness thereof is called Argentum igne examinatum, purgatum septuplum, Silver fined often and many times thorow the fire. It hath no chaffe in it, as have mens traditions, but is pure and cleane wheat, as sheweth Jeremy, writing in this wise; Quid paleis ad triticum? Propter hoc ego ad Prophetas, dicit Dominus, qui furantur verba mea unusquisque à proximo suo, & seducunt populum meum in mendaciis suis, & in erroribus suis: What is the chaffe to the wheat? Therefore behold, I will come against the Prophets, saith the Lord, that steale my Word every one from his neighbour, and deceive my people in their lies and in their errours. And this devotion is that which Saint James calleth the pure Religion of Christ; saying, Pure and immaculate Religion before God the Father is, to visit fatherlesse children and widowes in their vexation. Whereby hee meaneth all needy people that are succourlesse and helpelesse, with our counsell and other almes, according to our ability, whensoever wee see them in need and distresse.

Pie Pietas defined.

1 Tim. 4. Psalm. 11.

Jerem. 23.

The other part of this Religion shewed by Saint James is, That a man should keepe himselfe cleane from the world: and that doe they which be not affectionate so unto any thing therein, but that they have the things of the world, or occupy the same by true dealing, so that they can find in their heart to depart from them when God shall please, or charity so requireth.

True devotion or pure religion what it is. Iam. 1. Pure religion.

Thus doing, wee shall follow the exhortation of blessed Paul, which writing to the Corinthians, saith thus: Brethren, the time is short: this remaineth, that they which have wives should bee as they had them not; and those that weep should bee as they wept not: and those that buy, as if they were without possession; and they that occupy this world, as though they occupied it not; for the fashion of this world passeth away. And this meaneth none other thing, but that wee should not love ne dread any worldly thing, passing measure or inordinately, but God above all things, and all other things in him or for him: and hee that thus doth, fulfils the commandement of Christ spoken to the rich man in the Gospell, where hee saith, Goe and sell all that ever thou hast, and come follow me. For hee hath sold away all that ever hee hath, that surely intendeth for the love of Christ to helpe the Poore with all that hee may. Voluntas reputatur pro facto; The will is accepted for the deed, as is commonly said. And this saying both of James and also of the Evangelist, I thinke verily belongeth to all Christian men that they should performe it, none except, neither lay man, ne woman (as we use to say) but to them as well as to any whom wee call religious.

1 Cor. 7.

Matth. 19

What it is to sell away all for the Gospell.

As concerning the relikes and tombs of Saints, I have said to your LL. afore, what I doe thinke of the milke of our Lady, the blood which they say is at Hailes, Norwich, and other places, with such other, whereof I trust you do what ought to be done. And I beseech God you may doe therein as your Office doth require, so shewing example to other Prelates to follow your Lordship in good doing, as is comely for a Primate to doe; remembring alway, as Paul saith, the time is short, and therefore it were good to set to hand in time.

Reliques & Tombes of Saints. Our Ladi milke. The blood of Hayles.

Finally, holy Moses when hee died would be so buried that no man should know which was his grave, as it is witnessed in the Booke of Deuteronomy: and that (as the Expositors testifie) was, because the Jewes which were prone to new fangled worshipping, should not fall into idolatry, worshipping him as God, for the great and manifold miracles that were wrought by him while hee was alive.

Moses tomb unknowne

To conclude, I say it is no point of my beleefe, to thinke that oblations and pilgrimages at Saints graves and reliques are meritorious works, ne yet that there is any devotion in so doing: That is godly which is institute by Scripture. If you thinke contrary, I would desire to know for mine instruction, what part of Scripture should make therefore against me.

To thinke Pilgrimages meritorious no point of our beliefe.

Answer to the 17 article.

¶ In the seventeenth, where you doe aske whether the fast in Lent, and other appointed by the Common Law, and received in common usage of Christian people (unlesse necessity otherwise requireth) are to be observed? I say that in mine opinion they are to be observed, and fasting discretely done

done is commendable, for so shall a man avoyd sloth, and be the more ready to serve God, and also his neighbours, and thereby tame the rebellion of carnall concupiscence, according to the saying of the Poet; Sine Cerere & Baccho friget Venus, without wine and good fare, lust waxeth cold. And as Saint Hierome, Venter mero æstuans spumat in libidinem; The body enflamed with wine bursteth out into lust.

Yet shall not the breaking of these fasts make a man to doe deadly sin, except in his minde be some other malicious affection therewith annexed, as rathnesse of mind, despight, or such like, forsomuch as no positive law of man, made without foundation of Scripture, may bind any person, so that in breaking of such, hee shall therefore sinne deadly. And of this sort made by man, is the Fast of Lent, and other dayes ordained in your lawes without autority of Scripture, which willeth us to fast perpetually, eating and drinking but when need requireth (not for any voluptuousnesse, as many, that recount themselves great fasters, I feare have done) yea, and that sparely, foreseeing alwayes that our stomachs be never cloyed with drunkennesse or surfetting, as is commanded by our Saviour in Luke; but contrariwise, after the fashion rather of a certaine Prince that is mentioned (I trow) in Valerius Maximus, that never rose from his meals meat with a full stomach, but rather somewhat empty, or hungry; which, as the story testifieth, caused him to live so wonderfull a long season, that a man could unneath thinke it possible for ones life to be so prolonged, had not such a notable Author reported it.

And (to tell the truth) I suppose the Prelates should better have perswaded the people to pure fasting by instant preaching of the Word of God, and fatherly exhortations, than by ordaining of so fore a multitude of lawes and constitutions: For the nature of man is well described of Horace, saying, Nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimúsque negata: Looke what is forbid, that wee most desire, and alwayes covet the things that be denyed us. And in another proverbe, Funis plus æquo tensus rumpitur, The rope by overmuch straining bursteth asunder. According to this said a good old Father in Cambridge. I remember his saying well yet. Hee was an old Doctor of Divinity: when a Legate came into England at a time, and he, with certaine Bishops, had ordained, that the dedication of all Churches through England (as I remember) should be kept holy and solemnized upon one day, and Priests should have their gownes made close before, with such other like ordinances, hee resisted, not condescending to have them put in execution, when his Diocesan required him; declaring how this multitude of lawes pleased him not; For we had enough and aboundantly before; adding this reason; Adam being in Paradise had but one law to observe, and yet hee brake it: What other thing then shall this multitude doe (quoth hee) but multiply transgression? For when a Faggot is bound over frait, the bond must breake.

God therefore I beseech him send us of the swet dew of his heavenly doctrine, to mollifie and supple the earthly ground of our hearts, that wee may grow like fashioned unto him, putting apart our old Adam, with all his dissimulation and painted shew, that is much caused by humane lawes and constitutions, and putting on Christ, that is the very truth, and the way directing men to the same, Amen.

¶ Unto the eightenth, where you aske whether it be laudable and profitable that worshipfull Images be set in Churches for the remembrance of Christ and his Saints? I say, that I know of no Images that ought to be worshipped, specially made by the hand of men: for the Psalme saith, Confusion or shame be upon them that worship and make obeysance unto carved Images, and that glory in their pictures. Moreover, Saint Augustine in his Booke, De vera Religione, saith thus; Let us not have devotion in worshiping the workes of men: Or else thus; Let us not be bound to worship the workes of men; for the workemen are more excellent than the things which they make, whom notwithstanding wee ought not to worship. The Latine is thus; Non sit nobis Religio humanorum operum cultus, meliores enim sunt ipsi artifices qui talia fabricantur; quos tamen colere non debemus. *Images not to be worshipped.*

Lactantius also makes strongly with the same; I cannot without booke recite his saying, for he treateth largely of the same matter. Origen also, contra Celsum (I trow) will likewise testifie; where (as I remember) he concludeth, saying, that he would have no Goldsmiths nor Grabers in a Communalty, for they doe but little profit or none thereto. *Lactantius, Origenes contra Celsum.* *Goldsmiths and Carvers, needlesse in a common wealth.*

And Saint Gregory, that was chiefe either inventor that Images should be set in Churches, or else maintainer thereof, would not, as I have read, (I trow it is in an Epistle which he writeth ad Servum) have them worshipped. *Gregor. ad Servum.*

And as concerning the exciting of mens memory, I would suppose that if Christs doctrine were so shewed and opened that people might clearely understand it (and that is the principall office of Prelates and Curates to doe, by diligent teaching thereof) I thinke verily we should have little need of any other Images, than that which should by wholesome doctrine be shewed unto us by word of mouth and writing; Quoniam nihil tam efficax ad commonefaciendum Discipulos, quam viva vox; Nothing is so effectuall to exercise the remembrance of Disciples, as the lively voyce of good teachers; as it is testified both by common report, and also by the sentence of learned men.

So that I suppose, if this lively doctrine of God had aforetime been apertly and diligently opened unto the people, as Curates ought to have done, we should have such profit thereby, that wee should not need to contend for setting up or taking downe of other dumbe stockes and liveleese stones, carved or made by men; and if Prelates would begin to set up Christs Word (which alas for pity is not loked upon, but rather troden downe and despised, so that many are not ashamed to say, I will have no more learning in Christs Law than my Predecessors; for they that magnifie it must be sore punished, and taken for Heretiques, with suth other grievous words) if this doctrine were yet set up in Churches, I say, and truly opened, that all men might have their judgement thereby reformed and made cleare, I thinke wee should not greatly need the profit that commeth by Images made of men, to excite our remembrances to live Christianly. *The word and doctrine serveth to put us in remembrance, and not Images.*

For that Word which came from the brest of Christ himselfe, and was written of other that wrote and spake by the suggestion of his Spirit, the Holy Ghost, sheweth full perfectly his blessed Will; which is the true and certaine Image of his minde and device. If this therefore were diligently inculcate, I thinke we should be transformed anew, according to the mind of Paul, which writing to the Colossians, saith thus; See that you live not one to another, after that now you have put off the old man with his workes, and have put upon you the new man, which is transformed and renovate after the knowledge and Image of him that made us. Yea, thus should we all be docti à Deo, taught of God, as is said in John, and all should know God both small and great, according to the promise recited in the Hebrewes; yea, thus should wee be reckoned to goodnesse, that wee should have the Image of God carved in our hearts full expressely. For every man is transformed into the fashion of vertuous things, that hee is accustomed to reade and heare. *The true Image of God in his Word & his workes.* Colos. 3. John 6. Heb. 8. *As a man reads or heareth, so is hee fashioned.*

And

And therefore it were a great grace, if we might have the Word of God diligently, and often spoken and sung unto us in such wise, that the people might understand it. Yea, then it should come to passe, that Crafts-men should sing Spirituall Psalmes sitting at their Worke, and the Husband-man at his Plough, as witheth Saint Hierome.

The best Image of God is his Word.

Yea, this holy Image of Christ, I meane his blessed Doctrine, doth appoint us also to consider the workes made by the hand of God, such as no man can make like, whereby, as saith Saint Paul, writing to the Romans, The invisible power and divinity of God is knowne and seene by the creation of the World, of such as will consider his workes that are therein by him made. Looke in the Psalm. Laudate dominum de Cœlis, Cœli enarrant, &c. Praise yee the Lord from Heaven. The Heavens declare the glory of God, with other. And these two Images, Gods Workes and his Doctrine, have, ere any Images made by men were set up in Churches, well & sufficiently instructed the primitive Church, and should yet instruct us well, if they were well considered; so that we should not need so sore to contend for setting up of other made by men. Whereby I have perceived much harme to arise, and no great profit; nor the Scripture maketh not for them, but rather contrary. As concerning which matter, I would your Lordship would please to read the Epistle of Baruch once againe, writing of the same matter.

Rom. 1.

Psal. 149.

Psal. 19.

Gods works & his Word be the right images of God.

Answer to the 19. Article.

Unto the nineteenth, where you aske, whether I believe that Prayers of men living doe profit soules departed, and being in Purgatory? I made answer in the thirteenth Article.

Answer to the 20. Article.

Unto the twentieth, where you doe aske, whether men merit and deserve both by their talking and also by other deeds of Devotion? I have shewed what I doe thinke thereof, in the fifth demand.

Answer to the 21. Article. Truth taken many times for heresie, and heresie for truth.

In the one and twentieth, where you doe aske, whether I doe believe that men prohibited of Bishops to preach, as suspect of heresie, ought to cease from preaching and teaching, untill they have purged themselves of suspition, afore an higher Judge? I say, that men may be wrongfully suspected of heresie, either because they never thought to believe such errors, as men by false suspition doe deeme them to favour; or else, when men as well of high estate, as of low, by sinister judgement may thinke that to be error, which is the very truth. And of this speaketh Esay. Woe be to them, quoth he, that call the light darkenesse, and the darkenesse light; the truth falshood, and the falshood truth. As the Bishops and the Priests, with their Orator Tertullus, called Paul, saying thus before a Judge called Felix, unto whose Court they brought him to be condemned to death, We have, quoth they, gotten here a pestilent fellow, a sower of sedition or discord among all the Iewes of the world, and a bringer up of the Sect of the Nazarens, which was also minded to have polluted our Temple, &c. This is to call by perverse judgement, truth falshood. And thus did their predecessors speake of the Prophets, yea, and of Christ himselfe, calling him a seducer and preacher of heresie: which is written for our instruction. And men being thus suspected (as I would none were) ought in no wise therefore to cease neither from preaching, ne teaching.

Esay 5. Whether men prohibited ought to cease from preaching.

Acts 24.

Truth taken for falshood. Christ taken for a seducer. In what cases men forbidden, ought not to cease from preaching.

Acts 4. 5, 6.

Ensample of this we have in the Acts of the Apostles, where is shewed, that when Peter and John had done a miracle upon a man that had beene lame from his nativity (whom by the power of Christ they healed, and caused to goe where he pleased) the people hearing of this, came running about Peter and John. Peter seeing this, did exhort the people in a Sermon, that they should not thinke him and his fellow Saint John, to have done this wonderfull thing by their owne power or holinesse, but by the vertue of Christ, whom they and their head rulers had slaine.

While they were thus speaking with the people, there came upon them the Priests and Officers of the Temple, accompanied with the Saduces, being sore displeased that they should enterprise to teach the people, and preach that men should arise from death by the Name of Christ, whom they had caused to be crucified, and therewith they laid hands upon them, and put them in ward untill next day. The next day they sent for the Apostles before them, demanding by what power, and in whose name they did this miracle? Peter made answer, If you, quoth he, that are head Rulers over the people, lust by examination to know by what meanes we did it, we would you should all know, that we did it through the Name of Christ Iesus of Nazareth, whom you did crucifie: but God did cause him to arise againe. In the vertue of his Name doth this man, that afore was lame, now stand afore you here both whole and sound. For Christ is that head corner stone, whom you cast away, which should have builded the peoples faith upon him, neither is there any Salvation without him.

Acts 4.

These great men seeing that Peter spake so freely, and that he, with his fellow John, were simple men, without any pompous apparell, or great gard of servants, being like idiots, and men unlearned, wondered thereat. At the last they did command them to depart out of their Councell house, whiles they should commune more largely of the matter. Afterward they called the Apostles afore them againe, commanding them that they should no more preach, ne teach in the Name of Iesus. But the Apostles answered, saying, I beseech you judge better. Ought we to obey you more than God, or no? For certainly we must needs testifie of those things which we have both heard and seene. Then the head Priests threatening them sore, did give them strait charge not to breake their Precept, and so did let them goe, not knowing any cause why they might punish them; for they feared lest the people would have taken part with the Apostles, for the people gave glory unto God for the miracle shewed by them.

Peter and the Apostles prohibited by the Pharises to preach Christ.

Acts 4.

Notwithstanding all these great threats, Peter wrought miracles still amongst the people, doing them to know that glory therefore ought to be given to Iesus, by whose Power and Name they were done. Wherewith the hearts of the people melted for joy; so that they followed after the Apostles whithersoever they went.

Peter disputed the Pride of the Phirises.

The primate of the Priests hearing of this, and all that were about him repleat with indignation, laid hands upon the Apostles, putting them in the common prison. But the Angell of God in the night opened the prison doors, and brought them out, saying, Goe you into the Temple, and stand there preaching unto the people all the words of life. That is to say, Christs Doctrine; and so they did early in the morning. Then came forth the chiefe Priest, and they whom he used to have about him, and called a Councell, in which were all the Priests of Israel, or antients of Israel. So they sent unto the prison house to have the Apostles brought forth before them. When their servants came to the prison house, and found the Apostles gone thence, they returned to their Masters, saying, We found the prison fast shut round about in every part, and the keepers watching at the doores without full diligently. But when we had opened the prison, we could find no body within.

Peter delivered out of prison.

Then as the high Priests and Officers of the Temple heard this, they were in a great perplexity, doubting what would thereof come. Then came one unto them and shewed them, saying, Behold the men that ye put in prison are standing in the Temple

Acts 5.

ple, preaching unto the people. Then went they thither, and brought the Apostles with them without any violence; but they were afraid lest the People would have beaten them downe with stones.

Then they caused the Apostles to be brought into their councell house, the high Priest beginning his proposition against the Apostles in this forme: Have we not straitly commanded you (said he) that you should not preach in the Name of Christ? And see, you have filled all Hierusalem with your doctrine. Will you bring this mans blood upon us, that we should unrighteously have caused him to suffer death? Then answered Peter and the other Apostles, saying, We ought to obey God more than any man. The God of our fathers hath raised Iesus from death, whom you did slay, hanging on a tree. Him notwithstanding hath God raised, and by his power advanced to be our King and Saviour: by whom shall be given to all Israel, that will take repentance, forgivenesse of sinne.

God to be obeyed more then men. Acts 5.

These great Rulers hearing this, their hearts were therewith cloven asunder, and they consulted together to slay the Apostles. But one good man among their multitude advised them otherwise, whose advise they did approve. Then they called the Apostles againe afore them, causing them to be scourged, and charged them no more to preach in the name of Iesus, and so did let them depart.

The Counsell of Gamaliel.

Then went they away out of the councell, rejoycing that God had made them worthy to suffer such rebukes for his names sake. But yet they never ceased to teach and preach of Iesus Christ, every day in the Temple, and in all houses that they came into. This is written in the fourth, fifth, and sixth of the Acts of the Apostles, and for our instruction, doubt you not: for such practise is shewed in all ages. So that hereby you may see, when men be wrongfully suspected or inflamed of heresie, and so prohibited by Bishops to preach the Word of God, that they ought for no mans commandement to leave or stop, though they doe never purge themselves afore them, for such will admit no full purgation many times, but judge in their owne causes, and that as they lust, which me thinkes, is not at all comely. Therefore in the old Law the Priests and other Iudges doe sit together, hearing of matters that were in controversie.

Acts 4, 5, 6.

Wrongfull proposition ought not to stop the teaching of Gods word.

Popish prelates iudges in their owne causes.

Yet this I think reasonable, that a man fully and not causelesse suspect, and namely if he be so found faulty of heresie, ought to cease from preaching, after he is inhibited, untill he have made his purgation before some Iudge. But in my rude opinion, it were necessary and convenient that our heads should not be over ready of suspition, and so inhibiting men approved, from preaching, specially in this season, when the people do suspect them to do it more for love of themselves, and maintaining of their private lucre, or honour, than to doe it for love of God, or maintenance of his honour.

Unlikelihood of suspition reproved.

¶ In the two and twentieth, where you demand whether I beleeve that it is lawfull for all Priests freely to preach the Word of God or no, and that in all places, at all seasons, and to all persons to whom they shall please, although they be not sent: I say, that Priests are called in Scripture by two distinct words, that is to wit, Presbyteri & Sacerdotes. The first is to say, ancient men, Seniours, or Elders, and by that word or vocable are the secular Iudges or such like head Officers, sometime also signified, as we read in Daniel, that they were so called which defamed and wrongfully accused Susanna: that this is seldome, and nothing so customable, as those to be called Presbyteri which are set to be Prelates in the Church to guide the same by the Word of God and his blessed doctrine, that is the rod of direction, and the foundation of Christs faith. And Priests thus called Presbyteri, in the Primitive Church (what time were but few traditions and ordinances to let us from the strait trade or institution made by Christ and his Apostles) were the very same and none other but Bishops, as I shewed you in the first part of mine answer, by the authority of Saint Hierome.

Answer to the 22. article.

Iudas when they ought to preach, though they be not sent.

Episcopi and Presbyteri all one.

Paul also recordeth the same right evidently in the first to Titus, in this forme; I left thee Titus (quoth blessed Paul) behind me in Crete, that thou shouldest set in due order such things as lacke, or be not else perfectly framed, and that thou shouldest set Priests in every towne, like as I did appoint thee, if any be without reproch, or blamelesse, the husband of one wife, having faithfull children, not given to ryot, or or that be not unruly, for so ought a Bishop to be, &c. These are not my words, but Saint Pauls, in the Epistle to Titus. Where you may see, that a Priest called Presbyter should be the same that we call a Bishop, whom he requireth a little after, to be able by wholesome doctrine of Gods Scripture, to exhort the good to follow the same doctrine, and if any shall speake against it, to reprove them thereby. And marke yee how he would have a bishop (otherwise called an ancient man or a Priest) to make exhortation by holy scripture, and thereby to reprove them that shall speake against the truth, and not to condemne them by might or authority onely, or else by traditions of men made in generall Councels. And as many as are in this wise Priests which are commonly called Presbyteri (otherwise Bishops) such as in the Church are set to take cure of soules, and to be spirituall Pastors, ought to preach freely the Word of God in all places and times convenient, and to whomsoever it shall please them, if they suppose and see that their preaching should edifie and profit.

Priests have two names in Scripture. Presbyteri & Sacerdotes.

Titus 1.

Description of a true Priest.

Certaine truth are to be reproved by scriptures and not by authority only or traditions of men made in generall councels.

And whereas you adde this particle; Though they were not sent: I say, That all such are chosen to be Preachers, and therefore sent. For of this speaketh Saint Gregory in his Pastorals, in this wise; Prædicationis quippe officium suscipit, quisquis ad sacerdotium accedit: Whosoever taketh Priesthood upon him, taketh also upon him the Office of preaching. Yea your Law reporteth in like manner, Distinct. 43. where it is thus said, A Priest ought to be honest, that he may shew honestly both in words and conditions. Wherefore it is said in the Canticles. The cheekes of the Spouse, that is to wit, of Preachers, are to be compared to a turtle Dove.

What Ministers be sent. Gregor. in Pastoral.

Dist. 43.

Where is moreover added, He must also have the gift of teaching, because (as saith S. Hierome) innocent conversation, without speech or preaching, how much it is availeable by example giving, so much doth it hurt againe by silence keeping; for Wolves must be driven away by barking of dogs, and by the shepheards staffe, which (as the Glosse sheweth) signifieth preaching and sharpe words of the Priest. And this I understand of such as should be Priests elect both by God and men, in Gods Church, whose office is to preach.

And though many of them which now do ministre in the Church, and are elect by Bishops, otherwise than after the manner of Christs institution, and the forme of the Primitive Church, neither doe, ne can preach, yet ought not the multitude of such to be laid for an authority against me, or other, that are compelled to shew the truth and right ordinances of the Apostles that was used afore time in the primitive Church: God bring it in againe. Neither ought we for the negligence of bishops, which have chosen such an ignorant multitude, whereby the principall duty of Priests is growne out of knowledge, when we doe shew you thereof, to be so enforced by a book oath, and therefore noted as Heretiques, imprisoned, and burned.

Multitude of men doth not authorize.

Other be called Priests in the new Testament, by this word Sacerdotes, that is to say, I thinke,

Ym sacri-

sacrificers. And thus as Christ was called Rex & Sacerdos, King and Priest, so be all Christian men in the new Testament (as is testified. Apoc. 1.) by Christ made Kings and Priests. The words in the Apocalyps be thus; To Iesus Christ which hath loved us, and washed us from our sinnes through his blood, and made us Kings and Priests unto God even his father, unto him be glory and rule for ever and ever, Amen. Thus saith S. John, speaking of all Christian people. In like manner it is said, 1 Peter 2. where hee writeth unto all Christian men; You, quoth he, be a chosen generation, a regall Priesthood, an holy people. S. Bede expounding the same (as my remembrance doth serve) shall testifie plainely with me. And S. Augustine, I wot wel, in divers places recordeth that all Christian men be so called, Regale Sacerdotium. And likewise doth Faber in his Commentaries upon the same place. Whosoever looketh upon the Treatise called Vnio dissidentium, shall finde a multitude of ancient fathers sayings declaring the same.

Sacerdotes. *Apoc. 1.* *1 Pet. 2.* *Bede upon the Epistle of S. Peter.*

But this may yet seeme a strange thing and a new, that all persons should be called Priests, and that in Scripture, which cannot lie. Truth it is indeed, it may seeme strange to divers, as it did to me and many other, when we read it first; because wee never read ne heard of the same before; and so did Christs doctrine and his Apostles seems new to his audience, when he himselfe preached.

How all men are Priests.

Albeit hee yet proved his doing and sayings by authority of the Law and Prophets, as is shewed in the first of the Romans, where Paul reporteth, That he was chosen a part to be a Minister of the Gospell that was promised before by the Prophets. And our Saviour testifieth the same in S. John, saying to the Iewes, Thinke you not, quoth he, that I shall accuse you before my father. There is one to accuse you, which is Moses, in whom ye doe trust. But if you beleeved Moses, you should certainely beleeve me, for he writeth of me, &c. Likewise a little above, he biddeth them search the Scriptures, for they make report of him.

Rom. 1. *Iohn 5.*

But although these sayings doe seeme new, for lacke that we have not had old familiarity with Scripture, and usage in reading the same (God amend and help it, when it shall please him) yet truly so standeth it written as I have said, and so it is interpreted by the Doctors above named, and so was it preached of a certaine Doctour also of Divinity in London, the second day of Advent last past, in this sentence. I wote not whether these were the selfe words or no. The Church, quoth the Doctour, is nothing else but the congregation of faithfull people: ye all, quoth he to the people, are of the Church, as well as I, or any other, if you be of God. And likewise we and all men are Priests, but yet are not all alike ordained Ministers, said he, to consecrate the body of Christ in the Church. Thus said the preacher: whom when I see opportunity, I dare be bold to name. And these I say ought not all to preach openly in generall conventions or assemblies, neither can they, but they rather should come to learn: yet privately are they bound for instruction of their servants, children, kinsfolke, and such like, to speak that should be for the destruction of vice, and increase or upholding of vertue, whensoever time and place requireth, as sheweth S. Paul, saying in this wise, You that are fathers, prouoke not your children to wrath or anger, but bring them up in the doctrine and discipline of the Lord.

The saying of a Doctour preaching at Pauls. *All be Priests, but not all Ministers publike.* *Every man ministre of good in struction in his owne house.* *Ephes. 6.*

In the three and twentieth, where you doe aske, whether I beleeve that it is lawfull for lay men of both kinds, that is to wit, both men and women to sacrifice and preach the Word of God? I say, that it is meet for none, in mine opinion to preach openly the Word of God, except they be chosen and elect to the same, either by God, or solemnly by men, or else by both, and therefore Saint Paul calleth himselfe in all his Epistles, an Apostle of God, that is to wit, a Messenger of God. And to the Galathians he writeth thus, Paul an Apostle, not sent of men, nor by man, but by Iesus Christ. Also to the Romans, How shall men preach truly, quoth hee, except they be sent?

Answer to the three and twenty article. *No man to preach openly, except he be chosen.* *Gal. 1.* *Rom. 5.*

Notwithstanding, I say this, both by suppertation of Gods Law, and also of Lawes written in the decrees, that in time of great necessity lay people may preach, and that of both kinds, both men and women, as you may see in the Epistle to the Corinthy. where he saith, That it is a shame for a woman to speake in a multitude or congregation. Yet in another place he saith, That every woman praying or prophecying, having nothing upon her head doth dishonour her head.

In time of great necessit lay people, ma or woman, ma preach. *1 Cor. 14.* *1 Cor. 11.*

To this accords the prophecy of Ioel recited Acts 2. where in the person of God it is said thus, I shall poure out of my spirit upon all flesh, and both your sons and your daughters shall prophecy. Thus did Anna the Prophetesse, daughter of Phanuel, give praise unto Christ in the Temple, and spake of him to all men of Ierusalem, that looked after the redemption of Israel.

Ioel 2. *Acts 2.* *Luke 2.* *Women that prophecied in the Scripture*

This also doth yet speake unto us in the scripture the virgin Mary, by the song which shee made, that is daily recited in the Church, called Magnificat. Yea Stephen also being no Priest, but a deacon, made a wonderfull good Sermon, Act. 7. This also willeth your decrees, Dict. 9. de Conse. where it is thus said, A woman although she is learned and holy, may not presume to teach men in the congregation, ne baptise, except necessity requireth. So that where need is, I shall adde this, but not without the mind of him that wrote the law, like as a woman may baptise, so may she teach the word of God, or preach, as is declared more plainly, cap. 16. quæst. 1. & in Glossa. 11. cap. adjicimus. Distinct. 18. And I beseech God, that for lacke of true and well learned Officers such necessity doe not come now upon us, that such shall need to take upon them to preach.

Acts 7. *Distin. 9. de Consecrat.* *Cap. 16. quæst Dist. 18. cap. adjicimus.*

There is a learned man, which in a dialogue that he maketh betwixt a rude Abbat, and a Gentlewoman having skill in learning, reasoneth, but with pretty earnest (as his manner is) and giveth a watchword touching somewhat my purpose. It is in the end of the dialogue. The Gentlewoman answering the Abbat, for that he had partly checked her, because she was quicke in utterance of learning: Sir, quoth she, if you continue therein so dull as you have done, and daily doe, the world perceiving it (as they begin fast to grow quicke in sight) it is to be feared, lest they will set you beside the saddle, and put us in your rooms.

He meaneth a dialogue of Erasmus intitled, Abbas & Erudita.

As concerning sacrifice doing, (so do I understand by the word which you doe use, Libare, not knowing else what it should meane) I say, that it is lawfull for all men and women to doe Sacrifice, of what sort soever they be: but I meane not by sacrifice doing, to say Masse, as Priests used to doe, thereunto appointed: but like as Christian people be Sacerdotes, that is to say, sacrificers, as is shewed afore, so ought they to offer, and doe offer spirituall sacrifices, as writeth Saint Paul to the Romans, saying, I beseech you brethren, for the love of Gods mercy, that you will give your body a living Sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, being a reasonable worshipping. In that he saith our body should be a Sacrifice, he would have it slaine: for that was the manner, that all beasts that were wont to be sacrificed, should be first slaine. But hee joyneth therewith, Living, saying, Give your body to be a living Sacrifice. So that hee would wee should continue to live in this Body to Gods pleasure, but slaying the evill lusts and appetites thereof, and so shall our worshipping be reasonable, if wee doe die, give unto our reason overmuch of the Bit not whereby it may runne at Riot, in following

Sacrifice doing. *Sacrifice is offering our bodies.* *Sacrifice li and lively.* *Rom. 12.*

ing fleshly concupiscence, and wicked vanity or arrogancy, as when men will take in hand to devise, by their owne wit, a more godly way of living than is institute by Christ (which is the wisedome of his heavenly Father) saying that his is not sufficient enough for us to follow. Of whom it is said by the Prophet Esay in these words; This people approach neere unto me, and honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is farre from me: but they doe worship me in vaine, teaching doctrines that are lawes or precepts of men.

Esay 29.

Then Paul proceedeth shewing of this Christian sacrifice, saying, And apply not your selves unto the fashion of this world, but be you transformed by renovation of your mind; that you may know what is the Will of God, what is good, acceptable, and rightfull before him. See how he would have us doe this sacrifice, and mortifie our lusts, in refusing the corrupt fashion and behaviour of the world, altering our minds by a new way, by knowing the Will of God, and following after the same.

Rom. 12.

Another manner of sacrifice which he requireth, is, that we should alway offer unto God the sacrifice of praise, that is to wit, the fruits of our lips, that Ose calleth Vitulos Labiorum, giving laud unto his name; and that we should not forget to doe good, and to be beneficiall to our neighbours; For in such sacrifice (saith he) God hath delight.

Sacrifice of laise. *uli labiorum.* Ose. 14. Heb. 13.

Thus I say, that by plaine suffrage of your Law in the decrees, and also of Scripture, lay persons in necessity and in time of need may lawfully preach or shew the Word of God, and also doe sacrifice; but I thinke, except great need require, they ought not so to doe.

Thus have you herein my minde; which if it be not firme and substantiall, I will yet reforme it when any better is shewed, as I will also doe in all other things; for I am not in this yet fully certified. Albeit me thinke the Decrees doe passe evidently with me.

¶ In the twenty foure where you doe aske, whether excommunication, denounced by the Pope against all heretickes, doe oblige and binde them before God? I say, That it bindeth them before God, if it be lawfully denounced, that is, if they be in very deed, as they be named, and if he denounceth them so to be out of his owne proper head or affection onely, but with the consent of other gathered with him in Christs name, for the behoofe of Christs Church; For so used Saint Paul, when he did excommunicate the man of Corinth, which had full horribly defiled his mother in law, as appeareth 1 Cor. 5.

o the 24 icle.

ecommuni- tion. ecommunica- n requireth nsent of o- rs.

Cor. 5.

¶ And the same forme declareth the Gospell, Matth. 18. in these words, If thy brother hath trespassed against thee, goe and reprove him betwixt thee and him alone. If he will heare thee thou hast so won thy brother. If he will not heare thee, take one or two with thee, that in the report of two or three every thing may be assured. If he will not heare them, shew it unto the congregation. If he will not follow the minde of the congregation, let him be unto thee as a Paynim, or a notable sinner. For verily I say unto you, whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound in Heaven. So that such excommunication ought to be done (as me thinketh) by the congregation assembled together with their pastor, whose advice they ought principally to esteeme and follow, if it be vertuous and godly.

atth. 18.

And thus is it convenient to be done. For the Pope is made of flesh as well as other men, and therefore he may sometime judge awry, curssing the blessed, and blessing the cursed. And likewise may other Prelates, judging the Christian to be Heretiques, and Heretiques Christian. Of whom it is also written in the Prophecy of Ezechiel; Mortificabant animas quæ non moriuntur, & vivificabant animas quæ non vivunt: They slew the soules of them that should not die, and gave life to the soules that should not live. As did the Phatisies when they did cast Christ out of the Vineyard, which signifieth the Church, Matth. 21. And as our Saviour prophesied in the nineteenth of Iohn, saying unto his Disciples, There shall be (quoth he) some that shall excommunicate you: yea, and the time shall come, that whosoever shall slay you, shall thinke to doe honour to God; and this shall they doe unto you, because they do nether know my father nor me. These words be written in the Gospell of Iohn 19. Whereby you see, that for lacke of knowledge of God, which is taught and seene by the light of Scripture, Christ prophecied how lewd men should lewdly excommunicate the good, yea & slay his true servants, thinking through such facts to please God, and to do him good service.

'he Pope may 'e.

Iech. 13.

Matth. 21.

Iohn 19.

Wherefore send, O Lord I beseech thee, the knowledge of thee to be dilated upon earth, which Ose bewaileth sore, seeing it absent, whereby mens judgements may be rectified, and so doe accordingly to the leading of the same.

Ose. 4.

¶ In the five and twentieth, where you doe aske whether every Priest is bound to say daily his mattens and Evening song, according as it is ordained by the Church, or whether he may leave them unsaid, without offence or deadly sin? I say, that prayer in Scripture is much commended, and many great and unmeasurable benefits are shewed to ensue thereupon, that men should the more lustily give themselves thereto. With prayer doth Saint Paul bid us to fight in divers places, continuing in the same against our ghostly enemies. A figure of this is read in Exodus, when the Israelites fought in battell against a Nation of infidels; I trow their Captaine was called Amaleck. Moses stood upon a mountaine to behold what should be the conclusion, and lifting up his hands prayed that it might wel succeed with the Israelites, but in long holding them up, at last his fervor began to grow cold and faint, and his hands sagged downeward, and ever as his hands grew heavy (which signifieth, that his affection in praying abated and waxed cold) the infidels prevailed, but as he kept them heaved upward (whereby was meant intentive prayer of a devout mind) he purchased victory to the Israelites. Aaron and Hur, which indited the law to the people, and were thereof the interpreters, stood with Moses; which alwaies, as they did see his armes to faint, did uphold them, so that finally the victory came unto Israel.

To the 25. article.

Exod. 17.

The vertue of prayer.

By Moses is signified, as shew great Clerks, devotion: By Aaron and Hur, the knowledg of Gods doctrine. Which two things (devotion I meane, and knowledge) all men had need to have present with them: for devotion doth eledate the mind to God; but knowledge doth sustaine or uphold the same, that it may with courage continue not falling downe, but so alway doth incense and kindle it, that it mounteth up into the presence of our heavenly Father, where they savour together farre more sweetly than any fumigation either of Juniper, Incense, or whatsoever else, be they never so pleasant, doe savour in any mans nose.

Devotion and knowledge to be joyned together.

Therefore Saint Paul seeing how necessary the knot of these two, Devotion and Knowledge of Gods will, was, which is shewed in Scripture (as teacheth Saint Cyprian in these words, The will of God, saith he, is that which Christ hath taught and wrought) Paul, I say, seeing this wished to be excommunicate and separate from God, to have the Jewes come to the knowledge of Christs Church, which is the onely right way to salvation, for whom he prayed right studiously, as appeareth a little after, in the tenth Chapter to the Romans, saying, I beare them record, that they have a zeale and devotion to GOD, but not according to the knowledge of Christs doctrine, &c. Where you may

Rom. 10.

Moses not to be without Aaron.

clærely sæ how the Iowes (as S. Paul, which is no lyer, recordeth here) had a zeale and devotion to God, but they lacked knowledge therewith. Moses was amongst them, but Aaron was away: whose absence pained Paul so sore, that he, ravished with exceeding charity, wished no small harme unto himselfe upon condition that the multitude of them might be holpen, and have better judgement, even to be separated from God.

Devotion without knowledge hurtfull.

It must needs be then greatly hurtfull, albeit men have devotion, to be without the knowledge of God and his law, signified by Aaron.

Acts 26.

Saint Paul also before that he came to knowledge had such like devotion himselfe, as he reporteth, Acts the five and twentieth. In these words, All the Iewes, quoth hæ, have knowne my living, that I have lead since I entred into mans age (which time, as I remember, is accounted from the sixteenth or eightæenth yære of a mans life, in Latine hæ calleth it, adolescentia) which from the beginning thereof, was, saith he, at Ierusalem among mine owne Nation, that did know mee afore also from the beginning, if they would say the truth, and that I lived after the most straite order or sect of our religion, being a Pharisie. And I, quoth Paul, a little after, thought to doe many things in fighting against the Name of IESVS CHRIST, yea and did also being at Ierusalem, and I thrust many Saints or holy men into prison, having power given mee thereto of the high Priests, and when they should be put to death I gave sentence, and I, quoth he, was commonly in all Synagogues punishing them, and compelling them to blaspheme (as men are faine now a daies, when the Bishops make them to abjure and to deny the truth of the Gospell) yea moreover did I, quoth Paul, rage against them, pursuing after them into strange Lands.

The zeale of Saul without devotion.

Zeale without knowledge.

Sæ what zeale Paul had to God, afore he was instructed in the doctrine of Christ. Hæ thought to have pleased God highly in persecuting his servants, of whom one was S. Stephen. He was then sore blinded through ignorance, and wanted the assistance of Aaron: but anon, as Christ which is the true Aaron, had appeared unto him, asking him, and saying, in a lamentable form, O Saul, Saul, why doest thou persecute me, in troubling and striking my servants the members of mine owne body? of whom it is said, He that smiteth you, shall smite the tender ball of mine eye: his heart fell (I dare say) so low as his body, that is, even downe to the earth, repenting himselfe full sore, being ready to amend and follow after a new way, as appeareth by his answer, where he saith, O Lord, what wilt thou have me to doe? as though one would say, Now I sæ all that I thought to have done afore of good intention, and good purpose or devotion, hath deceived me. I finde it otherwise. That which I estæmed good, in very dæd is and was nought.

Acts 2.

Zach. 2.

Teach me therefore good Lord, quoth he, a better way, and amend my judgement, that mine owne will or intention forsaken, I may now follow thine, to please thæ, and to doe thy will. And so he came to Ananias, by the assignement of Christ; the thicke filthinesse of his old wayward judgement fell away, as appeareth by the drosse or rubbish that came from his eyes, even like scales, as the Scripture maketh relation, and he put upon him a new judgement, which is directed after the straight rule of the Gospell. Whereby you may sæ that mens devotion may oft beguile and seduce them, except knowledge doe assist the same, to sustaine and direct it: which knit together shall much strengthen men in all trouble and temptations.

Devotion a deceivable thing.

Erasmus in Enchiridion. Saying Mattens.

So that it is much expedient for all men, as nigh as they may, to have prayer annexed with knowledge: and that sheweth full notably Erasmus, in the second passage of Enchiridion, where he testifieth but of easie liking, that he hath in saying of Mattens, yea rather contrariwise he sheweth disliking, and so he doth also in his exposition of the first Psalme: Beatus vir, where the text maketh agreeably for the same: it is written in this wise, Blessed is the man that hath not gone after the counsell of the wicked, and hath not stood in the way of sinners, ne sit in the chaire of pestilence, but hath his will in the Law of God, and shall muse or be occupied in it both day and night. Psal. 1.

Sæ how the Prophet (which I doubt not but he knew as perfectly that will and pleasure of God, as ever did any Pope or generall Councell, or whatsoever they were beside, that ordained long service to be said of Priests) testifieth them to be blessed, that study and are exercised in the Law of God both day and night, that is to wit, alwaies. A great promise put of God to such blessed exercise, which wæ may call right devotion, or true godlinesse. For Paul defining godlinesse, saith thus, Pietas ad omnia utilis est, ut quæ promissiones habeat præsentis vitæ & futuræ. That is to wit, Godlinesse is profitable unto all things, for that hath annexed thereto promises of this life present, and of the life to come. What is true godlinesse, or piety. 1 Tim. 4.

No promise God for saying of Mattens.

But no such promise is made of God, I am certaine, to them that say daily Mattens. Neither are we certaine by the Word of God, that we shall therefore be blessed of him, no more than we are certaine, that for saying over the fiftæne Ooes, every day once through an whole yære, we shall apertly sæ our Lady to ayde us afore our death, as it is testified in the Scripture of the Primer, but not by Scripture of the Bible; or that we shall have a like benefit for saying of her Psalter upon the ten Beades that commeth from the crossed Friers, or upon the five Beades hallowed at the Charterhouse, or fasting the Ladies fast, as men call it: ne for fasting on the Wednesday, as is shewed by a booke that is allowed to be printed and read of all men that lusteth, for it is neither the new testament ne the old.

The 15 Ooes.

Our Ladie Psalter.

Fasting our Ladies fast.

They are condemned you wot well, and I perhaps shall have a little lesse favour because I tel the truth frælly, for such things are called offensive. But would God, that all persons so thinking would remember what answer Christ made unto his disciples in the fifteenth of Matthew, when they came unto him and warned him to beware, saying, You know that the Pharisies are offended, hearing such words spoken. I will leave out Christs answer, least I should be thought over fræ and plaine in taxing or uttering of abusions, and speake no further. Matth. 15.

A like demand with answer thereunto annexed shall you find in the eleventh of Luke, where Christ would not refraine to speake any deale more easily. Therefore I beseech them that dæm me (God wotteth whether righteously or no) slanderously, to revise the said places, and then counsell me to doe that shall be most expedient to follow, if their charity will so require. Yet would I that all people should know, that I doe not reprove that saying of the fiftæne Ooes, which (so far forth as my remembrance doth serve) is a very good prayer, or such like prayers; ne would I that any person should thinke me to disallow any discræt fastings: for such, not onely present with you, but even from hence absent, have I commended in earnest speaking, and so intend to do by the assistance of Gods grace. Nevertheless such vaine promises I doe abhorre, as be with them annexed, with the upholders of the same. For such doe cause vaine confidence in the people, withdrawing and seducing them from the right beleefe of the Gospell (which Christian men ought only to build their faith upon) unto new inventions of vanity. Saint Paul calleth such, old womens tales, where he writeth unto Timothy, bidding him to beware of them, and to throw them away. Luke 11.

Fasting commendes.

The

The Prophet Dauid likewise doth accord thereunto, saying, Beatus vir cuius est nomen Domini spes eius, & non respexit in vanitates & insanias falsas, Blessed, quoth he, is the man that hath in the Name of God his affiance or hope, and hath not looked backe to vanities and false dotages or madnesse. And this I say againe, that the Mattens saying hath no more promise of God made to the sayers, then hath the other above named, for they were institute by the fantasie or mind of men, and not by the rule of Scripture. Neither doe I thinke the Priests, which will truly follow the rule of God written in the Bible, ought so to be charged or incombred with saying of them, that they therby should be hindred from the study of that, which to know belongeth principally both to their owne soules salvation, and also to the discharge of their duty, and which God most highly of Priests doth require (I mean the study of his Gospell) whereby they themselves should be spiritually nourished, and thereafter should feed Christs flocke, the Congregation of his people, according to the saying of our Saviour in Iohn: I, (quoth he) am the dore, whosoever shall come in by me, shall both come in, and goe out, and finde good pasture or feeding, that is to say, Whosoever shall enter to be a pastor or Minister in Christs Church or Congregation by Christ, shall both enter into contemplation of Gods glory declared abundantly in Scripture, and after goe forth and shew the same abroad to other for their wealth and edifying.

Psal. 40.

Iohn 10.

To this accordeth that is written in Luke, where as our Saviour speaketh to all his Church signified in the person of S. Peter. Peter, quoth he, I have prayed that thy faith should not faile, and thou being converted, goe then about to confirme thy brethren. So that he would have Peter established first in faith of his sure doctrine, and then to goe forth as he did, to teach other to be grounded in the same likewise. And thus ought all Priests to be called Presbyteri, which will be Ministers in the Church; for so biddeth S. Peter in his first Epistle, in the last chapter, saying thus, I beseech the Priests, quoth he, that are among you, I my selfe being a Priest and a witnesse-bearer of Christs afflictions, and also a partaker of the glory which shall be revealed, see that you with all diligence doe feed the flocke of Christ, taking care of the same, not as inforced thereto, but willingly; not desiring filthy lucre, but with a loving mind; neither as men exercising dominion over the children or inheritors of God, but so that you be patterns or ensample-givers to the flocke. See, how he requireth of Priests, that they should spend all their diligence to feed Christs flocke, and to shew good ensample of living, making no mention of long mattens saying, which then were not mentioned nor spoken of.

Luke 22.

Pet. 5.

According to this, it is written in your decrees after this forme; ignorance, saith the Law (marke it well I beseech you all) is the mother of all errours. Which ought to be eschewed especially of Priests, that among the people of God have taken upon them the office of preaching: Priests are commanded to read holy Scriptures, as saith Paul the Apostle to Timothy, Giue heed to reading, exhortation, and teaching, and continue alwaies in the same. Let Priests therefore know Holy Scripture, and let all their labour be in preaching and teaching, and let them edifie all men both in knowledge of faith, and in discipline of good workes. These be the words of the law in the decrees, Dist. 38. Wherefore you see how the law lamenteth ignorance in all persons, for it is the originall of all errours. God send us therefore the knowledge of his true Gospell. It biddeth that ignorance should be utterly eschewed, and principally of Priests, whose labour and diligence should be bestowed all in reading of Scripture, and preaching the same, bringing in for the same purpose the saying of the Apostle, which willeth it in like manner.

Ignorance mother of errour.

1 Tim. 4.

Dist. 38.

Priests to give themselves rather to study then to saying of Mattens.

Moreover it requireth that Priests should give all their study to edifie other in faith and vertuous living. Whereof I doe gather both by the saying of the Prophet, that willeth us to be studious in the Law of God day and night, and by the saying of the Apostle, which would have Timothy to be occupied ever in reading and teaching, and by the report of your owne law, which saith likewise; That a Priest ought to bestow all his labour in reading and preaching: so that a Priest set thus truely to study, that he may stablish himselfe in the faith of Christs doctrine, intending after to helpe other with true preaching of the same, or doing other like deeds of charity, alligned in the Law of God, shall not offend deadly, if so spending his time, he omitteth to say Mattens, which is an ordinance of men.

What Priests ought to study.

Nevertheless, concerning the huge multitude of such as be now made Priests by negligent admission of Bishops, and their owne presumption, that labour to be made Priests before they be any clerks, and ere ever they know what is the very office of a Priest, doe not feare to take upon them, if they may attaine thereto, to be a Curate, they recke not of how many, so they may get a good lumpe of money, never minding after that the study of Scripture, after they are come to Dominus vobiscum: for such I doe thinke long Mattens to be needfull, to restraine them from other enormities that they should else runne into. Of which you may be weary, to see the experience thereof daily arising. Yea and if such would be content to admit it, I would every one Mattens were as long to them as five, except they could bestow their time better.

Negligence of Bishops in making Priests noted.

¶ In the five and twentieth where you doe aske whether I beleeve that the heads or rulers by necessity of salvation are bound to give unto the people holy Scripture in their mother language: I say that I thinke they are bound to see that the people may truly know holy Scripture, and I do not know how that may be done so well, as by giving it to them truely translated in the mother-tongue, that they may have it by them at all times to passe the time godly, whensoever they have leisure thereto like as they have in France under the French Kings priviledge, and also the priviledge of the Emperor, and so doe I know that they have had it these fifty foure yeeres in France at the least, and it was translated at the request of a King, called, I trow, Lewes, as appeareth by the priviledge put in the beginning of the booke.

To the 26 article.

Scripture in the vulgar tongue.

The French Bible translated into the French tongue, with the Kings priviledge, about fifty yeeres before Lamberts time.

In like manner have they it in Flanders, printed with the priviledge of the Emperour. In Almain also and Italy, and I suppose through all Nations of Christendome. Likewise hath it beene in England, as you may finde it in the English story called Polychronicon. There it is shewed, how when the Saxons did inhabite the Land, the King at that time, which was a Saxon, did himselfe translate the Psalter into the Language that then was generally used. Yea I have seene a booke at Crowland Abbey, which is kept there for a relique, the booke is called Saint Guthlakes Psalter, and I weene verily it is a copy of the same that the King did translate, for it is neither English, Latine, Greeke, Hebrew, nor Dutch, but somewhat sounding to our English, and as I have perceived since the time I was last there, being at Antwerpe, the Saxon tongue doth sound likewise after ours, and it is to ours partly agreeable. In the same story of Polychronicon is also shewed, how that Saint Bede did translate the Gospell of Iohn into English, and the authour of the same booke promised that he would translate into English all the Bible, yea and perhaps he did so, but (I wot not how it commeth

The Psalter translated by the King of England into the Saxon tongue. Read before.

S. Guthlaks Psalter.

Bede translated the Gospell of S. Iohn into English.

to passe) all such things be kept away. They may not come to light, for there are some walking privily in darkenesse, that will not have their doings knowne. It is no lie that is spoken in the Gospell of Iohn; Omnis qui male agit, odit lucem; All that doth naughtily hateth the light, and will not have their doings knowne. And therefore they kéepe downe the light strongly; for that opened and generally knowne, all wrongfull conveyance should anon be disclosed and reproved, yea and all men should sée anon, whether those that hold against unrighteousnesse, being therefore sometime horribly infamed and slandered, named Heretiques and Schismatiques, were in déed as they be called or not.

Iohn 3.

The causes why the scripture is not suffered to come to light.

Yea moreover, I did once sée a booke of the new Testament, which was not unwritten by my estimation this hundred yéeres, and in my mind right well translated after the example of that which is read in the Church in Latine. But he that shewed it me, said, he durst not be known to have it by him, for many had béene punished aforetime for kéeping of such, and were convict therefore of heresie.

Divers such testaments are yet to be seene in divers places of a long continuance.

Moreover, I was at Pauls Crosse, when the new Testament, imprinted of late beyond the sea, was first forefended, and truly my heart lamented greatly, to heare a great man preaching against it, which shewed forth certaine things that he noted for hideous errors to be in it, that I, yea and not I, but likewise did many other thinke verily to be none. But (alacke for pitty) malice cannot say well. God helpe us all, and amend it.

Errors found in the translated testament where none was.

Malice never saith well.

So that to conclude, I thinke verily it were profitable and expedient, that the holy Scripture were delivered, by authority of the head rulers, unto the people, truly translated in the vulgar tongue, in like manner as it is in all other Countries. And whereas you adde, whether they be bound by necessity of salvation to deliver it to the people, I will not so narrowly touch that point now; but I say that they are bound by right and equity to cause it to be delivered unto the people in the vulgar tongue, for their edifying, and consolation which the people by Gods grace should gather thereof, that now it is like they want, and are destitute of.

To the 27 article.

¶ In the seven and twentieth, where you doe demand, whether it be lawfull for the rulers, for some cause, upon their reasonable advisement, to ordaine that the Scripture should not be delivered unto the people in the vulgar language? All men may here sée, that whosoever devised these questions, thought not contrary (whatsoever they will yet say) but that it is good for the people to have the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and that they thought that I so saying could not be well reproved; and therefore are layd out all these additions, as it were to snare and trap mée in: Whether the heads be bound, and that by necessity of salvation, to deliver it to the People: and whether, for opportunity of time, they may ordaine to restraine it for some cause, and by some reasonable advisement of them taken.

Whether for any cause the Scripture may be restrained from the people.

Sed frustra jacitur rete ante oculos pennatorum; But without cause you spread the Net before the eyes of the Birds or Foules. I shew you plainely, that notwithstanding all these things, in mine opinion it was not well done to inhibit it, and worse, that the bishops have not sith amended it, if so be they could, that the People might have it to use and occupie vertuously.

Prov. 1.

And here I will adde one reason. The scripture is the spirituall food and sustenance of mans soule. This is shewed to be true in many places of scripture; like as other corporall meate is the food of the body. Then if he be an unkind father that kéepeth bodily meat away the space of a weéke or a moneth from his children; it should séeme that our bishops be no gentle Pastors or Fathers, that kéepe away the food of mens soules from them (specially when other doe offer the same) both monethes, yéeres, and ages. Neither doe I sée any opportunity of time or reasonable advisement, that should cause it to be withdrawne and taken away, but the contrary rather, for it is reasonable, convenient, and néedfull for men to eate their meate ever when they are right hungry, and blessed are they that hunger and thirst after the word of God, which teacheth to know him and to doe his pleasure at all times; for that we doe crave every day in our Pater noster, saying, Give us Lord our heavenly bread.

A perfect reason why Scripture ought not to be withdrawne from the people at any time.

Matth. 5.

¶ In the eight and twentieth, where you doe aske, Whether I beléeve that Consecrations, Hallowings and blessings used in the Church are to be praised? I say that I know not of all, and therefore I will not dispraise them, neither can I therefore ever much speake of them all, séeing I know them not; such as are the hallowing of bells, the hallowing of pilgrimes when they should goe to Rome, the hallowing of beads, and such like: but those which I am advised of, and doe remember, be in mine opinion good; such as is this: When the Priest hath consecrated holy bread, hée saith, Lord blesse this creature of bread, as thou didst blesse the five loaves in desert, that all persons tasting thereof may receive health, &c. Which I would every man might say in English when he should goe to meate, I like it so well.

To the 28 article.

Hallowings and blessings some allowe and some no hallowing of bread.

Also this is a right good one, that is sayd over him that shall read the Gospell; the Lord be in your heart, and in your mind and mouth, to pronounce and shew forth his blessed Gospell. Which is also spoken over a Preacher taking benediction when he shall go into a pulpit. All such good things I like very well, and thinke them commendable, wishing therefore that all people might know what they meane, that they with joy of heart might pray joyfully with us, and delight in all goodnesse; which should be, if they were uttered in English, according to the mind of S. Paul, 1 Cor. 9. where he wisheth, rather to speake five words in the Church heartily with understanding, whereby other might have instruction, than ten thousand words in a tongue unknowne. Yea, to say truth, and truth it is indéed that I shall say; a good thing, the further and the more largely or apertly it is knowne, the further the vertue thereof spreadeth, and roteth in mens hearts and remembrance. God send therefore the blind to sée, and the ignorant to have knowledge of all good things.

Blessing of him that goeth to read the Gospell.

1 Cor. 9.

Thus I conclude; That consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the Church (so farre forth as I remember and know) be commendable. Of other I can give no sentence, wishing even as I trust men shall once sée it come to passe, that all good things may be sung and spoken in our vulgar tongue.

¶ In the nine and twentieth, where you doe aske whether I beléeve that the Pope may make lawes and statutes to bind all Christian men to the observance of the same, under the paine of deadly sinne, so that such lawes and statutes be not contrary to the Law of God? I say, that if it be true that is written in the decrées, that is to wit, lawes be never confirmed untill they be approved by common manners of them that shall use them, then cannot the Popes lawes bind all Christian men, for the Grécks and the Bohemians will (as you doe know full well) never admit them, but doe refuse them utterly; so that I doe not finde that his lawes may bind all Christian men.

To the 29 article.

Lawes and observances of the Pope, when they binde deadly sinne.

The Pope not received of all men.

Finally, I cannot sée that hée hath authority to make lawes, binding men to the observance of them under paine of deadly sinne, more than hath the King or the Emperour: and to say soth, I say, (as I have said afore) I thinke verily that the Church was more full of vertue before the decrées or decretals were made (which is not very long agoe,

The Pope hath no power to make lawes binding under deadly sinne more than the King or Emperour.

agoe, but in the time of Constantine, if it be true that is reported in the Decrees, Dist. 15. Cap. Canones generalium) than it hath been since; God repaire it, and restore it againe to the antient purity and perfection.

To the 30. Article. The power of the Pope and Prelates to excommunicate.

¶ In the thirtieth, where you doe aske whether I believe that the Pope and other Prelats, and their deputies in spirituall things, have power to excommunicate Priests, and lay people that are inobedient and sturdy, from entring into the Church, and to suspend or let them from minister ation of the Sacraments of the same: I thinke that the Pope and other Prelates have power to excommunicate both Priests and lay men, such as be rebellious against the ordinance of God, and disobedient to his Law: for such are sundred from God, afore the Prelats doe give sentence, by reason of their sinne and contumacy, according as it is said in Esay by Almighty God: Your sinnes, quoth hee, doe make division betwixt you and me. And the Prelates by right judgement, should pronounce of sinners as they doe find them, and that is to pronounce such to be excommunicate of God, and unworthy to minister any sacraments, or to be conversant with Christian folke that will not amend. For thus biddeth Paul, 1 Corinth. 5. If any amongst you called a brother, shall be a whoremonger, or a covetous person, or a worshipper of Images or Idolls, or a rayler, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, see that with such you eat no meat. Such ought to be put out of the Church, and not be suffered to come within it.

Esay 59.

Cor. 5.

Doubt where Prelates be any such power to excommunicate from Church. *Sum. 1. de fecra.*

I am not certaine that Prelates have any such power: and though they had, I doubt whether charity should permit them to shew it forth and execute it without singular discretion. For in Churches ought the Word of God to be declared and preached, though the which the sturdy comming thither and hearing it, might some be smitten with compunction and repentance, and thereupon come to amendment. This confirmeth well a law made in the Councell of Carthage, which is this: A Bishop ought to prohibit no person to come into the Church, and to heare the Word of God, whether hee be Gentile or Jew, or heretique, untill the Masse time of them that are called Catechumeni. De Conse. distinct. 1.

Bishops Deputies not believable.

Moreover, where you speake of Prelates deputies, I thinke such be but little behovable to Christs flocke. It were necessary and right, that as the Prelates themselves will have the revenues, tithes, and oblations of their benefices, they themselves should labour and teach diligently the Word of God therefore, and not to shift the labour from one unto another till all be left (pity it is) undone. Such doth Saint John call, Fures & latrones, Thieves and murtherers, although they make never so goodly a worldly shew outward, and beare a stout port.

Every Prelate a benefficed man, ought himselfe to discharge his cure, without Deputy, Vicar.

This I say, That the Pope and other Prelates have power to excommunicate rebels against Gods Ordinance, and to suspend them from receiving or ministring the sacrament: but I am not sure, that they have power to forefend them from out of churches, especially when Gods Word is there preached, unlesse the sinners be so sore desperat, that they scorn the same. And I would that every Prelate receiving his living of benefices, should himselfe worke in the same, specially in true preaching of Christs Doctrine, without winding his owne necke out of the yoke, and charging therewith other called Deputies or Vicars, Curates, and such like. For God would have every man to get his living by sweat of his owne face, that is to say, by his labour, according to his estate and calling. And like as every workeman is worthy his meat: contrariwise, they that labour not, unlesse they be let by impotency, are worthy to have no meat, and much lesse to take of those, to whom they doe no service, fifty or forty pound a yeere, for waiting after none other thing than the Sonne shining in the water. The Canon Law maketh clearely with the same. Looke in the Decrees, Cap. 21. quæst. 2. cap. Præcip. and you shall find plainly, as I say.

To the 31. Article. Faith only to justifie.

¶ In the one and thirtieth, where you aske, whether faith onely, without good workes, may suffice unto a man faine into sin after his Baptisme, for his salvation and justifying? I say, that it is the usage of Scripture to say, that faith onely doth justifie, and workes salvation, afore a man doe any other good workes; and that is shewed by many authorities both of Scripture, and also of many holy Fathers, in a Treatise called, Vnio dissidentium, which I would to Christ, as it is in French, and other languages, we had it truly translated into English. And truly I doe thinke in this matter (like as is here shewed by many authorities of holy Fathers) that a man faine into sinne after Baptisme shall be saved through faith, and have forgivenesse by Christs passion, although hee doth no more good deeds thereafter: as when a man having short life lacketh leisure to exercise other deeds of mercy. Notwithstanding, true faith is of such vertue and nature, that when opportunity commeth, it cannot but worke plenteously deeds of charity, which are a testimony and witnesse bearer of a mans true faith. This declareth Saint Augustine upon John. I trow it is where hee expoundeth this Text: Si diligitis me, præcepta mea servate: If yee love me, keepe my commandements. Whereas within a little while after hee speaketh in this wise, Opera bona non faciunt justũ, sed justificatus facit bona opera. That is to say, good workes make not a just or a righteous man, but a man once justified doth good workes.

Vnio dissidentium to be put in English. Workes make not a man justified, but a justified man maketh good workes.

Aug. in Iohan.

To the 32. Article.

¶ In the two and thirtieth, where you doe aske, Whether a Priest marrying a wife, and that without the dispensation of the Pope, and begetting also children of her without slander giving, do sin deadly? I say, that he doth not so much offend as those which in Wales (as I have heard say) and also in many parts beyond the sea, or rather in all places, do give openly dispensations, for money to Priests to take Concubines: neither doth hee offend so much as the purchasers of such dispensations: for they on every hand doe clearely commit fornication and adultery, utterly forbidden by Gods Law; and the Priest of whom speaketh your demand, offendeth but mans law, if hee doe that. For in the Decrees it is written, I weene it be in a Glosse, and certainly I wot not whether it be in the Text or no, I can lightly turne to it having a booke. The sentence is thus; Presbyter fornicans est plus puniendus quam uxorem ducens. That is to say, A Priest doing fornication ought to be punished more than one which hath married a wife. Finally, I think such a Priest as before is named in your demand, sinneth not deadly.

A Priest fornicating is more to be punished than a Priest marrying, by the Popes owne lawes.

To the 33 article.

¶ In the three and thirtieth, where you aske, whether a Latine Priest, after he hath taken the Order of Priesthood, being sore and oft troubled and stirred with prickings of lust or lechery, and therefore marrying a Wife for a remedy of the same, doe sinne deadly? I say that a Latine Priest and a Greeke Priest is all one before God, if they follow both one rule of Christ, left to us in holy Scripture; neither doth Christ put any such difference but the one hath by that rule the same liberty that another, and no more nor lesse, for there is the same God in Greece, that is here, and hath left one way for us to live after, both here and there. And therefore, I cannot see by his law, but that a Latine Priest may marry, as well as they do. And if the Greekes should not follow Christs Law in believing the same, and living thereafter, you would call them heretikes. But that will not the Pope have

Marriage of Priests as well latine as greek, permitted alike in the Scripture.

have done. Wherefore seeing they doe let Priests marry, affirming it may so be done by the Law of God, and yet are not reputed heretiques, why should other men that say the same be called Heretiques, or be therefore burned? Therefore following the Law of God, I make the same answer of a Latine Priest, that I made before of all Priests, that a Priest, not having the gift of chastity, is bound to marry, for avoyding fornication.

The Greeke Churches suffer Priests to marry.

¶ In the thirty foure, where you doe aske, whether ever I prayed for Iohn Wickliffe, Iohn Hus, and for Hierome of Prague condemned of heresie in the Councell of Constance, or for any one of them, sith they dyed, and whether I have openly or secretly done any deeds of charity for them, affirming them to be in blisse and saved? I say, that I never prayed for any of them, so farre forth as I can remember. And though I had, it followeth not, that in so doing I should be an heretique. For you wot well, that there is a mighty great country called Boheme, which yet doe follow (as men say) that same doctrine, which Iohn Hus, and Hierome of Prague taught their ancestors, whom (as I trow) neither the Pope nor you doe recount heretiques and infidels.

To the 34. Article.

To the 35 Article.

¶ In the thirty five, where you aske, whether I have recounted and said them or any of them to be Saints, and worshipped them as Saints? I say that in such secret and hid things which I doe not perfectly know, I follow the counsell of Paul, which biddeth that wee should not judge over soone, but to abide (unlesse the things, which wee should passe upon, be the more evident) untill the comming of the Lord, which shall illumine and shew forth clearely things, that now lie hid in darknesse. Therefore hitherto have I neither judged with them, ne against them, but have resigned such sentence to the knowledge and determination of God, whose judgement I wot infallible.

And, whereas you say, they were condemned of heresie in the Councell of Constance: if so the Councell did right, God shall allow it, I doubt not, and that shall suffice to have commendation of him; So that it is not need to aske of mee, whether the acts of the same are commendable or no? Neither can I give any direct answer thereto; for I doe not verily know them. And though I did, yet am not I verily perswaded, that I, because the Councell hath condemned them, must therefore believe them to be damned: for a Councell, as I weene, may sometime slip beside the right truth; but what that Councell did in condemning them, I cannot precisely say; God woteth. Yea, and that one singular person may judge more rightly, than a great multitude assembled in a Councell, appeareth by Gods Law, and by the law of man. Experience hereof may you see by the Councell that is spoken of in the eleventh of Iohn, where is shewed, that after our Saviour had restored Lazarus to life, the Bishops and Pharisies then were gathered together in a Councell, saying; What shall wee doe? Truth it is that this man Iesus doth many miracles, and if wee suffer him thus, all the world will believe him; whereupon the Romans will come, and put us out of Ierusalem, our dwelling place, and destroy our nation. At which time Caiaphas did arise, shewing forth his sentence, which the whole Councell did admit.

Councels may sometime slip away.

Iohn 11.

In like wise is shewed, Acts the fifth, where in a Councell of the Bishops and Priests assembled to know what punishment should be done unto Christs Apostles, because they preached in the name of Christ, contrary to the precept of them (for they before had commanded the Apostles no more to speake in Christs name) there among a shrewd multitude of them gathered together, did rise a certaine wise man, called Gamaliel (a pitifull thing verily to see but one good man in such a great Convocation or Councell of Priests, that should be the lights of vertue to all the people) which Gamaliel was a Doctor of the Law, and had in good reputation among the people; much like hee was, as seemed to mee, to Doctor Collet, sometime Deane of Pauls in London, while hee lived. I may come no nearer to name some other of our time, lest I should be thought offensive. This Gamaliel did bid the Apostles goe aside for a while out of the Councell, or Convocation house; and so hee spake unto the other Priests or Bishops in the Councell thus; You men of Israel (quoth hee) take heed to your selves what yee shall doe unto these men the Apostles: for afore this time have risen one called Theudas, and after him another named Iudas of Galile, which have turned the people after them, and in conclusion they perished, and all they that followed after them vanished away. And now, quoth hee, I say unto you, refraine from hurting these men the Apostles, and let them alone, or suffer them. For if this enterprise and worke that they have made be of men, undoubtedly it shall perish, and be foredone: but if, quoth hee, it be of God, you cannot foredoe it. And this I tell you, said Gamaliel, lest you should be found to strive and fight against God.

Gamaliel a Doctor of the Law compared with Doctor Collet.

The counsell of Gamaliel the Pharisie.

Acts 5.

In this wise is shewed in the Decrees, Distinct. 31. where it is written, that the Councell of Nice, willing to correct or amend the life of men of the Church, ordained Lawes called Canons or Rules. And as they treated upon such ordinances, some thought it expedient to bring in a law that Bishops, Priests, Deacons and subdeacons, should not lie with their wives whom they had married afore they were consecrate into the order. With that arose Paphnutius a confessor of Christ, and gain-

Dist. 31. Nicena.

Unto this sentence of Gamaliel, did all the other of the Convocation or Parliament agree, so that they called the Apostles of Christ afore them, causing them to be scourged, and charging them, no more after to preach of Christs name, and so did let them depart. This was undoubtedly done in the name of our Saviour and of his Apostles, and caused to be written for our comfort and learning; for the holy Ghost knew afore, that like practice should come in the later time of the world, which wee are in. Whereby you may clearely see, that Councells doe not alway decerne with Christ, but sometime they may doe against him. And therefore said David, Non sedi cum concilio vanitatis, & cum iniquè agentibus non introibo: Odi Ecclesiam malignantium, & cum impiis non sedebo; sed lavabo inter innocentes manus meas, &c. I did not (quoth David) sit with the assembly or councell of vaine doers, or lyers, and will not goe in amongst them that worke iniquity: for I hate the Convocation of them that are malicious or maligners, and amongst the wicked will not I sit: but I will wash my hands among innocents, &c.

Councels not alway right.

Councels may and doe erre.

Psalme 25.

Also in another Psalme he writeth thus; Dominus dissipat concilia gentium, reprobat concilia populorum, & concilia Principum: Consilium autem Domini in æternum manet, &c. The Lord, quoth hee, doth destroy or annihilate the councels of the Gentiles, he reproveth the councels of the people and of Rulers. But the counsell or device of the Lord endureth ever, and the purpose of his minde abideth unto the world of worlds. For that purpose doth Saint Peter in the Acts of the Apostles allege this verse out of the Psalme; Quare fremuerunt Gentes, &c. Why did the Gentiles rage, and the people imagine vaine things, &c. Like unto this is written, Esay the first. Also you may see in the Councels of the Pharisies above shewed, that one singular person may sometime perceive a thing more than a generality or a multitude: for only Gamaliel did see better what was behoveable, than could all the other there congregate.

Psalme 3.

Psalme 2.

Esay 1.

Some one man sometime may see more than a whole Councell.

Agreeable unto this wee find in the Decrees, Distinct. 31. where it is written, that the Councell of Nice, willing to correct or amend the life of men of the Church, ordained Lawes called Canons or Rules. And as they treated upon such ordinances, some thought it expedient to bring in a law that Bishops, Priests, Deacons and subdeacons, should not lie with their wives whom they had married afore they were consecrate into the order. With that arose Paphnutius a confessor of Christ, and gain-

The story of Paphnutius in Nicene Councell.

gainsaid it, testifying that marriage was an honourable thing; saying also, that it is chastity for a man to lie with his owne proper wife. And so he perswaded the Councell, that they should constitute no such Law: affirming, that it was a sore matter that they were minded to doe, which should be either to the Priests, or else to their wives an occasion of fornication: and this was Paphnutius reason. The words of the Canon proceed thus.

Chastity standeth not by singlenesse of life, but pure vse of matrimony.

This declared Paphnutius, he never being married, nor having experience of marriage, and the Councell commended his sentence, making no statute in this matter, but put it to every mans free will and liberty, without any enforcement or necessity. These words stand, as I have recited them unto you, written in the Decrees, albeit they are somewhat otherwise rehearsed in Historia tripartita, as I have shewed before in the fourth Article. Upon this, that Paphnutius did thus resist and prevaile against all the other Councell, doth the Glosse note in the same law; that one singular person may gainsay or speake against an universall generality, having a reasonable cause on his side. Suffrage also of the same have we in Abbat Panormitane, where he saith thus: I would (quoth he) rather believe one lay person, bringing in for him authority of Scripture, than an universall Councell, that ordaineth or decreeth a thing without Scripture.

One man having Scripture with him, is more to be believed then a whole councell without Scripture.

Finally, I say, that I never recounted them neither Saints, ne Divels, but resigned the judgement thereof to God; neither have I in earnest reported them the one, or the other; neither have done unto them particular worship, so farre forth as I can remember.

nswer to the . Article.

In the six and thirtieth, where you doe aske whether I believe, hold, and affirme that every generall Councell, and the Councell of Constance also doe represent the universall Congregation or Church? I say, that what such Councels doe represent I cannot certainly tell, and therefore believe neither yea nor nay; neither can I therefore make any affirmation, pro or contra, with this demand or against it: and no marvell: for I know of no Scripture to certifie me of the same, ne yet any sufficient reason. And me thinketh this (under correction I speake) that Councels might represent (albeit I know not whether they doe or no) the universall Church, not being yet the same, as I wote well they neither are nor were. For the Church I doe take to be all those that God hath chosen or predestinate to be inheritors of eternall blisse and salvation, whether they be temporall or spirituall, King or Subject, Bishop or Deacon, Father or Childe, Grecian or Romane. And this Church spreadeth thorow the universall world, whereas any doe call for help truly upon the name of Christ: and there doe they ever most grow and assemble commonly, whereas his blessed Word is purely and openly preached and declared; for that is the relefe of mans soule, whereunto all men, loving their soules health, lust to resort and seeke (as all things doe naturally seek after that which should nourish and prolong their life) for in it is shewed that righteousnesse, which whosoever doth thirst after, and is an hungred for, shall come in the kingdome of heaven. Of this may well the Proverbe in the Gospell (although it be applyed to the judgement of God when he shall appeare in the generall dome) be verified; Wheresoever is a dead carrion, thither will soone be assembled Eagles: That is to wit, wheresoever is declared, by the course of Scripture, the benefits and commodities granted to us by Christs death, thither will men seeke and flie, to know how they may enjoy and attaine them, which I beseech him to grant us, Amen.

whether every generall councell doth represent the universall Church.

What is the Church.

What meaneth by the Church in this Article.

Luc. 17.

¶ In the seven and thirtieth, where you do aske whether I believe that the same thing which the Councell of Constance, representing the universall Church, hath approved, and doth approve for the maintenance of faith and soules health, is to be approved and holden of all Christian people; and that which the same Councell hath condemned and doth condemne to be contrary to faith and good manners, ought of the same Christian people to be believed and affirmed for a thing condemned? I say, that whatsoever the same Councell or any other have approved, being approbation or allowance worthy, is of all Christian people to be likewise approved, holden and allowed. And againe, whatsoever the same or any other hath condemned, being reprowfe and condemnation worthy, because it is hurtfull to faith or good living, I say, the same ought of all Christian people to be condemned and reproved. But this surmounteth my knowledge, to discerne in what wise their judgement passed; whether with right or unright, because I did never looke upon their Acts, neither doe I greatly covet to doe: wherefore I referre the determination to them that have better advised their doings, and thereby have more skill in them than I.

Touching the authority of the Councell of Constance.

¶ In the eight and thirtieth you demand, whether the condemnations of John Wickeliffe, John Hus, and Hierome of Prage, done upon their persons, bookes and documents, by the holy generall Councell of Constance, were duly and rightfully done, and so for such, of every Catholique person, whether they are to be holden and surely to be affirmed? I answer, That it passeth my knowledge, and I cannot tell; thinking surely, that though I am ignorant of the same, so that I cannot discusse the thing determinately, yet my Christendome shall be therefore nevertheless, and that I and all Christian men may well suspend our sentence, being thereof ignorant, affirming neither the one ne the other, neither yea nor nay.

Answer to the 38. Article.

¶ In the thirty ninth you aske, Whether I believe, hold, and affirme, that John Wickliffe of England, John Hus of Bohemia, and Hierome of Prague, were heretiques, and for heretiques to be named, and their Bookes and Doctrines to have been, and now be perverse, for the which Bookes and pertinacity of their persons, they are condemned by the holy Councell of Constance for heretiques? I say that I know not determinately whether they be heretiques or no, ne whether their bookes be erroneous or no, ne whether they ought to be called heretiques or no.

Answer to the 39. Article.

¶ In the fortieth, where you aske, whether I believe and affirme, that it is not lawfull in any case to sweare? I say, that I neither so doe believe, ne affirme, ne ever did.

Answer to the 40. Article.

¶ In the forty first, where you aske, whether I believe that it is lawfull at the commandement of a Judge, to make an oath to say the truth, or any other oath in a case convenient, and that also for purgation of infamy? I answer, that I never said the contrary, but that I thinke and have thought it lawfull to give an oath afore a Judge, to say the truth, if the Judge so require, and that by request lawfull and convenient. As when a thing is in controversie betwixt two persons, and thereupon they sue unto a Judge for sentence; when the Judge can none otherwise bolt out the truth, he may require an oath. As when the two women which contended before Salomon, to avoyd the crime of murther, which the one had committed in oppressing her child to death, and would have put the same upon the other, if Salomon could not by his wisedome otherwise have investigated the truth, he might, I suppose, to come by the more certaine information of the thing, have caused one of them, or both, seeing it expedient for him, to sweare; wherein the women had been bound to obey him: but Judges have need to be spare in requiring of oathes. For in customable, or oft Justices, creepeth in alway betwixt times

Answer to the 41. Article.

An oath before a Judge in a cause convenient is lawfull. How an oath ought to be required of a Judge, and how it may be given before a Judge.

Over much use of oaths in Courts reprehended. Judges must be spare and wary in requiring oaths.

Answer to the 37. Article.

times some perjury, as sheweth Chrysostome in words semblable to these, and things pretious, through oft haunt or occupying, lose their estimation. And so reverent oaths, unadvisedly required for every trifle usually, doe cause men to regard little for making of them, yea, and I feare to breake them.

Where many oaths be, there is some perjury.

Therefore in Almain, they have made of late (as I have heard say by credible persons, which have come from thence) many notable ordinances for the common-wealth within a while, and amongst other this is one: If a man be let for to enter Plea against another in any towne, the Pères thereof afore whom all actions are used to be debated, hearing such a plea entred, shall call the parties privatly together, before they come into an open Court. And the matter examined, they shall exhort them to let the plea cease without further processe, shewing them the great dammage both godly and worldly, comming of waging the law, and the great ease and commodity that is in agreement and concord. Which exhortation they use to shew with so great gravity, and fatherly love (such wonders are wrought where the Gospell hath free passage) that very few will commence plea. And though any plea be commenced, through such sage admonition it falleth lightly to sequestration and arbitrement of neighbours, who doe set their suters at unity, ere the matter doe come to discussion in open Court.

The use and manner of the Germans in causes judicial.

Fruit of the Gospel in Germany.

In Germany few controversies come to the open Court, but commonly are compounded at home.

Notwithstanding, if some be so waywardly minded (as in a multitude all are not one mans children, and therefore unlike of intent) that they will needs proceed and follow the law, they shall be heard to speake their matters in open Court, and taught how the matter is most like to proceed, and counselled with new exhortation to stop their processe. If they will not be perswaded, and then the Judges seeing the matter so ambiguous, that they cannot give perfect sentence therein, except by vertue of an oath made by one of the parties, they be first better certified: Then will they shew the same before the suters, declaring what a chargefull thing it is to give a solemne oath for love of winning some worldly profit: and how (unlesse such as shall make it, be the better ware to eschew the same) they shall (beside an evill ensample giving to a multitude) worke themselves happily shame or dishonesty.

Custome among the Germans of taking oaths.

Upon this, they shall give a respite untill a certaine day appointed. So that in the meane while the suters may take deliberation thereof, what is best to be done. If after this they will not thus rest, at the day appointed shall they come forth into a common place, and the great Bell of the City caused to be rung, whereby the people shall be warned, what they are about to doe: and the people assembled, the Judges shall in full chargeable and lamentable wise charge the parties, under the vertue of their oath, to make true relation of that shall be demanded. So that by reason of soberly and fatherly exhortations made of the Judges or Pères of the towne, and perswasion of neighbours, and for avoyding Gods displeasure, and shame of men, there is little suites in Courts; and if at any time any be made, they be lightly stopped. So that Jury and swearing is well excluded, and need not much to be required.

Jury and swearing well excluded out of Germany.

This I have shewed, because it pitieth mée to heare and see the contrary used in some of our nation, and such also as name themselves spirituall men, and should be head Ministers of the Church, who incontinent as any man commeth before them, anone they call for a booke, and doe move him to sweare, without any longer respite, yea, and they will charge him by vertue of the contents in the Euangely, to make true relation of all that they shall demand him, he not knowing what they will demand, neither whether it be lawfull to shew them the truth of their demands, or no; for such things there be that are not lawfull to be shewed. As if I were accused of fornication, and none could be found in me: or if they should require mée to sweare to bewray any other that I have knowne to offend in that vice, I suppose it were expedient to hold me still, and not to follow their will; for it should be contrary to charity, if I should so assent to bewray them that I need not, and to whom, perhaps, though I have knowne them to offend, yet trusting of their amendment, I have promised before to keepe their fault secret without any disclosing of the same. Yea, moreover, if such Judges sometime, not knowing by any due proofe that such as have to doe afore them are culpable, will inforce them by an oath, to detect themselves in opening before them their hearts; in this so doing, I cannot see that men need to condescend to their requests. For it is in the law (but I wot not certainly the place) thus: Nemo tenetur prodere semetipsum, that is to say, No man is bound to bewray himselfe. Also in another place of the law it is written, Cogitationis pœnâ nemo patiatur, no man should suffer punishment of men for his thought. To this agreeth the common proverbe, that is thus: Cogitationes liberæ sunt à vectigalibus. That is to say, Thoughts be free, and need to pay no toll. So that to conclude, I thinke it lawfull at the commandement of a Judge, to make an oath to say the truth, specially if a Judge requireth an oath duly, and in lawfull wise, or to make an oath in any other cause convenient, and that also for purgation of infamy, when any infamy is lawfully laid against a man.

A man is not bound to depe another mans fault before a Judge in case.

Law compelleth no man to bewray himselfe.

Law punisheth no man for thought.

Thoughts be free, and need to pay no toll.

No man is bound to bewray himself by the law.

In the two and fortieth, where you aske, whether a Christian person despising the receit of the Sacraments of confirmation, extreme unction, or solemnising of matrimony doe sin deadly? I say like of the receit of them, as I have said before of the selfe things, and none otherwise.

To the 42 Article.

In the three and fortieth, where you aske, whether I believe that Saint Peter was Christs Vicar, having power on earth to bind and loose? I say, that I doe not perceive clearely what you meane by this terme Vicar; for Christ never called Peter, ne none other so in Scripture. If you meane thereby, that after the departing hence of Christ, when hée was risen from death in his immortall body, and so sted into heaven, whereas hée remaineth sitting upon the right hand of his Father, that hée so being away from hence, Saint Peter occupied his roome; then, I say, it is not untrue but Peter in a manner (which I shall shew hereunder) was his Vicar; and like as Peter was his Vicar, even so was Paul and the other Apostles, and the one no lesse than the other, if it be true that Saint Cyprian doth write, which is also consenting to Scriptures, he saith thus; That Christ spake unto Peter saying: I say, quoth our Saviour, that thou art Peter, and upon this rocke of stone shall I build my congregation, and the gates of hell shall not overcome it. To thee will I give the keyes of heaven, and what things thou shalt bind upon earth, the same shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven. And to him after his resurrection doth Christ say, Feed my Sheepe.

To the 43. Article.

Vicar of Christ.

Peter no more Vicar of Christ, than Paul and other Apostles. Matth. 16. *Cyprian. de simplicitate Prælatorum.*

And albeit that hée gave equall power unto all his Apostles after his resurrection, and saith, Like as my Father sent me, so doe I also send you: Take you the holy Ghost: if you shall retaine to any man his sinnes, they shall be retained. If you shall remit to any man his sinnes, to him they shall be remitted. Nevertheless, because hée would declare unity, hée ordained by his authority, the originall of the same unity beginning of one. The other Apostles truly were the same that Peter was, indued with equall parting both of honour, and authority or power, but the beginning commeth of one, that the congregation should be shewed to be one. Those are

Iohn 20.

Unity.

are the words of Saint Cyprian, in a treatise that is called, De simplicitate Prælatorum; wherein you may see that Christ made all the Apostles of equall honour and like authority. Notwithstanding, because hee would testifie the unity of his Church or Congregation, hee spake, as it were, onely unto Peter, when hee said, Feed my Sheepe. And, I shall give thee, Peter, the keyes of Heaven. But in so saying, though the words seeme spoken to Peter only, yet they were spoken unto him, in that hee sustained the generall person of all the Church, being, as it were, a common speaker for the same. So that in speaking to him, Christ spake unto all other the Apostles, unto whom also hee gave all the same authority that hee gave unto Peter; as you may see both in these words of Cyprian, and also the same is clearely shewed out of Saint Augustine in divers places, but no where more plainly in a few words, than in a Treatise called De Agone Christiano.

To this accordeth well that which was written of Paul, Gal. 2. Ab his qui videbantur aliquid esse; quales aliquando fuerunt, nihil mea refert, &c. Of those Apostles (quoth Paul) which seemed to be of authority I was not taught (what they were in time passed it skilleth mee nothing; God regardeth not the exteriour appearance of man) nevertheless, they which appeared to be of price shewed me no learning, nor gave me no counsell. But contrary, when they had seene that the Gospell of uncircumcision was committed unto me, like as the Euangely of circumcision was unto Peter; for he that was mighty in Peter concerning the Apostleship toward the Iewes, was mighty also in me toward the Gentiles. Therefore, when Iames, Peter and Iohn, which appeared to be as pillars, knew the grace given me; they gave unto me and Barnabe their right hands in signes of fellowship to be their partners, so that we should exercise the office of Apostles among the Gentiles, as they did among the Iewes. Wherein you may clearely see, that Paul toke no instruction of them, which seemed to be in high authority, and that Peter, Iames, and Iohn, which were noted Principals, toke Paul and Barnabas to be their mates and fellowes; which they would not have done (as I suppose) if they had knowne that God had granted unto them a prerogative singular, to excell Paul, and to be his Soveraigne: but according to the prerogative of God granted, they might have safely shewed it, and enioyed the same; like as they did rejoyce in other benefits granted to them of God, to be Ministers in his Church for the edifying of the same. And as Saint John calleth himselfe the Disciple loved of his Maker Jesus, and testifieth, how that unto him, Christ hanging upon the Crosse, did commit his blessed mother.

Moreover, if these three Apostles, Iames, Peter, and John, should have by humility left out to make mention of their prerogative, when they toke Paul and Barnabas into their fellowship, yet it is to be thought that Paul, which never useth any inordinate arrogancy, writing the words above said for the magnifying of his owne privilege and authority given him of God, would not have suppressed and passed over their primacy unspoken of, with whom hee maketh here comparison: for then it might be thought he were envious, to picke away authority from other to himselfe unlawfull; that cannot so be. Moreover, hee saith a little after the words afore rehearsed, that hee reproved Saint Peter even before his face. Whereupon Saint Hierome expounding the same Epistle, saith (as I remember) that Paul would not have beene bold so to doe, except hee had knowne himselfe equal to Peter.

In the words also of Paul above written this might be noted, as serving to my purpose, that Peter had no preeminence or primacy above the other, for Iames is named afore him: which Paul would not have done (I thinke) knowing Peter to be Iames superiour. Therefore hee making no such dartety in order, put Iames afore, saying, And Iames, Peter, and Iohn, that appeared the Principals, quoth hee, gave unto me and to Barnabe their right hands in signe of fellowship. Yet notwithstanding Paul loved good order, I suppose, as well as any that now are, which contend so sore for superiour roomes and preeminence, claming to be the Apostles successors. I would it were so much for the commonwealth of Christian people, as it is suspect that they doe it for vain-glory and worldly lucre. According to this you shall find, Acts the eleventh, where is shewed, that after Peter by instinct of the Holy Ghost, had gone unto one of the Gentiles, called Cornelius, a petty Captaine, having the governance of an hundred men, teaching him the waies and Doctrine of Christ, and baptising him and other with him assembled, being, like as hee afore was, Pagans; the Apostles and other Christian brethren that were in Iewry, hearing thereof, when Peter came to Jerusalem, they which held upon Circumcision made none obeysance unto him, (albeit I thinke verily hee had more holinesse than ever had any Pope) as the Emperor is faine to doe to the Pope at his coronation, falling downe to kisse the Popes feet, or to hold the Popes stirrop while hee mounteth upon his horse backe, according to the forme of law written: I am not certaine, whether in the Decrees, or else the Decretals, or in both rather (for such ordinances are inviolable, and worthy to be principally recorded) but they reasoned sore, and disputed both against Saint Peter and also his doing, saying; You have gone amongst them that you ought not have had to doe with, ne to have meddled among them, that are men uncleane, because they are uncircumcised, yea, and that is more, you have eat and dronke with them. Peter mildly and coldly made answer againe, rehearsing all the manner of his doing in order; shewing that he was so instructed to doe by mighty and cleare revelations of God, and not by his owne fantasie and pleasure.

Which answer being heard, the other that afore had made sore objections against him (which were both of the Apostles, and other Christian brethren) were content, holding their peace without any more complaining, and gave glory therefore to God, saying; Then God hath granted also unto the Gentiles to take repentance, and so to come to eternall life. Wherein you may see, that the other Apostles were as bold with Peter, as before is shewed of Paul, to dispute against him. Neither were they therefore by Peter, reproved of inobedience. Hee did not allege any preeminence or authority to rebuke them for their complaining: as one would say, why should you that are my Sheepe controll mee, that am the head of the Church and your Pastor, or Christs generall Vicar, having both jurisdiction temporall and spirituall; with such other like? but shewed them it was the Will of God, that hee had done, going to the Gentiles to tell them of eternall life, which God pleased to give to them as well as to the Iewes. In token whereof the holy Ghost did sensibly come among them, and so were they baptized.

Thus may you see, that if Peter were the Vicar of Christ, even so likewise was Paul, and all the other Apostles. And I doe not thinke contrary, but that Peter, and all other of the Apostles, were Christs Vicars, if you meane by this word Vicar, a Deputy, or such like, for to preach his Euangely, (which is an office of all other most soveraigne) to minister sacraments, and to do other such divine service in Gods Church. And thus were they worthy to be called (as the Scripture nameth them) Christs true

Apostles equall together without any difference of superiority.

James named before Peter.

Contention about superiority whence it proceedeth.

Acts 11.

Emperors give more obeysance to the Pope, than ever did the Apostles unto Peter.

Difference between Peter and the Pope.

The Pope requireth his feet to be kissed of Emperors.

Peter was content to be chargid of the brethren.

true Apostles, Bishops, Priests, Legates, or any such like. Which authority was given them by Christ after his resurrection, when he said unto them these words, Peace be amongst you. Like as my Father hath sent me, so do I send you. Take you the Holy Ghost: whose sinnes soever you shall forgive, are forgiven them: and whose sinnes soever you shall retaine, are retained: And the same authority did they receive, when Christ spake unto all the Church, after the mind of Saint Augustine and other, in Peter, saying, Peter, Feed my Sheepe.

Luke 24.

Iohn 21.

To the 44. Article.

¶ In the foure and fortieth, where you aske, whether I believe, that the Pope ordinarily chosen for a time (his proper name being expressed) be the successor of Peter, I say, that it seemeth to me a thing of no great value, whether a man believe so or no, I cannot see that it should be numbred amongst the Articles of our Faith, notwithstanding, I will shew my rude thought in it, which is this.

Successor of Peter.

How the Pope may be a successor of Peter.

The Pope may succeed in Saint Peters stead or office, and do the same duly and diligently feeding Christs flocke, and shewing vertuous ensample of living to the same, and so doing, he may and ought to be thought and named a true successor of Saint Peter. And thus is your Lordship Saint Peters successor, performing the conditions aforesaid, with other like properties requisite to your order and duty; yea, and as many other as doe truly their duty, and duly the office of a Bishop. And otherwise may not the Pope be called the Successor of Peter, because he is entred into Saint Peters office, not regarding to doe that is requisite for the same, nor following the trace of vertue, but the contrary. And then is he wrongfully named, if at any time such be, which is not unpossible. For what should men call Peters successors, that play the Pagans, and follow with the conditions of Caiaphas, Simon Magus, or Judas? Such verily, if any be, cannot rightly claime to be Peters successors, no more than the night may claime to be successor of the day; for Peter was never so minded, ne taught them so. Yea, they ought rather to be called Peters adversaries, for so much as they doe not his will that is shewed by his owne acts and writing, but worke against the same. Of such may be said, Non sanctorum filii sunt, qui tenent loca sanctorum, sed qui exercent opera eorum. That is to say, they are not all Saints children, that occupy the roomes of Saints, but they are their children that exercise their workes. Yea, of such may be said, that which is written of Saint Hierome: All Bishops (quoth he) are not Bishops; marke you well Peter, but marke also Judas: behold Stephen, but behold Nicholas. Ecclesiasticall dignity maketh not a Christian man. Cornelius the Centurion, being yet a Pagan, was made cleane through the benefit of the Holy-Ghost. Contrariwise, Daniel being a childe, condemneth Priests or antient men. It is no easie thing, saith he, to stand in the roome of Peter and Paul, and to keepe the seat of them now raigning with Christ: for unsavory salt is nought worth else, but to be throwne out of the doores, and troden downe of Hogs. This saith Saint Hierome.

Every good Bishop may be successor of Peter.

The Pope rather may be Peters adversary, then his successor. Hierome.

As the night is successor of day, so is the Pope successor of Peter, except hee follow the steps of Peter.

Whereunto agreeth well S. Augustine. Every one (quoth he) that saith unto you, Pax vobis, ought not to be heard, or to be believed a Dove. Crowes be fed of dead carion, and so is not a Dove, but she liveth by the fruits of the earth. Her living is pure, innocent, and hurtlesse. Whereby you may see, that ill Bishops are no Bishops, and that they which follow not Saints in vertuous living, are not the successors of Saints, but unsavory salt, that is, neither of the Church, ne shall come in Heaven to raigne there with Peter and Paul, but be throwne out with great contempt. For God knoweth a Dove from a Crow, and an innocent liver from a devourer of carion. But such as declare and shew good deeds as the Saints did, be their children and successors, and shall with them raigne in heaven.

August.

Let us marke not how the bird speaketh, but how hee feedeth.

The Crow feedeth upon carion, the Dove not so.

So that to conclude, I say, That the Pope ordinately chosen is the successor of S. Peter, following Saint Peters godly living. And else, except he study to doe diligently, that he may be so called worthily, it shall be but a vaine name. For rather may he else be reputed an image of a Pope, or of a Bishop, according as such be called of the Prophet; O Pastor & Idolum; O Idoll Shepheards.

How the Pope is successor of Peter, and how not.

Zach. 11.

In the five and fortieth, where you aske whether ever I have promised at any time by my oath, or made any confederacy or league with any person or persons, that I would alway hold and defend certaine conclusions or Articles seeming to me and to my complices right and consonant unto the faith: and will that I should certifie you of the course and forme of the said opinions and conclusions by row, and of the names and sirnames of them that were to me adherent, and promised to be adherent in this behalfe; I say, that I doe not remember that ever I made pact or confederacy with any person or persons, ne made any promise by Oath, that I would alway hold and defend any conclusions or Articles, seeming to me and other right and consonant to the Faith, unlesse it hath chanced me to say in this forme; That I would never with the aid of God forsake, neither decline from the truth, neither for feare, nor yet for love of man or men.

To the last Article.

Joh. Lambert required to recite his fellowes.

Thus I have perhaps said in some time, or some place, because I have indeed so intended, and doe intend, Gods grace assisting me. But I cannot yet tell you, whether I have so said or no, nor to what persons, ne at what time, neither in what place: neither doe I reckon mee to have any complices, but such as doe love me, and I them, for God and in God. And those doe I reckon all them that are or will be truly Christian, in calling upon Christs name. And concerning opinions or conclusions, I can tell you of none other than I have shewed: the summe whereof I reckon and thinke utterly to be concluded in two propositions, which both are written in the new Testament.

All the opinions of Iohn Lambert ingrossed into two propositions.

The first the Acts of Apostles in this wise: Christus est caput anguli, nec est in alio quoquam salus. Non enim aliud nomen sub coelo datum est inter homines, in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri; That is to say, CHRIST is the Head Corner stone of our faith, whereupon it should be set and grounded, neither is salvation in any other, for there is no other name under Heaven given amongst men, wherein wee may be saved. This is the one of the propositions, wherein is ingrossed or comprehended my saying, which Saint Paul doth thus otherwise explicate; CHRIST is made of God our wisedome, our righteousnesse, our pureness, our satisfaction, and our redemption. And in another place; There is no other foundation, that any man may put, except that which is already put, that is, CHRIST IESVS.

The first proposition. Acts 4.

1 Cor. 1.

The other proposition is written of the Prophet Esay, and recited of our Saviour in the Evangely of Matthew, in these words; Men doe worship me in vaine teaching Doctrines and Precepts or Lawes humane. Of this writeth Paul very largely in divers places, and every where well nigh. Amongst other, Colossians the second, where he warneth the Colossians to take heed that no man doe spoyle them, to steale them away by Philosophie or vaine deception, according to the constitutions of men, and ordinances of this world.

The second proposition. Esay 29.

Colossa.

Thus I doe certifie you of all the opinions and conclusions which I intend or have intended to sustain, being contained in the two propositions above written. Other hold I none, but such as are mentioned in the Creed, both that is sung at Masse, and also in the other Creed that all people say every day.

Finally,

Finally, that you require to know of the names and surnames in order particularly of them, that be to me adherents, or that have promised me to be adherent in this part; I say, that I know of none particular that I remember, without I should note unto you a great multitude, which you may know and heare of (I suppose) through all regions and realmes of Christendome, that do thinke likewise, as I have shewed. I wene the multitude mounteth nigh unto the one halfe of Christendome; and more should doe likewise, by a great sort within a while, I doubt not, but that our ghostly enemy laboureth amaine to have the knowledge of the truth suppressed, and letteth that it cannot come abroad to be seene. I say therefore againe, I know of no particular adherents, ne of any that hath so promised me to be in these matters. And though I did; I would not (except I knew that charity so required, which I doe not finde yet hitherto) detect, ne bewray any one of them, for no mans pleasure: for I am bound to obey God above men. Who be with us, and grant the Truth to be knowne. Amen.

The number of Gospellers then in halfe Christendome.

D. Lambert refuseth to detect any by his will.

These answers Lamb. were given to Warham archb. of Canturbury. Lamb. at Otford in custody.

These answers of John Lambert, to the five and forty articles above expressed, were directed and delivered to Doctour Warham archbishop of Canturburie, as it appeareth, about the yeare of our Lord, 1532. at what time the said Lambert was in custody in the archbishops house at Otford, being there destitute of all helpe and furniture of bookes, as by his owne words is to be gathered. But, so the providence of God wrought for Lambert, that within short space after, Anno, 1533. the said archbishop Warham died: whereby it seemeth that Lambert for that time was delivered. In this meane while Doctor Cranmer was sent over in Embassage, with the Earle of Wiltshire, Doctor Stokesley, Doctour Kern, Doctour Benet, and other learned men, to the Bishop of Rome lying then at Bonony, to dispute the matter of the Kings marriage, openly first in the Court of Rome, then in the Court of the Emperour. Where after sundry promises, and appointments made, yet when the time came, no man there appeared to dispute with them, in these two propositions: First, That no man, jure divino, could or ought to marry his brothers wife. Secondly, That the bishop of Rome by no meanes ought to dispence to the contrary. But of this more copiously we will intreat (the Lords grace permitting) in the sequell of our story, comming to doctor Cranmers life.

The death of the bishop of Ergam. Cranmer embassador to the Bishop of Rome. Cranmer offereth a disputation before the Pope and Emperour in the Kings cause. The propositions of Cranmer.

After the death of William Warham, succeeded in that See the said Doctour Cranmer. Lambert in the meane season being delivered, partly by the death of this Archbishop, partly by the comming in of Queene Anne, returned unto London, and there exercised himselfe about the Stockes, in teaching children both in the Greeke and Latine tongue. And forsomuch as Priests in those dayes could not be permitted to have wives, hee left his Priesthood, and applied himselfe to that function of teaching, intending shortly after also to be free of the Grocers and to be married. But God, who disposeth all mens purposes after the secret pleasure of his own will, did both intercept his marriage, and also his freedome, and married him to his Sonne Christ Jesus, as now consequently followeth to be declared.

Cranmer made archb. of Canturbury. Lambert delivered out of prison. Lamb. taught children about Stocks.

Anno 1538.

Thus then after that John Lambert now had continued in this vocation of teaching, with great commendation, and no lesse commodity to the youth; it happened this present yeare, 1538. he was present at a sermon, in S. Peters Church at London. He that preached, was named Doctour Taylour, a man in those daies not farre disagreeing from the Gospell, and afterward in the time of King Edward was made Bishop of Lincolne, and at last in the time of Queene Mary was deprived from the same, and so ended his life, among the Confessours of Jesus Christ.

Taylor Bishop of Lincoln. What after was done by him in Q. Maries time who died 1554

When the Sermon was done, Lambert, having gotten opportunity, went gently unto the preacher to talke with him, and uttered divers arguments wherein hee desired to be satisfied. All the whole matter or controversie was concerning the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Taylor, excusing himselfe at that present for other businesse, willed him to write his mind and to come againe at more leisure.

Lamb. seeketh conference with the preacher. The first occasion of Lamberts troubles.

Lambert was contented, and so departed. Who within a while after, when he had written his mind, came againe unto him. The summe of his Arguments were ten, which he comprehended in writing, approving the truth of the cause, partly by the Scriptures, and partly by good reason, and by the Doctours. The which arguments, although they came not all unto our hands, yet such men as were present at those affaires reported them to be of great force and authority. And of a few which were borne away in memory, the first reason was this which followeth, gathered upon Christs words, where it is sayd in the Gospell, This cup is the New Testament.

Lamberts arguments.

And if saith he, these words do not change neither the cup, neither the wine corporally into the new testament, by like reason it is not agreeable that the words spoken of the bread should turne the bread corporally into the body of Christ.

The words of consecration change not the cup: ergo neither doe the words change the bread corporally into the body.

Another reason was this, That it is not agreeable to a naturall body to be in two places or more at one time: wherefore it must follow of necessity that either Christ had not a naturall body, or else truely, according to the common nature of a body, it cannot be present in two places at once, and much lesse in many, that is to say in heaven and in earth, on the right hand of his father, and in the sacrament.

One body cannot fill many places at once naturally.

Moreover, a naturall body cannot be without his forme and shape, conditions and accidents, like as the accidents and conditions also cannot be without their subject or substance. Then forsomuch as in the Sacrament there is no quality, quantity, or condition of the body of Christ, and finally no appearance at all of flesh; who doth not very plainely perceive that there is no transubstantiate body of his in the Sacrament? And to reason by the contrary; all the proper conditions, signes and accidents whatsoever they be, pertaining to bread, we doe see to be present in the sacrament, which cannot be there without the subject; therefore we must of necessity confesse the bread to be there. He added also many other allegations out of the Doctors. But to be short, this Tailor the preacher, whom I spake of before, willing and desiring, as is supposed, of a good mind to satisfie Lambert in this matter, amongst other whom hee tooke to Counsell, he also conferred with Doctour Barnes. Which Barnes, although he did otherwise favour the Gospell, and was an earnest preacher; notwithstanding seemed not greatly to favour this cause, fearing peradventure that it would breed some let or hinderance, among the people, to the preaching of the Gospell, which was now in a good forwardnesse, if such sacramentaries should be suffered: he perswaded Taylor by and by to put up the matter to Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canturbury. And hereby we may see it truely verified, which William Tyndall, before writing to John Frith, did note in Doctour Barnes, saying, that Doctour Barnes will be hot against you, &c.

The formes cannot be without the subject.

D. Barnes.

Upon these originals Lamberts quarrell first began, and was brought unto this point, that through the sinister doing of many it began of a private talke to be a publike and common matter. For he was sent for by the Archbishop, and brought into the open Court, and forced to defend his cause openly: for the archbishop had not yet savoured the doctrine of the Sacrament, whereof afterward he was an

earnest professor. In that disputation it is said that Lambert did appeale from the bishops to the Kings majestie. But howsoever the matter was, the rumor of that disputation was by and by spread throwout the whole Court.

I told you before, how that King Henry for two yéeres past, shewing the part of an hard husband, had beheaded M. Anne his wife. Which déed did not onely greatly displease the Germane Princes (who for that onely cause had broken off the league with him, Anno 1536.) but also many other good men in England.

Moreover, how that within a while after Abbeyes began to be subverted, and all their goods to be confiscate and given abroad. For which causes, but especially for the late abolishing of the Bishop of Rome, the Commons had conceived a very evill opinion of him, insomuch as the seditious sort rebelled against him.

Ste. Gardiner bishop of Winchester.

At that time Steven Gardiner then B. of Winchester was in authority amongst the Kings counsellors, who as he was of a cruell nature, so was he no lesse of a subtill and crafty wit, ever gaping for some occasion how to let and hinder the Gospell; albeit a long time hée was not so greatly estéemed with the King, that he could much prevaile to atchieve his conceived purpose: But at length, upon this matter advising himselfe, he thought he had apt occasion and opportunity to accomplish his desire.

The pernitious counsell of the bishop of Winchester.

Neither did he forslacke the occasion ministred, but went straight unto the King, privily admonishing him, and with faire flattering words giving him most pernicious counsell; declaring how great hatred and suspition was raised upon him almost in all places.

First, for abolishing the Bishop of Romes authority, then for subversion of the Monasteries, and also for that the divorce of Q. Katherine, was yet fresh in mens minds: and now the time served if he would take it, easily to remedy all these matters, and pacifie the minds of them which were displeased and offended with him, if onely in this matter of John Lambert he would manifest unto the people how stoutly he would resist heretiques; and by this new rumor he would bring to passe, not onely to extinguish all other former rumors, & as it were with one naile to drive out another, but also should discharge himselfe of all suspition, in that he now began to be reported to be a favourer of new sects and opinions.

The King giving eare more willingly, than prudently or godlily, to this Syrene, immediately received the wicked counsell of the Bishop, and by and by sent out a generall Commission, commanding all the Nobles and Bishops of his Realme to come with all spéed to London, to assist the King against heretiques and heresies, which the King himselfe would sit in judgement upon.

The Nobles and Bishops assembled to Lamberts disputation.

These preparations made, a day was set for Lambert, where a great assembly of the Nobles was gathered from all parts of the Realme, not without much wonder and expectation in this so strange a case. All the seats and places were full of men round about the scaffold.

Lambert brought before the King to dispute.

By and by the godly servant of Christ, John Lambert was brought from the prison with a gard of armed men, even as a lambe to fight with many lyons, and placed right over against where the Kings royall seate was, so that now they tarried but for the Kings comming to the place.

At the last the King himselfe did come as Judge of that great controversie, with a great guard, cloathed all in white, and covering by that colour and dissembling severity of all bloody judgement.

On his right hand sate the Bishops, and behind them the famous Lawyers, clothed all in purple, according to the manner. On the left hand sate the Péeres of the Realme, Justices, and other Nobles in their order; behind whom sate the Gentlemen of the Kings privy Chamber. And this was the manner and forme of the judgement, which albeit it was terrible enough of it selfe to abash any innocent, yet the Kings looke, his cruell countenance, and his browes bent unto severity, did not a little augment this terror, plainly declaring a mind ful of indignation farre unworthy such a Prince, especially in such a matter, and against so humble and obedient a subject.

The Kings fierce looke against Lambert.

When the King was set in his Throne he beheld Lambert with a sterne countenance, and then turning himselfe unto his Counsellors, he called forth D. Day Bishop of Chichester, commanding him to declare unto the people the causes of this présent assembly and judgment.

The oration Doctor Day.

The whole effect of his oration tended in a manner to this purpose; That the King in this Session would have all States, Degrées, Bishops, and all other to be admonished of his will and pleasure, that no man should conceive any sinister opinion of him, that now the authoritie and name of the Bishop of Rome being utterly abolished, he would also extinguish all religion, or give libertie unto heretiques to perturbe and trouble the Churches of England, without punishment, whereof he is the Head. And moreover, that they should not thinke that they were assembled at that présent, to make any disputation upon the hereticall doctrine; but onely for this purpose, that by the industrie of him and other Bishops, the heresies of this man here présent (meaning Lambert) and the heresies of all such like should be refuted or openly condemned in the présence of them all.

When he had made an end of his oration, the King standing up upon his feet, leaning upon a cushion of white cloath of Tissue, turning himselfe toward Lambert with his browes bent, as it were threatning some grievous thing to him, said these words; Hoe, good fellow what is thy name? Then the humble lambe of Christ humbly knéeling down upon his knée, said; My name is John Nicolson, although of many I be called Lambert. What (said the King) have you two names? I would not trust you, having two names, although you were my brother.

The King words to Lambert.

Lambert. O most noble Prince, your Bishops forced me of necessitie to change my name. And after divers Prefaces and much talke had in this manner, the King commanded him to goe unto the matter, and to declare his minde and opinion, what he thought as touching the Sacrament of the Altar.

Lamberts confession to the King.

Then Lambert, beginning to speake for himselfe, gave God thankes, which had so inclined the heart of the King, that he himselfe would not disdaine to heare and understand the controversies of Religion; for that it happeneth oftentimes, throwow the cruelty of the Bishops, that many good and innocent men in many places are privily murthered and put to death without the Kings knowledge.

The cruell of bishops noti.

But now forsomuch as that high and eternall King of Kings, in whose hands are the hearts of all Princes, hath inspired and stirred up the Kings mind, that he himselfe will be présent to understand the causes of his subjects, specially whom God of his divine goodnesse hath so aboundantly endued with so great gifts of judgement and knowledge, he doth not mistrust but that God will bring some great thing to passe throwgh him, to the setting forth of the glory of his name.

Then the King, with an angry voice, interrupting his oration; I came not hither, said he, to heare mine owne praises thus painted out in my présence, but briefely goe to the matter, without any more circumstance. Thus he spake in Latine.

But Lambert being abashed at the Kings angry words,

words, contrary to all mens expectation, stayed a while, considering whither he might turne himselfe in these great straights and extremities.

The K. fierce upon Lambert.

But the King being hasty, with anger and vehemency said, why standest thou still? Answere as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, whether doest thou say, that it is the body of Christ, or wilt deny it? And with that word the King lifted up his cap.

Quo modo, i. after a certaine manner.

Lambert, I answere with Saint Augustine, That it is the body of Christ, after a certaine manner.

The King. Answer me neither out of Saint Augustine, neither by the authority of any other, but tell me plainly, whether thou sayest it is the body of Christ or no? These words the King spake againe in Latine.

Lambert. Then I doe deny it to be the body of Christ.

The King. Marke well, for now thou shalt be condemned even by Christs owne words, Hoc est corpus meum

The archbishops reasons.

Then he commanded Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturbury to refute his assertion: who, first making a short preface unto the hearers, began his disputation with Lambert, very modestly saying: Brother Lambert, let this matter be handled betweene us indifferently, that if I doe convince this your argument to be false by the Scriptures, you will willingly refuse the same; but if you shall prove it true by the manifest testimonies of the Scripture, I doe promise, I will willingly embrace the same.

The archbishops argument.

The Argument was this, taken out of that place of the Acts of the Apostles, where as Christ appeared unto Saint Paul by the way: disputing out of that place, that it is not disagreeable to the Word of God, that the body of Christ may be in two places at once, which being in Heaven was seene of Saint Paul the same time upon earth: and if it may be in two places, why by the like reason may it not be in many places.

In this manner the Archbishop began to refute the second argument of Lambert, which, as we have before said, was written and delivered by the said Lambert unto the preacher: for the King had first disputed against his first reason.

Lamberts answer to Cranmers objection.

Lambert answered unto this argument, saying, that the Minor was not thereby proved, that Christs body was dispersed in two places, or more, but remained rather still in one place, as touching the manner of his body. For the Scripture doth not say, that Christ being upon the earth

Acts 9.

did speake unto Paul: But that suddenly a light from Heaven did shine round about him, and he falling to the ground heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? I am Iesus whom thou persecutest, &c. Here this place doth nothing let but that Christ, sitting in Heaven, might speake unto Paul, and be heard upon earth: for they which were with Paul verily heard the voyce, but did see no body.

The archbishops reply.

The Archbishop on the contrary part said, Paul himselfe doth witnesse, Acts the xi and twentieth, that Christ did appeare unto him in the same vision.

Answer to the reply.

But Lambert againe said, that Christ did witnesse in the same place, That he would againe appeare unto him, and deliver him out of the hands of the Gentiles: Notwithstanding wee read in no place that Christ did corporally appeare unto him.

Thus, when they had contended about the conversion of Saint Paul, and Lambert so answering for himselfe, that the King seemed greatly to be moved therewith, and the Bishop himselfe that disputed, to be intangled, and all the audience amased, then the bishop of Winchester, which was appointed the first place of the disputation, fearing lest the argument should be taken out of his mouth, or rather being drowned with malice against the poore man, without the Kings commandement, observing no order, before the Archbishop had made an end, unshamefacedly kneeling downe to take in hand the disputation, alledged a place out of the twelfth Chapter to the Corinthians, where Saint Paul saith, Have I not seene Iesus? And againe in the fiftenth Chapter: Hee appeared unto Cephas: and afterwards unto Iames, then to all the Apostles, but last of all he appeared unto me as one borne out of due time.

The hasty impudency of the bishop of Winchester.

The reason of the Winch.

1 Cor. 15.

Hereunto Lambert answered, hee did nothing doubt but that Christ was seen, and did appeare, but he did deny that he was in two or in divers places, according to the manner of his body.

Winchester replyeth.

Then Winchester againe, abusing the authority of Paul, repeated the place out of the second Epistle to the Corinthians, and the fifth chapter, And if so be we have knowne Christ after the flesh, now henceforth know we him so no more, &c.

2 Cor. 5.

Lambert answereth to Winchester.

Lambert answered, that this knowledge is not to be understood according to the sense of the body, and that it so appeared sufficiently by Saint Paul, which speaking of his owne revelation, saith thus; I know one, whether in the body or without the body, God knoweth, which was rapt into the third Heaven, and I know not whether in the body or without, God knoweth. Whereby, even by the testimony of Saint Paul, a man shall easily gather, that in this revelation he was taken up in spirit into the Heavens, and did see those things, rather than that Christ came downe corporally from Heaven, to shew them unto him: especially, for that it was said of the Angell, That even as hee ascended into Heaven, so he should come againe. And Saint Peter saith, Whom it behooved to dwell in the Heavens. And moreover appointing the measure of time he addeth, Even untill that all things be restored, &c. Here againe, Lambert, being taunted and rebuked, could not be suffered to prosecute his purpose.

Tonstall bishop of Duresme against Lambert.

After the Bishop of Winchester had done, Tonstall Bishop of Duresme tooke his course, and after a long preface, wherein he spake much of Gods omnipotency, at the last he came to this point saying, that if Christ could performe that which he spake, touching the converting of his body into bread, without doubt he would speak nothing, but that he would performe.

The answer of Lambert to Tonstall.

Lambert answered, that there was no evident place of Scripture, wherein Christ doth at any time say, that he would change the bread into his body: and moreover, that there is no necessity why he should so doe. But this is a figurative speech, every where used in the Scripture, when as the name and appellation of the thing signified is attributed unto the signe. By which figure of speech, circumcision is called the covenant, the Lambe the Passeover, beside sir hundred such other.

The figurative phrase of the Scripture to be marked.

Now it remaineth to be marked, whether we shall judge all these, after the words pronounced, to be straightway changed into another nature. Then againe began they to rage afresh against Lambert, so that if hee could not be overcome with Arguments, he should be vanquished with rebukes and taunts. What should he doe? he might well hold his peace like a Lambe, but bite or barke againe he could not.

The wicked boast of Stokesley.

Next orderly stepped forth the valiant Champion Stokesley Bishop of London, who afterward, lying at the point of death, rejoyced, boasting, that in his life time he had burned fifty heretickes. This man amongst the residue, intending to fight for his belly, with a long protestation promised to prove, That it was not onely a miracle of Divine Worke, but also that it did nothing at all abhorre from Nature. For it

is nothing dissonant from nature, the substance of like things (saith he) to be often times changed one into another. So that nevertheless the accidents doe remaine, albeit the substance it selfe, and the matter subiect be changed. Then he declared it by the example of water boyling so long upon the fire untill all the substance thereof be evaporate. Now (saith he) it is the doctrine of the Philosophers, that a substance cannot be changed but into a substance: wherefore we doe affirme the substance of the water to passe into the substance of the ayre; notwithstanding the quality of the water, which is moistnesse, remaineth after the substance is changed; for the aire is moist even as the water is.

The watrish cold argument of Stokesley. One substance may be changed into another, but then the accidents change with it.

When this argument was heard, the Bishops greatly reioyced, and suddenly their countenance changed, as it were assuring themselves of a certain triumph and victory by this philosophicall transmutation of elements, and like as it had beene of more force than Chrisippus argument, which passed all manner of solution.

The Bishops triumph before the victory.

Lamberts answer was long looked for here of all men. Who as soone as he had obtained silence, and liberty to speake, first of all denied the Bishops assumpt, that the moisture of the water did remaine after the substance was altered. For albeit (saith he) that we doe grant with the Philosophers, the aire to be naturally moyst; notwithstanding it hath one proper and a divers degree of moysture, and the water another. Wherefore, when as the water is converted into the aire, there remaineth moysture, as you doe say, but that is not the moysture of water, but the proper and naturall moysture of the aire. Whereupon there is another doctrine amongst the Philosophers, as a perpetuall rule, That it can by no meanes be, that the qualities and accidents in naturall things should remaine in their owne proper nature, without their proper subiect.

Lamberts answer to Stokesley.

Then againe the King and the Bishops raged against Lambert, insomuch that hee was not onely forced to silence, but also might have been driven into a rage, if his eares had not beene acquainted with such taunts afore. After this the other Bishops, every one in his order, as they were appointed, supplied their places of disputation.

Taunts and raging against Lambert.

There were appointed ten in number, for the performing of this Tragedy, for his ten Arguments, which (as before we have declared) were delivered unto Taylor the preacher. It were too long in this place to repeate the reasons and arguments of every Bishop; and no lesse superfluous were it so to doe, specially forsomuch as they were all but common reasons, and nothing forceable, and such as by the long use of disputation have beene beaten, and had little in them either worthy the hearer or the reader.

Ten disputers against Lambert.

Lambert in the meane time being compassed in with so many and great perplexities, vered on the one side with checkes and taunts, and prested on the other side with the authority and threats of the personages, and partly being amazed with the majesty of the place in the presence of the King, and especially being wearied with long standing, which continued no lesse than five houres, from twelve of the clock, untill five at night, being brought in despaire, that hee should nothing profit in this purpose, and seeing no hope at all in speaking, was at this point, that he chose rather to hold his peace.

Lambert in great perplexity

Lambert keepeth silence when speaking would doe no good.

Whereby it came to passe that these bishops, which last of all disputed with him, spake what they listed without interruption, save onely that Lambert would now and then alledge somewhat out of S. Augustine for the defence of his cause; in which authour he seemed to be very prompt and ready. But for the most part (as I said) being overcome with wearinesse and other griefes, hee held his peace, defending himselfe rather with silence than with Arguments, which hee saw would nothing at all prevaile.

The words to Lambert.

At the last, when the day was passed, and torches began to be lighted, the King minding to breake up this pretensed disputation, sayd unto Lambert in this wise; What sayest thou now (quoth he) after all these great labours which thou hast taken upon thee, and all the reasons and instructions of these learned men; art thou not yet satisfied? Wilt thou live or die? What sayest thou? Thou hast yet free choyce.

Lambert answered; I yeeld and submit my selfe wholly unto the will of your Majesty. Then, said the King, commit thy selfe unto the hands of God, and not unto mine.

Lambert. I commend my soule unto the hands of GOD, but my body I wholly yeeld and submit unto your clemency. Then said the King, if you doe commit your selfe unto my iudgment, you must die, for I will not be a patron unto heretikes; and by and by turning himselfe unto Cromwell, he said; Cromwell, read the sentence of condemnation against him. This Cromwell was at that time the chiefe friend of the Gospellers. And here it is much to be marvelled at, to see how unfortunately it came to passe in this matter, that through the pestiferous and crafty counsel of this one bishop of Winchester, Satan (which oftentimes doth raise up one brother to the destruction of another) did here performe the condemnation of this Lambert by no other Ministers, then Gospellers themselves, Taylor, Barnes, Cranmer and Cromwell, who afterwards, in a manner all, suffered the like for the Gospels sake; of whom (God willing) we will speake more hereafter.

The King condemneth the martyr of Christ Iohn Lambert. L. Cromwell commanded by the King to read the sentence.

This undoubtedly was the malicious and crafty subtilty of the bishop of Winchester, which desired rather that the sentence might be read by Cromwell, then by any other; so that if he refused to doe it, he should likewise have incurred the like danger. But to be short, Cromwell, at the Kings commandement taking the schedule of condemnation in hand, read the same: Wherein was contained the burning of heretikes, which either spake or wrote any thing, or had any bookes by them, repugnant or disagreeing from their the Papisticall Church and tradition, touching the Sacrament of the Altar: also a decree that the same should be set up upon the Church porches, and be read foure times every yeere in every Church throughout the Realme, whereby the worshipping of the bread should be the more firmely fixed in the hearts of the people. And in this manner was the condemnation of Iohn Lambert. Wherein great pitty it was and much to be lamented, to see the Kings highnesse that day so to oppose and set his power and strength so fiercely and vehemently, in assisting so many proud and furious adversaries against that one poore silly soul, to be devoured; whom his Majesty with more honour might rather have aided and supported, being so on every side oppressed and compassed about without helpe or refuge, among so many wolves and vultures, especially in such a cause tending to no derogation to him nor to his Realmes, but rather to the necessary reformation of sincere truth and doctrine decayed. For therein especially, consisteth the honour of Princes, to pitty the miserable, to relieve the oppressed, to rescue the wrongs of the poore, and to tender and respect the weaker part, especially where right and truth standeth with him: which if the King had done that day, it had been, in my mind, not so much for the comfort of that poore persecuted creature, as it would have redounded to the immortall renowne of his Princely estate to all posterity.

The crafty fetch of Steph. Wint.

The sentence against Iohn Lambert.

The part of good Prince what to doe.

But thus was Iohn Lambert, in this bloody Session, by the King judged and condemned to death;

death; whose iudgement now remaineth with the Lord against that day, when as before the tribunall seate of that great Iudge both Princes and subiects shall stand and appeare, not to iudge, but to be iudged, according as they haue done and deserued. Ex testimonio cuiusdam *autoris*, A. G.

Lambert going to death.

And thus much hitherto of Lamberts articles, answers, disputations, and his condemnation also. Now to proceed further to the story of his death.

L. Cromwell desired of Lambert forgiuenesse.

Upon the day that was appointed for this holy martyr of God to suffer, he was brought out of the prison at eight of the clocke in the morning unto the house of the Lord Cromwell, and so carried into his inward chamber, whereas it is reported of many, that Cromwell desired of him forgiuenesse, for that he had done. There at the last, Lambert being admonished that the houre of his death was at hand, he was greatly comforted and cheered, and being brought out of the chamber into the hall, he saluted the Gentlemen, and sate downe to breakefast with them, shewing no manner of sadnesse or feare. When as the breakfast was ended, he was carried straightway to the place of execution, where he should offer himselfe unto the Lord a sacrifice of sweet sauour, who is blessed in his Saints, for ever and ever, Amen.

As touching the terrible manner and fashion of the burning of this blessed martyr, here is to be noted, that of all other which haue beene burned and offered up at Smithfield, there was yet none so cruelly and pitiously handled as he. For after that his legs were consumed and burned up to the stumpes, and that the wretched tormentors and enemies of God had withdrawne the fire from him, so that but a small fire and coles were left under him, then two that stood on each side of him, with their halberds pitched him upon their pikes, as farre as the chaine would reach, after the manner and forme as is described in the picture hereunder following. Then he lifting up such hands as he had, and his fingers ends flaming with fire, cryed unto the people in these words, None but Christ, none but Christ; and so being let downe againe from their halberds, fell into the fire, and there ended his life.

The words which he spake at his death.

Thus yee haue heard by what craft and subtilty this good man was entrapped, and with what cruelty he was oppressed: so that now remaineth nothing but only his punishment and death, which the drunken rage of the Bishops thought should not be long protracted.

During the time that he was in the Archbishops Ward at Lambeth, which was a little before his disputation before the King, he wrote an excellent confession or defence of his cause to King Henry.

Wherein he first mollifying the Kings mind and eares with a modest and sober preface, declared how he had a double hope of solace laid up, the one in the most high and mighty Prince of Princes, God; the other next unto God, in his Maiesty, which should represent the office and ministery of that most high Prince in governing here upon earth; after that, proceeding in gentle words, hee declared the cause which moued him to that which he had done.

The Apology of I. Lambert unto the King.

And albeit he was not ignorant how odious this doctrine would be unto the people, yet notwithstanding because hee was not also ignorant how desirous the Kings mind was to search out the truth, he thought no time unmeet to performe his duty, especially forsomuch as he would not utter these things unto the ignorant multitude, for avoyding

The order and manner of the burning of the constant Martyr of Christ, *John Lambert*.

of offence, but onely unto the Prince himselfe unto whom he might safely declare his mind.

The Preface of his Apology. After this preface made, he entering into the book confirmed his doctrine touching the Sacrament by divers testimonies of the Scriptures: by the which Scriptures he proved the body of Christ, whether it riseth, or ascendeth, or sitteth, or be conversant here, to be alwaies in one place.

Then he, gathering together the minds of the ancient Doctors, did prove and declare by sufficient demonstration, the Sacrament to be a mysticall matter. Albeit he so ruled himselfe in such temperance and moderation, that he did not deny, but that the holy Sacrament was the very naturall body of our Saviour, and the wine his naturall blood, and that moreover his naturall body and blood were in those mysteries, but after a certaine manner, as all the ancient Doctours in a manner doe interpret it.

After this Protestation thus made, he inferreth the sentence of his confession, as here followeth.

A Treatise of *John Lambert* to the King.

A treatise of I. Lambert upon the sacrament, to the King. Christ is so ascended bodily into Heaven, and his holy manhood thither so assumpt, where it doth sit upon the right hand of the Father, that is to say, is with the Father there remanent and resident in glory, that by the infallible promise of God, it shall not or cannot from thence returne before the generall dome, which shall be in the end of the world. And as he is no more corporally in the world, so can I not see how hee can be corporally in the Sacrament, or his holy Supper. And yet notwithstanding doe I knowledge and confesse, that the holy Sacrament of Christs body and blood is the very body and blood in a certaine manner, which shall be shewed hereafter with your Graces favour and permission, according to the words of our Saviour instituting the same holy Sacrament, and saying: This is my body which is given for you. And againe, This is my blood which is of the new Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sinnes.

Matth. 26.

But now for approving of the first part, that Christ is so bodily ascended into heaven, and his holy manhood so thither assumpt, &c. that by the infallible promise of God hee shall not, or cannot any more from thence bodily returne before the generall doom, I shall for this alledge first the Scriptures, following the authorities of old holy Doctours, with one consent testifying with me. Besides this, I need not to tell, that the same is no other thing, but that wee have taught to us in these three articles of our Creed, He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from thence hee shall come to judge the quicke and the dead. For Christ did ascend bodily, the Godhead which is infinite, uncircumscriptible, replenishing both Heaven and Earth, being immutable, and unmoveable, so that properly it can neither ascend nor descend.

Scriptures affirming the same.

The Scriptures which I promised to alledge for the confirmation of my said sentence, be these: He was lifted up into Heaven in their sight, and a cloud received him from their eyes: and when they were looking up into Heaven, they saw two men, &c. Here it is evidently shewed, that Christ departed and ascended in a visible and circumscript body. That this departing was visible and in a visible body, these words doe testifie: And when they were looking up: Why stand you here looking up into Heaven? And, even as ye have seene him, &c. That secondly it was in body, I have afore proved, and moreover the Deity is not seene, but is invisible, as appeareth: To God onely invisible, &c. And, He dwelleth in the inaccessible light which no man seeth nor may see, &c. Therefore the manhood and naturall body was assumpt, or did ascend. That thirdly it was in a circumscript body, appeareth manifestly in this: First, that his ascension and bodily departing caused them to looke up. And secondly, that he was lift up, that is to wit, from beneath or from a low. And thirdly, that a cloud received him, whereas no cloud nor clouds can receive or embrace the Deity, &c.

Acts 1.

1 Tim. 1. 1 Tim. 6.

I am faine to leave out other evident arguments for the same purpose, lest I should be over prolix and tedious. It doth there also follow in like forme, how the Angels made answere to the Disciples, saying; Ye men of Galile, Why stand ye gazing into Heaven? This Iesus which is taken up from you into Heaven, shall so come againe, as you have seene him going up into Heaven. Here we see againe, that Iesus is assumpt, or taken away into Heaven. And then it must be from out of the World, according to that wee read, Iohn 16. I went forth from the Father, and I came into the World. I leave the World againe, and I goe unto the Father: That is not else, but as hee came from the Father of Heaven into this World, in that he was incarnate and made man, for his Godhead was never absent, either from Heaven, or yet from earth; even so should his manhood leave the World againe, to goe to Heaven. Moreover, in that it is said, So shall he come, is plainly testified, that he is alway, and now corporally absent.

Iohn 16.

Finally, it is shewed further, after what manner he shall come againe, by these words, Even as you have seene him going up into Heaven. Which is not else, but as you did visibly see him ascend or goe away to Heaven a cloud embracing him and taking him from among you: even so shall you visibly see him to come againe in the clouds, as we read, Mat. 26. You shall see the Sonne of man to come in the clouds of Heaven. And againe Matth. 24. And they shall see the Sonne of man. Such other texts have we full many, declaring my sentence to be Catholike and true. Of which I here shall briefely note some places, and passe over them, knowing that a little rehearsall is sufficient to your noble wisdome. The places be, Marke 16. Luke 24. Iohn 13, 14, 16, and 17. Rom. 8. Ephes. 1. & 2. & 2 Cor. 6. Heb. 8, 9, 10. & 12. & 1 Thes. 4. & 1 Pet. 2. Which all doe testifie, that Christ hath bodily forsaken the world, departed from it unto his Father, ascending into Heaven, sitting still upon the right hand of the Father above all dominion, power and principality, where he is present advocate and intercessour before his Father, and that he shall so bodily come againe, like as he was seene to depart from hence.

Matth. 26. Matth. 24.

Nothing can better or more clearely testifie and declare, what is contained in the Sacrament of Christs holy body and blood, then doe the words of the Scripture, whereby it was institute. Marke doth agree with Matthew, so that in a manner he reciteth his very words. And no marvell it is. For as the Doctors doe say, the Gospell of Marke is a very epitome or abridgement of Matthew. I shall therefore write the relations of them touching the Institution of this Sacrament together. The relation or testimony of Matthew is this, As they were eating, Iesus tooke bread, and when hee had given thankes he brake and gave to his Disciples, and said: Take, eate, this is my body. And taking the cup, and giving thankes, he gave it to them, saying, Drinke ye all of this, for this is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for many, for the remission of sinnes. And I say unto you; I will not drinke henceforth of this fruit of the Vine, untill that day, that I drinke it new with you in the Kingdome of my Father.

The Gospell of Marke is a abridgement of Matthew. Matth. 26.

The

The Testimony or relation of Marke, is this; And as they did eate, Iesus tooke the bread, and when he had given thankes, he brake it and gave it to them, and said; Take, eate, this is my body. And he tooke the cup, and when he had given thankes, he gave it to them, and they all dranke of it, and he said unto them: This is my blood of the new Testament which is shed for many. Verily, I say unto you, I will drinke no more of the fruit of the Vine unto that day that I drinke it new in the Kingdome of God. Luke being the companion of Paul, as appeareth in the Acts, and 2 Tim. 4. doth next agree with him in making relation of his Supper, and holy Institution of the Sacrament. His relation or report is this; When he had taken bread, and given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying; This is my body which is given for you, doe this in remembrance of me. Likewise also after Supper hee tooke the Cup, saying; This Cup is the New Testament in my blood which is shed for you.

Marke 14. 2 Tim. 4. Luke 22.

Pauls testimony doth follow next, agreeable to Luke, and it is thus; For I have received of the Lord that which I also have delivered to you; That our Lord Iesus Christ, in the same night in which he was betrayed, tooke bread, and when he had given thanks he brake it, and said: Take, eat, this is my body which is broken for you: this doe yee in remembrance of me. After the same manner hee also tooke the cup when hee had supped, saying: This cup is the New Testament in my blood, this doe as oft as yee drinke it, in the remembrance of me: for as often as yee shall eat this bread, and drinke this cup, yee shall shew the Lords death till he come. By these testimonies shall I declare my sentence to your grace, which I conceive of the holy Sacrament of Christs blessed body and blood, and in all points of difficulty shall I anner the very interpretation of the old holy Doctors and Fathers, to shew that I doe not ground any thing upon my selfe. Thereafter shall I adde certaine arguments which I trust shall clearely prove and justifie my sentence to be true, Catholique, and according both with God and his Lawes, and also with the mind of holy Doctors.

Cor. 11.

My sentence is this, That Christ ascended into Heaven, and so hath forsaken the World, and there shall abide, sitting on the right hand of his Father, without returning hither againe, untill the generall doome; at what time hee shall come from thence, to judge the dead and the living. This all doe I believe done in his naturall body, which hee tooke of the blessed Virgin Mary his mother, in the which hee also suffered passion for our safety and redemption upon a Crosse, which died for us; and was buried: in which hee also did rise againe to life immortall. That Christ is thus ascended in his manhood and naturall body, and so assumpt into Heaven, wee may soone prove, forsomuch as the Godhead of him is never out of Heaven, but ever replenishing both Heaven and Earth; and besides that, is infinite and interminable or uncircumscriptible, so that it neither can properly either ascend or descend, being without all alteration, and unmutable, or unmoveable.

So that now his naturall body being assumpt from among us, and departed out of the world, the same can no more returne from thence unto the end of the world. For as Peter witnesseth, Acts the third; Whom the heavens must containe untill the time that all things be restored which God had spoken by the mouth of all his holy Prophets since the world began. And the same doth the Article of our Creed teach us, which is, From thence (i. from heaven) shall he come, to judge the quick and the dead. Which time Paul calleth the appearing of our Lord Iesus Christ, 1 Tim. 6.

Acts 3. 1 Tim. 6.

Seeing then this naturall body of our Saviour, that was borne of his mother Mary being a Virgin, is all whole assumpt into Heaven, and departed out of this world; and so as saith Saint Peter, He must remaine in Heaven untill the end of the world, which hee calleth the time when all things must be restored; This I say, seene and believed according to our Creed and the Scriptures, I cannot perceive how the naturall body of him can contrariwise be in the world, and so in the Sacrament. And yet notwithstanding is this true, that the holy Sacrament is Christs body and blood, as after shall be declared.

Doctors affirming the same.

BUt first for the establishing of my former purpose, that the naturall body of our Saviour is so absent from this world, and ascended into Heaven, that it can be here no more present unto the generall doome; I would beseech your Grace to consider the mind and sentence of the old holy Doctors, in this purpose or matter, how agreeable they testifie with that which is before shewed. Amongst whom wee have first Saint Augustine, writing thus to Dardanus; Proinde quod ad verbum attinet, Creator est Christus; omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt. Quod verò ad hominem, &c. Therefore as concerning the Word, Christ is the Creator, all things are made by him. But as touching man, Christ is a creature made of the seed of David, according to the flesh, and ordained according to the similitude of men. Also because man consisteth of two things, the soule and the flesh; in that he had a soule, he was pensive and sorrowfull unto death; in that he had flesh, he suffered death. Neither when we call the Sonne of God Christ, we doe separate his manhood, nor when we call the same Christ the sonne of man, we doe separate his Godhead from him. In that he was man, he was conversant upon the earth, (and not in heaven, where he now is) when he said; No man ascendeth up into heaven, but he which descended from heaven, the sonne of man which is in heaven. Although in that respect that he was the sonne of God hee was in Heaven, and in that hee was the sonne of man, hee was yet in the earth, and as yet was not ascended into heaven: likewise, in that hee is the Sonne of God, hee is the Lord of glory, and in that he is the sonne of man hee was crucified. And yet notwithstanding the Apostle saith; And if they had knowne the Lord of Glory, they would never have crucified him. And by this, both the sonne of man was in Heaven, and the Sonne of God, in that hee was man, was crucified upon earth. Therefore as he might well be called the Lord of Glory, being crucified, when as yet that suffering did onely pertaine unto the flesh; so it might well be said, This day thou shalt be with mee in Paradise, when according to the humility of his manhood in his flesh, hee lay in grave, and according to his soule hee was in the bottome of hell that same day. According to his divine immutability, he never departed from Paradise, because hee by his Godhead is alwayes every where. Doubt you not therefore that there is Christ Iesus according to his manhood, from whence hee shall come. Remember it well, and keepe faithfully thy Christian confession: for hee rose from the dead, he ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father: neither will hee come from any other place, but from thence to judge the quicke and the dead. And hee shall come as the voyce of the Angell beareth witnesse, as hee was seene to goe into Heaven, that is to say, in the selfe same forme and substance of flesh, whereunto undoubtedly hee gave immortality, but hee did not take away the nature thereof: according to this forme of his flesh hee is not to be thought to be every where. And wee must take heed that wee doe not so affirme the Divinity of his manhood, that wee thereby take away the truth of his body.

Testimonies out of the Doctors.

August. ad Dardanum.

For

For it is not a good consequence, that that thing which is in Christ should so be in every place as God. For the Scripture saith very truly of us, that in Him we live, move, and have our being, and yet notwithstanding, wee are not in every place as hee is; but that man is otherwise in God, because that God is otherwise in man, by a certaine proper and singular manner of being: for God and man is one person, and only Iesus Christ is both. In that hee is God, hee is in every place; but in that hee is man, he is in Heaven.

Acts 7. He meaneth Christ.

By which words of holy Augustine, your Grace may evidently see, that he testifieth and teacheth the blessed body or flesh of Christ to be no where else than in heaven. For to it being assumpt or ascended into heaven, God, as he saith, hath given immortality, but not taken away nature. So that by the nature of that holy flesh or body, it must occupy one place. Wherefore it followeth, According to this forme, that is to wit, of his flesh, Christ is not to be thought to be in every place, For if Christ should in his humanity be every where diffused or spread abroad, so should his bodily nature, or naturall body be taken from him: And therefore he saith, For we must beware that we doe not so affirme the Divinity of man, that we doe take away the humanity of his body. But in that hee is God, so is hee every where, according to my words before written; and in that hee is man, so is hee in heaven. And therefore it is said, For God and man is one person, and onely Iesus Christ is both. He, in that he is every where, is God: but in that hee is man, he is in heaven.

Christs body occupieth one place.

And yet doe we reade agreeable to the same matter, more largely in the same Epistle, by these words, Christum Dominum nostrum unigenitum Dei filium, æqualem patri, eundémque hominis filium, quo major est pater, ut ubique totum præsentem esse non dubites tanquam Deum, & in eodem templo Dei esse tanquam inhabitantem, &c. Thou shalt not doubt Christ our Lord, the onely Sonne of God, equall with his Father, and the same being the son of man, whereby the Father is greater, is present every where as God, and is in the one and the same Temple of God as God, and also in some place of heaven as concerning the true shape of his body.

Thus find wee clearely, that for the measure of his very body hee must be in one place, and that in heaven, as concerning his manhood, and yet every where present in that hee is the eternall Sonne of God, and equall to his Father. Like testimony doth hee give in the thirtieth Treatise that he maketh upon the Evangely of John. These be his words there written, Donec sæculum finiatur, sursum est Dominus, sed etiam hic est veritas Domini, &c. Vntill the world be at an end, the Lord is above, but here is the truth of the Lord also; for the body of our Lord in which he rose must be in one place, but his truth is abroad in every place. The first parcell, that is, untill the worlds end, is so put, that it may joyne with the sentence going before, or else to these words following, The Lord is above, &c. And so should it well accord to my sentence before shewed, which is, the Lord is so bodily ascended, that in his naturall body hee cannot againe returne from heaven untill the generall doome.

August. in Ioan. tract. 30.

But howsoever the said clause or parcell be applied, it shall not greatly skill; for my sentence notwithstanding remaineth full stedfast: Insomuch as the Scripture doth mention but of two advents or commings of Christ, of which the first is performed in his blessed incarnation, and the second is the coming at the generall doome. And furthermore, in this Article of our Creed, From thence hee shall come to judge the quicke and the dead, is not only shewed wherefore hee shall come againe, but also when hee shall come againe: so that in the meane while, as the other Article of our Creed witnesseth, Hee sitteth at the right hand of God his Father, that is nothing else to say, then he remaineth in glory with the Father. Furthermore, even as I have before rehearsed the foresaid authority of Austen, so have I read in his Quinquagenes upon a Psalme, of which I cannot now precisely note or name the number. And the same words doth he also write in the Epistle to Saint Hierome. So that we may know, hee had good liking in it, that hee so commonly doth use it, as his usuall Proverbe, or by-word.

The reall presence against the Article of our Creed.

In the same is also testified that his blessed body can be but in one place, so that it being now, according to the Scripture and article of our belefe or Creed, in Heaven, it cannot be in earth: and much lesse can it be in so innumerable places of the earth, as we may perceive that the Sacrament is. Thus although the body of our Saviour must be in one place, as he writeth agreeably to the saying of Peter, Whom the Heavens must receive untill the time of the restitution of all things; Yet as the words following make mention, Veritas autem ejus ubique diffusa est, But his verity is scattered every where. This verity of Christ, or of his body, I doe take to be that he in other places doth call Virtus Sacramenti, the vertue of the Sacrament. As in the five and twentieth Treatise upon John we finde thus written, Aliud est Sacramentum, aliud virtus Sacramenti. The Sacrament is one thing, and the vertue of the Sacrament is another thing. And againe, Si quis manducaverit ex ipso, non moritur, sed qui pertinet ad virtutem Sacramenti, non qui pertinet ad visibile Sacramentum, &c. If any man eate of him, he dieth not, but hee meaneth of him, which doth appertaine to the vertue of the Sacrament, and not of him which pertaineth to the visible Sacrament. And to declare what is the vertue of the Sacrament, that I count to be the truth of the Lord or of his body, he sayth, Qui manducat intus, non foris, qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente; Hee which eateth inwardly in Spirit, not outwardly; hee that eateth in heart, and not hee which cheweth with teeth.

The body of Christ can be but in one place at once.

The verity of Christ.

The vertue of the Sacrament

So that finally, this truth of the Lord or his body, which is dispersed every where abroad, is the spirituall profit, fruit and comfort, that is opened to be received every where of all men by faith in the verity of the Lord, that is to wit, in the very and true promise or testament made to us in the Lords body that was crucified and suffered death for us, and rose againe ascending immortall into Heaven; where he sitteth, that is, abideth on the right hand of his father, from thence not to returne untill the generall doome or judgement. This bodily absence of our Saviour is likewise clearly shewed in the fiftieth Treatise that he maketh upon John, where he doth expound this text, Ye have the poore alwaies with you, but you shall not alwaies have me with you, to my purpose, that thereby I count and hold mine opinion to be rather catholike, then theirs that hold the contrary. Finally, the same doth he confirme in his Sermons of the second and third Feries of Easter, and so in many places besides, as here cannot be recited, the number of them is so passing great.

The verity of the Lord or his body expounded.

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 50.

With him consenteth full plainely Fulgentius in his second Booke to Thrasimundus, writing in this wise, Vnus idemque homo localis ex homine, qui est Deus immensus ex patre. Vnus idemque secundum humanam substantiam, absens cœlo cum esset in terra, &c. One and the same man being local in that hee is man, which is God Almighty of the Father. One and the same according to humane substance, being absent from Heaven when hee was in the earth, and leaving the earth when hee ascended up into Heaven. But according to his divine and Almighty substance, neither departing from Heaven, when hee descended from Heaven, neither leaving the earth, when he ascended into Heaven. The

Fulgentius ad Thrasimundum lib. 2.

which

which may well bee knowne by the undoubtfull saying of our Lord himselfe: which that hee might the better shew his humanity occupying a place, said unto his Disciples; I ascend up unto my Father and your Father, unto my God and your God. Also when he had said of Lazarus; Lazarus is dead, hee adjoyned saying; And I am glad for your sakes, that you may beleeve, because I was not there. But shewing the greatnesse of his Divinity, hee said to his Disciples; Behold I am with you unto the end of the World. For how did he ascend into Heaven, but because hee is locall and true man? and how is hee present to his faithfull, but because he is Almighty and true God, &c. **In this manner doth hæ proceed forth, speaking much, full agreeable to my sentence, which is now over long here to write. But what can be said more plainly in so few words making for me?**

First hæ saith, that Christ being a man, is as concerning his manhood locall, that is to say, contained in one place. And to expresse that more clearely, hæ addeth to it, saying, He is one and the same according to his humane substance, absent from Heaven when he was in earth, and leaving the earth when he ascended into Heaven. **Whereas hæ hath a contrary** Antithesis **for the godly nature, to shew forth the first point the more effectually. The** Antithesis **is thus**; But according to his divine and incomparable substance, neither leaving Heaven when he descended from Heaven, neither forsaking the earth when he ascended into Heaven. **Whereby is also confirmed that I said; Christ did descend and ascend, as touching his humanity, but not in his Deity, which is immutable and unmoveable**; as **hæ may perceive by that hæ here doth call it** Almighty substance. **Furthermore, to shew that Christ (as touching his humane and naturall body, is locall) and in one place, hæ allegeth, and that right justly, two Texts of Scripture: The first is;** I ascend to my Father, &c. **And the second is of Lazarus**; I am glad for your sakes, &c.

Finally, hæ maketh this demand; But how did he ascend into heaven, but because he is a locall and very man? **Whereby wæ may sæ, that by this sentence Christ could not ascend, except hæ had bæne locall, that is, contained in one place, and so very man. And that is according to Saint Augustine, writing as is above shewed**; And he shall so come (as the Angell witnesseth) even as you have seene him goe up into Heaven, that is to say, in the same forme and substance of his flesh. According to this forme he is not spread abroad in every place: for we must beware that we doe not so esteeme his Divinity, that we thereby doe take away the verity of his body. **So that they both doe testifie, and that very plainly, that Christ could not have ascended, except hæ had bæne locall, that is to wit, contained in one place, and very man, and that if hæ were not locall, hæ could not be a man. Wherefore Saint Augustine saith further,** Ad Dardanum, Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, & nusquam erunt, & quia nusquam erunt, nec erunt; **That is to wit,** Take away locality, or occupying of place from bodies, and they shall be no where: and because they shall be no where, they shall have no being at all.

Wæ therefore coveting to finde Christ or his naturall body, should sæke for him in Heaven, where his naturall manhood is sitting on the right hand of his Father. So willeth us Saint Ambrose, in the tenth booke which hæ writeth upon Luke, speaking of Christs humanity assumpt in this wise; Ergo, non supra terram, nec in terra, nec secundum carnem te quærere debemus, si volumus te invenire, &c. Therefore we ought not to seeke thee upon the earth, nor in the earth, neither according to the flesh, if we will find thee: for now according to the flesh we doe not know Christ. Furthermore, Stephen did not seeke thee upon the Earth, when that hee did see thee standing on the right Hand of God the father. But Mary, which sought thee upon the Earth, could not touch thee. Stephen touched thee because hee sought thee in Heaven. Stephen amongst the Iewes saw thee being absent, &c.

Thus wæ must sæke for the naturall body of Christ, not upon the earth, but in heaven, if we will not be deceived. And that doth hæ more largely shew in the same Treatise, speaking thus of the verity of Christs body; Quomodo non corpus quiesceret, in quo manebant insignia vulnerum, vestigia cicatricum, quæ Dominus palpanda obtulit? &c. How could it come to passe that the body could not rest in the Sepulchre, in which the tokens of the wounds and skarres did appeare, which the Lord himselfe did offer to bee touched (in which doing hee did not onely stablish the Faith, but also augmented devotion;) Because hee would rather carry up into Heaven the wounds received for us, and would not put them away, that he might present to God the Father the price of our liberty: such a one the Father doth place at his right hand, embracing the triumph and victory of our salvation, &c.

Gregory also in an homily of Pentecost, saith, agreeable to the other in these words, Quando non maneret apud eos, qui ascensurs cœlous, promittit dicens: Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem sæculi? &c. When was it that he did not tarry with them, which ascending up to heaven, promiseth, saying, Behold, I am here with you continually untill the end of the world? But the word incarnate tarrieth and also goeth away. It departeth in body, and tarrieth in divinity. And therefore he saith, that he tarried with them: even he which was ever present with them by his invisible power, and now departed by his corporall vision. *Gregorius in homil. in Pent.*

In like wise doth hæ testifie in the Homily of Easter day.

With these doth Bede accord in an Homily of Easter in which hæ declareth this Text, John 16. A little while, and yee shall not see me: and againe, a little while and yee shall see me. **And also in an Homily of the vigill of Pentecost. And who can otherwise say or thinke, knowing the Scripture and our belieue, but that the naturall body of Christ is so assumpt into heaven all whole, that it must there abide without returning, until the generall judgement? Notwithstanding, seeing this is the chiefe point wherupon I sæke to establish my sentence in this matter of the holy Sacrament, that Christs holy and naturall body is so assumpt into heaven, that there it must remaine all whole without returning untill the generall doome; I will yet, with the permission of your grace, adde one or two Arguments deduced out of the Scriptures, to declare further my sentence to be faithfull and Catholique.** *Bede in hom. in cap. 16. Ioan.*

Arguments out of Scripture.

1 **AS Christ was enclosed and so borne about in the wombe of his mother, being a Virgin undefiled, and after was borne into this world, and put in a manger, and so hæ growing in age, did abide in divers places, but in one after another, sometime in Galile, sometime in Samaria, sometime in Jury, sometime beyond, sometime on this side of Jordan, and consequently hæ was crucified at Jerusalem, there being inclosed and buried in a grave, from whence hæ did arise, so that the Angels testified of him,** Hee is risen, and is not here, Matth. 28. **and as at the time appointed, after his resurrection, hæ was assumpt, or lifted up into heaven from the top of the Mount of Olivet, in the sight of his Disciples, a cloud compassing him about: Even so shall hæ come from the same Celestiall place,** Matth. 28. *Christ in his manhood not in many places at once.*

hrist (in his umane substance is lo- ll.

ntithesis, that o say, contrary position relation.

Augustine.

I am not so blind Christs divinity, that I must destroy his humanity. Ad Dard. Bodies cannot be without ita tion of pla.

Ambr. in Luc.

place corporally, as they did see him to depart out of the one place corporally, according to the testimony of the Angels, Acts 1. So that in this wee may undoubtedly find that Christ, as touching his manhood, cannot be corporally in many and divers places at once, and so to be corporally in his naturall body in heaven, and also in earth, and that it is moreover in so many parts of the world, as men have affirmed.

Acts 1.

The property of mans nature not to be sequestred from Christ.

Neither doth the Scripture require that wee should spoyle Christ of the property of mans nature, which is to be in one place, whom the same Scripture doth perpetually witnesse and teach to be man, and so to confound the condition of his bodily nature with the nature divine. Paul doth teach, that Christ in his manhood was made in all points like unto his brethren, sinne excepted: how then can his body be in more places at once, unlike unto the naturall property of the bodies of us his brethren? But here doo some witty Philosophers, yea, rather Sophisters than Divines, bring in to the annulling of Christs humanity, a similitude of mans soule, which being one, is yet so all whole in all our whole body, that it is said to be all whole in every part of the body. But such should remember, that it is no convenient similitude which is made of things different and diverse in nature, such as be the soule and body of man, to prove them to have like properties. This is as if they would prove Christs body to be of one nature and property with his soule, and that things naturally corporall were not most diverse from creatures naturally spirituall.

Things corporall and things spirituall not to be compared.

Furthermore, if so it might be, that the body or flesh of Christ were meerely spirituall, and full like unto the substance of Angels, yet it could not in this wise follow, that his body could be every where, or in divers places at once. Wherefore such subtilties are to be omitted, and the trade of Scripture should well like us, by which the old Doctors doe define, that the body of Jesus, exalted or assumpt into Heaven, must be locall, circumscript, and in one place, notwithstanding that the verity, spirituall grace, and fruit that commeth of it, is diffused and spread abroad in all places, or every where. How could Christ corporally depart out of this world, and leave the earth, if hee in the kindes of bread and wine be not onely corporally contained and received, but also there reserved kept and enclosed? What other thing else doe these words testifie, John the thirteenth? But Iesus knowing that his houre was come, that hee should passe out of this world to his Father, &c. And in like forme, Luke the foure and twentieth, And it came to passe, that as hee blessed them, hee departed from them, and was carried up into Heaven: What doe they signifie, if Christ went not verily out of this world, his naturall body being surely assumpt into Heaven?

The body of Christ is locall and in one place.

John 13.

Luke 24.

They doe therefore undoubtedly declare, that Christ, being very God and very man, did verily depart out of this world in his naturall body, his humanity being assumpt into Heaven, where hee remaineth sitting in glory with the Father: Whereas yet his Deity did not leave the world, ne depart out from the earth. Paul doth say, Philippians the second, that of two things hee will not which he might rather chuse, that is to wit, to abide in the flesh for preaching the Gospel, or else to be dissolved from the flesh, seeing that to abide with Christ is much and far better. By the which Paul doth manifestly prove, that they be not presently with Christ, which yet do abide mortall in the flesh. Yet they be with Christ in such wise, as the Scripture doth say, that the believing be the Temple of Christ. And as Paul doth say, 2 Cor. 13. Doe you not know your selves that Iesus Christ is in you? In which sense hee also promised to be with us unto the end of the world. Christ therefore must be otherwise in that place, in which the Apostle desired to be with him, being dissolved, and departed from his body, then he doth abide either in the Supper, or else in any other places of the Churches. He therefore doth undoubtedly meane Heaven, which is the paradise of perfect blisse and glory: whereas Christ being a Victour, triumpher, and Conquerour over death, sinne and hell, and over all creatures, doth raigne and remaine corporally. Thus doe I trust that your grace doth see my sentence thus farre forth to be right, catholike, Christian, and faithfull, according to holy Scripture, to holy Fathers, and the articles of our Christian belefe. Which sentence is this; Christs naturall body is so assumpt into Heaven, where it sitteth or remaineth in glory of the father, that it can no more come from thence, that is to wit, from Heaven returne, untill the end of the world; and therefore cannot the same naturall body naturally be here in the World, or in the Sacrament: for then should it be departed or gone out of the world, and yet be still remaining in the world. it should then be both to come, and already come, which is a contradiction, and variant from the nature of his manhood.

2 Cor. 13.

The naturall body of Christ cannot be both in heaven and in earth, locall.

The second part of this matter.

NOw my sentence in the second part of this matter is this (if so be your Grace shall please to know it, as I your poore and unworthy, but full true subject would with all submission and instance beseech you to know it) I grant the holy Sacrament to be the very and naturall body of our Saviour, and his very naturall blood, and that the naturall body and blood of our Saviour is in the Sacrament after a certaine wise, as after shall appeare: for so doe the words of the supper testifie, Take, eate, this is my body which is given for you. And againe, Drinke yee all of this; this is my blood which is of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sinnes. Of which words, seeing on them dependeth a great triall and proofe of this matter, and that for the interpretation of them is and hath beene all the controversie of this matter, I therefore shall shew the interpretation, that holy Doctors have made of them, that, as to mee seemeth, be full worthy credit.

The 2. part how the naturall body of Christ is in the Sacrament.

First, wee find in the second booke of Tertullian, which hee writeth against Marcion, Ipse Christus nec panem reprobavit, Christ did not reprove the bread, because it doth represent his body. This Marcion, against whom Tertullian doth thus write, did erroneously reprove all creatures as evill. Which thing Tertullian doth improve by the Sacrament, saying as is above written, Christ did not reprove the bread, which representeth his body. As who would say; if Christ had judged the bread evill, then would hee not have left it for a signe or Sacrament to represent his blessed body. Agreeable to the same doth he also say in the fourth booke made against the said Marcion in these words, Christus acceptum panem & distributum Discipulis, corpus suum illud fecit, &c. Christ made the same bread which hee tooke and distributed to his Disciples, his body, saying: This is my body, that is to say, the figure of my body. But it could not have beene a figure, unlesse it were the body of a very true thing indeed. Furthermore, a voyd thing, which is a phantasie, could not receive a figure or a forme. This Marcion had an erroneous opinion, that Christ had no naturall body, but a body phantasticall. Which errour or heresie, this famous Doctour Tertullian doth improve by the holy Sacrament, saying, as afore is writen, That the Sacrament is a figure of Christs body: Ergo, Christ had a very and true body. For a thing which is vain and phantasticall can receive no figure. So that in both places

Tertul. cont. Marcion. lib.

The bread presenteth the body of Christ.

Tertul. cont. Marcion. lib.

Bread beeing a figure of Christs body.

ces wee may clearely perceiue his interpretation of these words, This is my body: which interpretation is not new, but authentique, or full antient, like as is the writer. And this interpretation doe I the rather allow, because none of the old Doctors, which followed him, did ever reprooue him therefore, but rather haue followed it, as appeareth by holy Augustine. In the preface upon the third Psalme, doth the said Augustine highly commend the wonderfull sufferance of Christ, which so long did sucker and forbeare Iudas, as if hee had beene a good and an honest man: whereas notwithstanding he did know his trayterous thoughts, when hee receiued him to the Feast or Supper, in which hee did commend and deliver to his Disciples the figure of his body and blood. The words of Aukten in Latine be these: In historia noui Testamenti, ipsa Domini nostri tanta & tam admiranda patientia erat, quod eum tamdiu pertulit tanquam bonum, &c. In the story of the new Testament, the patience of our Lord was so great, and so to be marvelled at, because he suffered Iudas so long as a good man, when as hee knew his thoughts when he received him to the Feast, in the which hee did commend and deliver the figure of his body and blood to his Disciples.

This is my body expounded.

The patience of Christ in suffering Iudas.

Augustine. The Sacrament a figure the Lords body.

The same holy Doctor also writing against Adamantius, saith thus, Non enim dubitavit Dominus dicere, hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui; For the Lord did not doubt to say, This is my body, when he gave a signe of his body. And for a further declaration, in the same Chapter, hee saith, Sic enim sanguis est anima, quomodo petra erat Christus, &c. For the blood is so the soule, as the rocke was Christ. Notwithstanding he doth not say, that the rocke did signifie Christ: but hee doth say, that the rocke was Christ.

g. contra Adamantium.

Expressely doth Augustine here call the signe of Christs body, his body, plainly interpreting these words, This is my body, as both hee and Tertullian did before.

Moreover, hee taketh these three sentences, This is my body, the soule is the blood, and Christ was the stone, to be of one Phrase, and to be like speaches, or to be expounded after one fashion. And this Text, The rocke was Christ, doth hee commonly thus expound: The rocke did signifie Christ, as appeareth, Lib. 18. de Civitate Dei. Cap. 48. Also in the booke of questions upon Genesis, and in the booke of questions upon Levit. handling the 18. Chapter of Iohn; and in his Sermon of the Annuntiation of our Lady.

A phrase of Scripture.

Aug. de civit. lib. 18. cap. 48.

In like manner also Saint Jerome expoundeth it in the small scholies, written upon the first Chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and all other writers with one consent, so far as I cancred; and so doth the Text require it to be expounded. For Christ was not a naturall stone, as all men may well perceive, and yet was hee the very true stone figuratively, as Lyra saith: Solet res quæ significat nomine rei quam significat, nominari: The thing which signifieth is wont to be called by the name of the thing which it doth signifie. And so is the stone signifying Christ, called Christ, which thereby is signified. And as hee doth approue this Text, The stone was Christ, likewise doth hee expound, The blood is the soule, with the which hee doth knit this Text, This is my body, to be figuratively expounded, as they be. According to this doth the holy Doctor write, Psalm. 50. Nisi quis manducaverit carnem meam, non videbit vitam æternam, &c. Vnlesse a man doe eat my flesh, hee shall not see eternall life. They understood that very fodlishly, and conceived the same carnally; and thought that our Lord would cut away lumps or pieces of his body, and give to them. And they said; This is an hard saying. But they were hard of beliefe, and not the saying. For if they had not beene hard, but meeke, they would have said to themselves: Hee speaketh not this without a cause, but because there is some hid Sacrament or mysterie therein. They should have aboden with him, easie of beliefe, and not hard, and then should they have learned of him that which other learned, that tarryed after they were gone away.

From. in 1. C. cap. 1.

Lyra.

This is my body figurative spoken. Aug. Psal. 50.

In this may wee see, that our Saviour willeth his pretious flesh to be eaten. But for the manner of eating, there is, and hath beene much controuersie. The Iewes of Capernaum were offended with Christ, when hee said, he would haue his flesh eaten: and except a man should eat his flesh, hee could not come to life eternall. They supposed grossely, and understood him (if a man might so plainly speak it) butcherly, that hee would cut out lumps and pieces out of his body, as the Butcher doth out of dead beasts, and so giue it them to eat of, as Augustine doth here say. And upon this grosse, or (as holy Augustine doth here call it) foolish and fleshly understanding, they were offended, and said to him; This is a sore or hard saying. They did shoot forth their bolt, and unwise saying ouer soone, and were offended before they had cause. They tooke that for hard and sore, which would haue beene palling pleasant and profitable to them, if they would haue heard the thing declared throughly to the end.

The grosse Capernaites.

And euen so now, that which in this matter may appeare at the first bluh, a sore, strange, and intolerable sentence, for as much as wee haue not heard of it before, but the contrary hath of a long time beene beaten into our heads, and perswaded to our minds, yet by deliberation and indifference, and abiding a triall of that which at the first may appeare sore and intolerable, shall (I trust) be found a sweet truth, to such specially as your Grace is, loving to heare and to know all troth. But the Capernaites were hard, as here saith Aukten, and not the Word. For if they had not beene hard, but soft and patient to heare, they would haue said in themselves, Christ saith not this without a cause, and there is some hidden mysterie therein: and so by patient tarriance they should haue knowne the truth, that they could not attaine to for perverse hastinesse or haste, which is a great stop and let of true judgement. But the Disciples tarried patiently to heare further, and so did they know this speech of Christ to be the words of life, that to the other, ouer readily departing from Christ, were words of death: For they took them literally and grossely; and the letter (as Paul saith) slayeth.

Hastinesse a great hinderance of true judgement. 2 Cor. 3.

But to shew what the Disciples remaining with Christ did learne, Saint Augustine doth consequently shew, by the words of the Gospell, saying thus: Ille autem instruxit eos, & ait illis; Spiritus est qui vivificat, caro nihil prodest, &c. But hee instructed them, and said unto them, The Spirit is that which giveth life, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I have spoken unto you are spirit and life. Vnderstand you that which I have spoken, spiritually. You shall not eate this body which you see, neither shall you drinke that same blood which they shall shed forth that shall crucifie me. I have set forth to you a certaine Sacrament or mysterie, which, being spiritually understood, shall give you life. And although it be requisite that this be celebrated visibly, yet it ought to be understood invisibly. In this doe wee see, that both Christ and Augustine would haue Christs Words to be understood spiritually, and not carnally; figuratively, and not literally; and therefore doth hee say, You shall not eate this body which you see, neither shall you drinke that same blood which they shall shed forth that shall crucifie mee. And what else is this, but that Christ would his body to be eaten, and his blood to be drunken? But hee would not his body to be carnally eaten, which was materially seene of them to whom hee spake; nor his materiall or naturall blood to be carnally drunken, which

The words of the Sacrament are to be understood spiritually.

The body of Christ is not to be eaten carnally.

which his crucifiers should cause to issue from his naturall body crucified, as saith Augustine; but hee ordained and willed his body and blood to be spiritually eaten and drunken, in faith and belefe that his body was crucified for us, and that his blood was shed for the remission of our sinnes.

This eating and drinking is nothing but such true faith and belefe as is shewed. Wherefore as Christ saith, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath life everlasting. Even so doth hee say, He that believeth in me hath life everlasting. And Saint Augustine agreeable to the same, treating upon John, doth say, At quid paras dentem & ventrem? crede, & manducasti, &c. Why dost thou prepare thy teeth and belly? Believe, and thou hast eaten. I doe know that Christ ordaineth his Sacrament to be received and eaten, which is in a certaine wise called his body, as after shall be more largely opened: but that same doth not feed the mind of them, except it be taken spiritually, and not corporally. Hebrewes the thirteenth, It is good to establish the heart with grace, and not with meat.

Aug. in Ioan.

And Saint Augustine assenting to the same, doth say in a Sermon, that he maketh upon these words, in the Gospell of Saint Luke; Lord teach us to pray. Panem dixit, sed Epiousion, hoc est, supersubstantialem, &c. Hee said bread, but supersubstantiall bread. This is not the bread, which goeth into the body; but that bread which doth satisfie the substance of our soule. Our soules therefore, into whom nothing corporall can corporally enter, doe not carnally receive the body and blood of our Saviour, neither did hee ordaine his blessed body & blood so to be eaten and drunken: Although our soules cannot live, except they be spiritually fed with the blessed body and blood of him, spiritually eating and drinking them, in taking also at times convenient the blessed Sacrament, which is truely called his body and blood; Not that it is so really, but as is shewed by the interpretation both of Tertullian and Augustine, because it is a signe or figure of Christs body and blood. And the signes or Sacraments doe commonly, as saith Saint Augustine, both Ad Bonifacium, and in his Worke, De Civitate Dei, take their denomination of the things by them represented and signified.

Aug. in Serm. de verbis Lucæ.

The Sacrament truly called the body and blood of Christ.

Sacraments take their denomination of the things which they represent.

But forsomuch as some will object that Augustine in the words afore rehearsed doth not speake of eating the Sacrament; for the Text of the Scripture, upon the which he doth ground, is not spoken by eating the Sacrament, which Text is this, Vnlesse a man eat my flesh, &c. I answer, that true it is, hee began of spirituall eating, and thereto serveth the Text recited. Nevertheless, hee meaneth that Christ is not ordained to be eaten, either without the Sacrament, or in the Sacrament, but spiritually of the faithfull: as more evidently doth appeare by these words there following: Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi, quod spiritualiter intellectum vivificabit vos, &c. I have commended unto you a Sacrament, which being understood of you spiritually shall quicken you. Although it were necessary that the same should be celebrated visibly, yet notwithstanding it ought to be understood invisibly.

Obiection answered.

Here doth hee shew that hee meaneth of eating, not without the Sacrament only, but also in the Sacrament, and therefore hee doth not onely say, I have commended unto you a certaine Sacrament, &c. But hee addeth moreover, Although it is requisite the same to be celebrate visibly. How therefore can the eating of Christ, and the Sacrament thereof be visibly celebrate, but in the Maundie, or in his Supper? Which is celebrated visibly in visible things of bread and wine: which cannot quicken or relieve us and our soules, except they be understood and so received spiritually.

This is my body expounded by Augustine.

Furthermore, as concerning the exposition of these words of the Supper, This is my body, &c. S. Augustine, writing to Bonifacius, saith thus. Sæpe ita loquimur, ut pascha appropinquante, crastinam vel perendinam Domini passionem dicamus, &c. Wee use oftentimes this manner of phrase, that when Easter doth approach, wee name the day that commeth after, or the next day after that, the passion of the Lord, when as hee notwithstanding had suffered before that many yeeres; neither that passion was done but once for all. So truely doe we say upon the Lords day: This day the Lord hath risen, when so many yeeres are past since hee rose. Wherefore no man is so fond, that hee will reprove us as liers, for this manner of speaking, because wee call these dayes according to the similitude of those, in which these things were done: so that it is called the same day which is not the same, but by course of time of the yeere comming about, is like unto it: And also because that thing is said to be done that day through the celebration of the Sacrament, which was not done that day, but long before that time. Was not Christ once offered up in himselfe? And yet notwithstanding, hee is not onely offered up in the Sacrament, in the solemne feasts of Easter, but every day mystically for the people. Neither doth hee make a lie, which being demanded, answereth that Christ is offered up. For, if the Sacraments had not a certaine similitude of those things whereof they are Sacraments, then should they be no Sacraments at all. By reason of this similitude or likenesse, Sacraments oftentimes doe receive the names of the selfe same things whereof they are Sacraments.

Aug. de Boni

How the Sacrament of the body is the body of Christ after a certain manner.

Therefore, as after a certaine manner, the Sacrament of Christs body is the body of Christ, and the Sacrament of Christs blood is the blood of Christ: even likewise the Sacrament of faith is faith. For to believe, is none other thing, than to have faith. And by this it is answered, that the very infants have faith, because of the Sacrament of faith, and convert themselves unto God, because of the Sacrament of conversion: for the very answer it selfe doth appertaine unto the celebration of the Sacrament: as the Apostle speaketh of Baptisme. For hee saith, Wee are buried by Baptisme into his death: He saith not, wee have signified a burying, but hee plainely saith, wee are buried. Therefore he named the Sacrament of so weighty a matter or thing by no other name, but by the very name of the thing it selfe.

Nothing can be more plainly spoken, nor more agreeable to the naturall understanding of the Texts of the Supper, and to the exposition afore shewed of Tertullian and of himselfe. For seeing that Christ is bodily in heaven, and so absent from the earth, it is needfull to know, how the holy Sacrament, which he doth call his body and blood, should be his body and blood.

By Analogy of the Scriptures speeches is to be expounded one speech by another.

This holy Doctor Augustine therefore, doth this matter manifestly and sincerely declare by other like speeches, and first by common speeches, and secondly by speeches of Scripture. The common speech is: Wee doe, saith hee, use often to say, that when Easter doth approach or draw nigh, to morrow or the next day is the Lords passion, whereas he did suffer afore many yeeres past, and that passion was never but once done.

The second common speech is; and of that Sunday wee say, That this day the Lord did rise from death, whereas so many yeeres be yet past since the time he arose. Wherefore to conclude, he saith, No man is so foolish, that hee will reprove us for so saying, or to say that wee have lied, because we doe call these dayes after the similitude of those in which these things were done. So that it is called the same day, not for that it is the selfe same, but by revolution of time like unto it. And the resurrection is said to be done in the same day, through the celebrating of the Sacrament of that which is not done that day, but long time afore past.

The

The third speech. Wil is not Christ offered up once for all in his owne person? Yet is he nevertheless offered in the sacrament mystically for the people, not onely every yeare at the Feast of Easter, but also every day. Neither doth he lie, which when he is demanded, shall answer, that he is offered or sacrificed. For if the Sacraments had not a certaine similitude of those things of which they be sacraments, then should they be no sacraments at all. By reason of which similitude they doe for the most part receive the denomination or name of those things signified. And therefore after a certaine manner the sacrament of Christs body is the body of Christ, and the sacrament of Christs bloud is the bloud of Christ, and so also be the sacraments of Faith called Faith.

Christ is offered in the sacrament mystically that is in remembrance of his oblation.

Quodammodo, i. after a certaine manner.

This doth he yet prove by another example of speech, which is this. It is none other thing to believe, than to have faith. And therefore when answer is made that the infants have faith, which indeed have it not in full working, it is answered, That such have faith for the sacrament of faith, and that they doe convert themselues unto faith for the sacrament of Conuersion. For the very answere it selfe doth pertaine to the celebration of the sacrament, &c. Thus doth it sufficiently appeare, that as we use truly to call that good Friday, or the day of Christ passion, which is not indeed ỹ day of Christs passion, but only a memoriall thereof once done for ever: ꝛ as we use to call the next Easter day the day of Christs resurrection, not because that Christ in the same day shall arise, but onely for a memoriall of his resurrection once done for ever, and that of long time passed.

And Christ, being offered up once for all in his owne proper person, is yet said to be offered up not onely every yeare at Easter, but also every day in the celebration of the sacrament, because his oblation, once for ever made, is thereby representeth; Even so (saith Augustine) is the sacrament of Christs body the body of Christ, and the sacrament of Christs bloud the bloud of Christ in a certaine wise or fashion. Not that the sacrament is his naturall body or bloud indeed, but that it is a memoriall or representation thereof, as the dayes before shewed be of his very and naturall body crucified for us, and of his precious bloud shed for the remission of our sinnes. And thus be the holy signes or sacraments truly called by the names of the very things in them signified. But why so? For they (saith Augustine) have a certaine similitude of those things whereof they be signes or sacraments; for else they should be no sacraments at all: and therefore doe they commonly, and for the most part receive the denomination of the things whereof they be sacraments.

The celebration of the sacrament representeth the oblation of Christs body.

The sacrament of Christs body is not Christs body indeed, but a memoriall or representation.

So that we may manifestly perceive that he calleth not the Sacrament of Christs body and bloud the very body and bloud of Christ, but as hee sayd before. But yet he saith in a certaine manner or wise: Not that the Sacrament absolutely and plainely is his naturall body and bloud. For this is a false argument of Sophistry, which they call Secundum quid ad simpliciter; that is to say, that the Sacrament of Christs body is in a certaine wise the body of Christ: Ergo it is also plainely and expressely the naturall body of Christ. For such another reason might this be also: Christ is after a certaine manner a Lyon, a Lambe, and a doze; Ergo, Christ is a naturall Lyon, and a Lambe, or materiall doze. But the sacrament of Christs body and bloud is therefore called his body and bloud, because it is thereof a memoriall, signe, Sacrament, token, and representation, spent once for our redemption. Which thing is further expounded by another speech that hee doth here consequently alledge of baptisme; Sicut de ipso baptismo Apostolus dicit, &c.

fallax in loge, a secundum id ad simplici-

the Popes gument. he sacrament Christs bo- is Christs dy: Ergo, the crament is rists body lly and substantially.

The Apostle, quoth Augustine, saith not, we have signified burying, but he saith utterly, we be buried with Christ. For else should all false Christians be buried with Christ from sinne, which yet doe live in all sinne. And therefore saith Augustine immediately thereupon, he called therefore the Sacrament of so great a thing, by none other name then of the thing it selfe. Thus (O most gracious and godly Prince) doe I confesse and acknowledge, that the bread of the Sacrament is truely Christs body, and the wine to be truely his bloud, according to the words of the institution of the same Sacrament; but in a certaine wise, that is to wit, figuratively, sacramentally, or significatively, according to the exposition of the Doctours before recited, and hereafter following. And to this exposition of the old Doctours am I inforced, both by the articles of my Creed, and also by the circumstances of the said Scripture, as after shall more largely appeare. But by the same can I not finde the naturall body of our Saviour to be there naturally, but rather absent, both from the Sacrament, and from all the world, collocate and remaining in heaven, where he by promise must abide corporally, unto the end of the world.

The same holy Doctour, writing against one Faustus, saith in like manner, Si Machabæos cum ingenti admiratione præferimus, quia escas quibus nunc Christiani licite utuntur, attingere noluerunt (quia pro tempore tunc Prophetico non licebat) quanto nunc magis pro Baptismo Christi, pro Eucharistia Christi, pro signo Christi, &c. If we doe preferre with great admiration the Machabees, because they would not once touch the meates which Christian men now lawfully use to eate of, for that it was not lawfull for that time being then Propheticall, that is, in the time of the Old Testament: How much rather now ought a Christian to be more ready to suffer all things for the Baptisme of Christ, and for the Sacrament of thankesgiving, and for the signe of Christ, seeing that those of the old Testament were the promises of the things to be compleate and fulfilled, and these Sacraments in the New Testament are the tokens of thing compleate and finished? In this doe I note, that according to the expositions before shewed, he calleth the Sacrament of Baptisme, and the Sacrament of Christs body and bloud, otherwise properly named Eucharistia, signum Christi, and that in the singular number, for as much as they both doe signifie wel-nigh one thing. In both them is testified the death of our Saviour. And moreover, he calleth them Indicia rerum completarum, that is to wit, the tokens or benefits that we shall receive by the belieke of Christ for us crucified. And he doth call usually both the Sacraments signum Christi, in the singular number. And as the same Saint Augustine in his fiftieth treatise upon the Gospell of Saint John teacheth, where he saith thus; Si bonus es, si ad corpus Christi pertines, (quod significat Petrus) habes Christum, & in præsenti & in futuro. In præsenti per fidem, &c. If thou be good, if thou pertaine to the body of Christ, (which this word Petrus doth signifie, then hast thou Christ both here present, and in time to come: here present through Faith; here present by the signe and figure of Christ; here present by the Sacrament of Baptisme; here present by the meate and drinke of the Altar, &c.

Aug. contra Faustum.

The signe of Christ.

August. in Ioan. tract. 50.

More there was that John Lambert wrote to the King, but thus much onely came to our hands.

The death of *Robert Packington*.

Among other acts and matters passed and done this present yere, which is of the Lord 1538. Do- here

Robert Packington.

{ Anno } { 1538. }

here is not to be silenced the unworthy and lamentable death of Robert Packington Mercer of London, wrought and caused by the enemies of Gods Word and of all good proceedings. The story is this; The sayd Robert Packington, being a man of substance, and dwelling in Cheapside, used every day at five of the clocke, Winter and Summer, to goe to prayer at a Church then called Saint Thomas of Acres, but now named Mercers chappell. And one morning amongst all other, being a great mystie morning, such as hath seldome beene seene, even as he was crossing the streete from his house to the Church, he was suddenly murthered with a gunne, which of the neighbours was plainely heard, and by a great number of labourers standing at Soper lane end, he was both seene to goe forth of his house, and the clap of the gunne was heard, but the deed doer was a great while unespied and unknowne. Although many in the meane time were suspected, yet none could be found faulty therein, the murtherer so covertly was conveyed, till at length by the confession of Doctour Incent Deane of Pauls, in his death bed, it was knowne and by him confessed, that he himselfe was the author thereof, by hiring an Italian, for forty crownes or thereabout, to doe the feate. For the testimony whereof, and also for the repentant words of the said Incent, the names both of them which heard him confesse it, and of them which heard the witnesses repeat it remaine yet in memory, to be produced, if need required.

Doct. Incent Dean of Pauls, murderer of Packington.

The cause why hee was so little favoured with the Clergy, was this, for that he was knowne to be a man of great courage, and one that could both speake, and also would be heard: for at the same time he was one of the Burgesses of the Parliament for the City of London, and had talked somewhat against the covetousnesse and cruelty of the Clergy, wherefore he was had in contempt with them, and was thought also to have some talke with the King, for the which he was the more had in disdaine with them; and murthered by the said Doctour Incent, for his labour, as hath beene above declared.

And thus much of Robert Packington, which was the brother of Augustine Packington above mentioned, who deceived Bishop Tonstall, in buying the new translated Testament of Tindall. Whose pitious murther although it was privy and sudden, yet hath it so pleased the Lord not to keepe it in darknesse, but to bring it at length to light.

The burning of one Collins at London.

Collins with his dogge burned.

NEither is here to bee omitted the burning of one Collins, sometime a Lawyer and a Gentleman, which suffered the fire this yeare also in Smithfield, anno 1538. Whom although I doe not here recite as in the number of Gods professed martyrs, yet neither doe I thinke him to be cleane sequestred from the company of the Lords saved flocke and family, notwithstanding that the bishop of Romes Church did condemne and burne him for an heretique: but rather doe recount him therefore as one belonging to the holy company of Saints. At leastwise this case of him and of his end may be thought to be such, as may well reprove & condemne their cruelty and madnesse, in burning so without all discretion this man, being mad and distract of his perfect wits, as he then was, by this occasion as here followeth.

This Gentleman had a wife of exceeding beauty and comelinesse, but notwithstanding of so light behaviour and unchaste conditions (nothing correspondent to the grace of her beauty) that shee forsaking her husband, which loved her intirely, betooke her selfe unto another Paramour. Which thing when he understood, he tooke it very grievously and heavily, more than reason would. At the last being overcome with exceeding dolor and heavinesse, he fell mad, being at that time a Student of the Law in London. When he was thus ravished of his wits, by chance he came into a Church, where a Priest was a saying Masse, and was come to the place where they use to hold up and shew the Sacrament.

Collins with his Dog burned.

Collins being beside his wits, seeing the Priest holding up the Host over his head, and shewing it to the People; he in like manner counterfeiting the Priest, tooke up a little dog by the legs and held him over his head, shewing him unto the people. And for this he was by and by brought to examination, and condemned to the fire, and was burned, and the dog with him, the same yeare of our Lord, in the which John Lambert was burned, 1538.

Collins burnt for holding up dog at masse.

The burning of *Cowbridge* at Oxford, *Anno* 1538.

WIth this foresaid Collins may also be adjoyned the burning of Colwbridge, who likewise being mad and beside his right senses, was either the same or the next yeare following condemned by Longland Bishop of Lincolne, and committed to the fire by him to be burnt at Oxford. What his opinions & articles were wherewith he was charged, it needeth not here to rehearse. For as he was then a man mad, and destitute of sense and reason, so his words and sayings could not be sound. Yea rather, what wise man would ever collect articles against him, which said he could not tell what. And if his articles were so horrible and mad as Cope in his Dialogues doth declare them, then was he in my judgement a man more fit to be sent to bedlem, than to be had to the fire in Smithfield to be burned. For what reason is it to require reason of a creature mad or unreasonable, or to make heresie of the words of a senselesse man, not knowing what he affirmed.

Colwbridge burnt at Oxford.

Cope in his dialogues.

But this is the manner and property of this holy mother Church of Rome, that whatsoever commeth

meth in their hands and inquisition, to the fire it must. There is no other way; neither pity that will move, nor excuse that will serve, nor age that they will spare, nor any respect almost that they consider, as by these two miserable examples, both of Collins and Cowbridge it may appeare. Who rather should have bene pitied, and all waies convenient sought how to reduce the silly wretches into their right minds againe, according as the true Pastors of Israel be commanded by the Spirit of God, to seeke again the things that be lost, & to bind up the things that be broken, &c. and not so extremely to bruse the things that be bruised before. But to end with this matter of Cowbridge, whatsoever his madnesse was before, or howsoever erroneous his articles were (which for the fond fantasies of them I doe not expresse) yet as touching his end, this is certaine, that in the middest of the flame, he, lifting up his head to heaven, soberly and discreetely called upon the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and so departed.

The right confession of Cowbridge, at his departing.

William Leiton and Puttedew, Martyrs.

Puttedew martyred.

About the same time and yere, or not much before, when John Lambert suffered at London, there was one Puttedew also condemned to the fire, about the parts of Suffolke: who comming into the Church, and merrily telling the Priest, that after hee had drunke up all the Wine alone, hee afterward blessed the hungry people with the empty Chalice, was for the same immediately apprehended, and shortly after burned, leaving to us an experiment, Quam parum sit tutum ludere cum sanctis, as the old saying was then; but rather, as wee may see now, Quam male tutum sit ludere cum impiis.

Prover. Non est tutum ludere cum impiis.

W. Leyton martyr.

The other William Leiton, was a Monke of Aye in the County of Suffolke, and was burned at Norwich, for speaking against a certaine Idoll which was accustomed to be carried about the Processions at Aye; and also for holding that the Sacramentall Supper ought to be administred in both kinds, about the yeare and time aforesaid.

The burning of one Peke at Ipswich.

W. Peke burned at Ipswich, martyr.

In the burning of another Suffolke man, named N. Peke, dwelling sometime at Carlestonham, and burnt at Ipswich, somewhat before the burning of these aforesaid, thus I finde it recorded and testified: That when as hee being fast bound to a stake; and furse set on fire round about him, was so scorched, that hee was as blacke as any coke, one Doctour Reading there standing before him, with Doctour Heyne and Doctour Springwell, having a long white Wand in his hand, did knocke him upon the right shoulder, and said Peke recant, and beleeve that the Sacrament of the Altar is the very body of Christ, Flesh, Blood, and Bone, after that the Priest hath spoken the words of Consecration over it, and here have I in my hand to absolve thee for thy misbeleefe that hath bene in thee, having a Scrole of Paper in his hand. When he had spoken these words, Peke answered, and said, I defie it and thee also, and with a great violence he spit from him very blood, which came by reason that his Veines brake in his body for extreame anguish. And when the said Peke had so spoken, then Doctour Reading said: To as many as shall cast a sticke to the burning of this heretik, is granted forty daies of pardon by my Lord bishop of Norwich.

Then Baron Cursон, Sir John Audley Knight, with many others of estimation being there present, did rise from their seats, and with their Swords did cut downe boughes, and throw them into the fire, and so did all the multitude of the people.

Witnesse Iohn Ramsey and others, who did see this act.

In the yere last before this, which was of the Lord 1537. it was declared how Pope Paul the third indicted a generall Councell, to be holden at Mantua. Whereunto the King of England, amongst other Princes being called, refused either to come or to send at the Popes call, and for defence of himselfe directed out a publike Apology or protestation, rendring just and sufficient matter, why neither he would, nor was bound to obey the Popes commandement. Which protestation is before to be read. This Councell appointed to begin the three and twentieth day of May, the yere aforesaid was then stopped by the Duke of Mantua, pretending that he would suffer no Councell there, unlesse the Pope would fortifie the City with a sufficient army, &c. For which cause the Pope prorogued the said Councell, to be celebrate in the month of November following, appointing at the first no certaine place. At length he named and determined the City of Vincence (lying within the Dominion of the Venetians) to be the place for the Councell. Whereunto when the King (the yere next following, which is this present yere of our Lord 1538.) was requested by the Emperour and other States, to resort either himselfe, or to send; he againe refusing (as he did before) sendeth this protestation in way of defence and answer for himselfe, to the Emperour and other Christian Princes; the copy and effect whereof here under followeth, and is this.

Of this Councell of Mantua read before.

Henry the eighth by the grace of God, King of England and France, &c. saluteth the Emperour, Christian Princes, and all true Christian men, desiring peace and concord amongst them.

Whereas not long since, a booke came forth in our and all our Counsels names, which contained many causes why we refused the councell,

{Anno 1538.}

The Kings letter to the Emperour. Of this booke read before. The Pope doth but mocke the world with his pretended councels.

then by the Bishop of Romes usurped power, first indicted at Mantua, to be kept the three and twentieth day of May, after prorogued to November, no place appointed where it should be kept: And whereas the same book doth sufficiently prove, that our cause could take no hurt, neither with any thing done or decreed in such a companie of men addict to one sect, nor in any other Councell called by his usurped power; we thinke it nothing necessarie, so oft to make new protestations, as the Bishop of Rome and his Courts, by subtiltie and craft, do invent waies to mocke the world by new pretended generall Councels. Yet notwithstanding because that some things now occurred, either upon occasion given us by change of the place, or else through other considerations, which now being knowne to the world may doe much good, we thought we should doe but even as that loue enforceth us, which we owe unto Christs faith and Religion, to adde this Epistle. And yet we protest that wee neither put forth that booke, neither yet wee would this Epistle to be set before it, that thereby we should seeme lesse to desire a generall Councell than any other Prince or potentate, but rather to be more desirous of it, so it were free for all parts, and universall. And further, wee desire all good Princes, Potentates, and people, to esteeme and thinke, that no Prince would more willingly bee present at such a Councell than we; such a one we meane, as we speake of in our Protestation made concerning the Councell of Mantua.

Generall counsels are to be wished, so they might be free universally for all parts.

Truly as our forefathers inuented nothing more holy than generall Councels, used as they ought to be, so there is almost nothing that may do more hurt to the Christian Commonwealth, to the faith, to our religion, than generall Councels, if they be abused to lucre, to gaines, to the establishment of errors. They be called generall, and even by their name doe admonish us, that all Christian men, which do dissent in any opinion, may in them openly, frankly, and without feare of punishment or displeasure say their minde. For seeing such things as are decreed in generall Councels, touch equally all men that give assent thereunto, it is meet that every man may boldly say there what he thinketh. And verily we suppose, that it ought not to be called a generall Counsell, where onely those men are heard, which are determined for ever, in all points, to defend the Popish part, and to arme themselues to fight in the Bishop of Romes quarrell, though it were against God and his Scriptures. It is no generall Councell, neither ought it to be called generall, where the same men bee both aduocates and aduersaries: the same accused and Judges: No it is against the law of nature, either that we should condescend to so unreasonable a law against our selues, or that we should suffer our selues to be left without all defence, and being oppressed with greatest iniuries, to have no refuge to succour our selues at. The Bishop of Rome and his be our great enemies, as we and all the world may well perceive by his doings.

Nothing more pernicious to the Church then generall Councels, if they be abused.

The Popes Councels are not Generall Councels. The Pope in his Councels is the party accused and also the Judge.

He desireth nothing more than our hurt, and the destruction of our realme: Do not we then violate the iudgement of nature, if we give him power and authoritie to be our Judge? His pretended honor, first gotten by superstition, after increased by violence, and other wayes as evill as that; his power set up by pretence of religion, indeed both against religion, and also contrary to the Word of God; his primacy, borne by the ignorance of the world, nourished by the ambition of the bishops of Rome, defended by places of Scripture falsely understood: these three things, we say, which are fallen with us, and are like to fall in other realmes shortly, shall they not be established againe, if he may decide our cause as him lusteth? If he may at his pleasure oppresse a cause most righteous, and set up his, most against truth? Certainely hee is very blind that seeth not what end wee may looke for of our controversies, if such our enemie may give the sentence.

Against all reason that he which is our accuser should also be our iudge.

The Popes honour first gotten by superstition, borne by ignorance, nourished by ambition, increased by violence, defended by false understanding and wresting of Scriptures.

We desire, if it were in any wise possible, a councell, where some hope may be that those things shall be restored, which now being depraved are like (if they be not amended) to be the utter ruine of Christian religion. And as we do desire such a Councel, and thinke it meet that all men in all their prayers should desire and craue it of God; even so we think it appertaineth vnto our office, to provide both that these popish subtilties hurt none of our subiects, and also to admonish other Christian Princes, that the Bishop of Rome may not by their consent abuse the authority of Kings, either by the extinguishing of the true preaching of Scripture, (that now beginneth to spring, to grow and spread abroad) or to the troubling of Princes liberties, to the diminishing of Kings authorities, and to the great blemish of their Princely Majestie. We doubt nothing but a reader not partiall will soone approve such things as we here write, not so much for our excuse, as that the world may perceive both the sundry deceits, crafts, and subtilties of the papists, and also how much we desire that controversies in matters of religion may once be taken away.

Provision to be made against popish subtilties.

All that we said there of Mantua, may here well be spoken of Vincence. They doe almost agree in all points. Neither is it like that there will be any more at this Councell at Vincence, then were the last yeare at Mantua. Truely he is worthy to be deceived, that being twice mocked will not beware the third time. If any this last yeare made forth toward Mantua, and being halfe on their way, then perceived that they had taken upon them that iourney in vaine, we doe not thinke them so foolish, that they will hereafter ride farre out of the Towne to be mocked. The time also and the state of things is such, that matters of religion may rather now be brought further in trouble (as other things are) then be commodiously entreated of and decided. For whereas in manner the whole world is after such sort troubled with warres, so incumbred with the great preparations that the Turke maketh, can there be any man so against the setling of religion that he will thinke this time meete for a generall councell? Undoubtely it is meete that such controuersies as we have with the Bishop of Rome, bee taken as they are, that is much greater, than that they may either be discussed in this so troublesome a time, or else be committed unto proctors, without our great ieopardie, albeit the time were never so quiet.

This councell of Mantua which the pope prorogued, he afterward transferred to Vincence. This was the yeere 1537.

This time vnmeet for a generall counce and why.

What other Princes will doe, we cannot tell: but we will never leave our realme at this time, neither will we trust any proctor with our cause, wherein the whole stay and wealth of our realme standeth, but rather wee will be at the handling thereof our selfe. For except both another Judge be agreed upon for those matters, and also a place more commodious be provided for the debating of our causes; albeit all other things were as wee would have them, yet may we lawfully refuse to come or send any to this pretended counsell. We will in no case make him our arbitrer, which not many yeares past, our cause not heard, gave sentence against us. We will that such doctrine, as we following the Scripture doe profesle, be rightly examined, discussed, and brought to the Scripture, as to the onely touchstone of true learning.

Neither the Judge, nor the place conuenient for a generall councell

We will not suffer them to bee abolished, ere ever they be discussed, ne to bee oppressed, before they bee knowne; much lesse will we suffer them to bee troden downe being so clearly true. No, as there is no iote in Scripture but we will defend it, though it were with ieopardy of our life, and perill of this our realme: so is there nothing that doth oppresse

Spoken like a King.

oppresse this doctrine, or obscure it, but we will bee at continuall warre therewith. As we have abrogated all old popish Traditions in this our Realme, which either did helpe his tyranny, or increase his pride: so if the grace of God forsake us not, we will well foresee, that no new naughty traditions be made with our consent, to bind us or our Realme.

Would God the King here had kept promise when he made the six Articles.

If men will not be willingly blind, they shall easily see even by a due and evident proofe in reason, though grace doth not yet by the Word of Christ enter into them, how small the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome is, by the lawfull deniall of the Duke of Mantua for the place. For if the Bishop of Rome did earnestly intend to keepe a Councell at Mantua, and hath power of the Law by God to call Princes to what place him liketh: why hath he not also authority to chuse what place him listeth? The Bishop chose Mantua: the Duke kept him out of it. If Paul the Bishop of Romes authority be so great as he pretendeth, why could he not compell Fredericus the Duke of Mantua, that the Councell might be kept there? The Duke would not suffer it. No he forbade him his Town.

The Duke of Mantua denied the Pope his Citie for his Councell.

How chanceth it, that here Excommunications flee not abroad? why doth he not punish this Duke? Why is his power that was wont to be more than full, here empty? Wont to be more than all, here nothing? Doth he not call men in vain to a Councell, if they that come at his calling be excluded the place to the which he calleth them? may not Kings justly refuse to come at his call, when the Duke of Mantua may deny him the place that he chuseth? If other Princes order him as the Duke of Mantua hath done, what place shall be left him, where he may keep his generall Councell?

If the Popes authority may be stopped by a Duke, what authority then hath hee over Kings and Emperours?

Againe, if Princes have given him this authority to call a Councell, is it not necessary that they give him also all those things, without the which he cannot exercise that his power? Shall he call men, and will yee let him to find no place to call them unto? Truly he is not wont to appoint one of his owne Cities, a place to keepe the Councell in. No, the good man is so faithfull and friendly toward other, that seldome he desires Princes to be his guests.

And admit he should call us to one of his Cities, should we safely walk within the wals of such our enemies Towne? were it meet for us there to discusse controversies of Religion, or to keep us out of our enemies traps? Meet to study for the defence of such doctrine as wee professe, or rather how we might in such a throng of perils be in safegard of our life? Well, in this one act the Bishop of Rome hath declared that he hath none authority upon places in other mens Dominions, and therefore if he promise a Councell in any of those, hee promiseth that, that is in another man to performe, and so may he deceive us againe.

Examples that the Pope hath power upon places in other mens Dominions.

Now if he call us to one of his own towns, we be afraid to be at such an hosts table. We say better to rise an hungred, than to go thence with our bellies full. But they say, the place is sound, we need no more to seek where the Councell shall be kept. As who saith, that what chanced at Mantua, may not also chance at Vincence: and as though it were very like that the Venetians, men of such wisdome, should not both foresee, and feare also, that the wise Duke of Mantua seemed to feare. Certes, when we thinke upon the state that the Venetians be in now, it seemeth no very likely thing, that they will either leave Vincence their Citie to so many nations, without some great garrison of souldiers, or else that they, being elsewhere so sore charged already, will now nourish an armie there?

A dilemma against the pope.

Vincence a Citie under the dominion of the Venetians.

And if they would, doth not Paul himselfe grant that it should be an evill president, and an evill example to have an armed Councell?

Howsoever it shall be, we most heartily desire you, that yee will vouchsafe to reade those things that we wrote this last yeer touching the Mantuan Councell. For we nothing doubt, but you, of your equity, will stand on our side against their subtilties and frauds, and judge (except we be deceived) that we in this businesse, neither gave so much to our affections, neither without great and most just causes refused their Councels, their Censures and decrees.

Whether these our writings please all men, or no, we think wee ought not to passe much. No, if that which indifferently is written of us, may please indifferent readers, our desire is accomplished. The false censure and mistaking of things by men partiall shall move us nothing, or else very little. If we have said ought against the deceits of the bishop of Rome, that may seeme spoken too sharply, wee pray you impute it to the hatred we beare unto his vices, and not to any evill will that we beare him. No, that he and all his may perceive that we are rather at strife with his vices, than with him and his; our prayer is, that it may please God at the last to open their eyes, to make soft their hard hearts, and that they once may with us (their owne glory set apart) study to set forth the everlasting glory of the ever-living God.

Thus mighty Emperour fare you most heartily well, and yee Christian Princes, the pillars and state of Christendome, fare yee heartily well. Also all yee, what people soever ye are, which doe desire that the Gospell and glory of Christ may flourish, fare ye heartily well.

As the Lord of his goodnesse had raised up Thomas Cromwell to be a friend and patron to the Gospell; so on the contrary side Satan (which is adversary and enemie to all good things) had his Organ also, which was Stephen Gardiner, by all wiles and subtill meanes to impeach and put backe the same. Who after he had brought his purpose to passe in burning good John Lambert (as yee have heard) proceeding still in his crafts and wiles, and thinking under the name of heresies, sects, Anabaptists, and sacramentaries, to exterminate all good bookes, and faithfull professors of Gods Word out of England, so wrought with the King, that the next yeere following, which was of our Lord 1539. he gave out these injunctions, the copy and contents whereof I thought here also not to be pretermitted, and are these.

¶ Certain other Injunctions set forth by the authority of the King, against English Bookes, Sects, and Sacramentaries also, with putting downe the Day of Thomas Becket.

Anno 1539.

FIrst that none, without speciall licence of the King, transport or bring from outward parties into England any manner of English Bookes, neither yet sell, give, utter, or publish any such, upon paine to forfeit all their goods and chattels, and their bodies to bee imprisoned, so long as it shall please the Kings Majestie.

No bookes to be translated without the name of the Translator.

Item, That none shall Print, or bring over any English bookes with Annotations or prologues, unlesse such bookes before be examined by the Kings Privie Councell, or others appointed by his Highnesse, and yet not to bee put thereto these words, Cum Privilegio Regali, without adding, Ad imprimendum solum: Neither yet to imprint it, without the Kings privilege bee printed therewith in the English tongue, that all men may reade it. Neither shall they print any translated booke, without the plaine name of the Translator bee in it, or

elſe the Printer to be made the Tranſlator, and to ſuffer the fine and puniſhment thereof at the Kings pleaſure.

English bookes of Scripture forbidden to be printed.

Item, that none of the occupation of Printing ſhall within the Realme print, vtter, ſell, or cauſe to be publiſhed any Engliſh booke of Scripture, vnleſſe the ſame be firſt viewed, examined, and admitted by the Kings Highneſſe, or one of his Priuie Counſell, or one Biſhop within the Realme, whoſe name ſhall therein be expreſſed, vpon paine of the Kings moſt high diſpleaſure, the loſſe of their goods and chattels, and impriſonment ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe the King.

Againſt Sacramentaries.

Item, thoſe that be in any errors, as Sacramentaries, Anabaptiſts, or any other, that ſell bookes hauing ſuch opinions in them, being once knowne, both the bookes and ſuch perſons ſhall bee detected and diſcloſed immediately vnto the Kings Maieſty, or one of his Priuie Councell, to the intent to haue it puniſhed without fauour, euen with the extremity of the law.

No man to diſpute of the Sacrament.

Item, That none of the Kings ſubiects ſhall reaſon, diſpute, or argue vpon the Sacrament of the Altar, vpon paine of loſing their liues, goods, and chattels without all fauour, only thoſe excepted that be learned in Diuinitie: they to haue their liberty in their Schooles and appointed places accuſtomed for ſuch matters.

Holy bread and holy water, with other rites of the Church eſtabliſhed.

Item, that the holy bread and holy water, Proceſſion, kneeling and creeping on Good-friday to the Croſſe, and Eaſter day, ſetting vp of lights before the Corpus Chriſti, bearing of candles on Candlemaſſe day, Purification of women deliuered of child, offering of Chriſomes, keeping of the foure offering dayes, paying their tythes, and ſuch like ceremonies, muſt be obſerued and kept till it ſhall pleaſe the King to change or abrogate any of them. This article was made for that the people was not quieted and contented (many of them) with the ceremonies then vſed.

Married Prieſts puniſhed.

Finally, all thoſe Prieſts that be married, and openly knowne to haue their wiues, or that hereafter doe intend to marry, ſhall be depriued of all ſpirituall promotion, and from doing any dutie of a Prieſt, and ſhall haue no manner of office, dignitie, cure, priuiledge, profit, or commoditie in any thing appertaining to the Clergie, but from thence-forth ſhall be taken, had, and reputed as lay perſons, to all purpoſes and intents; and thoſe that ſhall after this proclamation marry, ſhall runne in his Graces indignation, and ſuffer puniſhment and impriſonment at his Graces will and pleaſure.

Difference to be taught betweene things commanded of God, and ceremonies vncommanded.

Item, He chargeth all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Archdeacons, Deacons, Prouoſts, Parſons, Vicars, Curates, and other Miniſters, and euery of them in their owne perſons, within their Cures diligently to preach, teach, open, and ſet forth to the people, the glory of God, and truth of his word, and alſo conſidering the abuſes and ſuperſtitions that haue crept into the hearts and ſtomacks of many, by reaſon of their fond ceremonies, hee chargeth them vpon paine of impriſonment, at his Graces pleaſure, not onely to preach and teach the Word of God accordingly, but alſo ſincerely and purely, declaring the difference betweene things commanded by God, and the rites and ceremonies in their Church then vſed, leſt the people thereby might grow into further ſuſpition.

Thomas Becket noted of ſtubbornneſſe.

Item, for as much as it appeareth now clearely, that Thomas Becket, ſometime Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſtubbornely withſtanding the wholeſome lawes eſtabliſhed againſt the enormities of the Clergie, by the Kings Highneſſe noble Progenitor King Henry the ſecond, for the Common-wealth, reſt, and tranquillity of this Realme, of his froward mind fled the Realme into France, and to the Biſhop of Rome, maintainer of thoſe enormities, to procure the abrogation of the ſaid Lawes (whereby aroſe much trouble in this ſaid Realme) and that his death, which they vntruly called martyrdome, hapned vpon a reſcue made, and that (as it is written) hee gaue opprobrious words to the Gentlemen which then counſelled him to leaue his ſtubbornneſſe, and to auoid the commotion of the people, riſen vp for that reſcue, and he not onely called the one of them bawd, but alſo tooke Tracie by the boſome, and violently ſhooke him, and plucked him in ſuch manner, that hee had almoſt ouerthrowne him to the pauement of the Church, ſo that vpon this fray, one of their company perceiuing the ſame ſtrake him, and ſo in the throng Becket was ſlaine: and further, that his canonization was made onely by the Biſhop of Rome, becauſe he had been both a champion to maintaine his vſurped authoritie, and a bearer of the iniquity of the Clergie.

Tho. Becket Rebell rather than a Saint.

For theſe, and for other great and vrgent cauſes, long to recite, the Kings Maieſtie, by the aduice of his Councell, hath thought expedient to declare to his loving ſubiects, that notwithſtanding the ſaid canonization, there appeareth nothing in his life and exteriour converſation, whereby hee ſhould be called a Saint, but rather eſteemed to haue been a Rebell and Traytour to his Prince.

The canonization of Tho. Becket vſed.

Therefore his Grace ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth, that from hence-forth the ſaid Thomas Becket ſhall not be eſteemed, named, reputed, and called a Saint, but Biſhop Becket, and that his Images and Pictures throw the whole Realme ſhall bee plucked downe and auoided out of all Churches, Chappels, and other places, and that from henceforth the dayes vſed to bee feſtiuall in his name, ſhall not be obſerued, nor the ſeruice, office, Antiphons, Collects, and Prayers in his name read, but raſed and put out of all their bookes; and that all their feſtiuall dayes already abrogated, ſhall be in no wiſe ſolemnized, but his Graces ordinances and iniunctions thereupon obſerued, to the intent his Graces loving ſubiects ſhall be no longer blindly led and abuſed to commit Idolatry, as they haue done in times paſſed, vpon pain of his Maieſties indignation, and impriſonment at his Graces pleaſure.

Finally, his Grace ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth, that his ſubiects doe keepe and obſerue all and ſingular his iniunctions made by his Maieſtie, vpon the paine therein contained.

Here followeth how Religion began to goe backward.

The variable changes and mutations of Religion in King Henry dayes.

TO many which bee yet aliue, and can teſtifie theſe things, it is not vnknowne, how variable the ſtate of Religion ſtood in theſe dayes; how hardly and with what difficulty it came forth, what chances and changes it ſuffered. Euen as the King was ruled and gaue eare ſometime to one, ſometime to another, ſo one while it went forward, at another ſeaſon as much backward againe, and ſometime cleane altered and changed for a ſeaſon, according as they could preuaile which were about the King. So long as Quéene Anne liued, the Goſpell had indifferent ſucceſſe.

The courſe of the Goſpell interrupted by malicious practiſes.

After that ſhee, by ſiniſter inſtigation of ſome about the King, was made away, the courſe of the Goſpell began againe to decline, but that the Lord then ſtirred vp the Lord Cromwel, opportunely to helpe in that behalfe. Who, no doubt, did much a-daile, for the increaſe of Gods true Religion, and much more had brought to perfection, if the peſtilent aduerſaries, maligning the proſperous glory of the Goſpell, by contrary practiſing had not craftily vndermined him and ſupplanted his vertuous proceedings. By the meanes of which aduerſaries

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it came to passe after the taking away of the said Cromwell, that the state of Religion more and more decayed, during all the residue of the raigne of King Henry.

The marriage of Queene Anne of Cleve.

Among these adversaries, above mentioned, the chiefe captaine was Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester; who with his confederats and adherents, disdaining at the state of the Lord Cromwell, and at the late marriage of the Ladie Anne of Cleve (who in the beginning of the yeare of our Lord, 1540. was married to the King) as also grieved partly at the dissolution of the Monasteries, and fearing the growing of the Gospell, sought all occasions how to interrupt these happie beginnings, and to traine the King to their owne purpose. Now what occasion this wily Winchester found out to worke upon, ye shall heare in order as followeth.

The occasions which Winchester did worke by. This Lady Anne of Cleve was married to the King, An. 1540.

It happened the same time, that the Lord Cromwell, for the better establishing of sincere Religion in this Realme, devised a marriage for the King, to be concluded betweene him and the Lady Anne of Cleve, whose other sister was already married unto the Duke of Saxony. By this marriage it was supposed that a perpetuall league, amity, and allye should be nourished betweene this Realme and the Princes of Germany, and so thereby godly Religion might be made more strong on both parts against the Bishop of Rome, and his tyrannicall religion. But the Devill, ever envying the prosperity of the Gospell, laid a stumbling blocke in that cleere way for the King to stumble at. For when the parents of the noble Lady were communed withall for the furtherance of the said marriage, among others of her friends whose good will was required, the Duke of Saxony her brother in law misliked the marriage, partly for that he would have had her bestowed upon some Prince of Germany more nigh unto her sister, and partly for other causes, which he thought reasonable. Whereupon it followeth that the slacknesse of the Duke in that behalfe being espied, crafty Winchester, taking good hold-fast thereon, so alienated the Kings mind from the amity that seemed now to begin and grow betweene the Duke and the King, that by the occasion thereof hee brought the King at length cleane out of credit with that Religion and doctrine which the Duke had then maintained many yeares before.

The King brought out of credit with the doctrine of the Germaine Princes.

This wily Winchester with his crafty fetches partly upon this occasion aforesaid, and partly also by other pestilent perswasions creeping into the Kings eares, ceased not to seeke all meanes how to worke his feat, and to overthrow Religion, first bringing him in hatred with the Germaine Princes, then puting him in feare of the Emperour, of the French King, of the Pope, of the King of Scots, and other forren Powers to rise against him; but especially of civill tumults and commotions here within this Realme, which above all things hee most dreaded by reason of innovation of Religion, and dissolving of Abbeyes, and for abolishing of rites, and other customes of the Church, sticking so fast in the minds of the people, that it was to be feared lest their hearts were or would be shortly stirred up against him, unlesse some spedy remedie were to the contrary provided: declaring moreover what a dangerous matter in a Commonwealth it is, to attempt new alterations of any thing, but especially of Religion. Which being so, hee exhorted the King for his owne safegard, and publique quiet and tranquillitie of his Realme, to see betime, how and by what policie these so manifold mischiefes might bee prevented. Against which no other way or shift could bee better devised, than if hee would shew himselfe sharpe and severe against these new Sectaries, Anabaptists, and Sacramentaries (as they called them) and would also set forth such articles, confirming the ancient and catholike faith, as whereby he might recover againe his credence with Christian Princes, and whereby all the world besides might see and judge him to be a right and perfect Catholike. By these and such like crafty suggestions the King being too much seduced and abused, began to withdraw his defence from the reformation of true religion, supposing thereby to procure to himselfe more safety both in his owne Realme, and also to avoid such dangers which otherwise might happen by other Princes, especially seeing of late he had refused to come to the generall Councel at Mincence, being thereto invited both by the Emperour, and other forren Potentates, as ye have heard before. And therefore although he had rejected the Pope out of this Realme, yet because he would declare himselfe nevertheless to be a good Catholike son of the mother Church, and a withstander of new innovations and heresies (as the blind opinion of the world then did esteeme them) first he stretched out his hand to the condemning and burning of Lambert, then after he gave out those injunctions above prefixed; and now further to increase this opinion with all men, in the yeare next following, which was of the Lord, 1540. through the device and practise of certaine of the Popes factors about him, he summoned a solemne Parliament to be holden at Westminster the eight and twentieth day of April, of all the States and Burgesses of the Realme: also a Synod or Convocation of all the Archbishops, Bishops, and other learned of the Clergie of this Realme, to be in like manner assembled.

The King abused by wicked counsell.

{Anno 1540.}

The Popes crafty factors in England.

The Act of the six Articles.

In which Parliament, Synod, or Convocation, certaine articles, matters, and questions, touching Religion, were decred by certaine Prelates, to the number especially of six commonly called the six articles (or the whip with six strings) to be had and received among the Kings subjects in pretence of unity. But what unity thereof followed, the groaning hearts of a great number, and also the cruell death of divers both in the dayes of King Henry, and of Queen Mary, can so well declare, as I pray God never the like be felt hereafter.

The six Articles.

The doctrine of these wicked articles in the bloody act contained, although it be worthy of no memory amongst Christian men, but rather deserveth to be buried in perpetuall oblivion, yet for that the office of history compelleth us thereunto, for the more light of posterity to come, faithfully and truly to compile things done in the Church, as well ons as another: this shall bee briefly to recapitulate the summe and effect of the foresaid six articles, in order as they were given out, and hereunder doe follow.

The first Article.

The first Article in this present Parliament accorded and agreed upon, was this: that in the most blessed sacrament of the Altar by the strength and efficacie of Christs mighty word (it being spoken by the Priest) is present really, under the forme of bread and wine, the naturall body and blood of our Saviour Iesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and that after the Consecration there remaineth no substance of bread or wine, or any other substance, but the substance of Christ, God and Man.

Transubstantiation.

The second Article.

Secondly, That the Communion in both kindes is not necessary ad salutem, by the Law of God, to all persons: and that it is to bee beleeved, and not doubted of, but that in the flesh, under forme of bread, is the very blood, and with the blood, under forme

The Sacrament in both kinds excluded.

The wicked counsel of Stephen Gardiner and other about the King.

forme of Wine, is the very flesh as well apart, as they were both together.

The third Article.

Thirdly, That Priests, after the order of Priest-hood received as afore, may not marry by the law of God.

The fourth Article.

Advisedly, that is, made above the age of one and twentie yeares, Priests only excepted.

Fourthly, that the vowes of chastity or widow-hood, by man or woman made to God advisedly, ought to be observed by the Law of God; and that it exempteth them from other liberties of Christian people, which without that they might enjoy.

The fifth Article.

By these benefits of private Masses, is meant, the helping of soules in Purgatory.

Fifthly, that it is meet and necessary, that private Masses bee continued and admitted in this English Church and Congregation; as whereby good Christian people, ordering themselves accordingly, doe receive both Godly and goodly consolations and benefits; And it is agreeable also to Gods Law.

The sixth Article.

The sixth Article.

Sixthly, That Auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retained and continued, used and frequented in the Church of God.

After these Articles were thus concluded and consented upon, the Prelates of the Realme craftily perceiving that such a foule and violent Act could not take place or prevaile, unlesse strait and bloody penalties were set upon them, they caused through their accustomed practise to be ordained and enacted by the King and the Lords spirituall and temporall, and the Commons in the said Parliament, as followeth.

The penalties upon the six Articles.

The penalties upon the six Articles.

That if any person or persons within this Realme of England, or any other the Kings Dominions, after the twelfth day of July next comming, by word, writing, imprinting, cyphring, or any otherwise, should publish, preach, teach, say, affirme, declare, dispute, argue, or hold any opinion, that in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, under forme of bread and wine (after the consecration thereof) there is not present really the naturall body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, or that after the said consecration there remaineth any substance of the bread or wine, or any other substance but the substance of Christ, God and man, or after the time above-said, publish, preach, teach, say, affirme, declare, dispute, argue, or hold opinion, That in the flesh, under the forme of bread is not the very blood of Christ, or that with the blood of Christ, under ỹ forme of wine, is not the very flesh of Christ, as wel apart, as though they were both together; or by any of the meanes above-said, or otherwise, preach, teach, declare, or affirme the said Sacrament to be other substance than is above said, or by any meane contemne, deprave, or despise the said blessed Sacrament: that then every such person so offending, their ayders, comforters, counsellors, consenters, and abettors therein (being thereof convicted in forme under written, by the authority above said) should be deemed and adjudged heretiques, and every such offence should be adiudged manifest heresie; and that every such offender and offenders should therefore have and suffer judgement, execution, paine and paines of death by way of burning, without any abjuration, benefit of the Clergie, or Sanctuary, to be therefore permitted, had, allowed, admitted, or suffered; and also should therefore forfeit and lose to the Kings Highnesse, his heires and successors, all his or their honours, manours, castles, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, possessions, and all other his or their hereditaments, goods and chattels, fermes and freeholds, whatsoever they were, through any such offence or offences committed or done, or at any time after, as in any cases of high treason.

Transubstantiation.

Suffering without any abiuration.

Losse of goods.

Opinion against the Sacrament of the Altar made treason.

The penalty of the last five Articles.

The penalties of the last five Articles.

And as touching the other five Articles following, the penaltie devised for them was this; That every such person or persons that doe preach, teach, obstinately affirme, uphold, maintaine, or defend, after the twelfth day of July the said yeare, any thing contrary to the same: or if any being in Orders, or after a vow advisedly made, did marry, or make marriage, or contract matrimony, in so doing should be adjudged as Felons, and lose both life, and forfeit goods, as in case of Felony, without any benefit of the Clergie, or priviledge of the Church or of the Sanctuary, &c.

Item, That every such person or persons, which after the day aforesaid, by word, writing, printing cyphring, or otherwise did publish, declare, or hold opinion contrary to the five Articles above expressed, being for any such offence duly convicted or attainted, for the first time, besides the forfeit of all his goods and chattels, and possessions whatsoever, should suffer imprisonment of his body at the Kings pleasure: and for the second time, being accused, presented, and thereof convict should suffer as in case aforesaid of felony.

Item, if any within order of Priesthood, before the time of the said Parliament, had married or contracted matrimony, or vowed widowhood, the said matrimony should stand utterly void and be dissolved.

Item, That the same danger that belonged to Priests marrying their Wives, should also redound to the Women married unto the Priests.

Inquisition upon the six Articles.

Furthermore, for the more effectuall execution of the premisses, it was enacted by the said Parliament, that full authority of inquisition of all such heresies, felonies, and contempts, should bee committed and directed down into every Shire, to certaine persons specially thereunto appointed; of which persons three at the least (provided alwayes the Archbishop, or Bishop, or his Chancellor, or his Commissary to be one) should sit foure times at least in the yeare, having full power to take information and accusation, by the depositions of any two lawfull persons at the least, as well as by the oathes of twelve men, to examine and enquire of all and singular the heresies, felonies, and contempts above remembred, having also as ample power to make processe against every person or persons indicted, presented, or accused before them; also to heare and determine the foresaid heresies, felonies, contempts and other offences, as well as if the matter had been presented before the Justices of peace in their Sessions. And also that the said Justices in their Sessions, and every Steward or Under-steward, or his Deputy, in their Lawdayes, should have power by the oathes of twelve lawfull men to enquire likewise of all and singular the heresies, felonies, contempts, and other offences, and to heare and determine the same, to all effects of this present Act, &c.

A bloody Inquisition.

Provided withall that no person nor persons thereupon accused, indited or presented, should bee admitted to challenge any that should be empanelled for the triall of any matter of cause, other than for malice or envie; which challenge should forthwith bee tryed in like manner, as in cases of felonie, &c.

Provided moreover that every person that should be named Commissioner in this inquisition, should

should first take a corporall oath, the tenor of which oath here ensueth.

The Oath of the Commissioners.

YEe shall sweare, that yee to your cunning, wit and power, shall truly and indifferently execute the authority to you given by the Kings Commission, made for correction of Heretiques and other offenders mentioned in the same Commission, without any favour, affection, corruption, dread or malice, to be borne to any person or persons, as God you helpe and all Saints.

The oath given to the Commissioners to inquire upon true Christians.

And thus much briefly collected out of the act and originalls, which more largely are to be seene in the Stat. an. 31. Reg. Hen. 8. concerning the sixe Articles, which otherwise for the bloody cruelty thereof, are called the whip with sixe strings, set forth after the death of Queene Anne, and of good John Lambert, devised by the cruelty of the Bishops, but specially of the Bishop of Winchester, and at length also subscribed by King Henry. But herein as in many other parts more, the crafty policy of the Bishop appeared, who like a lurking serpent, most slily watching his time, if hee had not taken the King coming out upon a sudden, there where it was (I spare here to report as I heard it) it was thought and affirmed by certaine, which then were pertaining to the King, that Winchester had not obtained the matter easily to be subscribed as he did.

an. 31 Hen. 8.

Truth in vanish left desolate.

These sir Articles above specified, although they contained manifest errors, heresies, and absurdities against all Scripture and learning, (as all men having any judgement in Gods Word may plainly understand) yet such was the miserable adversity of that time, and the power of darknesse, that the simple cause of truth and of Religion was utterly left desolate, and forsaken of all friends. For every man seeing the Kings mind so fully addict upon politique respects, to have these Articles passe forward, few or none in all that Parliament would appeare, which either could perceive what was to be defended, or durst defend what they understood to be true, save only Cranmer, Archbishop of Canturbury, who then being married (as is supposed) like a constant Patron of Gods cause, tooke upon him the earnest defence of the Truth, oppressed in the Parliament, three dayes together disputing against those sir wicked Articles, bringing forth such allegations and authorities, as might easily have helped the cause, Nisi pars major vicisset, ut sæpe solet, meliorem. Who in the said Disputation, behaved himselfe with such humble modesty, and with such obedience in words towards his Prince, protesting the cause not to be his, but the Cause of Almighty God, that neither his enterprise was misliked of the king, and againe, his reasons and allegations were so strong, that well they could not be refuted. Wherefore the King (who ever bare speciall favour unto him) well liking his zealous defence, only willed him to depart out of the Parliament house into the Councell chamber, for a time (for safegard of his conscience) till the Act should passe and be granted: which he, notwithstanding, with humble protestation refused to doe.

Cranmer stood only in the Parliament almost the lift.

Cranmer willed to depart out of the Parliament house for his conscience.

Cranmer refused to goe out of the Parliament for matter against his conscience.

After the Parliament was finished, and that matter concluded, the King considering the constant zeale of the Archbishop, in defence of his cause, and partly also weighing the many authorities and reasons whereby hee had substantially confirmed the same; sent the Lord Cromwell (which within few dayes after was apprehended) the two Dukes of Northfolke and Suffolke, and all the Lords of the Parliament, to dine with him at Lambeth: where they signified unto him, that it was the Kings pleasure, that they all should, in his Highnesse behalfe, cherish, comfort, and animate him, as one that for his travell in that Parliament, had declared himselfe, both greatly learned, and also a man discreet and wise; and therefore they willed him not to be discouraged in any thing that was passed in that Parliament contrary to his allegations.

Cranmer comforted against the King.

Hee most humbly thanked first the Kings Highnesse, for his singular good affection towards him, and them all for their paines; adding moreover, that hee so hoped in God, that hereafter his allegations and authorities should take place to the glory of God, and commodity of the Realme. Which allegations and authorities of his, I wish were among us extant to be seene and read. No doubt but they would stand, in time to come, in great good stead for the overthrow of the wicked and pernicious Articles aforesaid.

Allegations against the six Articles.

IN the meane while, forsomuch as the said heretical Articles are not so lightly to be passed over, whereby the rude and ignorant multitude hereafter may be deceived in the false and erroneous doctrine of them any more, as they have beene in times past, for lacke of right instruction, and experience of the antient state and course of times in our fore-elders dayes; I thought therefore (the Lord thereunto assisting) so much as antiquity of stories may helpe to the restoring againe of truth and doctrine decayed, to annex hereunto some allegations out of antient records, which may give some light to the convincing of these new-fangled Articles and heresies above touched.

Allegations against the sixe Articles.

And first, as touching the Article of Transubstantiation, wherein this Parliament doth enact that the Sacrament of the Altar is the very naturall body of Christ, the selfe same which was borne of the Virgin Mary; and that in such sort as there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, after the Priests consecration, but only the body and blood of Christ, under the outward formes of bread and wine: First here is to be noted, that this monstrous article of theirs, in that forme of words as it standeth, was never obtruded, received, or holden either in the Græke Church, or in the Latins Church, universally for a Catholike, that is, for a generall opinion or article of doctrine, before the time of the Laterane Councell at Rome, under Pope Innocent the third, An. 1216.

The article of transubstantiation.

And forsomuch as it hath beene a common perswasion amongst the most sort of people, that this article, in the forme of words as here it standeth, is and hath beene ever since Christ his time a true Catholique and generall doctrine, commonly received and taught in the Church, being approved by the Scriptures and Doctors, and consent of all ages unto this present time: To the intent therefore that the contrary may appeare, and the people may see how farre they have herein beene beguiled, we will here (Christ willing) make a little stay in our story, and examine this foresaid article by true antiquity and course of histories, to try whether it be a doctrine old or new.

Now therefore for the better discussing of the matter, let us first orderly and distinctly advise the words of the article. The contents of which Article consist in two parts or members. In the first whereof is noted to us a presence of a thing which there was not before. In the second is noted a privation or absence of a thing which there before was present.

The article of the Sacrament consisteth in two parts.

The presence is noted by these words of the article, where it is said, that in the blessed Sacrament, by the words pronounced, is present the naturall body and blood of our Saviour, under the formes of bread and wine: so that in these words, both the Sacrament and the naturall body is imported necessarily to be present. For else, how can the natu-

rall

Two things present in the Sacrament: the thing that representeth, and the thing represented.

rall body of Christ be present in the Sacrament under the formes of bread and wine, if the Sacrament there were not present it selfe: or how can a thing be said to be in that which is not there? wherefore by these words both the Sacrament, and also the body must necessarily have their being and presence, the one being in the other. And this presence both of the Sacrament and of the body, may right well stand together; the Sacrament to the outward eyes and mouth of man, the Body of Christ to the inward eyes of faith and mouth of the soule.

(In) (Vnder) The pretence of the naturall body of Christ well expounded may be granted in the Sacrament. Absence of bread in the Sacrament.

And therefore touching these propositions in this Article (In) and (Vnder) if question be asked in what is the body of Christ, it may be well answered, in the Sacrament to the eyes of our faith, like as the outward Sacrament is also present to the outward eyes of the body. Againe, if the question be asked under what is the body of Christ? It may be well answered, under the formes of bread and wine, so as the Doctors did take the formes to meane the outward Elements and Natures of the Sacrament, and not the accidents.

And thus, to the first part of the Article, being well expounded, wee doe assent, and confesse the same to have bene the true Catholique opinion approved by the antient Doctors and consent of all times, even from the first institution of this Sacrament.

The Article of the Sacrament agreeth not with it selfe.

But as concerning the second member or part of the Article, which taketh away all presence and substance of bread from the Sacrament; to that we say, that first it standeth not with their owne Article. Secondly, that it standeth not with the doctrine of Scripture. Thirdly, that it standeth not with antiquity, but is merely a late invention.

And first, that it agreeth not with their owne Article, it is manifest. For whereas in the former part of their Article they say, that the naturall body of Christ is present in the blessed Sacrament, under the formes of bread and wine, how can the naturall body of Christ be present in the Sacrament, if there remaine no Sacrament? Or how can any of the body remaine, if there remain no substance of bread which should make the Sacrament? For how can the body of Christ be in that thing, which is not? or how can the Sacrament of the body have any being, where the substance of bread hath no being? For first, that the body it selfe cannot be the Sacrament of the body, it is evident of it selfe.

The body of Christ cannot be in the Sacrament of his body.

The accidents of the body cannot be the Sacrament of Christs naturall body.

Secondly, that the accidents of bread without the substance of bread cannot be any Sacrament of Christs body, certaine it is, and demonstrable by this argument.

Argumentum à definitione.

Ca- A Sacrament is that beareth a similitude of that thing whereof it is a Sacrament.

mest- Accidents beare no similitude of that thing which is there signified.

res. Ergo, Accidents can in no wise be a Sacrament.

Sacraments if they had no similitude with the things which they represent, they were no Sacraments. *Aug. ad Bonif. Epist. 23.*

Wherefore upon this argument being thus concluded, upon the same this also must needs follow.

Argument.

Da- In the Sacrament of the Lords Body, the thing that representeth must needs beare a similitude of the thing represented.

si- The substance of bread in the Sacrament, is only that which beareth the similitude of Christs Body.

i. Ergo, the substance of bread must needs be in the Sacrament.

And therefore, by this demonstration, it is apparent, that these two parts in the Article aforesaid are evill couched together, whereof the one must needs destroy the other. For if the first part of the Article be true, that the naturall body of Christ is present in the Sacrament, under the formes of bread and wine, and seeing the Sacrament wherein the body of Christ is present, must needs be the substance of bread, and not the accidents only of bread, as is above proved, then the substance of bread cannot be evacuated from the Sacrament, and so the second member of the Article must needs be false.

The resemblance betw the Sacrament and the bod Christ consisteth in this that as the bread & drink giveth nourishment to our outward life to the body & blood of Christ doe nourish to spirituall.

Or if the second part be true, that there is no substance of bread remaining, and seeing there is nothing else to make the Sacrament of the naturall body of Christ, but onely the substance of bread, forasmuch as the accidents of bread, can make no Sacrament of Christs body, as is above shewed; then taking away the substance of bread, the first part of the Article must needs be false, which saith that the naturall body of Christ is present in the Sacrament, forasmuch as the substance of bread being evacuated, there remaineth no Sacrament, wherein the body of Christ should be present. Secondly, that it disagreeth from the whole order and course of the Scriptures, it is sufficiently explained before, in the treatise of John Lambert upon the Sacrament, as also in sundry other places in this volumne besides. Thirdly, that the said Article of Transubstantiation is no antient or authentique doctrine in the Church publiquely received; but rather is a nobelty lately invented, reaching not much above the ags of three or foure hundred yeares, or at most above the time of Lanfrancus, Anno 1070. it remaines now to be proved.

The Popish presence in the Sacrament & transubstantiation cannot stand together.

The Article of transubstantiation, disagreeth from the Scripture.

The doctrine of transubstantiation is but a late opinion standeth without antiquity.

Wherein first may be joyned this issue, that this monstrous paradore of transubstantiation was never induced or received publiquely in the Church, before the time of the Laterane Councell, under Pope Innocentius the third, An. 1216. or at most before the time of Lanfrancus, the Italian, Archbishop of Canturbury, 1070.

Lanfrancus was an Italian & Bishop of Canturbury about the year of our Lord 1070.

In which time of Lanfrancus, I deny not but that this question of Transubstantiation began to come in controversie, and was reasoned upon, amongst certaine learned of the Clergie. But that this Article of Transubstantiation was publiquely determined or prescribed in the Church for a generall law or Catholique doctrine of all men, necessarily to be believed, before the time of the foresaid Innocentius the third, it may be doubted, and also by histories of time proved to be false.

Innocentius the 3. was Bishop of Rome An. 1215.

And though our adversaries seeme to allege out of the old Doctors certaine speeches and phrases, which they wrest & wring to their purposes, wherein they say, That the bread is called, is believed, and is the body of Christ, that of bread is made the body of Christ, and that the bread is changed, altered, or converted to the body of Christ, or is made to be his body, that the creatures be converted into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, that the bread and wine doe passe into the divine substance, with such other like sentences; and beare themselves brag upon the same, as though this doctrine of transubstantiation stood upon the consent of the whole universall Church, of all ages and times, of nations and people, and that the judgement of the Church was never other than this: yet if the old Doctors sayings be well weighed, and the discourse of times by this history well examined, it will be found, that this prodigious opinion of transubstantiation hath no such ground of consent and antiquity as they imagine; nor yet that any heresie or treason was made of denying of transubstantiation before the time of Innocentius the third, or at the furthest of Lanfrancus, as is aforesaid, about the which time, Satan the old Dragon was prophesied by the Apocalyps to be let lose, to seduce the world.

Phrases of the Doctors speaking of the Sacrament

The Papists falsly pretend antiquity for their transubstantiation

For

For probation whereof, first I will begin with the time of Tertullian and of Augustine; which both doe teach the Sacrament to be a figure, a signe, a memoriall, and representation of the Lords body, and knew no such Transubstantiation, and yet were no Traytors nor Heretiques.

Neither was Saint Ambrose any Heretique or Traytor, where he writeth these words; Vt sint quæ erant, & in aliud convertantur, &c. Which words Lanfrancus could not answer unto any other wise, but by denying them to be the words of Ambrose. Gelasius was Bishop of Rome, and lived about five hundred yeres after Christ, and speaketh of a transmutation of the bread and wine into the Divine nature; but there expounding himselfe, he declareth what hee meaneth by that mutation, so that hee expresselly sheweth the elements of bread and wine, notwithstanding, to remaine still in their proper nature, with other words more, very plaine, to the same effect. Unto the which words Contarenus in the assembly of Ratisbone could not well answer, but stood astonied.

Theodoretus likewise, speaking of the visible symboles, hath these words: μέτειλήφεν ἐπὶ τὴν προτέραν οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τὸ εἶδος: (i.) After the sanctification they remaine in their former substance, figure, and forme.

Ireneus where he saith, That the bread broken, and the cup mixt, after the vocation of God, cease to be common bread any more, but are the Eucharist of the body and blood of Christ: And explicating his words more plainely, addeth moreover, That the Eucharist consisteth in two things, one being earthly which is bread and wine; the other heavenly, which is the body and blood of Christ, &c. declareth in these words both his owne opinion plainly, and also teacheth us what was then the doctrine of his time.

Hesichius also, who was five hundred yeres after Christ, where hee speaketh of the said mysterie, Quod simul panis & caro est, (i.) Which he saith to be both flesh and bread; declareth thereby two substances to be in the Sacrament. By the which we have to understand, that Transubstantiation in his age was not crept into the Church: and yet neither heresie nor treason therefore was ever laid to his charge for so saying.

Emissenus, comparing a man converted unto Christ by regeneration, unto the holy mysteries converted into the body and blood of our Lord, expresseth plainely, Quod in exteriori nihil additum est, & totum in interiori mutatum est: That is; That outwardly nothing is changed, and that all the change is inward, &c. Wherein (no doubt) hee spake against this Article, and yet no man in all that age did accuse him therefore to be either Heretique or Traytor.

Here might be added the words of Fulgentius, Hic calix est novum Testamentum; (id est) hic calix quem vobis trado, novum Testamentum significat. (i.) This cup is the new Testament; That is, this cup which I deliver unto you signifieth the new Testament.

Bede also, who lived about the yere, 730. writing upon the one and twentieth Psalme, hath these words; Edent pauperes, &c. pauperes, id est, mundi contemptores edent quidem realiter, si ad Sacramenta referantur, & saturabuntur æternaliter, qui intelligent in pane & vino visibiliter sibi proposito, invisibile scilicet corpus verum, & sanguinem verum Domini, quæ verus cibus & verus potus sunt, quo non venter distenditur, sed mens saginatur, &c. That is, Poore men, to wit, despisers of the world, shall eat indeed really, if it be referred unto the Sacraments, and shall be filled eternally, because they shall understand in bread & in wine, being visibly set before them, a thing invisible, to wit, the true body and true blood of the Lord, which are true meat and true drinke, wherewith not the belly is filled, but the minde is nourished.

And thus in these words of Bede likewise is to be understood, That no Transubstantiation as yet in his time was received in the Church of England.

Long it were to stand upon all particulars; Briefly, to conclude; the farther the Church hath beene from these our later dayes, the purer it was in all respects, and especially touching this barbarous Article of Transubstantiation. Wee will now draw more nere our owne time, comming to the age of Bertrame and of Haimo, who were about the yere of our Lord, 810. under Carolus Magnus.

By whose writing it is evident, that the Church was infected as yet with no such fantasie of transubstantiation, neither did any almost dreame of taking away the substance of bread from the Sacrament. For although Haymo, Remigius, Rabanus, and other which lived in that age, doe attribute to the Sacrament, that honourable name, and reverence (as wee also doe) of the Lords body and blood; yet they exclude not from thence all substance of meale and bread, and leave the bare accidents, as our new-come Catholiques doe, as by the words of Haymo doe appeare. Where he, following the words of Bede, sheweth also the cause, why it is so called by the name of the Lords body; Quia (saith hee) panis corpus confirmat, ideo ille corpus Christi congruenter nuncupatur: Vinum autem quia sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad sanguinem Christi refertur. That is, Because bread confirmeth the heart of man, therefore it is called conveniently the body of Christ, and because wine worketh blood in the flesh of man, therefore it is referred to the blood of Christ. What can be more effectually spoken to prove the substance of bread there to remaine? For take away the substance of bread and wine, what is in the accidents left, that can confirme mans heart, or ingender blood in the flesh? And therefore seeing there must needs somewhat remaine, that must be referred to Christs body and blood in that Sacrament, it either must be the substance of bread and wine, or else it can be no Sacrament. And furthermore, speaking of the visible things which are sanctified, how and whereunto they be converted, he saith; that by the Holy Ghost they passed to a Sacrament of the Lords body.

Haymo. Anno 810.

Haymo de Sacramento proprietate lib. 5. c. 12.

And likewise the same Haymo in another place, speaking of the fruits of the earth, that is, of corne and wine, declareth, how our Saviour maketh of them an apt mystery, converteth them to a Sacrament of his body and blood, &c. Lib. 7. in Ecclesiast. cap. 8.

Haymo lib. 7. in eccle. c. 8.

Bertramus likewise, as hee lived in the same age, so in like sort he sheweth his opinion therein, to the like effect as Haymo did. For as Haymo writing in these words declareth, quia aliud est Sacramentū, aliud virtus sacramenti: sacramentum enimvero percipitur, virtute sacramenti interior homo satiatur, That is, the Sacrament is one thing, and the vertue of the Sacrament is another thing: For the Sacrament is received with the mouth, but with the vertue of the Sacrament the inward man is satisfied.

Haym. ibid.

So after like manner, Bertramus, according to the same, thus writeth, Ille panis, qui per Sacerdotis ministerium Christi corpus efficitur, aliud exterius humanis sensibus ostendit, & aliud interius fidelium mentibus clamat, &c. That is, the bread, which by the ministery of the Priest is made the body of Christ, doth import one thing outwardly to the senses of man, and another thing it speaketh to the minds of the faithfull. Outwardly it is bread, the same it was before, the same forme is pretended, the colour appeareth, the same taste remaineth.

Anno 810. Bertram. lib. de corpore & sang. Domini,

But

But inwardly there is another matter farre more pretious, and more excellent, because it is heavenly, which is the body of Christ, that is seene, not with the outward eys of the flesh, but with the sight of a faithfull mind, &c.

Rabanus Maurus B. of Mentz. Anno 800. *Rabanus de institut. clericorum 1 cap. 21.*

Wee will now proceed to the testimony of Rabanus Maurus, Bishop of Mentz, and scholler sometime to Alcuinus in Paris, an English man: who living also in the same age with Haymo and Bertrame (which was eight hundred yeares after Christ) giveth the like testimony of this doctrine in his booke of Institutions: where hee asking why the Lord would give the mysteries of his body and blood then under such things as might be kept and reserved whole with great honour? thus hee answereth againe; The Lord (saith he) would rather that the Sacraments of his body and blood should be received with the mouth of the faithfull, and made to be their food, that by the visible action the invisible effect might be shewed: For like as materiall meat outwardly nourisheth and quickneth the body, so also the Word of God inwardly nourisheth and strengtheneth the soule. For man liveth not onely by bread, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

And after followeth; For this bread and drinke signifieth the eternall society of the head and of the members together.

And again; For the Sacrament is one thing, and the vertue of the Sacrament is another thing. The Sacrament is received with the mouth, with the vertue of the Sacrament the inward man is nourished. For the Sacrament is turned to the nourishment of the body, but by the vertue of the Sacrament the dignity of eternall life is gotten.

Wherefore like as the same is turned into us when wee eate of it; so also are wee turned into the Body of Christ, when wee live obediently and godly, &c.

Who seeth not by these words of this Bishop, what forme of doctrine was then in the Church received concerning this Article of the Sacrament, much diverse from this our grosse opinion of Transubstantiation?

Christian. *Druthmarus monachus ord. lin. Beneu. in Mat.*

With the same Rabanus also accordeth another of the like standing and doctrine also, called Christianus Druthmarus; who writing upon Matthew; The wine (saith hee) doth cheere and cherish the bloud, and therefore not inconveniently the bloud of Christ is figured thereby; for whatsoever proceedeth from him to us, it cheereth us with true gladnesse, and increaseth all goodnesse unto us.

And a little before the said Druthmarus saith, The Lord gave to his Disciples the Sacrament of his body to the remission of sinnes, and keeping of charity, that they alway remembring his doing, might doe that in figure which hee should doe for them. This is my body (saith hee) that is, in Sacrament. This Druthmarus lived also in the time of Carolus Magnus, as witnesseth Abbas Spaynehemensis.

Ioan. Scotus.

After Bertramus was Ioannes Scotus, or else, as some call him, Ioannes Erigena, a man well accepted with Carolus Calvus, and afterward with Lodovicus Baldus, about the yeare of our Lord, 880. He wrote a booke, De corpore & sanguine Domini, so affirming therein, and teaching as he knew that Bertramus had taught a little before in France. This booke the Pope caused to be condemned in Vercellensi Synodo. Of the life and conversation of this Ioannes Scotus, and also of his death, reade before.

Anno 880.

Ioan. Scot. lib. de corpore & sanguine Domini.

Reade afore.

Anno 950.

In the yeare of our Lord, 950. lived Odo, Archbishop of Canturb. in whose time it appeareth, in the Catholikes owne confession, that many Priests then affirmed, that the bread and wine, after consecration, did remaine in their former substance, and that the said mysteries were only a figure of the body and blood of Christ, as wee find it witnessed by Osberne himselfe, who did write the lives of Odo, Dunstan, and Elphege, at the bidding of Lanfranke Archbishop of Canturbury, as reporteth Ermerus, Anselmus Chaplaine. The words of Osberne be these: Hoc fere tempore, quidam clerici, maligno errore seducti, asseverare conabantur, panem & vinum quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem, in priori substantia manere, & figuram tantummodo esse corporis & sanguinis Christi, &c. That is, About this time (saith Osberne, writing in the dayes of Lanfranke) certaine of the Clergie, being seduced by wicked error, did hold and maintaine that bread and wine, which are set upon the Altar, after the consecration doe remaine in their former substance, and are but onely a figure of the body and blood of Christ, &c. And no doubt but at that time the common opinion of most of the Clergie was so, that the Sacrament was the body and blood of Christ, and that the substance of bread and wine, notwithstanding, were not transubstantiate, as the Romish Catholiques doe now teach. But this is the guise of these men, that in their Writings and Stories, still they diminish the better number, whereby their faction may seeme ever to be the bigger, and therefore to extenuate the common opinion then received in the Church, hee inferreth mention of certaine of the Clergie, &c.

The witnes of Osberne.

Osbernus in vita Odonis.

And as he faileth in the number of these Clergie men, which then held against Transubstantiation, so hee upholdeth the same with as lying a miracle. Which miracle hee feigned to be wrought the same time, for the conversion of the said Clergie men by the blood dropping out of the host at Masse, as Odo was breaking the Host over the Chalice. At the sight whereof, first Odo himselfe (saith hee) wept for joy, seeing his petition accomplished which hee so earnestly prayed for.

A lying miracle to prove transubstantiation.

Secondarily, all those Clergie men (saith he) which before believed not this transubstantiation, by and by were converted, and blessed the Archbishop that ever hee was borne, desiring him to pray againe, that the blood might returne to his former shape, and streight it was done. And this was the miracle, which seemeth as true as that which William Malmesbury writeth of the said Odo, how by his prayers hee caused a sword to come flying from heaven into Ethelstanes scabberd, when he had lost his owne, as he would fight against Analanus; or else, as that miracle where the said Odo is said to cover and defend the Church of Canturbury, that no drop of raine could touch it so long as the roofe thereof was in making. Ex Wil. Malm. vide supra.

Ex Malmes

Read afore.

In the which so miraculous a miracle many things are to be marvelled. First, I marvell, that at this great miracle of the Archbishop in the Cathedrall Church, amongst so many singing men, wee reade of no Te Deum there to be sung after the doing thereof.

Secondly, I marvell that those Priests & Clerks which then denied transubstantiation, were suffered to be so neere the Archbishop at his Masse, and that they were not committed rather to ward like heretiques & traitors, if this article of transubstantiation had been then such a Catholike doctrine, and so publikely received in the Church, as they say it was.

Reasons & proofes alleged against this miracle.

Thirdly, I marvell, seeing the time of miracles is expired, wee having the Scriptures to guide us, why the Archbishop would seek to miracles and apparitions to convert men, rather than to the Law and Prophets, according as wee are commanded, especially having no such example of all the old Doctors, which in confutation of so many erroneous opinions, yet never sought to such miracles or blind meanes.

Fourthly, I marvell much at the discrepance in telling this Tale, betweene Osberne and the other, which since have written legends of Odo. For whereas Osberne, speaking of certaine Priests, nameth

The author of this fabulous miracle doe not agree with themselves.

nameth no place, but leaueth the matter at large; and speaking absolutely, quidam clerici; all other which haue since written the legends of Odo, doe tell this tale against certaine Priests of Canturbury; adding to the words of Osburne, quidam Clerici Cantuarienses. But to conuict the falsehood of them all, as well of Osberne as of the rest, there is a legend of the life of Odo, and of Oswald together, more ancient than this of Osberne, written (as it may seeme) in the time of Elfricus archbishop of Canturbury, and Elphege then Bishop of Winchester, wherein mention is made indeed of this miracle, but after another sort than this of Osburne, and to another purpose than to disswade certaine Priests, infected with that error, from the opinion before declared: Which is onely brought to shew the holinesse of Odo, as commonly the manner of Legends is to doe. So that in this old Legend it is thus reported, that when this miracle was done, Odo disclosed the matter not to many Priests of England that were in that errour, as Osburne would, sed vocat protinus fidelem seruum, qui comitus erat, & miraculum secretè demonstrat, &c. That is, but called unto him a certaine faithfull seruant which was neere about him, and shewed unto him the miracle secretly; whereupon the Priest (saith the Legend) much reioyced at the holinesse of Odo, and desired him to make his prayer to Almighty God, that the body might returne againe to the former shape, &c. Out of this old lying Legend Osberne, and other likewise that followed him, seemeth to haue taken this tale, so that out of the error of one (as the manner is) springeth the error of a number more.

ying Legends.

But this much more I marvell, why this miracle is not stored in Henry Huntington, which professedly writeth of such miracles, nor in Roger Hoveden, and such other; but onely in such blind Legends, which commonly haue no substance of verity, nor certainty of time, or writer, to know when and by whom they were written, and for the most part are stuffed with lying visions, and prodigious fables.

Finally, if this miraculous fiction of Osburne were true, that for the converting of Priests of England, which would not believe Transubstantiation, this blood did drop out of the Host (of which blood peradventure came the blood of Hales) and by the sight thereof the Priests eftsoone were all converted (as Osburne pretendeth) how then came it to passe, that after the time of Odo, in the daies of Elfricus, which was after him Archbishop of Canturbury, the third from Dunstane, and fourth from Odo, not onely the Priests of England, but also the archbishop himselfe, were not yet brought to the beliefe of this transubstantiation, but taught the very same doctrine of the sacrament then, which we doe now: as most clearely appeareth both by the Epistles and Homilies of the foresaid Archbishop Elfricus, which hereunder, for the more evidence (Christ willing) we will annex.

Elfr. Arch. of Cant. an. 996. Ograve in vita Oddi, Ep. Legorn.

This Elfricus, as saith Capgrave, in the life of Oswald Bishop of Worcester, was first Abbat of Saint Albons, and after made Archbishop of Canturbury, about the yeere of our Lord 996. in the time of King Ethelred, and of Wulfinus Bishop of Scyrburne. Elfricus also (as witnesseth William of Malmesbury, in vita Adelmi) was Abbot of Malmesbury. Furthermore, the said William of Malmesbury, writing of Elfricus Archbishop of Canturbury, saith that he was before Bishop of Welles, and after Archbishop of Canturbury. So that Elfricus was Archbishop of Canturbury, it is out of all ambiguity. But now whether Elfricus which was Abbot (of whom we doe here entreat) were the same Archbishop or not, by this diversity of Capgrave and Malmesbury, it may be doubtfull. But whether he were or no, to this our present purpose is not greatly materiall, forsomuch as the said Elfricus and Elfricus, although they were divers persons, yet were they both in one age, and lived in one time together.

) Malmesb. in vi Adelmi.

The writings of Elfricus Archiepiscopus.

Furthermore, the same Elfricus of whom now we speake, of what calling soever he was, yet notwithstanding he was of such estimation and good liking in those days amongst the most learned, that for his learning, authority, and eloquence, his writings were accepted and authorised among the Canons and constitutions of the Church in that time, as hereby may appeare. For whereas the Bishops and Priests before the comming of William Conquerour had collected a certaine Booke of Canons and ordinances to goberne the Clergy, gathered out of generall and particular Councels, out of the booke of Gildas, out of the penitentiall bookes of Theodorus, Archbishop of Canturbury, out of the writings of Egbertus Archbishop of Yorke, out of the Epistles of Alcuinus, as also out of the writings of the old fathers of the primitiue Church, &c. among the same Canons and Constitutions be placed these two Epistles of the said Elfricus hereunder following, whereof the one was sent to Wulfsinus Bishop of Scyrburne, the other to Wulfstan Archbishop of Yorke, as yet are to be seene in two bookes belonging to the Library of the Church of Worcester, the one written in the old Saxons tongue, entituled Bewreost Sinothe, the other for the most part in Latine, with this title, Admonitio spiritualis doctrinæ. Which Booke of Saxon Canons and Constitutions sometime belonging to Wulfstane Bishop of Worcester, was given by him, as for a great jewell to the Church of Worcester, as by the same booke appeareth.

A booke of Canons in the Saxons tongue *Ex archivis eccles. Wigorn.*

Moreouer, besides this booke of Worcester aboue touched, there is yet extant also another like booke of Canons belonging to the Church of Exceter, wherein the same two Epistles of Elfricus be contained in the old Saxon Tongue, and also in the Latine, and prescribed yearely to be read to the Clerkes and Priests of the Church; which Booke in like manner was given to the Church of Exceter by Leofricus the first and most famous Bishop of that see. *Ex archivis eccles. Exoniens.*

Of this Elfricus further is to be understood, that he translated two bookes of fourescore sermons out of Latine into the Saxon speech, used then orderly to be read in Churches on Sondaies and other festiuall daies of the yeere, as by his owne words may appeare, in the end of one of the said Bookes of sermons, whose words be these:

The booke of sermons translated out of Latine into the Saxons speech.

FEla Fægere godsell we forlætath on thisum dihte. tha mæg awendan se the wile; Ne durre we thas boc na micle swithor gelængan. thylcs the heo ungemetegod sy. and mannum æthræt thurh hire micelnisse astirige;

We let passe (saith he) many good Gospels which he that list may translate. For we dare not enlarge this booke much further, lest it be ouer great, and so be a cause of lothsomenesse to men, through the bignesse thereof, &c.

Also in another place he confesseth the same of himselfe; whose words in the preface before his Grammar be these:

Ic Aelfric wolde thalistlan bocawendan to engliscum gereorde of tham stæf cræfte the is gehaten grammatica syththan ic twa bee awende on hund cahtatigum spellum.

I Elfrike was desirous to turne into our English tongue, from the art of Letters called Grammar, this little booke, after that I had translated the two bookes of 80 sermons, &c.

80. Sermons translated by Elfricus into the English or Saxon tongue.

Of his Epistles especially we reade of fewre, which he wrot, one to the monks of Egnesham, De

4. Epistles written of Elfricus in the Saxon or English tongue.

consuetudine monachorum. Another to Wulfstane Archbishop of Yorke, wherein is touched the matter of the Sacrament. The third he wrote against Priests marriage, to one Sygeberth, with whom there was a certaine Anker abiding which defended the marriage of Priests, affirming it to be lawfull. The fourth he wrote to Wulfinus bishop of Scyrburne, touching the matter of the Sacrament. In the which Epistle he taking occasion by a certaine abuse in his time, which was, that Priests on Easter day filled their housell bore, and so kept it for the space of the whole yeare, till Easter came again, for sick persons, writeth upon that occasion, in these words, as follow in their owne Saxon tongue.

The words of Ælfricus *written to* Wulfsine *Bishop of Scyrburne, against Transubstantiation.*

MAn secal healden thæt halige huſel mid mycelre gymene ⁊ ne forhealdan hit. ac halgian oþer edniwe to sceocum mannum. a. embe vii. niht. oththe embe xiiii. niht þ hit huru synig ne sy. forthon the eal swa halig bith þ huſel the nu to dæg wæs gehalgod. swa. þ se on east tyddæg wæs gehalgod ⁊ Dæt huſel is Cristes lichamana lichamlice ac gaſtlice ⁊ Na se lichama the he on throwode. ac se lichama the he embe spræc. tha tha hebletsod hlaf ⁊ win to huſel an re niht ær his thpowunge. ⁊ cwæth be tham gebledsode hlaf. Dis is min lichama. ⁊ eft be tham halgam wine. Dis is min blod se bith for manegum agoten on synna forgifenesse ⁊ Vnderstandath nu þ se drihten the mihte awendon thone hlaf ær his thpowunge to his lichaman. ⁊ þ win to his blode gaſtlice. thæt se ylca dæghwamlice bletsah thurh sacerda handa hlaf ⁊ win to his gaſtlican lichaman. ⁊ to his gaſtlican blode.

The same in English.

An Epistle of Elfrick to Wulfstane.

MEn shall reserve more carefully that holy housell, and not reserve it too long, but hallow other of new for sicke men alwaies within a weeke or a fortnight, that it be not so much as hoary: for so holy is the housell which to day is hallowed, as that which on Easter day was hallowed. That housell is Christs body not bodily, but ghostly. Not the body which he suffered in, but the body of which he spake, when he blessed bread and wine to housell the night before his suffering, and said by the blessed bread, This is my body, and againe by the holy wine, This is my bloud which is shed for many in forgivenesse of sinnes. Understand now the Lord, who could turne that bread before his suffering to his body, and that wine to his bloud ghostly, that the selfe same Lord blesseth dayly, thorow the Priests hands, bread and wine to his ghostly body, and to his ghostly blood.

The Sacrament is the Lords body not bodily but ghostly.

After this Epistle above prefixed, written to Wolfinus Bishop of Scyrburne, concerning the sacramentall bread, how it is not Christs body, lichamlice, that is bodily; or (as we tearme it now) really; and also how the same ought not to be over-long kept in the Pix; here followeth further another Epistle of the said Elfricus written to Wulfstane Archbishop of Yorke, both reprehending the said abuse above touched, and also containing matter more at large against the bodily presence in the sacramentall bread. The copy of this Epistle, both in his owne Saxon, and in our English, here followeth.

Another Epistle of Ælfricus *against the bodily presence, to* Wulfstane *Archbishop of Yorke.*

SVme preostas gesyllaþ heora huſel box on eastron. ⁊ healdaþ open twelf monaþ to untrumum mannum. swylce þet hurel sy haligne thonne oþer. Ac hi doþ unwislice. forþã he hit wannaþ. oth þe mid ealle forrotath on swa langum fyrste. ⁊ he bith þonne scyldig swa swa us sægth seo boc ⁊ se þe huſel forhyltoþ þe hit forlyst. oth the mis eton. oth the othne nytenu. sceawa tha pœnitentialem. hwæt he sægþe thisum ⁊ Eal swa halig ys thæt huſel the bith gehalgod to dæg. swa thæt the bith gehalgod on thã halgan eastordæge ⁊ healdath forthig ic bidde thone halgan Cristes lichaman mid manan wisdome to scoctum mannum fram sunnan dæge to sunna dæge on swith clænum box. oth the be thã mæstan scowertyne night. ⁊ thic gath hit thonne. ⁊ lec gath þær othær ⁊ We habbath by sene be tham on Moyses bocum. swa swa God sylf bebead on Moises æ. thæt se sacerd sceolde on ælcum sætemes dæge wettã. twelf hlafas on tham tabernaculo ealle niwe bacene. tha. wæron gehatene Panes propositionis. ⁊ hig sceoldon thær standã on thã Godes getælde oþ owetne sæteines dæg ⁊ etan hi thonne tha sacerdas sylfe. ⁊ settan dær othre ⁊ sume preostas nellath þicgan thæt huſel the hi hal giath; Nu wille we cow secgan. hu seo boc segth betham; Presbyter missam celebrans. ⁊ non audens sumere sacrificium accusante conscientia sua anathema est; se mæssepreost the mæssath. ⁊ ne dear thæt huſel thigan. wat hine scyldigne. se ys amansumod; Læsse pleoh ys to digenne thæt huſel. thonne to halgienne. se the tuwa halgath ane ofletã to husle. se bith tham geowolan gelice. the an cild fullath tuwa; Crist sylf gehalgod huſel ær his throwunge. he bletsode thone hlaf. ⁊ to bræc thus cwethend to his halgum apost etath thisne hlaf hit is min lichama. ⁊ he eft bletsode æne calic mid wine. ⁊ cwæth heom thus to drincath ealle of thisum. hit is min agen blod thære niwan gecydnysse. se bith for manegum agoten on synna forgyfenysse; se drihten the halgode huſel ær his throwunge. ⁊ cwæth þ se hlaf wære his agen lichama. and thæt win wære witodlice his blod. se halgath dæghwãlice thurgh his sacerda handa hlaf to his lichaman. ⁊ win to his blod on gaſtlicere gerýne. swa swa we rædath on bocum; Ne bith se liflica hlaf lichamlice swa theah se ylca lichama. the Crist on throwode; Ne thet halige wyn nis thæs hælendes blod þe for us agotẽ wæs on lichamlice thing. ac on gaſtlicum and gyde ⁊ se gæþer bith sothlice se hlaf his lichama. and þ win eac his blod swa swa se heofonlica hlaf wæs. se we hatath manna. þe feowertig geara afedde Godes folce. and se ðæt hlutre wæter wæs witodlice his blod. þe arnof þã stand on tham wæstene þa; swa swa Paulus awrat on sumõ his pistole; Omnes patres nostri eadem escam spiritualem manducaverunt, & omnes eundem potum spiritualem biberunt, &c. Ealle ure fæderas ætõ on þã wæstene thone ylcan gastlican mete. and thone gaſtlicã drenc druncõ; hi druncon of tham gastlican stane. and se stane was Crist; se apostol sæde swa swa ge nu gehyrdon ðæt hi ealle æton thone ylcan gaſtlican mete. and hi ealle druncon thone gastlican drenc; Ne cwæth he na lichamlice, ac gastlice ⁊ Næs Crist tha gyt geboren. ne his

his blod næs agoten. Ða thæt Israhela folc geæt thone mete. and of tha stane dranc. and se stan næs lichâlice chist theah he swa ewæte; hit wæron tha ylcâ gerynu on thære ealdam æ. and hi gastlic getacnodó thet gastlic husel ures hælendes lichaman the we hal giath nu.

The same in English.

An Epistle of Elfrike to Wulfstane, touching the Sacrament of the Lords supper.

SOme Priests fill their bor for housell on Easter day, and so reserve it a whole yeere for sick men, as though that housell were more holy than another. But they doe unadvisedly, because it wareth hoary, or altogether rotten, by keeping it so long space; and thus are they become guilty, as the booke witnesseth to us. If any doe keepe the housell so long, or lose it, or Myce or other beasts doe eate it, see what the penitentiall booke saith by this; So holy is altogether that housell which is hallowed to day, as that which is hallowed on Easter day. Wherefore I beseech you to keepe the holy body of Christ with more advisement, for sicke men, from Sonday to Sonday, in a very cleane box, or at the most not to keepe it above a fortnight, and then eate it, laying other in the place. We have an example hereof in Moses Bookes, as God himselfe hath commanded in Moses Law, how the Priests should set every Saturday, twelve Loaves, all new baked, upon the Table, the which were called Panes propositionis: and these should stand there in Gods Tabernacle till the next Saturday, and then did the Priests themselves eate them, and set other in the place. Some Priests will not eate the housell which they doe hallow. But we will now declare unto you how the Booke speaketh by them: Presbyter missam celebrans, & non audens sumere sacrificium, accusante conscientia, anathema est. The Priest that doth say Masse, and dare not eate the housell, his conscience accusing him, is accursed. It is lesse danger to receive the housell, than to hallow it. He that doth twice hallow one host to housell, is like unto those heretiques who do Christen twice one child. Christ himselfe blessed housell before his suffering; he blessed the bread and brake it, thus speaking to his Apostles; Eate this bread, this is my body. And againe, he blessed one Chalice with Wine, and thus also spake unto them; Drinke yee all of this, this is mine owne blood of the new Testament, which is shed for many for the forgiveneſſe of sinnes. The Lord which hallowed housell before his suffering; and saith that the bread was his owne body, and that the wine was truely his blood, halloweth daily, by the hands of the Priest, bread to his body, and wine to his blood, in ghostly mystery, as we read in bookes. And yet notwithstanding that lively bread is not "bodily so, not the selfe same body that Christ suffered in, nor that holy Wine is the Saviours blood which was shed for us in bodily thing, but in ghostly understanding. Both be truly, that bread is his body, and that wine also is his blood, as was the Heavenly bread which wee call Manna, that fed forty yeeres Gods people. And the cleare water which did then runne from the stone in the wilderneſſe, was truly his blood, as Saint Paul wrote in one of his Epistles; Omnes patres nostri eandem escam spiritualem manducaverunt, & omnes eundem potum spiritualem biberunt, &c. All our fathers did eate in the Wilderneſſe the same ghostly meate, and drinke the same ghostly drinke; they dranke of that ghostly stone, and the stone was Christ. The Apostle hath said, as you have heard, that they all did eate the same ghostly meate, and they all did drinke the same ghostly drinke. And he saith not bodily, but ghostly. And Christ was not yet borne, nor his blood shed when that the people of Israel did eate that meate, and dranke of that stone. And the stone was not bodily Christ, though he so said. It was the same "mystery in the old Law, and they did ghostly signifie that ghostly housell of our Saviors body which we consecrate now.

"Bodily presence denied.

"That is, a mystery of the same thing that was in the old Law.

Besides these Epistles above prefixed of Elfricus to Wulfinus, and Wulfstane, which fight directly against Transubstantiation, mention was touched also before of certaine sermons, to the number of eighty, translated by the said Elfricus, out of Latine into the Saxon, that is, into our English tongue, as yee partly have heard before. Of the which eighty sermons, twenty foure were chiefely selected, to be read, as in stead of Homilies, or treatises, unto the people: in such order, as the first twelve Sermons or treatises, intreating of generall matters, (as, De initio creaturæ, de auguriis, de die judicii, unius confessoris, de vaniloquio & negligentia, de avaritia, de falsis diis, &c.) were appointed to be read at pleasure, and at the discretion of the Minister. The other twelve sermons, prescribed of proper Feasts, (as De annuntiatione beatæ Mariæ, de Nativitate Domini, de circumcisione Domini, de Epiphania, de purificatione Sanctæ Mariæ, Dominica prima in Quadragesima, Dominica palmarum die Pascæ, &c. Whereof this testimony remaineth in the same Booke yet to be seene, both in the Saxon tongue; and also in the Preface of the later twelve Sermons in Latine, in these words following; In hoc codicillo continentur sermones Anglicè, quos accepimus de libris quos Abbas Anglicè transtulit, &c.

80 Sermons translated out of Latine into Saxon by Elfricus.

A booke of 24. especiall Sermons selected out of the 80. sermons translated by Elfricus.

Furthermore, as touching these eighty Sermons aforesaid, which Elfricus translated into English, here is to be understood, that in the said Sermons used then orderly to be recited to the people, there was one appointed to be read in die Sancto Pascæ, that is, upon Easter day: which Sermon being translated by the said Elfricus, we have here exhibited both in Saxon speech and in English, to the intent that the Christian and indifferent Reader, perusing the same, may judge thereby how the fantasticall doctrine of Transubstantiation, in those daies of Elfricus, and before his time, was not yet received nor knowne in the Church of England; forsomuch as the said Sermon, being in Latine before, doth leave unto us an evident declaration, what was the common opinion of this Sacrament in the Church received, before that Elfricus did ever set hand to translate the same out of the Latine.

The Latine books written against Transubstantiation craftily by the Papists abolished.

And though the Latine Copies and exemplars of these foresaid sermons are not remaining in our Libraries, let that be no marvell to thee loving reader, but understand thereby the crafty packing of the Popes Clergy, who in the time of Lanfrancus and Pope Innocent, studying by all meanes how to preferre and further this their new come doctrine of Transubstantiation, did abolish and race out of Libraries and Churches all such Bookes which made to the contrary. And therefore because Lanfrancus, and other Italian Priests here in England, understood not the Saxon booke as they did the Latine, all that which they understood they made away. The Saxon bookes, because they knew them not, they let remaine: and this is the cause why our Latine copies now are not to be found. Which to be true, by three reasons consecutall it may be probably supposed.

Three conjecturs proving that the papists have made away of purpose the old Latine bookes against their Transubstantiation.

First, for that these Saxon Sermons being translated out of the Latine (as yee have heard by the words of Elfricus already proved) onely we see the Saxon bookes reserved; of the Latine none doth appeare.

Secondly, there is yet remaining one certaine piece or fragment of an Epistle of Elfricus in the Library of Worcester. Wherein, so much as maketh against the matter of Transubstantiation, wee found in the middle of the sayd Latine

Epistle utterly raſed out, ſo that no letter nor piece of a letter doth there appeare. The words cut out were theſe; Non eſt tamen hoc ſacrificium corpus ejus, in quo paſſus eſt pro nobis, neque ſanguis ejus quem pro nobis effudit: ſed ſpiritualiter corpus ejus efficitur & ſanguis, ſicut Manna quod de cœlo pluit, & aqua quæ de petra fluxit. Sicut Paulus, &c. 1. Notwithſtanding this ſacrifice is not the ſame body of his wherein he ſuffered for us, nor the ſame blood of his which he ſhed for us; but ſpiritually it is made his body and blood; as that Manna which rained from heaven, and the water which did flow out of the rocke. As Paul, &c. Theſe words ſo raced out are to be reſtored againe by an other Saxon booke found in Excester. By the raſing of which one place it may eaſily be conjectured what theſe practiſers have likewiſe done in the reſt.

The words craftily raſed out by the papiſts, and reſtored againe by the Saxon book of Excester.

Thirdly, by one Italian tricke of Polydore Virgill in our daies, the properties and doings of all other Italian Papiſts of elder time may partly be conjectured: for ſo I am informed by ſuch as preciſely will affirme it to be true, that when Polydor, being licenſed by the King to view and ſearch all Libraries, had once accompliſhed his ſtory by the helpe of ſuch bookes as he had compiled out of Libraries; in the end, when he had taken out what he would, like a true Factor for the Popes owne toth, hée piled his bookes together and ſet them all on a light fire. For what cauſe he ſo did I cannot certainely pronounce; but whoſo conſidereth well his religion may ſhrewdly ſuſpect him. For a probation whereof, this may ſerve for a ſufficient triall; that whereas of all other writers of hiſtories that have béene in England, as of Fabian, Lanquet, Kalfall, Polyd. Leland, Bale, Pall, and ſuch other, ſome of their bookes which they then occupied yet remaine in hands to be ſéene: onely ſuch bookes as Polydore uſed, and which paſt his hands, what Engliſh man is he that hath ſéene or can ſhew me one? Whereby it may well be thought the foreſaid information to be true. As alſo by this one Italian tricke of Polydore may other Italians likewiſe be ſuſpected, in making away ſuch Latine bookes within this Land as made not for their purpoſe. But forſomuch as thoſe Latine bookes be now aboliſhed, and cannot be had, let us returne to our Saxon tongue againe, and ſée what this Saxon ſermon of Elfricus tranſlation doth ſay for tranſubſtantiation: the copy whereof here enſueth.

An Italian tricke of Polydore Virgil, to burne his bookes which he had gotten into his hands.

A Sermon tranſlated out of Latin into the Saxon tongue, by *Elfricus*, againſt Tranſubſtantiation, *Anno 996.*

In die Sanctæ Paſchæ.

The Alphabet of the Saxon tongue.

d. f. g. r. ſ. t.

¶ a. b. c. ð. e. f. ȝ. h. i. l. m. n. o. p. þ. r. ſ. t. u. *w. y.* þ. x. ỳ. z.

Abbreviations.

Æ. Th. Th. S. W. and. th. th.

ſ. Ð. þ. ð. p. ⁊. ð. þ.

This Sermon was uſuall to be read in the Church, here in England in the Saxons time, Anno 366.

MEn ða leofoſtan. ȝelome eow iſ ȝeſaȝ ỳmbe uſer hælendes æriſte. hu he on þiſum andweardan dæge æfter hiſ throwunge mihtiglice of deaþe aras ⁊ Nuwille we eow geopenian ðurh Godes ȝifte be þam halgan huſle þe ȝenu toȝan ſceolon. ⁊ ȝewiſſian eower and ȝỳt ỳmbe ðære ȝeþỳnu æȝðer ge æfter ðære ealdan ȝecỳþnỳſſe. ge æfter þære niwan. ðỳ lær. ðe æniȝ tweonunge eow derian mæge be tham liflicum ȝeſceafte ⁊ be almihtiga God bebead þam heretogan on Egỳpta lande. þ he ſceold bebeodan Iſrahela Folce. þ hi namon æt ælcum heofthe anes geares lambe on þere nihte þæ hiſendon of þan lande to ðam behatenan eaſte. ⁊ ſceoldon þ lambe Gode ȝeoffrian. ⁊ ſỳþthan ſnithan. ⁊ wỳrcan þone tacnon heora gedỳrum. ⁊ oferflegum mid ðæs Lambes blod. etan ſỳþthan ðær Lambes flæſc ȝebræd. ⁊ ðe offre hlafas mid feldlicre lactucan; God cwæð to Moyſen. ne ete ȝe of ðam Lambe nan ðinȝ breaw. ne on wætere ȝeſoþen ac gebæð to fyre ⁊ Etath þ heafod. ⁊ ða fet. ⁊ þinneweardne. ne hir nan ðinȝ ne belifeoð mergen. ȝif ðer hwæt to lafes ỳ forbærneþ þ. þic gað hit on thas wiſan; Begỳrdath eowere lendenu. and beoth ȝeſceode. habath eow ſtaf on hande. ⁊ etath heardlice. ðes vidiſ Godes færeld ⁊ And weath tha on ðære nihte ofſlezen on ælcum huſe ȝeond eal Phanaoes rice. þ frumcennere cild. ⁊ wæs þ Godes Folc Iſrahel abred fram tham ðeflican deaþe. ðurh ðes Lambes offrunge. ⁊ his bloodes mearcunge; The cwæþ God to Moyſen. healdað ðiſnedæg on eowrum ȝemỳnde. ⁊ freolſath hine mætlice on eowrum cỳnrenum mid ecum bigencze. ⁊ etath ðeorfne hlaf ỳmle ſeofan dagar æt þiſſe freolſtide; Æfter þiſſere dæde lædde God þ Iſrahela Folc ofer tha readen ſæ. mid drium fotum. ⁊ adrænce thær on Pharao. ⁊ ealne hir here ſamod the heora ehton. and afedde ſỳththan þ Iſrahela folc feowrtiȝ geara mid heofonlicum bigleofan. ⁊ him forȝeaf weter of heardum ſtam clude. oth þ hi comon to tham behatenum ethele; ðume haſ place we habbathfeð þahtnod on othre ſtoweſume we wỳllath nu ȝeopenian. þ the belimpth to tham halgan huſle; Criſtene men nemoton healdan nu tha ealdan æ lichamlice. ac him gedafenath þ hi cunnon hwæt heo ȝaſtlice tacnie ⁊ þ uns cæththie Lambe the ſe ealde Iſrahela tha oſnath. hæfde ȝetacnunȝe æfter gartlicum and ȝỳte Criſter throwunge ſe the unſ cæththig forure alỳſedniſſe hir halige blod ageat ⁊ Be tham ſingath Godes theowaſ æt ælcere mæſſan. Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miſerere nobis; þ iſ on urum gereorde. thu Godes Lam the ætbretſt middan earder ſynna gemiltſa uſ ⁊ þ Iſrahela Folc wearh ahred fram tham færlicum deathe. ⁊ fram Pharaoes heowte thurh thær Lambes offrunge. the hæfde getacnunge Criſtes throwunge. thurh tha weſind alỳſede fram tham ecum deaþ. ⁊ thær rethan deofles anwealde. ȝif we rightlice gelifath on thone ſothan alỳſend ealles middam eardes hælend Criſt; þ Lambe wæs ȝeoffrode on æfnunge. and ure hælend throwode on thære ſixtan ylde thiſſere worulde; Seo ild iſ geteald to æfrunge thiſes a teori gelican middan eartes ⁊ hi mearcodan mid thæs lambes blode on heora gedỳrum. and overflegum tau. þ iſ rode tacen ⁊ wurdon ſwa ȝeſcildefram tham engle. the acwealde thæra. Egỳptiſ craſrumcennedan cild; And we ſceolon mearcian ure forwearde heafod. ⁊ upne lichaman mid Criſtes rode tacne. þ we beon ahredde fram forwỳrde. ðonne webeoth ȝe mearcode ægther ȝe on foran heafde ȝe on heortan mid blode þære drih tenlicam ðrowunge ⁊

þ Iſ-

þIſrahela Folc æt ðæs Lambes flæſc on heora eaſter tyde tha tha hi ahredde wæron. ⁊ we thicgath nu gaſtlice Criſtes lichaman. ⁊ his blod drincaþ. Sonne we mid ſothum ȝeleafan þ halige huſel ðicgath ⁊ Done timan hi heoldon him to eaſter tide ſeofan dagas mid micclum wurthmynte ðe hi ahredde wurdon. with Pharao. ⁊ of ðam earde þerdon ðwa eac Criſtene men healdath Criſtes æriſt us to eaſter tide thæſſeoſan dagas. for than the we ſint thurh hiſ ðrowunge and æriſt alyſede. ⁊ we beoth geclænſode ðurh thæs halgan huſel ganges. ðwa Criſt ſylf ſwæth on hiſ godſpell; ðoth ſoþic cow ſecge. næbe ge liſ on eow. buton ge eten min flæſc. and drincon min blod; ðe þe et min flæſc. and min blod dринcth. he wunath on me. ⁊ ic on him. ⁊ he hæfth þ ece liſ. ⁊ ic hine arepe on þam endenextan dæge ⁊ Ic com ſe liflica hlaf the of heofonum aſtah. na ſwa ſwa eowere forth fæderas æton thone heofonlican hlaf on weſtene. ⁊ ſyththan ſwul ton ⁊ ðe ðe et thiſne hlaf. he leofath on ecnyſſe ⁊ þe halgod hlafær his thpowunge. ⁊ todælde hiſ diſcipulum ðus cwethende ⁊ Eath ðiſne hlaf hit iſ min lichama. ⁊ doð þis on mynum ȝemynde ⁊ Eft he bletſode win on anum calice. ⁊ ſwæth ⁊ Drincath ealle of ðiſum. this iſ min blod thæt he biþ for menegum a ȝoden on ſynna forgyfenyſſe ⁊ Da Apoſtoli dydon ſwa ſwa Criſt het, þ hi halgodon hlaf. ⁊ win to huſle on hiſ gemynde ⁊ Eac ſwylce heora æfter gencgan. ⁊ealle ſacerdas be Criſtes hæſe halgiaþ hlaf ⁊ win to huſle on his namã mid ðær Apoſtolican bletſunge; Nu ſmed on gehwilce men oft. ⁊ git gelome ſmeagaþ. hu ſe hlaf ðe bith of corne gegearcod. and ðurh fyres hætan abacen mage beon awend to Criſtes lichaman. oth ðe þ win ðe bith of manegum berium awrungen. peorhe awend ðurh ani gþe bletſunge to drihtnes blod ⁊ Nu ſecge we ȝehwilcum mannum þ ſume thing ſind gecwedene be Criſt ðurh getacnunge ſume ðurh gewiſſum ðinge ⁊ ðoth ðing iſ. and gewis þ Criſt wæs of mædene acenned. and ſylf willeſ thorowode deaþ. and wes bebyriged. and on thiſum dæge of deaþ araſ ⁊ he iſ gecweden hlaf thurh getacnumge and Lambe. ⁊ Leo. ⁊ gehuelles ⁊ he iſ hlaf ȝehaten. forthan ðe he iſ ure liſ and engla ⁊ he iſ Lambe gecweden for his unſcæð thiniſſe ⁊ Leo for thære ſtrencþe. the he ofer ſwiþe thone ſtran gan deofol; Ac ſwa theah æfter ſothum gecynde niſ Criſt nabor ne hlaf. ne lambe. ne Leo; hwi iſ thonne þ halige huſel gecweden Criſtes lichama. oththe his blod. gif hit niſ ſothlice þ þ hit ȝehaten iſ; ðothlice ſe hlaf. and þ win the beoth thurh ſacerda mæſſan gehal ȝode other thinge he æteowath menniſcum and gitum with utan. and other thinȝ hi clipiath with inangelaffullum modum; Wið utan hi beoth ȝeſepene hlaf and win ægther geon hiſe ge on ſpræcce. ac hi beoth ſothlice æfter thære halgunge Criſtes lichama. and hiſ blod thurh gaſtlice gerynu, hæ ðen cild bith gefullud. ac hit ne bræt na his hiw wiþ utan theah the hit beo with innan awend; hit bith ge broht ſynfull thurh Adames forgæ gednyſſe to tham fant fate; Acchit bith athwogen fram callum ſynnum wiþ innan deaþ the hit with utan hiſ hiw ne awende; Eac ſwylce þ halige fant wæter the iſ gehaten liſes wylſpringe. iſ gelic on hiwe othruni weterum. ⁊ is undertheod broſnunge. ac thes halgan ȝaes tes miht ȝencalæcth tham broſnigendlicum patere. þurh ſacerda bletſunge. ⁊ hit mæg ſiththan lichaman. ⁊ ſawle athrean fram eallum ſynnum thurh ȝaſtlice miht; Eſne nu we geſeoth twa þing on thiſum anum ȝeſceapte; Æfter ſothum ȝecynde. þ wæter is broſniendlic wæte. ⁊ æfter gaſtlicre ge ynu hæfth halwende mihte; ðwa eac ȝit we ſceawiath þ halige huſel æfter lichamlicum and ȝyte. thonne ȝeſeo we þ hit is ȝeſceapt broſniendlic and awendlic; Giſ we tha gaſtlican miht thær on tocnawaw thonne undergite we þ ðær iſ liſ on. ⁊ forgifth undeadlicn yſſe. tham the hit mid geleafan thicgath; Micel iſ betwux thære unȝeſewenlicam mihte thæs halȝan huſles. and tham geſſewenlicam hiwe agenes ȝecynd es; hit is on gecynde broſniendlic hlaf. ⁊ broſniendlic win. and iſ æfter mihte Godcundes Wordeſ. ðothlice Criſtes lichama ⁊ hiſ blod. naſatheah lichamlice ac ȝaſtlice; Micel iſ betwux tham lichaman the Chriſt on throwode. and tham lichaman the to huſle bith ȝehalȝod; Se lichama ſe þlice þe Criſt on throwode wæs ȝeboren of Mariam flæſc. mid blod and mid banum. mid felle and mid sinum. on menis cum limum. mid ȝeſceadwiſne ſawle geliſæſt and his gaſtlica lichama. þe we huſel hatath iſ of manegum cornum ȝegaderod. buton blod and bane. limleasa. nð ſawulleas. and nis forthinan thinȝ thær on to underſtandenne ⁊ ðwa hwæt ſwa on tham huſle iſ the up liſes edwiſt forgifth. þ iſ of thære gaſtlican mihte. and un ȝeſewenlicne fremincge ⁊ Forthi iſ þ halige huſel geate ger ynu. forthan þe oþer þing iſ thæron geſewen. anoþer thinȝ underȝiten ⁊ þ þ dæp ȝeſewen is hæfth lichamlic hiw and þ þ we ther on underſtandath hæfth ȝaſtlice mihte ⁊ wetodlice Criſtes lichama ðe deað throwode. and of deað aras. ne ſwylt næfre heonon forth. ac is ece and unthrowiendlic ⁊ þ huſel is hwilwendlic na ece; Broſniendlic. and bith ſticc mælum todæled; Betwux tothum tocowen. and into tham buce eſend. ac hit bith theah hwæthere æfter gaſtlicre mihte on ælcum dæle ealle; Mane ga underfoth ðone halgan lichaman. and he bith ſwa theah on ælcum dæle eall æfter gaſtlicne gerynu; theah ſume men ȝeſceote læſſe dæl ne bith ſpa theah namare miht on tham maran dæle thonne on tham læſan. for than the hit bith on ælcum men anſund æfter thære unȝeſewenlican mihte; Theos gerynu is wedd. and hiw; Criſtes lichama is ſothfæſtnyſſe; Dis wedd we ealdath gewyrnelice. oth þ we becumon to thære ſothfæſtnyſſe. and thonne bith this wedd geendod; ðothlice hit is ſwa ſwa we ær cræden Criſtes lichama. and hiſ blod na lichamlice ac gaſtlice; Vton nu gehyran thæs Apoſtoles worde embe thæs ȝerinu; Paulus ſe Apoſtol cwæth be thamealdan Folce Iſrahela. thus writende on his Piſtole to Geleaffullum mannum; Ealle ure forth fæderas wepon gefiſlude on wolcne. and on ſæ. and ealle hi æton thone ylcan gaſtlican mete. and ealle hi druncon thone ylcan ȝaſtlican drenc; hi druncon ſoþlice of æfter filigendan ſtane. ⁊ ſe ſtan wæs

Cpiſt⁊ Nar reſtan þ þ waoep of fleow lichamlice æpiſt ac he ȝeþacnode Cpiſt. ðe clypode ður þo eallum ȝeleaffullum mannum ſwa hwam ſwa thynſte come þo meanð orince⁊ ⁊ of hir innothe fleowth liflic wæter⁊ thir heſæde beðã halgan ȝiſte ðe tha unðep þengon. ðe on hine gelyfoon⁊ ðe Apoſtol Paulus cwæð that þ Iſrahela Folc æte throne ylcan gartlican mete. and drunce thone ylcan ȝartlican ðrenc. Forthan the ſe ylca heofonlica mete the hi afeðde xl. ȝeara ⁊ þ weter the of than ſtane fleow. hæfde ȝeþacnunge cpiſtes lichaman. ⁊ hir blodes. ðe un beoth ȝeofrode ðæghwamlice on Godes cypcan⁊ hit weron tha ylcan ðe we ou offpiath. na lichãlice. ac ȝaſtlilice ⁊ we ſædon eow hwene æp þ Criſt halȝode hlaf ⁊ win ær hir ðrowunge þo huſle. ⁊ cwæth. thir is min lichama ⁊ min blod ⁊

Ne throwode he ða ȝyt. ac ſwa theah he awende thuph unȝeſewenlice mihþ thone hlaf þo hir aȝenũ lichama. ⁊ þ win þo his blod; ſþa ſwa he ærdyde. on thã weſtene ærthã ðe he þo men geboren wurðe. tha tha he awende throne heofonlicã mete þo his plæſc. ⁊ þ flowende wæter of tham ſtane þo his aȝenum blode⁊ Fela manna æton of tham heofonlican mete on tham weſtene. ⁊ druncõ thone ȝaſtlican ðrenc. And wurðon ſwa theah dede. ſwa ſwa Cpiſt ſæde; Ne mænde Cpiſt thone ðeath the nan man forbuȝã ne mæg. ac he mænde thon ecan deaþ ðe ſume of tham folce þor heora geleafleſte gearnodon⁊ Moyſer ⁊ Aaron. ⁊ manega othre of tham folce ðe God gelicodon æton thon heofonlican hlaf. ac hi mæron ðeade tham ecum deaðe. Theah ðe hi gemænum ðeath þorth ferdon⁊ hi geſawon þſe heofonlica mete wæs geſewenlic. ⁊ broſniendlic. ac hiunderſtodon gaſtlice be tham geſewenlicum thinge. ⁊ hic gaſtlice thigdon⁊ ðe hælend cwæth. ðe theæt min flæſc. ⁊ drincth min blod. he hæfth ece lif⁊ Ne het he na etan thon elichaman. ðe he mid befan gen wæs. ne þ blod ðrincan, the hefor us aȝeat. ac he mænde mid tham worde þ halige huſel. the gaſtlic ir hir lichama ⁊ his blod. ⁊ ſe the thæs onbyrigth mid geleaffulre heorþan, he hæfth þ ece lif⁊ On thære ealdan æ geleaffulle men offrodon Gode miſtlice lac. the hæſdon þo wearde ȝetacnumge cpiſtes lichama. the ſylf forurum ſynnum ſyththã geoffrode hir heofonlicon fæder þo onſeȝedn yſſe⁊ Witodlice thir huſel the nubith ȝehalgode æt godes weofode. ir ȝemynd cpiſtes lichamã the he for ur ȝeoffrode. ⁊ hir blodes. the he for ur ageat. ſwa ſwa he ſylf het. ðoth thir on minum gemindeſ Ene throwode Cpiſt thurh hine ſylfne ac ſwa theah dæghwomlice bith thir throwung geedniwod thurh gerynu thæs halgan huſles æt thære halgan mæſſan⁊ Vr ir eac termea genne. þ þ halige huſelis ægthir ge Cpiſtes lichama. ge eallesgeleaffulles folces. æfder gaſtlicre gerynu⁊ ðwa ſwa ſe wiſa Auguſtinus be tham cwæth⁊ Gif ge willath underſtandan be Cpiſtes lichaman. ȝehirath thone Apoſtol Paulum thur cwethende⁊ Ge ſothlice ſindon Cpiſtes lichama. ⁊ leomu⁊ Nu is eower gerynu geledon godes myſad. and ge undeſſoth eower gerynu þo tham the ge ſylfe ſind⁊ Beoth þ þ gegeſeoh on tham weofode. and underſtoth that þ geſylfe ſind⁊ Eft cwæth ſe Apoſtol Paulus be thiſum. we mane ga ſyndon an hlaf ⁊ an lichama⁊ Vnderſtandath nu. ⁊ bliſſiah. ſeala ſindan hlaf. ⁊ an lichama on Cpiſt⁊ he ir ure heafod. ⁊ we ſind his lima⁊ Ne bith ſe hlat of anum corne. ac of manegum⁊ Ne þ win of anre berian. ac of manegum. ðma we ſceolon eac habban annyſſe on urum drihtne. ſwa ſwa hit aw awriten is be tham geleaffullan weorode. þ hi waron on ſwa micelre annyſſe. ſwilce him eallum ware on ſawul. ⁊ an heorte⁊ Cpiſt gehalȝode on hir beode tha gerynæ ure ſibbe. ⁊ ure anniſſe. ſe we underfehth thære annyſſe gerynu, ⁊ ne hilþ the ne bend thære ſothan ſibbe. ne underfehth he na ȝerynu for him ſylfum. ac gecydnyſſe þo geanes him ſylfum; Micel God bith criſtenum mannum. þ hi gelome þo huſle ȝan. gif hi unr cæththi gnyſſe on heora heorþan berath þo tham weofode. ȝif hi ne beoh mid leahtrum offette⁊ Ðam yfelan men ne becymth þo nanum gode. ac þo forthwyrde. gif he thæs halgan huſles unwurthe onbyrigth; halige bee beodath þ man gemænc gewædes þo tham wine the þo huſle ſceal. forthan the þ wæter hæfth thæs folces getacnumge. ðwa ſwa þ win Criſtes blodes⁊ and forthi ne ſceal nathor butum othrum beon geoffrode, at thære halgan mæſſan. þ Cpiſt beo midus. ⁊ we mid Criſt. þ heafod mid wam leonum, and tha leomu mid tham. heafod⁊ we woldon geſyrn þrahtnian be tham lã be ðe ſe ealde Iſrahel æt heora eaſter þyde. geoffrodon. ac we woldon æriſt eow geræccan ymbe thæs gerynu. and ſyththan hu hic man thicgan ſceal; þ getacniendlice lamb wæs geoffrode æt heora eaſter tide. ⁊ ſe apoſtol Paulus cwæth on thiſum dæ gtherlicum piſtole. þ Criſt ir ure eaſter tide. ſe the for ur was geaffrod. ⁊ on thiſum dæge of ðeath aras⁊ Iſrahel thigde thæs lamber flæſc. ſwa ſwa God bebead. mid theorfum hlafum. ⁊ feldlicum lactucum. ⁊ we ſceolon thicgan þ halige huſel Criſtes lichaman. ⁊ his blod buton beorman yfelniſſe and manfulnyſſe⁊ ðwa ſwa ſe beorma awent tha geſſeafta of heora gecynde. ſwa awendath eac leahtraſ thæs mannes gæcynde fram unſcæththignyſſe þo gewemmendyſſe⁊ ðe Apoſtol tahte þ we ſceoldon gewiſtfullian na on yfelniſſe beormã. ac on theorfnyſſum ſiferniſſe. ⁊ ſothfæſtnyſſe⁊ Lactuca hætre ſeo wyſt the hi etan ſceoldon midthã theorſum hlafum. heo is biter on thicgen⁊ ⁊ ſe ſceolon mid biterniſſe ſothre behreowſunge ure mod ȝeclænſian. gif we willath Criſter lichaman thicgan⁊ Næs þ Iſrahela folc ȝewunod. þo hreawum flæſc. theah the God him bebude. þ hi hit hrewa ne eþon. ne on wæter ȝeſoden. ac ȝebræd to fire⁊ ðe wile þicgã Goder lichaman hpeawne. ſe þe buton ȝecefade wenþ þ he wæpe anfeald man ur ȝelice. ⁊ næpe God⁊ and ſe þe æfter menis cum wiſdom wyle ſmeagan ymbe þa ȝerynu Cpiſter flæſclicnyſſe. he deþ ſwylce he ſeoþe þæs lamber flæſc on wætere. forþan þe wæter ȝetacnaþ on þiſſere ſtowe menir cin ȝehid⁊ Ac we ſceolon witan þ ealle þa ȝerynu Cpiſtes meniſcnyſſe waron ȝefaðode þurh mihte thæs halȝan gaſtes. þonne thicge we hir lichaman gebrædne þo fire. forþan þe ſe halga gaſt comon firer hiwe þo þam Apoſtolum on myſtlic gereordum⁊ Iſrahel ſceold etan þæs lamber heofod. ⁊ ðafet. ⁊ þ innewearde. and ðærnan þing belifan ne morte ofer niht⁊ Gif þær hwæt belire. forbærnan þ on fire. ⁊ ne tobræcan þa baan⁊ Efter gaſtlicum andgite we etath þæs

lãbes

lambeſ heafod. ðonne we underfoþ Criſtes ȝodcundýſſe on urum geleafan ⁊ Eft þonne we hiſ meniſnyſſe miþ lufe underfoth. ðonne eᵾe we thæs lambes fet. forthan þe Criſt is anȝin ⁊ ende. Godær ealle worulda. ⁊ man on ðiſſere woruld geendunge ⁊ hæt is thæs lambes innewearde buton Criſtes digelan bebodu tha we etath þonne we liþes word mid grædigniſſe underfoth ⁊ Nan þing ne moſte thæs lambeſ belifan oth merigen. forthan ðe godes cwy das ſind to ſmegẽne mid ſwa mycelre carfulnyſſe. ſwa þ calle his beboda mid angite ⁊ weorce beon aſmeade on nighte þiſes andweardan liþes. ærþan þe ſe endenexta dæg thæs gemænelicã æriſtes æteowige ⁊ Gif we thonne ealle þa gerinu Criſtes flæflicnyſſe thurh ſmeagan ne magon. thonne ſceole we tha lafe betæcan thæs halgan gaſtes mihte mid ſothre eadmodnyſſe. ⁊ na ᵾo dyrſtelice ymbe tha deopan digelnyſſe ofer ures and ȝites mæthe ſmeagan ⁊ hi æton þ lambe mid begyrdum lendenum ⁊ On lendenum is ſeo galniſſe thæs lichaman ⁊ ſe ðe wile þ huſel thicȝan he ſceal gewrythan the galnyſſe. ⁊ mid clenyſſe þa halgan thigene onfon ⁊

hi wæron eac geſceode ⁊ hwætſind geſcy buton deadra nytenehyda; we beoth þowli e ȝeſceode. giþ we eſenlæcath mid urum feþeld ⁊ weorce þorthfarenra manna liþ. thæra ðe Gode ȝeþugon thurh gehealdſumnyſſe hiþ beboda; hi hæfdon him ſtæf on handa æt thæra thi gene; ðeſtæf getac nath gymene. ⁊ hyrdnyſſe; tha the bet cun non anᵾ magon. ſceolon gyman othra manna. ⁊ mid heora fultume undeþwrithan; Than gemettum wæs beboden þ hi ſceoldon cafflice eᵾã. þorthã þe Godᵾ ons cunath tha ſleacnyſſe on his thegnum. ⁊ tha he lufaᵾ the mid modes cafneſſe thæs ecanliþes mirthe ſecathe; hit iþ awriten. Ne elca thu ᵾo ȝecyrranne ᵾo God. ðylæs the ſe tima loſie thurh tha ſleacan elcunge; Tha ȝemettan ne moſton thæs lambeſ ban ſcænam. ne tha campan. þe Criſt ahengon ne moſton ᵾobræcan his halgan ſceancan. ſwa ſwa hi dydon twæra thegra ſceathena the him on twa healfa hangodon. ac driht aras oþ ðeath geſond buton ælcere þorro todnyſſe; ⁊ hi ſceolon geſeon æᵾ than micclã dome hwæne gewundodon wælhþeowlice on þode; theos tid is gehaten on ebreis cum gereorde Paſca. þ iþ on leden Tranſitus. anᵾ on engliſc þereld. þorthaðe on ðiſum dæge þerde ȝodes þolc fram Egypta landa oþer ða readan ſæ. fram theowᵾe ᵾo than behatenan earde; ure driht þerde eac on thiſne timan. ðwa ſwa ſe godſpellere Iohns cwæth þram thiſum middan earde ᵾo his heoþonlicũ fæder; we ſceolon þylian urun heafde. and þaram fram deofle to Criſt. fram hiſſere uns cæththigan woruld. to his ſta thelfæſtan rice. ac we ſceolon æreſt on urum anᵾ wearda liþefarã fram leahtrum to halgum mægnum þram ungeawũ to godum ᵾeawũ. gig we willath æfter thiſum lænã liþ faram tothã ecan. and æþter urũ æriſt to hælend Criſt; he us ȝelæd to his lifligendam fæder. ðe hine ſcald for urũ ſynũ to deaᵾ; ði him wuldor and lof ðere weldæda on elra worulda. AMEN.

The ſame in Engliſh.

A Sermon on Eaſter day.

A ſermon in the old Saxon tongue tranſlated into Engliſh.

MEn beloved, it hath bene often ſaid unto you about our Sauiours reſurrection, how he on this preſent day after his ſuffering mightily roſe from death. Now will we open unto you, through Gods grace, of the holy houſell, which ye ſhould now goe unto, and inſtruct your underſtanding about this myſtery, both after the old covenant, and alſo after the new, that no doubting may trouble you about this lively food. The Almighty God bad Moſes his Captaine in the Land of Egypt to command the people of Iſrael to take to every family a lambe of one yeare old, the night they departed out of the Countrey to the Land of promiſe, and to offer that Lambe to God, and after to cut it, and to make the ſigne of the Croſſe with the Lambs blood upon the ſide-poſts and the upper poſts of their doore, and afterward to eate the Lambes fleſh, roſted, and unleavened bread with wilde Lettice. God ſaith unto Moſes, Eate of the Lambe nothing raw, nor ſodden in water, but roaſted at the fire. Eate the head, the feet, and the inwards, and let nothing of it be left un till the morning, if any thing thereof remaine, that you ſhall burne with fire. Eate it in this wiſe. Gird your loynes, and doe your ſhooes on your feet, have your ſtaves in your hands, and eate it in haſte. The time is the Lords Paſſeover. And there was ſlaine on that night, in every houſe throughout all Pharaos Dominions, the firſt borne child: and Gods people of Iſrael were delivered from that ſudden death through the Lambes offering and his bloods marking. Then ſaid God unto Moſes, Keepe this day in your remembrance, and hold it a great feaſt in your kindreds, with a perpetuall obſervation, and eate unleavened bread alwaies 7. daies at this feaſt. After this deed, God led the people of Iſrael over the red Sea with dry foot, and drowned therein Pharao and all his army together with their poſſeſſions, and fed afterward the Iſraelites forty yeares with heavenly food, and gave them water out of the hard rocke, untill they came to the promiſed Land. Part of this ſtory we have treated of in another place, and part we ſhall now declare, to wit, that which belongeth to the holy houſell; Chriſtian men may not now keep that old Law bodily, but it behoveth them to know what it ghoſtly ſignifieth. That innocent Lambe which the old Iſraelites did then kill, had ſignification after ghoſtly underſtanding of Chriſts ſuffering, who unguilty ſhed his holy blood for our redemption. Hereof ſing Gods ſervants at every maſſe, Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miſerere nobis, That is in our ſpeech, Thou Lamb of God that take ſt away the ſins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thoſe Iſraelites were delivered from that ſudden death, and from Pharaos bondage by the Lambes offering, which ſignifyed Chriſts ſuffering; through which we be delivered from everlaſting death, and from the divels cruell raigne, if we rightly beleeve in the true redeemer of the whole world, Chriſt the Saviour. That Lamb was offered in the evening; and our Saviour ſuffered in the ſixth age of this world. This age of this corruptible world is reckoned unto the evening. They marked with the lambs blood upon the doores and the upper poſts, Thau, that is, the ſigne of the Croſſe, and were ſo defended from the Angels that killed the Egyptians firſt borne child. And in like manner we ought to marke our foreheads and our bodies with the token of Chriſts rood, that we may be alſo delivered from deſtruction, when we ſhall be marked both on forehead, and alſo in heart with the blood of our Lords ſuffering. Thoſe Iſraelites did eate the lambs fleſh at their Eaſter time, when they were delivered, and we receive ghoſtly Chriſts body, and drinke his blood, when we receive with true beliefe that holy houſell. That time they kept with them at Eaſter ſeven daies with great worſhip, when they were delivered from Pharao, and went from that land. So alſo Chriſtian men keepe Chriſts reſurrection at the time of Eaſter theſe ſeven daies, becauſe through his ſuffering and riſing we be delivered and be made cleane by going to this holy houſell, as Chriſt ſaith in his Goſpell, Verily, verily I ſay unto you, ye have no life in you except ye eate my fleſh and drinke my blood. He that eateth my fleſh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him, and hath that everlaſting life, and I ſhall raiſe him up in the laſt day. I am the lively bread that came downe from Heaven: not ſo as your forefathers did eate that heavenly bread in the wilderneſſe, and afterward died. He that eateth this bread liveth for ever. He bleſſed bread before his ſuffering, and divided it to his diſciples, thus ſaying, Eate of this bread, it is my body, and doe this in my remembrance. Alſo he bleſſed wine in one cup, and ſaid, Drinke ye all of this. This is my blood that is ſhed for many, in forgiveneſſe of ſinnes. The Apoſtles did as Chriſt commanded, that is, they bleſſed bread and wine to houſell againe afterward in his remembrance. Even ſo alſo their ſucceſſours and all Prieſts by Chriſts Commandement doe bleſſe bread and wine to houſell in his name with the Apoſtolike bleſſing. Now men have often ſearched and doe yet often ſearch, how bread that is gathered of corne, and through fires heat baked, may be turned to Chriſts body; or how wine that is preſſed out of many grapes is turned through one bleſſing to the Lords blood. Now ſay we to ſuch men, that ſome things be ſpoken of Chriſt by ſignification, and ſome be things certaine. True this is and certaine that Chriſt was borne of a maid, and ſuffered death of his owne accord, and was buried, and on this day aroſe from death. He is ſaid to be bread by ſignification, and a lambe, and a lyon, and a mountaine. He is called bread, becauſe he is our life, and angels life. He is ſaid to be a lambe for his innocency; and a lyon for ſtrength wherewith he overcame the ſtrong divell. But Chriſt is not ſo notwithſtanding after true nature, neither bread, nor a lambe, nor a lion. Why is then the holy houſell called Chriſts body, or his blood, if it be not truly that it is called? Truly the bread and the wine which in the Supper by the Prieſt is hallowed, ſhew one thing without to humane underſtanding, and another thing within to beleeving minds. Without they be ſeene bread and wine both in figure and in taſte, and they be truly after their hallowing Chriſts body and his blood, through ghoſtly myſtery. An heathen child is chriſtened, yet he altereth not his ſhape without, though he be changed within. He is brought to the font ſtone ſinfull through Adams diſobedience, howbeit he is waſhed from all ſin within, though he hath not changed his ſhape without. Even ſo the holy font water that is called the welſpring of life, is like in ſhape to other waters, and is ſubject to corruption, but the holy ghoſts might commeth to the corruptible water through the Prieſts bleſſing, and it may after waſh the body and ſoule from all ſinne, through ghoſtly might. Behold now we ſee two things in this one creature: after true nature, that water is corruptible moiſture, and after ghoſtly myſtery, hath wholeſome vertue. So alſo if we behold the holy houſell after bodily underſtanding, then we ſee that it is a creature corruptible and mutable. If we knowledg therein ghoſtly might, then underſtand we that life is therein, for that it giveth immortality to them that eat with belief. Much is betwixt the invisible might of the holy houſell, and the viſible ſhape of proper nature. It is naturally corruptible bread, and corruptible wine, and is by might of Gods word truly Chriſts body and blood, not ſo notwithſtanding bodily, but ghoſtly. Much is betwixt the body of Chriſt which he ſuffered in, and the body that is hallowed to

This ſigne of the Croſſe is beſide the text, but here we muſt beare with the ignorance of that time.

Exod. 12.

Exod. 14.

Exod. 17.

This Maſſe was not then like to theſe our popiſh and blaſphemous maſſes now.

This Hebrew letter (Thau) was not marked for the ſigne of the croſſe, but for the word (Torath) that is, the Law of God, the firſt letter for the whole word.

Ezech. 9.

Thau on ly Croſſe is it wherewith we are marked, that S. Paul ſpeaketh of Epheſ. 2. Chriſt reconciled both to God in one body through his Croſſe.

John 6.

Matth. 26. Luke 22. Marke 14. 1 Cor. 11.

Note how Chriſts words were taken by ſignification before Berengarius time.

A neceſſary diſtinction.

Why is the houſell called Chriſts body when it is no ſo truly.

The water in baptiſme, and bread and wine in the Lords ſupper compared.

No tranſubſtantiation.

to housell. The body truly that Christ suffered in, was borne of the flesh of Mary, with blood and with bone, with skin and with sinewes, in humane limbs, with a reasonable soule living: and his ghostly body, which we call the housell, is gathered of many cornes, without blood and bone, without limb, without soule, and therefore nothing is to be understood therein bodily, but all is ghostly to be understood. Whatsoever is in that housell, which giveth substance of life, that is of the ghostly might, and invisible doing. Therefore is that holy housell called a mysterie, because there is one thing in it seene, and another thing understood. That which is there seen, hath bodily shape: and that we doe there understand hath ghostly might. Certainly Christs body, which suffered death, and rose from death, never dyeth henceforth, but is eternall and unpassible. That housell is temporall, not eternall; corruptible and dealed into sundry parts, chewed between the teeth, and sent into the belly: howbeit, nevertheless after ghostly might it is all in every part. Many receive that holy body, and yet notwithstanding it is so all in every part after ghostly mysterie. Though some chew the lesse, yet is there no more might notwithstanding in the more part, than in the lesse, because it is whole in all men after the invisible might. This mysterie is a pledge and a figure: Christs body is truth it selfe. This pledge we do keepe mystically, untill that we be come to the truth it selfe, and then is this pledge ended. Truly it is, so as we before have said, Christs body and his blood; not bodily, but ghostly. But now heare the Apostles words about this mysterie. Paul the Apostle speaketh of the old Israelites, thus writing in his epistle to faithfull men. All our forefathers were baptised in the cloud, and in the sea, and all they did eat the same ghostly meate, and dranke the same ghostly drinke. They dranke truly of the stone that followed them, and that stone was Christ. Neither was that stone then from which the water ran, bodily Christ, but it signified Christ, that calleth thus to all believing and faithfull men, Whosoever thirsteth, let him come to me and drinke, and from his bowels shall flow lively water. This he said of the holy Ghost, which they received who believed on him. The Apostle Paul saith, That the Israelites did eat the same ghostly meat, and dranke the same ghostly drinke, because that heavenly meat that fed them forty yeeres, and that water which from the stone did flow, had signification of Christs body and his blood, that now hee offered daily in Gods Church. It was the same which we now offer, not bodily, but ghostly.

We said unto you ere while, that Christ hallowed bread and wine to housell before his suffering, and said, This is my Body and my Blood. Yet he had not then suffered; but so notwithstanding hee turned through invisible might the bread to his owne body, and that wine to his blood, as hee before did in the wildernesse, before that he was borne to be a man, when he turned that heavenly meat to his flesh, and the flowing water from that stone to his owne blood. Very many did eat of that heavenly meat in the wildernesse, and dranke the ghostly drinke; and were nevertheless dead, as Christ said. And Christ meant not that death which none can escape, but that everlasting death which some of that folke deserved for their unbeliefe. Moses and Aaron, and many other of that people which pleased God, did eate that heavenly bread, and they dyed not the everlasting death, though they dyed the common death. They saw that the heavenly meat was visible and corruptible, and they ghostly understood by that visible thing, and ghostly received it. The Saviour saith, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life. And he bad them not eat that body wherewith hee was inclosed, nor to drinke that blood which was shed for us; but he meant with those words that holy housell, which ghostly is his body and his blood, and he that eateth it with believing heart, hath that eternall life. In the old law faithfull men offered to God divers Sacrifices, that had foresignification of Christs body, which for our sinnes hee himselfe to his heavenly father hath since offered to sacrifice. Certainly this housell which we doe now hallow at Gods Altar, is a remembrance of Christs body which hee offered for us, and of his blood which hee shed for us. So hee himselfe commanded, Doe this in my remembrance. Once suffered Christ himselfe, but yet nevertheless his suffering is daily renewed at this Supper, through mysterie of the holy housell. Therefore we ought to consider diligently, how that this holy housell is both Christs body, and the body of all faithfull men, after a ghostly mysterie. As wise Augustine saith of it, If ye will understand of Christs body, heare the Apostle Paul thus speaking, Yee truly be Christs body and his members. Now is your mystery set on Gods table, and ye receive your mysterie, which mysterie yee your selves be. Be that which yee see on the Altar, and receive that which ye your selves be. Againe, the Apostle Paul saith by it, We many be one bread and one body. Understand now and rejoyce, many be one bread, and one body in Christ. Ye are our head, and we be his limbs; and the bread is not of one corne, but of many; nor the wine of one grape, but of many. So also we all should have one unity in our Lord, as it is written of the faithfull army, how that they were in so great an unity, as though all of them were one soule and one heart. Christ hallowed on his table the mysterie of our peace and of our unity. He which receiveth that mysterie of unity, and keepeth not the bond of true peace, receiveth no mysterie for himselfe, but a witnesse against himselfe. It is very good for Christian men, that they goe often to housell, if they bring with them to the Altar unguiltinesse and innocency of heart; if they be not oppressed with sin. To an evill man it turneth to no good, but to destruction, if he receive unworthily that holy housell. Holy bookes command that water be mingled to that wine which shall be for housell, because the water signifieth the people, and the Wine Christs blood, and therefore shall neither the one without the other be offered at the holy Masse, that Christ may be with us, and we with Christ: the head with the limbs, and the limbs with the head. We would before have intreated of the Lamb which the old Israelites offered at their Easter time, but that we desired first to declare unto you of this mysterie, and after, how we should receive it. That signifying Lamb was offered at the Easter. And the Apostle Paul saith in the Epistle of this present day, that Christ is our Easter, who was offered for us, & on this day rose from death. The Israelites did eat the Lambs flesh as God commanded, with unleavened bread and wilde Lettice, so we should receive that holy housell of Christs body and blood without the leven of sinne and iniquity. As leaven turneth the creatures from their nature; so doth sinne also change the nature of man from innocency to uncleannesse. The Apostle hath taught how we should feast, not in the leaven of the evilnesse, but in the sweet dough of purity and truth. The herbe which they should eat with the unleavened bread is called Lettice, and is bitter in taste: so we should with bitternesse of unfained repentance purifie our mind, if we will eat Christs body. Those Israelites were not wont to eat raw flesh, and therefore God bad them to eat it neither raw nor sodden in water, but rosted with fire. We shall receive the body of God raw, that shall thinke without reason, that Christ was onely man like unto us, and was not God. And he that will after mans wisedome search the mysterie of Christs incarnation, doeth like unto him that doth see the lambes flesh in water, because that water in this same

A signification before Christ. A sacrifice in Christs time. A remembrance of Christ. Matth. 26. Heb. 10.

The housell is also the body of all faithfull men.

No Scripture inforceth the mixture of water with the Wine. The Wine signifieth Christs blood.

How we should come to the holy communion.

Exod. 12.

same place signifyeth mans understanding: but wee should understand, that all the mysterie of Christs humanity was ordered by the power of the holy Ghost: and then eat wee his body rosted with fire, because the holy Ghost came in fiery likenesse to the Apostles in divers tongues. The Israelites should eat the Lambs head, and the feet, and the purtenance, and nothing thereof must be left over night. If any thing thereof were left, they did burne that in the fire; and they brake not the bones. After ghostly understanding we doe eat the Lambs head, when wee take hold of Christs Divinity in our beliefe. Againe, when wee take hold of his humanity with love, then eat wee the Lambs feet, because that Christ is the beginning and the end, God before all world, and man in the end of this world. What be the Lambes purtenance, but Christs secret Precepts? And these we eat when we receive with greedines the Word of life. There must nothing of the Lamb be left unto the morning, because that all Gods sayings are to be searched with great carefulnesse; so that all his Precepts may be knowne in understanding and deed in the night of this present life, before that the last day of the universall resurrection doe appeare. If wee cannot search out throughly all the mysterie of Christs incarnation, then ought wee to betake the rest unto the might of the holy Ghost with true humility, and not to search rashly of that deepe secretnesse above the measure of our understanding. They did eat the Lambes flesh with their loynes girt. In the loynes is the lust of the body, and hee which will receive that housell, shall cover or wrap in that concupiscence, and take with chastity that holy receit. They were also shod. What be shoes, but of the hides of dead beasts? We be truly shod, if wee match in our steps and deeds the life of men departed this life, which please God with keeping of his Commandements. They had staves in their hands when they did eat. This staffe signifieth a carefulnesse and diligent oversæing. And all they, that best know and can, should take care of other men, and stay them up with their help. It was injoyned to the eaters, that they should eate the Lamb in haste, for God abhorreth slothfulnesse in his servants, and those hee loveth, that seeke the joy of everlasting life with quicknes and hast of mind. It is written, Prolong not to turne unto God, lest the time passe away through thy slow tarrying. The eaters might not breake the Lambs bones. No more might the souldiers, that did hang Christ, breake his holy legs, as they did of the two thrives that hanged on either side of him. And the Lord rose from death sound without all corruption: And at the last judgement they shall see him, whom they did most cruelly wound on the Crosse. This time is called in the Hebrew tongue, Pascha, and in Latine, Transitus, and in English a Passeover, because that as on this day the people of Israel passed from the Land of Egypt over the red sea, from bondage to the land of promise: so also did our Lord at this time depart, as saith John the Evangelist, from this world to his heavenly Father. Even so wee ought to follow our head, and to goe from the Divell to Christ: from this unstable world, to his stable Kingdome. Howbeit we should first in this present life depart from vice to holy vertue, from evill manners to good manners, if we will after this our lent life go to the eternall life; and after our resurrection, to Christ. Hee bring us to his everlasting Father, who gave him to death for our sins, to him be honour and praise of well doing, world without end, Amen.

And thus I suppose, it standeth cleare and evidently proved by course of all these ages afore recited from the time of Tertullian and Aulken, unto the dayes of this Elfricus above mentioned, and after him, that this now come miracle of transubstantiation was not yet crept into the heads of men, nor almost came in any question amongst learned men, nor was admitted for any doctrine in the Church, at least for any generall doctrine of all men to be received, till a M. yeares complete after Christ, that is, till that Satan began to be set at large, Apoc. 20. For who ever heard in all the primitive Church, or ever read in the works of the old antient Doctors this question once to be asked, or disputed, whether any substance of bread and wine remained in the Lords Supper? Or what man was ever so doltish to believe any such thing, or ever called heretique for not believing the same, before the time of seduction, that is, before the 1000. yeares aforesaid were expired.

Satan let at large.

The matter of transubstantiation never called in question before the 1000. yeere after Christ.

Wherefore they that stand so much upon the antiquity of this Article, as a doctrine which hath ever since Christs time beene received in the Church, taught by the Apostles, believed of all Catholiques, and confirmed by consent of all ages, of councels, of nations and people unto this present day; these, I say, either shew themselves very ignorant in histories & in all state of antiquity, or else most impudently they do abuse the simple credulity of the people.

They that thinke transubstantiation to be otherwise than a new doctrine are ignorant in histories and antiquity.

To proceed now further in this discussion of antiquity, it followed, that after the time of Elfricus aforesaid, this matter of transubstantiation began first to be talked of, and to come in question among a few superstitious Monks; so that as blindnesse and superstition began more and more to increase, so the said grosse opinion still more and more, both in number and authority prevailed, insomuch that about the yeare of our Lord, 1060. the denying of transubstantiation began to be counted heresie.

Transubstantiation when it first came in question.

And in this number first was one Berengarius a French man, and Archdeacon of Angeou, which of all Christian men, which wee read of, was first called and counted an heretique for denying of transubstantiation, and troubled for the same, as ye shall heare.

This Berengarius lived in the time of Pope Leo the ninth, Victor and Nicho. the second, which was about the yeare of our Lord, 1060. Albeit I do find our writers here in some discrepance. For the most of them doe hold, that hee first recanted under Pope Leo the ninth, in the Councel of Vercellense, and afterward againe under Pope Nicholas the second, about the yeere, 1062. as it is to be gathered of Gratian, De consecrat. 2. Ego Berengarius, where he saith that Pope Nicholas did send about to Bishops and Archbishops the copy of his recantation.

Berengarius the first that ever was counted heretique for denying transubstantiation. *Vide Bulling. De origine erroris, & Chronic. Bibliandri.*

Againe, by the Acts of the Councell of Rome, it there appeared that the said Berengarius made this his said last recantation under Pope Hildebrand, called Gregory the seventh. But this difference of times is no great matter to stand upon. The truth of the story is this; that when Berengarius had professed the truth of the Sacrament, and had stood in the open confession thereof, according to the antient verity of the doctrine received in the Church before, he was so handled with certaine malignant and superstitious Monkes, that what by evill intreaty, and what for feare of death (such is the weake frailty of man) he began to shrinke, and afterward did indeed recant the truth.

Acta concil. Romæ habit. contra Berengarium.

Of these malicious enemies against Berengarius, the chiefest troubler was Lankranke, Abbot of Codune, afterward archb. of Canturbury; Guimund Monk, likewise first of the Abbey of Leufrede, and afterward archb. of Aversane, Algerius also Monk of Corbein: Fulbertus also Monk and Bishop; and Hildebrand somtime Monk of Cluniacke, and then Archdeacon of Turon, and afterward B. of Rome.

Lankranke persecutor Berengarii.

By these and such other Monks of the like fraternity, the error and heresie of transubstantiation began first to be defended, and parts publikely in writing to be taken about the matter. Of the which sides and parts, the first that began to set up that faction by

by writing seemeth to be Paschasius, who was a little before Berengarius about the time of Bertrame, and likewise Lanfrank the first that brought it into England.

On the contrary side againe, the first that was openly impugned and troubled for denying transubstantiation, was this Berengarius; with whom Lanfrank also was supposed at the first beginning to hold and take part, but afterward to cleare himselfe he stood openly against him in the Councell, and wrote against him.

It followeth then in the act of the Councell, that when the Synod of Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and other Prelates were together assembled, the greater number (saith the story) did hold that the bread and wine were turned substantially into the body and blood of Christ. Notwithstanding, saith he, divers there were in the said Councell which held the contrary with Berengarius, but at last were driven to giue over. Berengarius among the rest, after he had long stood in the constant defence of the truth, at last relented to their wills, confessing his errour where none was, and desired pardon of the Councell. And this was (as seemeth to William Malmesbury) his first giving over. Who afterward returning to himselfe againe after the death of Pope Leo, and prickt with the sting of conscience, was driven againe to recognize the truth, which he before had denied.

The Pope (saith Malmesb.) perceiving this, would not leaue him so, but sent into France Hildebrand, his Cardinall Chaplaine (as meet a mate for such a feat, as was in all Satans Court) and made him with a wanie to come againe Coram nobis; who so handled Berengarius, bringing him before the face of the Councell holden at Turon, that hee made him to say, Erravi, once againe; against whom stood up in that Councell Lanfrankus, and Guimundus aforesaid, impugning his assertion. And thus standeth the narration of W. Malmesbury. But by the acts of the Councell of Rome appeareth another declaration, which is, that this later recantation of Berengarius should be at Rome under Hildebrand being then Pope, in the yeare of our Lord, 1076. and in the moneth of February, and that in the same Councell holden in Ecclesia Salvatoris, this recantation of, Ego Berengarius, was made, and he enjoyned by the said Pope Hildebrand, upon his oath, never hereafter to teach or dispute contrary to that faith of that Sacrament there holden, &c.

Againe, Henry Bullinger in his book, De Origine Erroris, following belike some other Author, expresseth the order of the foresaid recantation after this sort, and saith, that in the time of Leo the ninth, Anno 1051. there was a Roman Councell, holden at Vercellense. In the which Councell Lanfrank being then present, the booke of John Scotus was openly read, and there condemned. Also Berengarius was sent for, who, seeing the prejudiciall proceeding of that Councell, refused himselfe to come, but sent two Clerkes, which openly there defended his cause and quarrell, and were for the same committed unto prison. Such is the fredome of the Popes generall Councels, with prisons and violence to defend their verities. Against the doings of this Councel notwithstanding the Frenchmen stood stiffe, both at Angeow, and Turon, joyning and consenting with Berengarius.

Not long after this died pope Leo: and after him succeeded Pope Victor, by whom another Synod was kept at Florence, where the Acts and doings of the foresaid Councell of Vercellense were confirmed, and a Legate also appointed to be sent to Turon in France. This Legate was Hildebrand above mentioned, who, calling the Clergie of France together in a Synode, fell there in hand with the cause of the Sacrament. Berengarius, not being ignorant of these Roman Councels, so kept himselfe, that in all his actions he would giue none other answer, but that he beleeved and consented with the faith of the Catholike Church; and so for that time did frustrate the purpose of the Councell, rather deluding the pretenses of his enemies, than freely confessing the simple truth.

Concilium Romanum sub Nichol. 2.

Againe after Victor, came Pope Nicholas the second, who congregating another Councell at Rome, Anno, 1058. sent for Berengarius there to appeare, who being present argued what he could for the fulnesse of his cause, but all would not serve: In the Popes generall Councels such a stroke and maistership beareth authority above verity. Berengarius being thus borne downe on every side by might and superiority, when no remedy would serve, but hee must needs recant againe (for the law of relapse was not yet in season) he desired to know what other confession of the Sacrament the Pope would desire of him, besides that which he had there confessed. Then Pope Nicholas committed that charge to Humbert a Monke of Lotharing, and after a Cardinall, that he should draw out in formable words the order of his Recantation, after the prescription of Rome, which he should reade and publikely professe before the people. The forme of which words is registred in the Decrees, De consecrat. Dist. 2. Ego Berengarius. The effect whereof is this, That hee pretendeth with heart and mouth to professe, that he acknowledging the true, Catholike, and Apostolicall faith, doth execrate all heresie, namely, that wherewith he hath lately been infamed, as holding that the bread and wine upon the Altar, after the consecration of the Priest, remaine only a Sacrament, and are not the very selfe body and blood of our Lord Iesus Christ, neither can be handled or broken wich the Priests hands, or chewed with the teeth of the faithfull, otherwise than only by manner of a Sacrament: Consenting now to the holy and Apostolicall Church of Rome he professed with mouth and heart to hold the same faith touching the Sacrament of the Lords Masse, which the Lord Pope Nicholas with his Synode here present doth hold, and commandeth to be holden by his Evangelicall and Apostolicall authoritie, that is, that the bread and wine upon the Altar after consecration are not onely a Sacrament, but also are the very true and selfe body and blood of our Lord Iesus Christ, and are sensibly felt and broken with hands, and chewed with teeth: swearing by the holy Evangelists, that whosoever shall hold or say unto the contrary, he shall hold them perpetually accursed, and if hee himselfe shall hereafter presume to preach or teach against the same, hee shall bee content to abide the severitie and rigour of the Canons, &c.

Might beareth downe right.

The last recantation of Berengarius.

Humbertus author of the decret, Ego Berengarius. De consecra. Dist. 2. cap Ego Berengarius.

The effect of Berengarius recantation.

This cowardly recantation of Berengarius, as it offended a great number of the godly sort; so it gaue to the contrary part no little triumph, whereby ever since they have taken the greater courage to tread downe the truth.

It happened shortly after this, that Hildebrand, the Popes grand Captaine in the behalfe of his Maister Pope Nicholas, went in warfare against the Normans. Which warre being finished, shortly after he set upon a new voyage to fight for Pope Alexander, against Cadolus; which victory being also atchieved, it was not long, but he put the new Pope Alexander beside the Cushion, and was made Pope himselfe: so that during the busie stir of these warres, the Popes Holinesse had no leisure to attend the debating of this controversie of the Sacrament.

At length when all was quieted, and Pope Hildebrand now was where he would be, his restlesse braine could not be unoccupied, but eft-soone summoneth a new Councell at Rome in the Church of Lateran, to revive againe the old disceptation.

Concilium Romanum 3.

tion of Berengarius about the yeare, as some hold, 1079.

Thus Berengarius, being tost by these Monks and Pharisies, was so confounded, and baited on every side, that partly for worldly feare straining him on the one side, partly for shame and griefe of conscience that hee had now twise denied the truth on the other side, the man (as is of him reported) after these such turbulent tragedies, forsaking his goods, his studies, learning, and former state of life, became a labourer, and wrought with his hands for living, all the residue of his life.

The true opinion and judgement of Berengarius of the Sacrament. Ex lib. Lanfranci Archiepis. contra Berenge.

The opinion which Berengarius maintained touching the Sacrament (as by his own words in Lanfrankes booke may appeare) was this: The sacrifice of the Church consisteth of two things: The one visible, the other invisible, that is, of the Sacrament, and of the thing or matter of the Sacrament. Which thing (which is to meane, the body of Christ) if it were here present before our eyes, it were a thing visible and to be seene: but being lift up into heaven, and sitting on the right hand of his Father, to the time of restoring of all things (as Saint Peter saith) it cannot be called downe from thence. For the person of Christ consisteth of God and man; the Sacrament of the Lords Table, consisteth of bread and wine; which being consecrate are not changed, but remaine in their substances, having a certaine resemblance or similitude of those things, whereof they be Sacraments, &c. Ex lib. Lanfranci.

By these words of Berengarius doctrine, all indifferent readers may see and judge, that hee affirmed nothing but what was agreeable to the holy Scripture, beleeving with Saint Augustine, and all other ancient Elders of the Church, that in the holy Supper all faithfull beleevers be refreshed spiritually with the Body and Blood of the Lord, unto everlasting life. Wherefore most impudently they do misreport him (as they doe many other besides) which falsely lay to his charge, as though his teaching should be, that in the sacred Supper of the Lord nothing else were received of the faithfull, besides only the bare signes, which is the bread and the wine.

The doctrine of Berengarius falsely slandered.

And now that you have seene the doctrine of Berengarius, let us also take a view of the contrary teaching of Lanfrancus and his fellowes, conferring and comparing together the institution on the one side with the institution of the other, to marke and consider which of them soundeth nearer to the truth of the Scriptures. The words of Lanfranke be these.

The grosse opinion of Lanfrancus and the papists, concerning the Sacrament.

I beleeve the earthly substances, which upon the Lords table are divinely sanctified through the ministration of the Priest, to bee converted unspeakably, incomprehensibly, and miraculously by the operation of Gods mighty power, into the essence of the Lords body, the outward formes onely of the things themselves and certaine qualities reserved, and that for two respects: The one, lest the sight of the raw and bloodie flesh might otherwise make men to abhorre from eating thereof; the other, for that they which beleeve the thing they see not, might have the greater merit for their beleefe. The conversion of which earthly substances into the essence of the Lords Body notwithstanding, yet is the selfe-same Body of the Lord in heaven, and there hath his essentiall being at the right hand of his Father immortall, inviolate, perfect, undiminished, and uncorrupted: so that truly it may be affirmed, the selfe-same Body both to be received of us, and yet not the selfe-same. The selfe-same, I meane, as touching the essence, property, and vertue of his true nature: and yet not the selfe-same as touching the formes of bread and wine, and other outward qualities incurring to our outward senses, &c. And thus have ye the confession of Lanfrank Archbishop of Cant.

From this confession of Lanfranke, the opinion and assertion also of Guimundus Archbishop of Aversane doth nothing differ in grossenesse and impiety, but rather passeth the same, thus affirming and defending, That the Body of Christ is pressed, and torne with teeth, even like as it was felt and touched with the hands of Thomas.

The impious and grosse opinion of Guimundus of Transubstantiation.

And moreover, the said Guimundus (if his booke be not rather counterfeited at Lovain) in the same place answering to an objection put out, that it is not lawfull for Christ to be torne in peces with teeth, doubteth not to pronounce that whether wee take tearing for hard biting, or soft biting, it is not repugnant nor disagreeing, but that (by the will of God agreeing thereunto) the Body of Christ may be touched with hands, bitten with mouth, crushed, yea, and divided in peces, with hard or soft pressing of the teeth: and that as he was bruised upon the Crosse, according to the Prophet, saying, He was bruised for our iniquities, &c. So the same Body, for the health of the faithfull may devoutly bee torne and rent with their teeth, any thing to the contrary notwithstanding, &c. Guimund. lib. Sacrament. fol. 30. Judge now all good studious readers, what is to be thought of this kind of doctrine, and how this opinion cohereth with the infallible voice of Gods Word, saying, Exod. And of him ye shall not break a bone, &c. Esay 53.

The great confirmation of this doctrine of Transubstantiation by miracles.

This rude and mis-shapen doctrine of these Monkes concerning Transubstantiation, as yee have heard when and by whom it began first to be broached: so if you would now know by what learning and Scriptures they did confirme and establish the same, yee must here thinke & understand, how their chiefest ground and substance to perswade the people, was at this time certaine miracles by them forged, and published both in their writings and preachings; whereof one was the same of Odo above recited, which Osberne, or some other Monkish Legend invented of him, how hee should shew unto certaine the Hoast turned into the likenesse of flesh and blood dropping into the Chalice for the conversion of those Clerkes, which before would not beleeve it.

A miracle prove Transubstantiat.

And another like miracle is also told by the said Osberne of Dunstan in this order, how the said Dunstan appeared to a certain lame cripple in the night, willing him to resort unto his tomb, to have his limbs againe restored. Which cripple, according as he was willed, after he had there continued praying for health a long time, and could not obtaine, began to returne home again after long tarrying, without all hope of recovery. To whom the said Dunstan appearing againe by the way, asked from whence he came, and whither he would. The cripple answering, declared how he came thither upon hope of health, where he had long tarried, and because he could find no recovery, therefore he now was returning home. To whom then said Dunstan; I am, saith he, Dunstan the fellow servant of all Gods servants, and have been occupied with certaine necessary businesse, for the which I could not be present there with my children. For Elfrick, said he, otherwise surnamed Bata, hath attempted to disherit my Church, but I have so stopped him, that he could not prevaile. *Ex Osberno lib. 2. de vita S. Dunstani.*

Another Miracle to prove Transubstantiation.

By this it appeareth that Elfrick the translator of the Sacrament, was the bishop of Canturbury.

Many other fabulous miracles of the like stamp are rife in popish stories, counterfeted & forged under divers & sundry names, some referred to Gregory, some to Paschasius, & to other moe, which to recite all would fill a whole sea ful of lies & fables. Among many, one is thus invented of Paschasius. There was a Priest of Almain, saith he, named Plegildus, who did see & handle with his hands visibly the shape of a child upon the altar, & so after he had imbraced and kissed him, it returned again to the likeneſſe of bread, as he should come to the receiving thereof. This miracle when it was objected against Berengarius, he merily deriding the blind fable, answered in

Another like miracle of Paschasius touching Transubstantiation.

in these words, Speciosa, inquit pax nebulonis, ut cui oris præberet basium, ei dentiu inferret exitium. That is, A goodly peace, quoth he, of a false varlet, that whom he kissed before with his mouth, by and by he goeth about to teare him with his teeth.

Another Popish miracle to prove transubstantiation.

Another miracle is reported of a Jew boy, who, upon a time entring into the Church, with another Christian lad which was his play-fellow, saw upon the Altar a little childe broken and torne in pieces, and afterward by portions to be distributed among the people. Which sight when the young Jew comming home had told unto his father to be true and certaine, he was for the same condemned to be burned. Thus he being inclosed in a house, and the doore fast where he should be burned, hee was found and taken out from thence by the Christians, not only alive, but also having not one haire of his head blemished with the flames about him. Who then being of the christians demanded, how he was so preserved from the burning fire: there appeared, said he, to me a beautifull woman sitting on a chaire, whose sonne the childe was, which was before divided and distributed in the Church among the people, who reached to me her hand in the burning flame, and with her owne skirtes kept the flame from me, so that I was preserved thereby from perishing, &c. Belike these Monkes lacked Miracles among the Christians, when they were faine to borrow such figments of the Jewes to prove their fained transubstantiation.

And these commonly were then the arguments of those Monkes, wherewith they perswaded the people to beleeve their transubstantiation. But to leave these Monkes fictions, and to returne againe to Berengarius, thus Malmesbury of him reporteth, that after he had once or twise recanted (as is aforesaid) yet notwithstanding this Doctrine of the Sacrament still remained in the minde of his hearers. And howsoever the tyranny of the Pope did drive him through feare to deny his opinion, and wrought him much trouble, yet notwithstanding, after his death he lacked not his well willers. In the number of whom was Hildebertus bishop Cenomanensis: Whose verses in commendation of his master I thought here not unworthy to be preserved, being otherwise rare peradventure to be found in our Story Writers.

Ex W. Malmesb.

Verses in praise of Berengarius.

Verses in commendation of Berengarius.

QVem modo miratur, semper mirabitur orbis,
Ille Berengarius non obiturus obit:
Quem sacræ fidei fastigia summa tenentem,
Tandem extrema dies abstulit, ausa nefas.
Illa dies damnosa dies & perfida mundo:
Qua dolor & rerum summa ruina fuit.
Qua status ecclesiæ, qua spes, qua gloria cleri,
Qua cultor juris jure ruente ruit.
Quicquid Philosophi, quicquid cecinere Poetæ,
Ingenio cessit eloquioque suo.
Sanctior & major sapientia, majus adorta,
Implevit sacrum pectus & ora Deo.
Pectus eam voluit, vox protulit, actio prompsit:
Singula factori sic studuere suo.
Vir sacer & sapiens, cui nomen crescit in horas:
Quo minor est quisquis maximus est hominum.
Qui census peperit paucos, servavit honores:
Cui potior pauper divite, jusque lucro.
Cui nec desidiam, nec luxum res dedit ampla:
Nec tumidum fecit multus & altus honos.
Qui nec ad argentum, nec ad aurum lumina flexit:
Sed doluit quoties, cui daret hæc, aberat.
Qui non cessavit inopum fulcire ruinas,
Donec inops dando pauper & ipse fuit.
Cujus cura sequi naturam, legibus uti,
Et mentem vitijs, ora negare dolis;
Virtutes opibus, verum præponere falso,
Nil vacuum sensu dicere vel facere.
Lædere nec quenquam, cunctis prodesse, favorem
Et populare lucrum pellere mente, manu.
Cui vestis textura rudis, cui non fuit unquam
Ante sitim potus, nec cibus ante famem.
Quem pudor hospitium statuit sibi, quamq; libido
Incestos superat, tam superavit eam.
Quem natura parens cum mundo contulit, inquit,
Degenerant alij, nalcitur iste mihi.
Quæque vagabatur & pene reliquerat orbem,
Inclusit sacro pectore justitiam.
Vir sacer à puero, qui quantum præminet orbi
Fama, adeò famæ præminet ipse suæ.
Fama minor meritis, cum totum pervolet orbem,
Cum semper crescat, non erit æqua tamen.
Vir pius atque gravis, vir sic in utroque modestus,
Vt livor neutro rodere possit eum.
Livor enim destet, quem carpserat antea, nec tam
Carpsit & odit eum, quam modo laudat, amat.
Quam prius ex vita, tam nunc ex morte gemiscit,
Et queritur celeres hujus abisse dies.
Vir vere sapiens & parte beatus ab omni,
Qui cœlos anima, corpore ditat humum.
Post obitum secum vivam precor ac requiescam,
Nec fiat melior sors mea sorte sua.

Although in this time of Berengarius, which was about the yeere of our Lord, 1060. (as ye have heard) this errour of transubstantiation began to grow in force and strength, by the supporting of certaine Popish Monkes above rehearsed, as Lanfrancus, Guimundus, Algerius, Hugo, Bishop of Lincolne, Fulbertus (of whom it is said in stories, that our Lady gave him sucke being sicke, with her owne breasts) and such other: yet notwithstanding all this while the said transubstantiation was decreed for no publike law, nor Doctrine to be holden by any generall consent, either of the Church of Rome, or any other Councell, before the Councell of Laterane, under Pope Innocent the third, who in the yeere of our Lord, 1215. celebrating in the Church of Laterane a generall Councell of 1300. Bishops, enacted there divers constitutions, as of yeerely confession, and the Communion to be used of the whole multitude once a yeere through every parish Church.

Transubstantiation first decreed for a generall law by Pope Innocent the third.

The generall Councell of Laterane.

Item, for the recovery of the holy land, with Subsidy also to be levied for the same.

Item, for the establishing of the Bookes and writings of Joachim Abbas, and also the opinions of Almaricus afore mentioned; notwithstanding that the said Joachim did subscribe with his owne hand, that he held the same doctrine which was in the Church of Rome, and also submitted his bookes to be presented to the sée of Rome, there to be corrected or approved. And yet was he judged though not an heretike, yet to be erroneous, and especially in those bookes which he wrote against Peter Lombard, called afterward the master of Sentences.

Ex Antonin. part. 3. tit. 19. cap. 1.

In the said Councell, besides divers other constitutions and the Articles of the Créed there in order repeated, as appeareth, Extr. De summa trinit. & fide Catholica, Cap. 1. firmiter, there was also enacted, decréed, and established the Faith and Belieke of transubstantiation, in these words following.

Extran. De Sum. trin. ca. 1. firmit. credimus.

There is one universall Church of the faithfull, without which none can be saved, in the which Church the selfesame Iesus Christ is both priest and also the Sacrifice, whose body and blood are truely contained in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the formes of Bread and wine, the Bread being transubstantiated in the Body, and the Wine into the Blood, by the power and working of God. So that to the accomplishing of this Mystery of unity, we might take of his, the same which he hath taken of ours. And this Sacrament none can make or conse-

The words of the councell whereby transubstantiation was first established.

crate, but he that is a Priest lawfully ordained, according to the Keyes of the Church, which Iesus Christ hath left to his Apostles, and to their successors, &c.

And thus was the foundation laid for the building of transubstantiation, upon the consent of these foresaid 1300. Bishops, in the yeere of our Lord above specified, under Pope Innocentius, and the doctrine thereof intruded for an Article of faith into the Church, necessarily to be beleeved of all men under paine of heresie.

Elevation and adoration brought in by Pope Honorius the third. { Anno 1220. }

But yet all this while, notwithstanding that the substance of bread and wine was now banished out of the Sacrament, and utterly transformated into the substance of Christs very body and blood; yet was not this body elevated over the Priests head, nor adored of the people till the dayes of Pope Honorius the third, succeeding after Innocentius, who by his counsel likewise commanded adoration and elevation to be joyned with Transubstantiation, as one Idolatrie commonly bringeth forth another.

Againe, the said Sacrament of the Lords Supper being now consecrated, transubstantiated, elevated and adored, yet it was not offered up for a sacrifice propitiatorie for the quicke and the dead, nor for a remedy of the soules in Purgatorie, nor for a merit operis operati, sive bono motu utentis, &c. before that other Popes comming after added still new additions to the former inventions of their predecessors.

Consecration. Transubstantiation. Elevation. Adoration. Oblation.

And thus have you the whole order and originе of these Idolatrous parts of the Masse described by their times and ages, which first began with consecration, and the forme thereof, which were words of the canon. Then came Transubstantiation by Innocentius, and after elevation and adoration by Honorius, and last of all came the oblation meritorious and propitiatory for the quicke and the dead in remission of sins, Ex opere operato.

Persecution first beginning in these later dayes. Reade before.

Which things being thus constituted by the too much usurped authority of the Church of Rome, shortly after followed persecution, tyranny and burning among the Christians, first beginning with the Albingenses, and the faithfull congregation of Tholouse, neere about the time of the said Innocentius, as is afore remembred.

Iohn Duns, in 4 l b. Sentent. Reade before.

And thus much for the first article of transubstantiation which (as you have heard) was not admitted into the Church for any generall doctrine of Faith, before the yeere and time above assigned of Pope Innocent the third: and therefore if any have beene otherwise perswaded, or yet do remaine in the same perswasion still of this doctrine, as though it had beene of a longer continuance then for the time above expressed, let him understand that by ignorance of histories he is deceived: and for the more satisfying of his minde, if he credit not me, let him beleeve the words of one of his owne Catholike sort, I. Duns I meane, who in his fourth booke writing of transubstantiation, in what time and by whose authority it was first established, hath these words, which also are before mentioned: these words of the scripture might be expounded more easily and more plainely without transubstantiation; but the Church did chuse this sense, which is harder, being thereto mooued, as seemeth, chiefely because men should hold of the Sacraments, the same which the Church of Rome doth hold, &c. And further in the same place the said Duns expounding himselfe what he meaneth by the Church of Rome, maketh there expresse mention of the said Innocentius the third, and of this councell of Laterane, &c.

And furthermore, to the intent that such as be indifferent seekers of the trueth may be more amply satisfied in this behalfe, that this transubstantiation is of no antiquity, but of a late invention:

I will also adjoyne to this testimony of Iohannes Scotus, the judgement and verdict of Erasm. lib. Annot. where he writeth in these words, *In Synaxi transubstantiationem sero definivit Ecclesia. Diu satis erat credere sive sub pane consecrato, sive quocunq; modo adesse verum corpus Christi, &c.* That is, In the sacrament of the communion, the Church concluded transubstantiation but of late dayes. Long before that, it was sufficient to beleeve the true body of Christ to be present either under bread, or else by some other manner, &c. *Erasm. lib. Annot. in 1. Cor. cap. 7. Scot.*

The second Article.

The second article of both kindes.

As touching the second Article, which debarreth from the lay people the one halfe of the sacrament, understanding that under one kinde both parts are fully contained, forsomuch as the world well knoweth that this Article is but young, invented, decreed and concluded no longer since, then at the councell of Constance, not past 200. yeeres agoe: I shall not neede to make any long standing upon that matter, especially for that sufficient hath beene said thereof before in our long discourse of the Bohemians story.

Reade before.

The reasons and objections of the papists against both kindes.

First let us see the reasons and objections of the adversaries in restraining the Laitie from the one kinde of this sacrament. The use, say they, hath beene of so long continuance in the church. Whereunto we answere, that they have no evident nor authentike example of any ancient custome in the Church which they can produce in that behalfe.

Luke 24.

Item, where they alledge the place of S. Luke where Christ was knowne in breaking of bread, &c. citing moreover many other places of scripture, wherein mention is made of breaking of bread: to answere thereunto, although we do not utterly repugne, but that some of these places may be understood of the sacrament, yet that being granted, it followeth not therefore, that one part of the Sacrament was onely ministred to the people without the other, when as by the common use of speech, under the naming of one part the whole action is meant. Neither doth it follow, because that bread was broken among the brethren, therefore the cup was not distributed unto them. For so we find by the words of S. Paul, that the use of the Corinthians was to communicate not onely in breaking of bread, but in participating the cup also, The cup, saith he, which we participate, &c.

1. Cor. 10

Also after the Apostles, in the time of Cyprian, of Hierome, of Gelasius and other successively after them, it is evident that both the kinds were frequented in the Church. First Cyprian in divers places declareth that the Sacrament of the bloud was also distributed. How do we, saith he, provoke them to stand in the confession of Christ, to the shedding of their bloud, if we deny unto them the bloud of Christ when they prepare themselves to the conflict?

Cypria. lib. Epist. 2. De-cis Martyr. Scriberis.

The words of Jerome are plaine. Priests, saith he, which minister the Eucharist, and divide the bloud unto the people.

Hieronymus Sophon. cap.

In historia tripartita, it was said to the Emperor Theodosius, How will you receive the body of the Lord with such bloudy hands, or the cup of his precious bloud with that mouth, which have spilled so much innocent bloud?

In histor. tripart. lib. 9.

In the Canon of Gelasius, and in the Popes owne decrees, these words we read, Wee understand that there be some which receiving onely the portion of the Lords body, doe abstaine from the cup of his sacred bloud: to whom we enjoyne, that either they receive the whole Sacrament in both kinds, or else that they receive neither; for the dividing of the whole and one Sacrament cannot bee done without great sacrilege, &c. So that this decree of P. Gelasius being contradictory to the councell of Constance, it must follow, that either the pope did erre, or else the Councell of Constance must

De consecr

The Councell of Constance a sacrilegious Councell.

must nedes be a sacrilegious Councell, as no doubt it was.

The like testimony also appeareth in the Councell of Toletane, that the Laitie did then communicate in both kindes, beside divers other old Presidents, remaining yet in the Churches both of Germanie and also of France, declaring likewise the same.

The forbidding of both kindes of the Sacrament hath no ground of ancient custome.

And thus it standeth certaine and demonstrable by manifold probations, how farre this new found custome differeth from all antiquitie and prescription of use and time. Again, although the custome thereof were never so antient, yet no custome may be of that strength to gainstand or countermaund the open and expresse commandment of God, which saith to all men, *Bibite ex hoc omnes*, Drinke yee all of this, &c.

No custome may derogate from the Lords expresse commandement.

Again, seeing the cup is called the bloud of the new Testament, who is he that dare or can alter the Testament of the Lord, when none may be so hardy to alter the Testament of a man, being once approved or ratified?

The Lords Testament ought not to be altered for any respect.

Further, as concerning those places of scripture before alledged, *De fractione panis*; That is, Of breaking of bread, whereupon they thinke themselves so sure that the sacrament was then administred but in one kinde: to answer thereunto, first we say it may be doubted whether all those places in scripture *de fractione panis*, are to be referred to the sacrament. Secondly, ỳ same being given unto them, yet can they not inferre thereby, because one part is mentioned, that the full sacrament therefore was not ministred. The common manner of the Hebrew phrase is, under breaking of bread to signifie generally the whole feast or supper: as in the Prophet Esay, these words, *Frange esurienti panem tuum*, doe signifie as well giving drinke as bread, &c. And thirdly, howsoever those places, *De fractione panis*, be taken, yet it maketh little for them, but rather against them. For if the sacrament were administred among them, *in fractione panis (id est)* in breaking of bread, then must they nedes grant, that if bread was there broken, Ergo there was bread, forsomuch as neither the accidents of bread without bread can be broken, neither can the naturall body of Christ be subject to any fraction or breaking by the scripture, which saith, And ye shall breake no bone of him, &c. Wherefore take away the substance of bread, and there can be no fraction. And take away fraction, how then doe they make a sacrament of this breaking, whereas neither the substance of Christs body, neither yet the accidents without their substance can be broken, neither again will they admit any bread there remaining to be broken? and what then was it in this their *fractione panis*, that they did break, if it were not *Panis (i.) Substantia panis quæ frangebatur?* To conclude, if they say that this fraction of bread was a sacramentall breaking of Christs body, so by the like figure let them say that the being of Christs naturall body in the sacrament is a sacramentall being, and we are agréd.

In fractione panis.

1. Cor. 12. The naturall body of Christ may not be broken. Accidents no man can take. No bread is there to be broken. Ergo, there is nothing in the sacrament broken.

Item, They object further and say, That the Church upon due consideration may alter as they see cause, in Rites, Ceremonies and Sacraments.

Another objection against both kinds.

Answer. The institution of this sacrament standeth upon the order, example, and commandement of Christ. This order he toke: first he divided the bread severally from the Cup, and afterward the Cup severally from the bread. Secondly, this he did not for any néd on his behalfe, but onely to give us example how to do the same after him, in remembrance of his death to the worlds end. Thirdly, beside this order taken, and example left, he added also an expresse commandement, *Hoc facite*, Doe this: *Bibite ex hoc omnes*, Drinke yee all of this, &c. Against this order, example, and commandement of the Gospel no Church nor Councel of men nor Angell in heaven hath any power or authoritie to change or alter, according as we are warned; If any bring unto you any other Gospell beside that yee have received, hold him accursed, &c.

Answer.

Order.

Example. Commandement.

Galat. 1.

Item, another objection: And why may not the Church (say they) as well alter the forme of this Sacrament, as the Apostles did the forme of Baptisme? where in the Acts Saint Peter saith, Let every one be baptised in the name of Iesus Christ, &c.

Another objection against both kinds. Acts 2.

Answer. This Text saith not that the Apostles used this forme of baptising; I baptise thee in the name of Christ, &c. but they used many times this manner of speech, to be baptised in the name of Christ, not as expressing thereby the formall words of baptising, but as meaning this, that they would have them to become members of Christ, and to be baptised as Christians, entring into his baptisme, and not onely to the baptisme of John: and therefore although the Apostles thus spake to the people, yet notwithstanding when they baptised any themselves, they used (no doubt) the forme of Christ prescribed, and no other.

Answer.

The Apostles changed not the forme of baptisme.

Item, Among many other objections, they alledge certaine perils and causes of weight and importance, as spilling, shedding, or shaking the bloud out of the cup, or scouring, or else sticking upon mens beards, &c. For the which they say it is well provided the halfe Communion to suffice.

Wherunto it is some answered, That as these causes were no let to Christ, to the Apostles, to the Corinthians, & to the Brethren of the Primitive Church, but that in the publique assemblies they received all the whole Communion, as well in the one part as in the other; so neither be the said causes so important now, to annull and evacuate the necessary commandement of the Gospell, if wee were as carefull to obey the Lord, as we are curious to magnifie our owne devises, to strain gnats, to stumble at strawes, and to seek knots in rushes, which rather are in our owne fantasies growing, than there where they are sought.

Mans curiositie in magnifying his owns devises above Gods.

In summa. Divers other objections and cabillations are in Popish books to be found, as in Gabriel the difference made betweene the Laitie and priests, also ỳ distinction used to be made betwéen the Priests Communion & the laicall Communion. Where is to be understood, that when priests were bid to use the laicall Communion, thereby was meant not receiving under one kinde, as lay men do now, but to abstaine from consecrating, and onely to receive as the lay men then did. Some also alledge certaine speciall or particular examples, as of the Cup onely serving for the bread, or of the bread onely sent to certaine sicke folke for the Cup. And here they do inferre the story of Sozomenus, touching the woman in whose mouth the sacrament of bread, which she onely received without the Cup, was turned to a stone, &c. Other alledge other private examples likewise of Infants, aged men, sicke persons, men excommunicate, Phrentickes, or mad men, or men dwelling far off from Churches, in mountaines or wildernesses, &c. All which private examples neither make any instance against the ancient custome of publique Congregations frequented from the Apostles time, and much lesse ought they to derogate from the expresse and necessary Precept of the Gospell, which saith to all men without exception, *Hoc facite, &c. Bibite ex hoc omnes, &c.*

Objections of private example make no instance against publike usages and doctrine of the Church. *Communio Sacerdotum. Communio Laicalis. Hist. Eccle. lib. 8. cap. 5.*

All respects must give place to the obedience of the word.

The third Article.

The 3. article.

Private Masses, Trentall Masses, and Dirige Masses, as they were never used before the time of Gregory, six hundred yeres after Christ; so the same do fight directly against our Christian Doctrine, as by the definition thereof may well appeare. The Masse is a worke or action of the Priest, applied unto men for meriting of grace, *Ex opere operato*, in the which action the sacrament is first worshipped, and then offered up for a sacrifice for remission of sinnes, *à pena & culpa*, for the quicke and the dead. Of this definition as there is no part, but it agreeth with their owne teaching; so there is no part therof which disagreeth not from the rules of Christian doctrine, especially these as follow.

Definition of the masse.

The first rule of Christian doctrine.

1 The first rule is; Sacraments be instituted for some principall end and use, out of the which use they are no sacraments. As the sacrament of Baptisme is a sacrament of regeneration and forgivenesse of sinnes to the person that is baptised; but if it be carried about to be worshipped and shewed to other, as meritorious for their remission and regeneration, to them it is no sacrament.

The 2. rule.

2 No Sacrament or ceremonie doth profit or conduce, but them onely which take and use the same.

The 3 rule.

3 Onely the death of Christ, and the worke of his sacrifice upon the Crosse is to be applied to every man by faith, for salvation and health of his soule. Beside this worke alone, to apply any action or worke of Priest or any other person, as meritorious of it selfe, and conducible to salvation, to soules health, or to remission of sinnes, it is Idolatry, and derogatorie to the testament of God, and to the bloud of Christ pretiuciall.

The 4. rule. 1 Cor. 10.

4 To make Idols of Sacraments, and to worship dumbe things for the living God, it is Idolatrie; *Fugite Idola, &c.* 1, Cor. 10.

The 5. rule.

5 Every good worke whatsoever it be that a man doth profiteth onely himselfe, and cannot bee applied to other men, *Ex opere operato*, to profit them unto merit or remission, onely the actions of Christ except.

The 6. rule.

6 No man can apply to another the sacrifice of Christs death by any worke doing, but every man must apply it to himselfe by his owne beléeving. *Justus ex fide sua vivet*, Habacuc. 2.

The 7. rule.

7 The sacrifice of Christs death doth save us freely by it selfe, and not by the means of any mans working for us.

The 8. rule.

8 The passion of Christ once done and no more is a full and a perfect oblation and satisfaction for the sinnes of the whole world, both originall and actuall: by the vertue of which passion the wrath of God is pacified toward mankinde for ever, Amen.

The 9. rule.

9 The passion of Christ once done is onely the object of that faith of ours which justifieth us, and nothing else. And therefore whosoever setteth up any other object, beside that passion once done, for our faith to apprehend and behold the same, teacheth damnable doctrine, and leadeth to Idolatrie.

Against all these rules private Masses directly do repugne. For first, beside that they transgresse the order, example, and commandement of Christ (which divided the bread and cup to them all) they also bring the sacrament out of the right use whereunto principally it was ordained. For whereas the use of that sacrament is principally instituted for a testimoniall and remembrance of Christs death, the private Masse transferreth the same to another purpose, either to make of it a gazing Idoll, or a worke of application meritorious, or a sacrifice propitiatorie for remission of sinnes, or a commemoration for soules departed in Purgatory, according as it is written in their Masse booke, *Pro quorum memoria corpus Christi sumitur, Pro quorum memoria sanguis Christi sumitur, &c.* Whereas Christ saith contrary, *Hoc facietis in meam commemorationem.*

The sacrament of the Lords supper put out of his right use by private masses.

Christs memory put out in dirige masses.

Furthermore, the institution of Christ is broken in this, that where the communion was given in common, the private Masse sufferreth the Priest alone to eate and drinke up all, and when hee hath done, to blesse the people with the empty cup.

Secondly, whereas Sacraments properly appertaine none but them that use the same, in the private masse the Sacrament is received in the behoofe not onely of him that executeth, but of them also that stand loking on, and of them also which be far off, or dead and in purgatorie.

In application.

Thirdly, when by the Scripture nothing is to be applied for remission of our sinnes, but onely the death of Christ, commeth in the private masse as a worke meritorious done of the Priest, which being applied to other, is available Ex opere operato, both to him that doth it, and to them for whom it is done *ad remissionem peccatorum.*

Adoration.

Fourthly, private masses and all other masses now used of the Sacrament make an Idol, of commemoration make adoration, in stead of a receiving make a deceiving, in place of shewing forth Christs death make new oblations of his death, and of a communion make a single sole supping, &c.

Oblation.

Fiftly, whereas in this generall frailty of mans nature, no man can merite by any worthinesse of working for himselfe, the Priest in his private Masse taketh upon him to merit both for himselfe, and for many other.

Meriting for other.

Sixthly, it standeth against Scripture, that the sacrifice and death of Christ can be applied any otherwise to our benefit and justification, then by faith. Wherefore it is false that the action of the masse can apply the benefit of Christs death unto us, *Ex opere operato, sive bono motu utentis vel sacrificantis.*

Opus operatum Private masses against the free grace of God.

Seventhly, whereas the benefit of our salvation and justifying standeth by the free gift and grace of God, through our faith in Christ; contrarily, the application of these popish masses stoppeth the freenesse of Gods grace, and maketh that this benefit must first come through the Priests hands, and his opus operatum, unto us.

The eight contrariety betweene private Masse and Gods word is in this; That where the scripture saith, *Unica oblatione consummavit eos; qui sanctificantur in perpetuum*, with one oblation he hath made perfect them that be sanctified for ever: against this rule the private masse proceedeth in a contrary doctrine, maketh of one oblation a daily oblation, and that which is perfectly done and finished new to bee done againe: And finally, that which was instituted onely for eating and for a remembrance of that oblation of Christ once done, the Popish masse maketh an oblation and a new satisfaction daily to be done for the quicke and the dead. H. b. 10.

Private masses turne our faith from Christs body crucified, to Christ sacrificed in their Masses.

To conclude, these both private and publike Masses of Priests turne away the object of our faith from the body of Christ crucified, to the body of Christ crucified in their Masses. And where God annexeth the promises of justification but onely to our faith in the body of Christ crucified; they do annex promise of remission *à pena & culpa*, to the body in their masses sacrificed, by their application: besides divers other horrible and intolerable corruptions which spring of these their private and publike masses, which here I leave to other at their leasure further to conceive and to consider. Now let us proceede to the other Articles following.

The fourth and fifth Articles of vowes and Priests Mariage.

The 4. and 5. articles of vowes and Priests marage.

AS we have discoursed before by stories and order of time ỹ antiquity of the 3 former articles above

abouе mentioned, to wit, of Transubstantiation, of the halfe communion, and of priuate Masses: so now comming to the Article of Vowes, and of Priests marriage, the Reader will loke perchance to bée satisfied in this likewise, as in the other before, and to be certified from what continuance of time these Vowes and unmarried life of priests haue continued. Wherein, although sufficient hath bœn said before in the former processe of this history, as in the life of Anselmus, also of pope Hildebrand, &c. Yet for the better establishing of the readers minde against this wicked article of priests marriage, it shall bée no great labour loss, heere briefely to recapitulat in the tractation of this matter, either what before hath bœne said, or what is more to bée added. And to the intent that the world may sée and iudge the said Law and Decrée of Priests single sole life, to be a doctrine of no ancient standing here within this realme, but onely since the time of Anselmus, I will first alledge for me the words of Henry Huntington, lib. 7. de historia Anglorum here following.

Reade afore.
Reade afore.
Ex Hen Huntingt. lib. 7. De historia Anglorum.
Priests marriage first forbidden by Anselmus in England.
The words of Huntington.

Eodem anno ad festum Michaelis tenuit Anselmus Archiepiscopus Concilium apud Londonias: In quo prohibuit sacerdotibus Anglorum uxores antea non prohibitas. Quod quibusdam mundissimum visum est, quibusdam periculosum: ne dum mundicias viribus majores appeterent, in immundicias horribiles ad Christiani nominis summum dedecus inciderent, &c. That is, The same yéere at the Feast of Saint Michael, Anselme the Archbishop of Canterbury held a Synode at London: in the which Synode, he forefended priests here in England to haue wiues, which they were not inhibited before to haue. Which constitution séemed to some persons very pure and chaste. To other some againe it séemed very dangerous, lest while that men should séeme to take upon them such chastity more than they should be able to bear, by that occasion they might happily fall into horrible filthinesse, which should redound to the exceeding slander of Christian profession, &c.

Priests not restrained from wiues before Anselmus time.

Albeit I deny not but before the time also of Anselmus, both Odo, and after him Dunstane Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ethelwold Bishop of Winchester, and Oswald Bishop of Worcester in the daies of king Edgar, anno 963. as they were all Monkes themselues, so were they great doers against the marriage of priests, placing in Monkes in churches, and colledges, and putting out the maried Priests, as ye may read before. Yet notwithstanding neither was that in many Churches, and also the priests then married were not constrained to leaue their wiues, nor their rowmes, but only at their owne choice. For so writeth Malmesbury in vita Dunstani: *Itaque Clerici multarum Ecclesiarum, data optione ut aut amittum mutarent, aut locis valedicerent, &c.* That is, Therefore diuers and sundry clerkes of many churches, being put to their choice, whether to change their wéed, or to part from their places, went their wayes, &c. So also Elfricus after them (of whom mention was made before) was somewhat busie in setting forward the single life of priests, and Lanfrancus likewise. But yet this restraint of priests lawfull marriage was neuer publikely established for a Law here in the Church of England, before the comming of Anselme in the daies of William Rufus, and king Henry the first, writing in these words, Boldly I command by the authority which I haue by my Archbishoprick, not onely within my archbishoprick, but also throughout England, that all Priests, that kéepe women, shall be depriued of their Churches and all Ecclesiasticall Benefices, &c. as ye may read more at large before. Which was much about the same time, when as Hildebrand also at Rome began to attempt the same matter, as before hath bœn shewed, and also besides him were other Popes moe, as Innocent the third, Pope Nicholas the second, and Calixtus the second, by whom the act against Priests Marriage was brought at length to his full perfection, and so hath continued euer since.

Reade afore.
Malmesb. in vita Dunstani.
Priests first restrained from their wiues generally in England
Reade afore.

Long it were and tedious to recite here all such constitutions of Councels prouinciall and generall, namely, of the Councell of Carthage and of Toledo, which séemed to worke something in that behalfe against the Matrimonie of Priests.

Againe, longer it were to number up the names of all such Bishops and Priests, which notwithstanding haue bœne married since that time in diuers Countries, as more amply shall bée shewed (the Lord willing) in the sequele hereof. In the meane season, as touching the age and time of this diuelish prohibition for Priests to haue their Wiues, this is to be found by credible proofes, and conferring of Histories, that in the yeere of our Saviour, 1067. at what time Pope Hildebrand beganne first to occupie the Papall Chaire, this Oath began first to be taken of Archbishops and Bishops, that they should suffer none to enter into the Ministerie, or into any Ecclesiasticall function having a wife; and likewise the Clergie to be bound to promise the same.

Exactis Syr. Mediolan.

And this was, as I said, about the yéere of our Lord, 1067. well approued and testified by course of Histories. Whereby appeareth the Prophesie of Saint Paul truely to bee verified, speaking of these latter times, the first of Timothy the fourth, & here he writeth in these words, The Spirit speaketh plainely, that in the latter times there shall some depart from the Faith, harkening unto spirits of errour, and to Doctrines of Diuels, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meates, which the Lord hath created to bée taken with thanksgiuing, &c.

S. Paul prophecieth of forbidding of marriage.

In this Prophecie of S. Paul two things are to be obserued; First the matter which he prophecieth of, that is, the forbidding of marriage, and forbidding of Meates, which God generally hath left frée to all men. The second thing in this prophesie to be noted is the time when this prophecie shall fall, that is, in the later times of the World. So that this concurreth right well with these yéeres of Pope Hildebrand aforesayd, being a thousand yeeres complete after the Ascension of our Saviour, so that they may well be called the later times.

S. Pauls prophecie found true for the count of times.

This Prophecy of Saint Paul thus standing, as it doeth, firme and certaine, that is, that forbidding of marriage must happen in the later times of the world, then must it nœdes consequently follow thereby, that the maried life of priests is more ancient in the Church then is the single life, then the law I meane commanding the single life of Priests. Which may some be proued to be true, by the true count of times, and search of histories.

The married life of priests more ancient in the church then the single life of Priests.

1 For first at the councell of Nice, it is notorious that this diuelish law of marriage to be restrained was stopped by Paphnutius.

2 Before this Councell of Nice, in the yéere of our Lord 150. we reade of Polycrates Bishop of Ephesus, who dissenting from Pope Victor about a certaine controuersie of Easter day, alledgeth for himselfe how his progenitors before him seuen together, one after another, succéeded in that seat, and he now the eighth after them was placed in the same, using this his descent of his parents not onely as a defence of his cause, but also as a glory to himselfe.

3 Pope Syricius about the yéere of our Lord 390 wrote to the priests of Spaine about the same matter of putting their wiues from them, if his Epistle be not counterfeit. These Spanish priests had then with them a Bishop of Terragon; who answering to Syricius in this behalfe, alledged

the Testimonies of Saint Paul, that priests might lawfully retaine their wives, &c. To this Syricius replyed againe, (if his writing be not forged) most arrogantly, and no lesse ignorantly, reproving the priests that were married, and for the defence of his cause, alledged this sentence of saint Paul, *Si secundum carnem vixeritis, moriemini*, That is, If ye shall live after the flesh, ye shall die, &c. Whereby may appeare not onely how they in Spaine then had wives, but also how blind these men were in the Scriptures, which shewed themselves such and so great adversaries against priests marriages.

Syricius enemy to priests.

Rom. 8.

4 To bee short, the further that we goe, and the neerer that we come to the ancient and Primitive time of the Church, the lesse antient wee shall finde the deprivation of lawfull matrimony amongst Christian Ministers, beginning if ye will with the Apostles, their examples and Canons, who although they were not so married, yet divers of them were, and the rest had power and liberty to have and keep their wives, witnessing saint Paul, where he writeth of himselfe; *Non habemus potestatem sororem mulierem circumducendi sicut & reliqui Apostoli?* That is to say, Have we not power to lead about a sister to wife, as also the other Apostles have? Whereby is to be seene, both what he might doe, and what the other Apostles did. Also Clemens Alexandrinus, which was two hundred yeares after Christ, Lib. Strom. 7. denieth not, but that Paul was married being an Apostle, as well as Peter and Philip. And as the said Apostles in their doctrine admonish all men to marrie that cannot otherwise doe, saying unto every one being in danger of temptation, *Vnusquisque suam uxorem habeat, ne tentet vos Satanas, &c* That is, Let every man have his owne wife, lest Satan tempt you, &c. So likewise the same Apostles in their Canons (as in the Popes decrees is cited) doe precisely charge, that no Bishop nor Priest should sequester from him his wife for any matter or pretence of religion, saying, If any shall teach that a Priest for Religion sake ought to contemne his owne Wife, let him bee accursed &c.

Divers of the apostles were married.

Clement Alexandrinus lib. Strom. 7.

Distinct. 28.

Canon of the Apostles.

As for the Glose there in the margent, which expoundeth this word contemning for exhibiting things necessary for her sustenance, all the world may see that to bee a glosse of mere Sophistrie. And because I have here made mention of Clemens Alexandrinus, it shall not bee to our purpose impertinent, to inferre the words of this worthy writer, wherewith hee doth defend priests lawfull matrimonie, against certaine vaine boasters of Virginitie, in his time. Dicunt glorioſi iſti jactatores, ſe imitari dominum, qui neque uxorem duxit, neque in mundo aliquid poſſedit, ſe magis quam alios Evangelium intellexiſſe gloriantes. That is, These glorious braggers doe vaunt themselves to bee the followers of the Lord, who neither had wife, nor yet possessed any thing here in the world, &c. And it followeth, Eis autem dicit Scriptura, Deus ſuperbis reſiſtit, humilibus autem dat gratiam. Deinde neſciunt cauſam cur dominus uxorem non duxerit. Primum quidem propriam ſponſam habuit eccleſiam. Deinde vero nec homo erat communis, ut opus haberet etiam adjutore aliquo ſecundum carnem &c. To these the Scripture maketh answer, God withstandeth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble. Againe, they consider not the cause why the Lord toke no wife. Firſt, hee had his owne peculiar spouse, which is the Church. Moreover, neither was he as a common man, that hee should stand in such need of a helper after the flesh, &c. And in the same booke a little after alledging against them that abhorre matrimony, hee inferreth the words of Saint Paul, how that in the latter dayes some shall fall from the faith, attending to spirits of errour, and to doctrine of Divels, forbidding to mary, and to abstaine from meats, &c. Which place of Saint Paul Clement here applieth not against the Novatians, and them that condemn matrimonie in generall in all men, as naught; but hee applieth it onely against such, as forbid marriage in part, and namely in priests, &c.

Sophisticall glose.

Clemens Alexandrinus.

The cause why Christ had no wife.

1. Tim. 4.

This Clement wrote after Christ two hundreth yeeres, and yet if we come downward to lower times, we shall find both by the Councell of Gangren three hundred yeres, and also by the councel of Nice foure hundred yeeres after Christ, the same liberty of priests marriage established and enacted as a thing both good and godly. The words of the Gangren Councell be these, Si quis diſcernit Preſbyterum conjugatum, tanquam occaſione nuptiarum, quod offerre non debeat, & ab ejus oblatione ideo abſtinet, anathema ſit, &c. That is, If any doe judge that a priest for his marriage sake ought not to minister, and therefore doth abstaine from the same, let him be accursed.

Concilium Gangrense.

Distinct. 28.

Moreover proceeding yet in times and Chronicles of the Church, we shall come to the sixth councell called Synodus Conſtantinopolitana, almost seven hundred yeares after Christ: the words of the which Councell be alledged in the Decrees, & be these in Latine. Quoniam in Romani ordine canonis eſſe cognovimus traditum, eos qui ordinati ſunt Diaconi vel presbyteri, confiteri quod non ſuis jam copulentur vxoribus, antiquum ſequentes canonem Apoſtolicæ diligentiæ, & conſtitutiones ſacrorum virorum, legales nuptias a modo valere volumus, nullo modo cum vxoribus ſuis eorum connubia diſſolventes, aut privantes eos familiaritate adinvicem, in tempore opportuno, &c. That is, Because in the order of the Roman Canon, wee know it so to be received, that such as be Deacons and priests shall professe themselves to have no more copulation with their wives, we following the ancient Canon of the diligent Apostles and constitutions of holy men, enact that such lawfull marriage from henceforth shall stand in force, in no case dissolving their conjunction with their wives, neither depriving them of their mutuall society and familiarity together, in such time as they shall thinke convenient, &c. Hitherto ye have heard the decree; heare now the penalty in the same decree and diffinction contained. Si quis igitur preſumpſerit contra Apoſtolicos canones aliquos Presbyterorum & diaconorum privare a contactu & communione legalis vxoris ſuæ, deponatur, &c. That is, if any man therefore shall presume against the Canons of the Apostles, to deprive either priest or deacon from the touching and company of his lawfull wife, let him be deprived. And likewise this priest and deacon, whosoever for religion sake shall put away his wife, let him be excommunicate, &c. and the Councell of Gangren saith: Let him be accurſed. By these Words of the Councell recited, five things are to be noted.

Concilium Constantinopolitanum, Distinct. 35, ca Quoniam.

Ibid.

Six things in this Councell to be noted.

1 Firſt, how this Councell calleth the marriage of Priests lawfull, contrary to these six Articles, and to a certaine late English writer of our countrey, entituling his booke against the unlawfull marriage of priests.

2 In that this councell so followeth the canons of the Apostles, and constitution of holy men; wee have to understand what the censures both of the Apostles and determination of other holy men were therein.

3 If the Iniunction of this Councell, agreeing thus with the Apostles and holy men, stood with truth, the contrary canon of the Romans, and also of these six English articles, must needs bee condemned of errour.

4 By this Councell appeareth, that so long time, almost seven hundred years after Christ, this prohibition of priests marriage was not yet entred into

into the Orient Church, but very stoutly was holden out.

5 By the Romane Canon here mentioned, which began with *Gregorius* sixe hundred yeres after Christ, a little before this Councell, it cannot be denied, but the Church of Rome began then to dissever, not onely from the veritie, but also from the unity of all other churches following the Apostolique doctrine, albeit the said Roman canon at that time stood not long, but was shortly disannulled by the said *Gregorius* againe, by the occasion of Infants heads found in the fish pond; whereof (Christ willing) more shall be spoken hereafter.

6 Sixthly here is to be noted and remembred the crafty false packing, and fraud of the Romans, which in the Latine booke of councels, in divers new impressions have suppressed this canon, because belike it maketh little with their purpose: playing much like with this, as Pope Sosimus, Bonifacius, and Celestinus played with the first Councell at Carthage, which for their supremacy would have forged a false Canon of Nice, had not the Councell sent to Constantinople for the true exemplar thereof, and so proved them open lyers to their faces. So likewise this Canon above mentioned, although it be omitted in some books, yet being found in the antient and true written copies, being alledged of Milus a Greek Bishop of Thessalonica two hundred yeres before, and moreover being found and alledged in the Popes owne book of Decrées, *Distinct.* 31. must nedes convince them of manifest theft and falsehood.

Thus it may stand sufficiently proved, that the deprivation of Priests lawfull marriage all this space was not entred into the church, neither Greek nor Latine, at least take no full possession before Pope Hildebrands time, *Anno Domini* 1070. and especially Pope Calixtus time, *Anno Domini* 1120. which were the first open extorters of priests marriage.

Aventinus, a faithfull Writer of his time, writing of the Councel of Hildebrand, hath these words; *Sacerdotes illa tempestate publice uxores, sicut cæteri Christiani, habebant, filios procreabant, sicuti instrumentis donationum quæ illi Templis, Mystis, & Monachis fecere, ubi hæ nominatim cum coniugibus testes citantur, & honesto vocabulo Presbyterissæ nuncupantur, invenio. Cæsar tum, &c.* That is, in those dayes Priests commonly had wives, as other Christian men had, and had children also, as may appeare by ancient Instruments and deeds of gift, which were then given to Churches, to the Clergie, and to religious houses: In the which Instruments both the Priests and their wives also with them (which there be called *Presbyterissæ*) I finde to be alledged for witnesses. It happened moreover the same time (saith Aventine) that the Emperour had the investing of divers Archbishoprickes, Bishoprickes, Abbeyes, and Nunneries within his Dominions. Pope Hildebrand disdaining against both these sorts aforesaid, that is, both against them that were invested by the Emperour, and also against all those Priests that had wives, provided so in his Councell at Rome, that they which were promoted by the Emperour, into Livings of the Church, were counted to come in by Symonie; the other, which were maried Priests, were counted for Nicolaitanes. Whereupon Pope Hildebrand writing his letters to the Emperour, to Dukes, Princes, and other great Prelates and Potentates, namely to Bertholdus, Zaringer, to Rodulphus of Suevia, to Welphon of Bavaria, to Adalberon, and to their Ladies, and to divers other to whom he thought good, also to Bishops, namely to Otto Bishop of Constance, with other Priests and Lay people, willed them in his letters to refuse and to keepe no company with those Simoniakes, and those Nicolaitane Priests (for so were they termed then) which had either any Ecclesiasticall living by the Emperor, or else which had wives, to avoyd their Malles, neither to talke, neither to eate nor drinke with them, nor once to speake to them, nor to salute them, but utterly to shun them, as men execrable and wicked, no otherwise then they would eschew the plague or Pestilence.

10 By reason whereof ensued a mighty schisme and affliction among the Flocke of Christ, such as lightly the like hath not beene seene: For the Priests went against their Bishops, the people against the Priests, the Laity against the Clergie, Briefely, all ran together in heapes and in confusion. Men and women, as every one was set upon mischiefe, wickednesse, contention, and avarice, toke thereby occasion, upon every light suspition, to resist their Minister, to spoile the goods of the Church. The vulgar people contemned the Priests which had married wives, despised their Religion, and all things that they did; yea, and in many places would purge the place where they had beene, with holy water, and burnt their tithes. Also such was the mischiefe of them, that they would take the holy Mysteries which those married Priests had consecrated, and cast them in the dirt, and tread them under their feete; For so then had Hildebrand taught them, that those were no Priests, neither that they were Sacraments which they did consecrate. So that by this occasion many false Prophets rose, seducing the people from the trueth of Christ by forged fables, and false miracles, and fained glosses, wresting the Scriptures as served best for their owne purposes. Of whom few there were that kept any true chastity. Many could make glorious boasts and bragges thereof; but the greatest part under the shew and pretence of honesty and pureness of life committed incest, fornication, adultery, every where almost, and no punishment was for the same, &c. Thus much out of *Aventinus. Lib.* 5. *Annal.*

To this testimony of *Aventinus* above mentioned, we will also adjoyne the record of *Gebuilerus* a writer of this our later time, and one also of their owne crew, who doth testifie that in the time of the Emperour Henricus the fourth, An. 1057. the number of twenty foure Bishops, both in Germany, Spaine, and in France, were married, with the Clergie also of their Dioces.

Of the which Spanish Bishops we read also in *Isidorus*, which wrote more then five hundreth yeres after Christ (and the place also cited in the Popes Distinctions) in his booke *De clericorum vita*, how they ought either to leade an honest chast life, or else to keepe themselves within the band of Matrimony, &c. Whereby is declared the single life of Priests either to be then voluntary, or else their marriage not to be restrained as yet by any law.

Moreover, such *Calixtian* Priests as be now a dayes, counting Priests marriage as a new devise, and not standing with ancient times, let them loke upon the decrée of Pope *Symmachus*, and answere thereof to the Glosse *Dist.* 81. where it is written: Let Priests be all restrained from the conversation of all women, except it be their Mother, Sister, or their owne wife, &c. Where the glosse in the margent giveth a note, saying, *Hic loquitur secundum antiqua tempora.*

Thus if either the voice of Scripture might take place with these men that be so rigorous against Priests marriage: or if the examples of the Apostles might move them (whom Saint Ambrose witnesseth to have beene all married, except only Paul and John) or else if the multitude of married Bishops and Priests might prevaile with them, here might be rehearsed:

That

Ex Aventino Annal. Bone. l.b 5.

Gebuilerus.

Isidorus de vita clericorum. Dist. 23 cap. Jta igitur.

Calixtian priests, that is, of Calixtus first, who chiefly forbad Priests marriage.

All the Apostles were maried except John and Paul.

Ex Ambros. 2. Cor. 11.

he crafty cking of e Romans suppressing d counterfeiting the anons of councells.

72. 31.

Hildebrand & Calixtus first extorters of Priests lawfull marriage.

Aventinus in hor. Bonorum

Simoniake priests, Nicolaan priests.

Ex Epist. Hieronij ad Abram filiam.

That Tertullian was a married Priest, as witnesseth Hierome.

Spiridion Bishop of Cyprus had wife and children.

Hilarie Bishop of Poyctiers was also maried.

Gregory Bishop of Nyssa.

Gregory Bishop of Nazianzum.

Prosper Bishop of Rhegium.

Cheremon Bishop of Nilus.

All these were maried Bishops.

Ex Ruffino. lib. 2. cap. 9. Ex Nazianzeno. Ex Novel constit. 3. Finaly. Ex Hiero. adversus Iovinian. lib. 1. Distinct. 56. Hosius.

Of Polycrates and his seven ancestors Bishops, and maried men, we spake before.

Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantinople in Iustinians time, was the more commended, because his father and ancestors before him were Priests and Bishops maried.

Hierome saith, That in his time, *Plurimi Sacerdotes habebant matrimonia*; That is, Many Priests were then maried men.

Pope Damasus reciteth up a great number of Bishops of Rome which were Priests sons; as

Ex Vicelio de sacrificio missæ.

- *Silverius*, Anno 544.
- *Deus dedit*, about the yeere 622.
- *Adrianus* the second, about the yeere 873.
- *Felix* the third, about the yeere 474.
- *Hosius*.
- *Agapetus*, Anno 534.
- *Gelasius*, 484.
- *Bonifacius*.
- *Theodorus*, whose father was Bishop of Hierusalem about the yeere 634.
- *Iohannes* the tenth, Anno Domini 924.
- *Iohannes* the fifteenth, the son of Leo a Priest, about the yeere 984.
- *Richard* Archdeacon of Coventrie.
- *Henrie* Archdeacon of Huntington.
- *Volusianus* Bishop of Carthage.
- *Thomas* Archbishop of Yorke, sonne of Sampson Bishop of Worcester.

And how many other Bishops and Priests in other Countries, besides these Bishops of Rome, might be annexed to this Catalogue, if our leasure were such to make a whole beaderoll of them all?

In the meane time the words of Sylvius Cardinall, and afterward Bishop of Rome, are not to be forgotten, which he wrote to a certaine friend of his, which after his Orders taken was disposed to mariage. To whom the foresaid Sylvius answereth againe in these words following; Ex Æneæ Silvio, Epist. 321. *Credimus te uti non insulso consilio, sicum nequeas continere, conugium quæris: quamvis id prius cogitandum fuerat, antea quam initiaveris sacris ordinibus. Sed non sumus Dij omnes qui futura prospicere valeamus. Quando huc ventum est, ut legi resistere nequeas, melius est nubere quam uri, &c.* That is, We beleeve that you in so doing follow no sinister counsell, in that you chuse to be maried, when otherwise you are not able to live chaste, Albeit this counsell should have come into your head before that you entred into Ecclesiasticall Orders. But we are not all Gods to foresee before what shall happen hereafter. Now forsomuch as the matter and case standeth so, that you are not able to resist the law, better it is to marry then to burne, &c.

All these premisses well considered, it shall suffice I trust, though no more were said, to prove that this generall law and prohibition of Priests mariage, pretended to be so ancient, is of no such great time nor long continuance of yeeres as they make it, but rather to be a late devised doctrine, gendered by the Monkes, and grounded upon no reason, Law, nor Scripture, but that certaine, which be repiners against the Truth, doe wracke and wrest a few places out of the Doctors, and two or three Councells for their pretensed purpose. Whose objections and blinde cavillations, I, as professing here but to write stories, referre to the further discussion of Divines, in whose bookes this matter is more at large to be sought and searched. In the meane season, so much as appertaineth to the searching of times and antiquitie, and to the conservation of such Acts and Monuments as are behoveable for the Church, I thought hereunto not unprofitable to be adjoyned a certaine Epistle learned and ancient, of Volusianus Bishop sometime of Carthage, tending to the defence of Priests lawfull wedlocke, which *Æneas Sylvius in descriptione Germaniæ*, also *Illyricus in Catal.* and *Melonchthon, Lib. de Conjugio*, doe father upon *Huldericus* Bishop of Augusta, in the time of Pope Nicholas the second: but as I finde it in an old written example sent by John Bale to Matthew Archbishop of Canturbury, as it is joyned in the same booke, so it beareth also the same title and name of Volusianus Bishop of Carthage; joyning also withall another Latine Epistle, which perhaps hath not beene seene in Print before. The Copies of both which Epistles, as being pertinent to the purpose present, hereunder ensue in forme as followeth.

Volusianus Bishop of Carthage.

Huldericus bishop of Augusta about the yeere of our Lord, 90.

The Epistle in Latine of *Volusianus*, or as some thinke of *Huldericus* Bishop of Augusta, to *Pope* Nicholas, *against the forbidding of Priests Marriage.*

Epistola *Volusiani* Carthaginensis Episcopi ad *Nicolaum* Romanorum Episcopum.

Hæc est rescriptio Volusiani Carthaginensis Episcopi, in qua Papæ Nicolao de continentia clericorum, non iustè sed impiè, nec canonicè sed indiscretè tractanti, ita respondit.

Nicolao Domino & parti peruigili, sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Provisori, Volusianus solo nomine Episcopus, amorem ut filius, timorem ut seruus.

The Epistle of Volusianus, or as some say, of Huldericus to the Pope, defence of Priests mariage.

CVm tua, ô Pater & domine, decreta super clericorum continentia nuper mihi transmissa à discretione invenirem aliena, timor me turbavit cum tristitia. Timor quidem propter hoc, quod dicitur pastoris sententia, sive justa sive injusta, timenda est. Timebam enim infirmis Scripturæ auditoribus, qui vel justæ vix obediunt sententiæ, ne injustam conculcantes liberè, onerosa, imo importabili pastoris prævaricatione præcepti, se obligarent. Tristitia verò vel compassio, dum considerabam, qua ratione membra cavere possent, capite suo tam gravi morbo laborante. Quid enim gravius, quid totius Ecclesiæ compassione dignius, quam te summæ sedis Pontificem, ad quem totius ecclesiæ spectat examen, à sancta discretione vel minimum exorbitare? Non parum quippe ab hac deviasti, cum clericos, quos ad abstinentiam conjugij monere debebas, ad hanc imperiosa quadam violentia cogi volebas. Nunquid enim merito communi omnium sapientum judicio hæc est violentia, cum contra Evangelicam institutionem, ac sancti Spiritus dictationem, ad privata aliquis decreta cogitur exequenda.

Cum ergo plurima veteris ac novi testamenti suppetant exempla, sanctam (ut nosti) discretionem docentia, tuæ rogo ne grave sit paternitati, vel Mat. 19.

pauca

pauca ex pluribus huic paginæ interseri. Dominus quidem in veteri lege sacerdoti conjugium constituit, quod illi postmodum interdixisse non legitur. Cor. 7. Sed idem in Evangelio loquitur; sunt Eunuchi, qui se castraverunt propter regnum cœlorum, sed non omnes hoc verbum capiunt: qui potest capere, capiat: Quapropter Apostolus quoque ait; De virginibus præceptum Domini non habeo, consilium autem do. Qui etiam juxta prædictum Domini, Non omnes hoc consilium capere posse considerans, sed multos ejusdem consilij assentatores, hominibus, non Deo, pro falsa specie continentiæ placere volentes, graviora vides committere, patrum scilicet uxores subagitare, masculorum ac pecudum amplexus non abhorrere; ne morbi hujus aspersione ad usque pestilentiam convalescente, nimium status labefactetur Ecclesiæ totius: Propter fornicationem, dixit, unusquisque suam uxorem habeat. Quod specialiter ad laicos pertinere ijdem mentiuntur hypocritæ: qui licet in quovis sanctissimo ordine constituti, alienis tamen uxoribus non dubitant abuti. Et quod fiendo cernimus, omnes in supradictis sæviunt sceleribus: hi nimirum non rectè Scripturam intellexerunt, cujus mammillam quia durius pressere, sanguinem pro lacte biberunt. Nam illud Apostolicum, unusquisque suam habeat uxorem, nullum excipit vere, nisi professorem continentiæ, vel eum qui de continuanda in Domino virginitate prefixit.

Scripturæ perperam intellectæ. Virus prendo sanguis fuit.

Quod nihilominus tuam, Pater venerande, condecet strenuitatem, ut omnem, qui tibi manu vel ore votum faciens continentiæ postea voluerit apostatare, aut ad votum exequendum ex debito constringas, aut ab omni ordine canonica autoritate deponas; & ut hoc viriliter implere sufficias, me omnesque mei ordinis viros adjutores habebis non pigros. Verùm ut hujus voti nescios omninò scias non esse cogendos, audi Apostolum dicentem ad Timotheum: Oportet (inquit) Episcopum irreprehensibilem esse, unius uxoris virum. Quam sententiam ne quis ad solam Ecclesiam verteret, subjunxit, Qui autem domui suæ præesse nescit, quomodo Ecclesiæ Dei diligentiam habebit? Similiter inquit, Diaconi sint unius uxoris viri, qui filijs suis benè præsint, & suis domibus. Hanc autem uxorem à sacerdote benedicendam esse, sancti Sylvestri Papæ decretis scio te sufficienter docuisse. His & hujusmodi sanctæ scripturæ sententijs, regulæ Clericorum scriptor non immeritò concordans ait; Clericus sit pudicus, aut certè unius matrimonij vinculo fœderatus. Ex quibus omnibus veracitèr colligit quòd Episcopus & Diaconus reprehensibiles notantur, si in mulieribus multis dividuntur. Si verò unam sub obtentu religionis abjiciunt, utrumque, scilicet Episcopum & Diaconum sine graduum differentia, hic Canonica damnat sententia: Episcopus aut Presbyter uxorem propriam nequaquam sub obtentu religionis abjiciat, si verò rejecerit, excommunicetur; & si perseveraverit, dejiciatur. Sanctus quoque Augustinus, sanctæ discretionis non inscius; Nullum (inquit) tam grave facinus est, quin admittendum sit, ut devitetur pejus.

Ca. Apost. 5.

This rule of S. Austen better it like the Papists to admit the mariage of Priests, then the Adultery, Sodomitrie and other like inconveniences should follow, as they do.

Legimus præterea in secundo Tripartitæ Ecclesiasticæ libro historiæ, quòd cum Synodus Nicæna hæc eadem vellet sancire decreta, ut videlicet Episcopi, Presbyteri, Diaconi, post consecrationem à proprijs uxoribus vel omninò abstinerent, vel gradum deponerent; surgens in medio Paphnutius (ex illis Martyribus quos Maximus Imperator, oculis eorum dextris evulsis & sinistris suris incisis, damnavit) contradixit, honorabiles confessus nuptias, ac castitatem esse dicens connubium cum propria uxore; persuasitque Concilio, ne talem ponerent legem, gravem asserens esse causam, quæ aut ipsis, aut eorum conjugibus occasio fornicationis existeret. Et hæc quidem Paphnutius, licet nuptiarum expers, exposuit; Synodusque ejus sententiam laudavit, & nihil ex hac parte sancivit, sed hoc in uniuscujusque voluntate, non in necessitate dimisit.

Sunt verò aliqui qui S. Gregorium suæ sectæ sumunt adjutorem; quorum quidem temeritatem rideo, ignorantiam doleo. Ignorant enim, quòd periculosum hujus hæresis decretum à S. Gregorio factum, condigno pœnitentiæ fructu postmodum ab eodem sit purgatum. Quippe cum die quadam in vivarium suum propter pisces misisset, & allata inde plus quam sex millia infantum capita videret, intima mox ductus pœnitentia ingemuit, & factum à se de abstinentia decretum tantæ cædis causam confessus, condigno illud, ut dixi, pœnitentiæ fructu purgavit: suoque decreto prorsus damnato, Apostolicum illud laudavit consilium; Melius est nubere quam uri: addens ex sua parte, melius est nubere, quàm mortis occasionem præbere. Hunc forsitan rei eventum si illi mecum legissent, non tam temerè, credo, judicarent, Dominicum saltem timentes præceptum; Nolite judicare, ut non judicemini. Inde Paulus dicit; Tu quis es, qui judicas alienum servum? suo Domino stat, aut cadit. Stabit autem; potens est enim Dominus statuere illum. Cesset ergo sanctitas tua cogere, quos tantum deberet admonere; ne privato (quod absit) præcepto, tam veteri quàm novo contrarius inveniaris testamento. Nam ut ait Sanctus Augustinus ad Donatum, Solum est quòd in tua justitia pertimescimus, ne non pro lenitatis Christianæ consideratione, sed pro immanitate facinorum censeas coercendum. Quod te per ipsum Christum ne facias obsecramus, sic enim peccata compescenda sunt, ut superstint quos peccasse pœniteat. Illud etiam Augustini volumus te recordari, quod ait, Nihil nocendi fiat cupiditate, omnia consulendi charitate: & nihil fiat immanitèr, & nihil inhumanitèr. Idem de eodem, In timore Christi, in nomine Christi exhortor, quicunque non habetis temporalia, habere non cupiatis: quicunque habetis, in eis non præsumatis. Dico autem, non si ista habetis, damnamini; sed si in istis præsumatis, damnamini: si propter talia magni vobis videamini, si generis humani conditionem communem propter excellentem unitatem obliviscamini. Quod nimirum poculum discretionis ex illo fonte Apostolicæ hauserat prædicationis; Solutus es ab uxore, noli quærere uxorem; alligatus es uxori, noli quærere solutionem. Vbi & subditur, Qui habent uxores, sint tanquam non habentes; & qui utuntur mundo, tanquam non utantur. Idem dicit de vidua, Cui vult nubat, tantùm in Domino. Nubere in Domino est, nihil in contrahendo connubio quod Dominus prohibeat, attentare. Ieremias quoque ait, Nolite confidere in verbis mendacij, dicentes, Templum Domini, Templum Domini, Templum Domini est. Quod Hieronymus exponens, Potest (inquit) & hoc illis virginibus convenire, quæ jactant pudicitiam suam imprudenti vultu: præferunt castitatem, cum aliud habeat conscientia, & nesciunt illam Apostoli definitionem de virgine, ut sit sancta corpore & spiritu. Quid enim prodest corporis pudicitia, animo constuprato, si cæteras virtutes, quas Propheticus sermo describit, non habuerit? Quas quidem, quia te aliquatenus habere videmus, & quia discretionem, licet in hac re neglectam, in alijs tamen vitæ tuæ constitutionibus eam honestè conservatam non ignoramus: huius intentionis pravitatem te citò correcturum non desperamus. Et ideo non quanta possumus gravitate, istam licèt gravissimam negligentiam corripimus vel judicamus. Quanquam enim secundum vocabula quæ usus obtinuit, sit Episcopatus Presbyterio major: tamen Augustinus Hieronymo minor est, & à minori quolibet non est refugienda correptio: præsertim cum is qui corripitur, & contra veritatem, & pro hominibus niti invenitur. Neque enim (ut ait Sanctus Augustinus, ad Bonifacium, (quorumlibet disputationes, quamvis Catholicorum & laudatorum; virorum, velut Scripturas Canonicas habere debemus: ut non licear

6000. Infants heads found in Gregories ponds.

1. Cor. 7.

Matth. 7. Rom. 14.

Augustinus.

1. Cor. 7.

Ierem. 7.

Hieronymus.

liceat nobis salva honorificentia, quæ illis debetur, aliquid in eorum scriptis improbare atque respuere, si forte invenerimus quod aliter senserint quàm veritas habeat, divino adjutorio vel ab alijs intellecta vel à nobis. Quid autem veritati magis contrarium, quàm hoc, quòd cum ipsa veritas de continentia loquens, non unius hominis, sed omnium planè (non excepto numero professorum continentiæ) dicat; Qui potest capere, capiat; isti (nescitur unde instigati) dicant, Qui non potest capere, feriatur anathemate?

Matth. 19.

Quid vero per homines fieri potest stolidius? quid divinæ maledictioni obligatius, quam cum aliqui, vel Episcopi videlicet, vel Archidiaconi, ita præcipites sint in libidinem, ut neque adulteria, neque incestus, neque masculorum (proh pudor) turpissimos amplexus sciant abhorrere: casta clericorum conjugia sibi dicant fœtere, & ab eis non veræ justitiæ compassione, sed falsæ justitiæ dedignatione, non ut conservos rogent continere, sed ut servos jubeant ac cogant abstinere? Ad cujus imperij, ne dicam consilij, tam fatuam, tamque turpem addunt suggestionem, ut dicant; honestius est pluribus occultè implicari, quàm apertè in hominum vultu & conscientia cum una ligari. Quod profecto non dicerent, si ex illo, & in illo essent qui dicit: Væ vobis Pharisæis, qui omnia facitis propter homines. Et per Psalmistam, Qui hominibus placent, confusi sunt, quoniam Dominus sprevit eos. Hi sunt, qui priùs deberent nobis persuadere, ut in conspectu ejus, cui omnia nuda & aperta sunt, erubescamus peccatores esse, quam in conspectu hominum mundi esse. Licet ergo merito suæ pravitatis, nullius consilium mereantur pietatis, nos tamen memores humanitatis, divinæ eis consilium authoritatis nunquam à pietate vacantis, per viscera ministramus charitatis. Dicimus nempe, Eijce primum hypocrita trabem de oculo tuo, & tunc perspicies ut ejicias festucam de oculo fratris tui.

Turpis Papistarum vox.

Psal. 53.

Matth. 7.

Illud quoque rogamus eos attendere, quod dominus dicit de muliere; Qui sine peccato est vestrum, primus in eam lapidem mittat, quasi diceret; Si lex jubet, si Moses jubet, jubeo & ego, sed competentes legis ministros exigo. Attendentes quid adducitis, attendite quæso & quid estis: quia, si te ipsum, ut ait Scriptura, perspexeris, nulli unquam detraxeris. Significatum est autem nobis de quibusdam eorum quod tanta apud se intumescant elatione, ut gregem Domini, pro quo boni pastores animas non dubitant ponere, isti verberibus etiam absque ratione præsumant laniare. Quorum sententiam Sanc. Gregorius nimium deplorans ait. Quid fiet de ovibus, quando pastores lupi fiunt? Sed quis vincitur, nisi qui sævit? Quis verò persecutorem judicabit, nisi qui dorsum suum ad flagella patienter ministravit? Operæ precium est ante, ut audiatur, quo fructu tantum ecclesiæ Dei inducebant scandalum, tantum clerus despectum, & ab ipsis Episcopis, & ab eorum infidelibus patiatur. Nec enim eos infideles dicere dubitaverim, de quibus Paulus Apostolus dicit ad Timotheum; Quia in novissimis temporibus discedent quidam à fide, attendentes spiritibus erroris, & doctrinis dæmoniorum, in hypocrisi loquentium mendacium, & cauteriatam habentium conscientiam, prohibentium nubere.

John 8.

Christus legem non soluit, sed competentes legis ministros exegit.

Gregorius.

1. Tim. 4.

Hic est autem, si diligentèr inspiciatur totius eorum manipulus zizaniæ, totius eventus insaniæ, ut dum clerici licita unius mulieris consortia, Pharisaico devicti, quod absit, furore, relinquere cogantur, fornicatores, & adulteri, & aliorum pravitatum turpissimi ministri cum ipsis efficiantur. Qui hanc in Ecclesia Dei hæresim sicut cæci duces cæcorum machinantur, ut videlicet illud impleatur quod Psalmista eis, utpote doctoribus erroris, taliter imprecatur; Obscurentur oculi eorum ne videant, &c. Quia ergo nemo, ô Apostolice, ignorat, quod si tu per tui decreti sententiam, tantam futuram esse pestilentiam solitæ discretionis claritate perspexisses, nunquam quorumlibet tam pravis suggestionibus consensisses: debitæ tibi subjectionis fidelitate consulimus, ut vel nunc ad tanti scandali ab Ecclesia Dei propulsionem evigiles; & qua nosti discretionis disciplina, Pharisaicam ab ovili Dei extirpes doctrinam, ne scilicet unica Sunamitis, adulterinis diutius usa meritis, gentem sanctam, regale sacerdotium, per irrecuperabile à sponso, Christo videlicet, avellat divortium: dum nemo sine castimonia, non tantùm in virginali flore, sed etiam in conjugali habita conjunctione, visurus sit dominum nostrum; qui cum Deo patre & spiritu sancto vivit & regnat per omnia sæcula sæculorum, Amen.

Excellentia Sacerdotum qui fructus orianur.

Psal. 69.

As touching the antiquitie of this Epistle above prefixed, it appeareth by the Copy which I have seene, and received of the above named Matthew Archbishop of Canturbury, to be of an old and ancient writing, both by the forme of the characters, and by the wearing of the parchment, almost consumed by length of yéeres and time.

And as concerning the authors thereof, the superscription (if it be true) plainely declareth it to be the Epistle of Volusianus bishop of Carthage. Albeit, heretofore it hath commonly béene taken and alledged by the name of Hulbericus Bishop of Augusta, and partly appeareth to be so, both by the testimony of *Æneas Silvius, in Descriptione Germaniæ*, who in the said treatise affirmeth that Hulbericus, Bishop of Augusta, did constantly resist the Pope, abolishing the mariage of priests, &c. and also by the record of Illiricus, testifying that the said Epistle not onely remaineth yet to this day in old Monuments, but also that hée himselfe did sée two exemplars of the same, both pretending the name of the said Hulbericus to be the Authour, notwithstanding this Copy here above prefixed beareth the title not of Hulbericus Bishop of Augusta, but of Volusianus Bishop of Carthage in Aphricke, as you may sée by the words of the preamble, saying, This is the rescript of Volusianus Bishop of Carthage, unto Pope Nicholas concerning Priests not to be restrained from lawfull marriage, &c.

Furthermore, which Pope Nicholas this was to whom these Epistles were written, it is not plainely shewed in the same, but that by probable conjecture it may be gessed rather to be Pope Nicholas the second, for so much as in his time priests marriage began somewhat earnestly to be called in, more then at other times before.

Now as touching the English of this Latine Epistle above exhibited, for asmuch as the same is before inserted, we will referre the reader unto the same place. Wherein if the translation of the English doe swerve any thing from the Latine here above prefixed, the cause was for that the Latine Copy which here we follow, came not before to our hands. Read before

Another Epistle of the said Volusianus, concerning mariage not to be restrained from Priests and Ministers of the Church.

CVm sub liberi arbitrij potestate creati simus, & non sub lege sed sub gratia, qualiter creati sumus vivamus. Vos qui continentiæ legem nobis invitis imponitis, liberi arbitrij nos potestate privatis. Quod nolumus velle, & quod volumus nolle cogendo imperatis & imperando cogitis: & legis vinculo, à quo ipsa gratia nos in libertatem liberati sumus, alligare, & spiritum servitutis iterum in timore accipere, ipsamque gratiam, sine qua nihil facere possumus, omninò evacuare satagitis, ita ut (sicut ait Apostolus) ipsa gratia jam non sit gratia, & Dei donum non sit Dei donum,

Rom. 8.

Rom. 11.

Rom. 9.

donum; Et non ex Deo, ſed ex homine, nec ex vocante, ſed ex operante; cum idem Apoſtolus dicat, Quia non eſt volentis neque currentis, ſed Dei miſerentis.

Liberum arbitrium.
Gratia.
Mandatum.

Nam cum ſint tria principalia & quaſi effectiva, per quæ omnis anima humana capax & compos rationis, quicquid ſpiritalis boni apprehendere & percipere poteſt, apprehendit & percipit, & ſine quibus nihil prorſus capere poſſit; liberum arbitrium videlicet, Mandatum, & gratia (libero enim arbitrio bona à malis decernimus atque eligimus; mandato ad omnia facienda provocamur ac incitamur; gratia promovemur & adjuvamur) horum omnium tamen gratia Domina & Magiſtra & quaſi præpotens imperatrix & Regina eſt, ad cujus nutum cætera pendent & ab ea vim & efficaciam expectant, & ſine illa nihil prævalent, ſed quaſi ſtolida & mortua, ſicut materia ſine forma, jacent & ſubjacent. Loco enim materiæ, ſecundum proportionem aliquam, liberum arbitrium poſſumus accipere non incongruè; Gratiam verò, loco formæ; mandatum autem, quod medium eſt quaſi inſtrumentum, ad utrunque reſpicere, quo ſummus artifex Dominus liberum arbitrium quaſi ſtolidam materiam moveat & promoveat, & formam gratiæ illi componat. Et ſicut materia ſine forma eſt horrida & deformis: ita liberum arbitrium eſt horridum & deforme ſine gratia ſuperveniente ſe movente & promovente, mandato medio quaſi inſtrumento (ut diximus) interveniente. Quod ergò forma in materia, hoc in libero arbitrio per quandam ſimilitudinem eſt gratia: & quod materia ſub forma, hoc idem eſt libera voluntas ſub gratia. Et item quod eſt inſtrumentum ipſorum, hoc eſt mandatum ad utrunque iſtorum. Inſtrumentum namque ſordidam materiam, & horridam atque aſperam, obſcuram, & quaſi cœcam emaculat & expolit, & claram, planam, ac lucidam, forma ſuperveniente, reddit. Sic & mandatum, liberum arbitrium ſordidum & horridum, aſperum & incultum, obſcurum & cœcum, nitidat, comit, lenit, & excolit, lucidat, & illuminat; ſicut propheta dicit; præceptum Domini lucidum, illuminans oculos, ſplendore gratiæ ſuperveniente. Et ſicut materia & inſtrumentum ſine forma nihil valent, ita libera voluntas & mandatum ſine gratia nihil virtutis habent. Quid enim liberum arbitrium vel mandatum ſine gratia præveniente & ſubſequente poteſt? Gratia namque ad liberum arbitrium mandatum quaſi nuntium ac famulum mittit: mandatum liberum arbitrium provocat atque quaſi ſopitum excitat, ut ad bona facienda evigilet & exurgat, viamque ei, quam peragere debeat, quaſi cœco deducendo demonſtrat. Quorum utrunque ſi à gratia deſeritur, nihil omninò per ſe poteſt. Quod ſi conatur, deficit, non proficit, neque etiam efficit, vel perficit. Si præſumit, non aſſumit, ſed potius totam operam & laborem fruſtra conſumit. Cùm enim mandatum, ſeu per hominem ſive per Angelum mittitur, & etiam liberum arbitrium ſeu humano ſeu Angelico mandati nuntio commovetur, provocatur, & inſtruitur, niſi divina gratia comitetur, præveniat, & ſubſequatur, quid valebit? Quid nempè homini in paradiſo poſito mandatum quod audivit; Ex omni ligno Paradiſi comede, de ligno vero ſcientiæ boni & mali ne comedas? Nihil prorſus ad ſalutem, ſed potius ad condemnationem. Quare? Quia gratia ſalvatrix & auxiliatrix defuit, quam ille, injuſte ſuis viribus ſiſus, contempſit. Aut quid valuit Iſraelitico populo in Eremo conſtituto, mandatum Legis quod per Moſem accepit, cui obedire neglexit? Aut quid profuit illi qui Dominum ſequi ſuo arbitrio, & non illius vocatione præſumit dicens; Domine, ſequar te quocunque ieris. Ex multis alijs divinæ Scripturæ locis novi & veteris Teſtamenti demonſtrari poteſt, quòd neque mandatum, neque liberum arbitrium per ſe quicquam valet, niſi divina gratia præveniendo & ſubſequendo adjuvet. Cùm igitur continentiæ bonum, imò omne bonum ſit ſolius divinæ gratiæ donum, nec per mandatum, nec per liberum arbitrium comprehendatur, errant & fruſtra laborant qui ſe ſuis viribus illud apprehendere tentant. Illi etiam magis errant qui hoc invitis & nolentibus imperant, & non ſpontaneè ſed coactè in Sacrarium Dei dona offerre ſuadent, neſcientes aut obliti illus quod Dominus Moſi, & Moſes à Domino præcepit dicens; Separate apud vos primitias Domino, quiſque voluntarius; ut bono animo offerat eas Domino. Quid eſt ſeparare apud vos primitias Domino, niſi ſtudioſa cogitatione & meditatione in cordibus veſtris tractare, & cum diſcretione deponere & dividere, quid Domino de theſauro cordis noſtri valeamus offerre? Si enim rectè offeras & non rectè dividas, peccaſti. Et quid eſt prono animo offerre, niſi quod ait Pſalmiſta; Voluntariè ſacrificabo tibi? Et Apoſtolus, Non ex triſtitia aut neceſſitate; Hilarem datorem diligit Deus. Et Salomon; Bono animo gloriam redde Domino, & in omni dato hilarem fac vultum tuum, & in exultatione ſanctifica decimas tuas, & in bono oculo facito ad inventionem manuum tuarum. Et Apoſtolus Iacobus; Non amat Dominus (inquit) coacta ſervitia. Et, maledictus qui opus Domini facit negligentèr; *(id eſt)* non curiosè, neque voluntariè. Sicut nos ergo Dominus invitos aliquid offerre non jubet: ita vos invitos aliquos offerre aliquid cogere prohibet per eundem Moſen ubi ait; Ne facias Calumniam proximo tuo, nec vi opprimas eum. Calumniam proximo facere, eſt eum non compatiendo & miſerando corrigere de peccato; ſed dedignando & exprobrando & detrahendo arguere & accuſare, & non in ſpiritu lenitatis inſtruere, ſed in ſpiritu aſperitatis & auſteritatis deſtruere, cum Apoſtolus dicat; ſi præoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo delicto, vos qui ſpirituales eſtis inſtruite hujuſmodi in ſpiritu lenitatis, conſiderans teipſum ne & tu tenteris. Vi opprimere proximum, eſt ultra vires ſuas aliquid exigere, & onus quod portare non poteſt imponere, imponentibus fortaſſis importabile, cùm Dominus de Phariſæis ad Diſcipulos loquens, hoc eis prohibeat dicens: Super Cathedram Moſis ſedent Scribæ & Phariſæi, &c. Et Apoſtolus Petrus, Paſcite (inquit) qui in vobis eſt, gregem Domini, providentes, non coacte ſed ſpontaneè, ſecundum Dominum; neque turpis lucri gratia, ſed voluntariè; neque dominantes in Clero, ſed formæ ſtote gregi ex animo. Hic Paſtor Paſtorum, Princeps Apoſtolorum, quid cæteri Paſtores vel Apoſtoli debeant facere, quomodo gregem Domini ſibi creditum tractare, apertè, & piè demonſtrat atque inſinuat, & quantam ſolicitudinem & compaſſionem erga ſubditos habere oporteat, eis inculcat: & omnem poteſtatem tyrannicæ dominationis vel ambitionem cupiditatis, quam quidam in ſubditos ſibi exercent, ab eorum cordibus procul eliminat, & eos non dominos ſed patres ſubditorum debere eſſe pronunciat: neque eis aliud typo potentiæ imperare, ſed zelo pietatis admonere & obſecrare juxta vires uniuſcunque ſecundum Dominum, non ſecundum ſuæ voluntatis arbitrium vel poteſtatis imperium: & illis formam eſſe gregi debere, ut quid alijs imperant, ipſi priores faciant, & non minus exemplis, quam verbo proficiant. Ex animo (inquit) non ex imperio; ex voluntate, non coactione; ex charitate, non ex cupiditate. Sunt enim plerique qui zelo cupiditatis, non charitatis accenſi, alijs imperant quod implere non valent; & dum lucrum animarum quærere ſe ſimulant, lucrum potiùs terrenum captant. Quòd benè Baalam Propheta exprimit, qui Prophetiæ donum & benedicendi gratiam, quam Divinitus acceperat, non ad utilitatem aliorum, ſed ad uſum ſuæ cupiditatis vertit; & ſicut nonnulli qui dum

Donum continent & fruſtra humanis viribus appetitur. Num. 15.

Pſalm. 54.
2. Cor. 9.

Eccleſ. 35.

Ierem. 48.

Leuit. 9.

Galat. 6.
Spiritus lenitatis virùs convenit apoſtolicis.

Matth. 23.
1. Peter. 5.

Petrus epiſcopus conſtituit non dominos gregi, ſed patres.

Num 22.
Baalamitæ.

Liberum arbitrium & Mandatum ſine gratia nihil valent.

Mandatum ſine gratia nihil valet.
Matth. 8.

Mandatum loco inſtrumenti.

Liberum arbitrium locum materiæ tenet.
Gratia locum formæ.

Iam. 19.

Eneſ. 2.

dum alios corrigunt, hoc zelo Dei facere se ostentant, & dum meliores alijs se videri volunt, hoc præsumptione quadam et temeritate agunt, & ideo in ipso præsumptionis suæ & temeritatis actu corruunt. De quibus dicit Apostolus: Qui zelum Dei habent sed non secundum scientiam. Zelum Dei secundum est scientiam habere, provide & consulte in divinis rebus aliquid agere. Quorum profecto Oza similitudinem gerit, Qui dum Arcam Domini, calcitrantibus bobus qui eam portabant, inclinatam parumper erigere voluit, mox dum ad eam manum tetendit, mortuus cecidit. Arcam Domini calcitrantibus bobus inclinari, est legem Domini quam ipsi sacerdotes portare & tenere debent, ab eis non obseruãdo contradici, & quasi à recto statu in diversam partem flecti, quam Oza, qui adiutor Dei interpretatur, erigere tentat: quia sunt quidam Prælati, qui dum sacerdotalem ordinem, ipsam legem divinam maligno excessu vel leviter à sitæ rectitudinis via quasi inclinare & in aliam partem flectere vident, eam inclinationem castigare & corrigere magis virtutis suæ ostentatione quàm divina æmulatione præsumunt; & quia hoc inconsulte agunt, dum adiutores Dei videri appetunt, plerumq; mortaliter in deterius cadunt. Sunt & alij qui nullam infirmitatis humanæ considerationem, nec ullum misericordiæ respectum & compassionis affectum habent, & cum Apostolo dicere nescientes: Quis infirmatur & ego non infirmor? Dum se subditis non conditione qua pares, sed authoritate qua superiores sunt, conferunt, atq; magistri videri, & plus præesse quàm prodesse cupiunt, illorum infirmitatem vi dominationis premunt, & eos sibi obedire compellunt. Quod nimirum illo facto figuratur, quod de Simone Cyrenæo in Evangelio legitur, quem angariaverunt persecutores Domini ut tolleret crucem ejus. Cujus etiam nomen huic figuræ convenienter aptatur. Simon namq; interpretatur obediens. Simõ verò, id est, obediens, crucem Domini portare angariatur, cum subjecti quiq; à suis magistris vi dominationis vel authoritatis, vel Anathematis pressi, & eis obedire compulsi, crucem continentiæ patiuntur inviti: ipsamq; crucem quam portant, non amant, quia ipsam plus ad perniciem suam, quàm ad salutẽ portant, nec ipsa cruce peccato moriuntur, sed potius ipsi peccato vivificantur: nam & alia peccata graviora exindè oriuntur. Inhibito enim naturali unius mulieris conjugio, surrepit non naturalis, sed contra naturam execrabilis Sodomitica fornicatio: surrepit illicita & damnabilis, non legitima sed contra legem alienæ uxoris contaminatio, nec non etiam & meretricabilis nefanda pollutio: quin etiam abhominabilis omnibus parentalis incestatio, vel aliarum multarum immundiciarum vel libidinum à Diabolo inuentarum id genus, in quibus humana infirmitas periclitatur. Vnde Loth de Sodomitico incendio angelo Domino educente ereptus, et Vxoris consortio viduatus, dum suæ infirmitatis conscius ad montana non ausus est Angelo monente ascendere, ipse in Segor, parva civitate qnæ juxta erat, elegit habitare, ipso Angelo præcipiente et sic ad eum loquente, Salva animam tuam; noli respicere post tergum, sed in monte salvum te fac, ne et tu simul pereas. Cui dixit Loth, Quæso Domine mi, quia invenit servus tuus gratiam coram te ut salvares me: Non possum in monte salvari, ne fortè apprehendat me malum et moriar: Est Civitas juxta hic ad quam possum fugere parva, et salvabor in ea. Quid est quod Loth a Sodomis fugiens, præcipiente Angelo ut in monte salvaretur, montem ascendere, quia ibi mori timebat, noluit, sed Segor parvam civitatem juxta montem positam, ut in ea salvaretur ad habitandum elegit, nisi quicunque fidelium Sodomiticæ libidinis incendium et periculum evadere cupiens, dum celsitudinem virginalem non valet, et castitatis vidualis timet ascendere ne in ea periclitetur, ad conjugalem copulam, cùm ad utramque continentiam parvula est et utrique proxima, confugit? Namque post continentias supradictas, hæc castitas probatur laudabilis, & non privatur præmio regni cœlestis. Ad hanc castitatem, qui non potest continere, jubetur accedere & in ea salvari, ne forte si montem ascenderit, apprehendat eum malum & moriatur, & ne, si continentiam non sibi divinitus concessam, suis viribus obtinere tentaverit, malum incontinentiæ, vel fo. nicationis, vel aliquarum supradictarum pestium eum apprehendat, & in eis mortaliter pereat. Sunt enim multi qui dum infirmitatem suam non considerant, & dum majora se apprehendere conantur, ipsa sua præcipitatione retroacti, in deteriora labuntur; quia dum majora inconsultius ambiunt, minora, quæ tenere videbantur, amittunt. Quod sane exemplo ipsius Loth aperte demonstratur; qui dum relicta Segor quam ad habitandum elegerat, & in qua salvari petierat, in montem ascendit, ibique manfit, in incestum filiarum suarum, ipsarum surreptione corruit, sicut Scriptura dicit. Ita namque scriptum est, Ascendit Loth de Segor et manfit in monte, dederuntque filiæ patri suo bibere vinum nocte illa, et ingressa est major, dormivitque cum patre. Quod nequaquam sibi contigisset, si in Segor in qua salvari poterat, ad præceptum Angeli, sicut ille postulaverat, remaneret. Sed quia hoc quod sibi ab Angelo concessum fuerat, dereliquit, & quod concessum non fuerat, id postea sua voluntate contra præceptum Angeli præsumpsit, salutis suæ dispendium pertulit, et grave incestus peccatum incurrit. Sic plerisque contingit, qui dum quod sibi concessum est à Deo relinquunt, et id quod sibi concessum non est ambiunt, et illud quod sibi concessum est perdunt, et illud quod sibi concessum non est apprehendunt. Quia sunt nonnulli, qui dum conjugalem vitam quæ sibi concessa est, et in qua salvari possent, vel inviti vel volentes deserunt, et majori profectus desiderio cœlibem vitã actitare satagunt, salutem quam in illa habere poterant perdunt, et periculum maximum in ista incurrunt, et ex quo proficere conabantur, magis deficiunt (et sicut supra diximus) in majoris ruinæ voraginem vergunt. Quod bene Doctor gentium Paulus considerans, et infirmis quibusque benigne prospiciens Corinthijs, super his scriptis suis se consulentibus, ita rescripsit dicens, De quibus autem scripsistis mihi, bonum homini est mulierem non tangere; propter fornicationem autem vitandam, unusquisque uxorem suam habeat, et unaquæque virum. Et uxori vir debitum reddat; similiter vxor viro. Et post pauca, Nolite, inquit, fraudare invicem, nisi forte ex consensu ad tempus, ut vacetis orationi: et iterum revertimini in idipsum, ne tentet vos Satanas propter incontinentiam vestram; quoniam, sicut ait Poeta, non omnia possumus omnes: Et sicut Apostolus in superioribus dixit: Quia non est volentis neque currentis, sed Dei miserentis; Et alibi, Quia unicuique nostrum data est gratia secundum mensuram donationis Christi. Hanc mensuram unicuique tenendam nec transgrediendam esse, docens mox intulit; Volo autem omnes homines esse sicut meipsum, sed unusquisque proprium habet donum ex Deo, alius quidem sic, alius autem sic; Qua videlicet mensura nos arcendos et debere esse contentos insequentibus intimavit dicens, Vnumquemq; sicut vocavit deus, ita ambulet. Et unusquisque in qua vocatione vocatus est, in hac permaneat apud Deum. Et hoc idem repetit paulo inferius causa confirmationis; Vnusquisque in quo vocatus est frater, in hoc permaneat apud Deum. Et quia infirmitatem humanam videbat non posse tolerare incentiva gemini caloris, nisi per gratiam Dei, neque vincere pugnam carnis adversus spiritum; et quia sic ipse dixit de se alibi, Videbam aliam legem in membris meis, repugnantem legi mentis meæ, hoc se misericorditer, et compatienter, et unanimiter, non regulariter neque imperativè dixisse, sicut in alia Epistola monstraverat, vbi ait, Humanum dico

Rom. 10. *Zelum Dei secundum scientiam habere quid sit.* *Oza quorum gerat similitudinem.*

Conjugalis castitas & si virginali minor sit, at tutior tamen.

Loth, quomodo in incestum incidit.

Suo quisque dono contentus majora non affectet.

2. Cor. 11. *Non dominantes in clerum.* 1. Pet. 5. Luke 22.

Ex continentia coacta, quæ nascuntur mala.

1. Cor. 7.

Gen. 19.

Rom. 9. Ephes. 4. *Quisque intra mensuram suã se contineat.* 1. Cor. 7.

Loth cur montana fugit.

Forte legendum ingeniti.

dico propter infirmitatem carnis vestræ. Et in hac ipsa paulò superius, in eodem schemate, ubi ait; Hoc autem dico secundum indulgentiam, non secundum imperium, subdendo demonstrat; De virginibus autem præceptum domini non habeo: consilium do tanquam misericordiam consecutus, ut sim fidelis. Id est, misericordia qua mihi Dominus consuluit quando ad fidem me vocauit, & sibi fidelem fecit, & ego alijs consulo & eandem misericordiam illis impendo. Et quoniam bonum est utrumque, cum uxore esse & sine uxore esse, & cum viro esse & cum viro non esse, neque peccatum est vel cum uxore esse, vel cum viro esse, mox subinfert dicens; estimo ergò bonum esse propter instantem necessitatem; quoniã bonũ est homini esse sic, &c.

Quid est propter instantem necessitatem? Quæ est necessitas instans nisi infirmitas præsens? Vel necessitas instans, est necessitas urgens & cogens prout necessitas extiterit vel coegerit. Vel instantem necessitatem dicit illius temporis necessitatem & angustiam, quæ tunc extabat & tum cogebat ut talia scriberet, & eis sic indulgeret, causa scilicet vitandæ fornicationis quæ tunc temporis acciderat, & aliarum multarum fornicationum suprà dictarum quæ accidere possent. Pro qua fornicatione hoc incœpit, & sibi scribentibus rescripsit, & Corinthijs in superioribus huius Epistolæ vehementèr inuectus, in hæc verba prorupit; Quid vultis? In virga veniam ad vos, an in charitate & spiritu mansuetudinis? Omninò auditur inter vos fornicatio, & talis fornicatio qualis nec inter gentes, ita ut uxorem patris sui quis habeat. Propter hanc ergo necessitatem vitandæ fornicationis dico bonum esse homini sic esse, ut si continere non potest, nubat, vel uxorem accipiat. Quod exponendo subdit; Alligatus es uxori? Noli quærere solutionem. Solutus es ab uxore? Noli quærere uxorem. Si autem acceperis uxorem, non peccasti: & si nupserit virgo, non peccauit. Et hic iterum non imperando sed indulgendo & compatiendo se dixisse ostendit; Ego autem vobis parco, id est, infirmitati vestræ cedo. Hoc itaque in potestate voluntatis uniuscuiusque posuit utrum velit eligere; nec se dicit cuiquam violentiam inferre, nec laqueum quo cum astringat & teneat, injicere; consequenter subiungens, porrò, hoc ad utilitatem vestram dico: non ut laqueum vobis injiciam, sed ad id quod honestum est, & quod facultatem præbeat Dominum obsecrandi. Hoc dicit illis quos ad continentiam superius hortatus fuerat, & quos consortio uxoriæ coniunctionis impediri, vel sollicitos esse nolebat. Alijs vero ita dicit; Si quis autem turpem videri se existimat super virginem suam, quod sit superadulta, & ita oportet fieri; quod vult, faciat: non peccat si nubat. Et iterum; utrumque bonum esse, unum tamen melius esse concludendo confirmat. Igitur qui matrimonio coniungit virginem suam, bene facit, & qui non iungit melius facit. Quod concordatur superiori sententiæ utrique sexui datæ, in qua ait; Si acceperis uxorem non peccasti, & si nupserit virgo non peccauit. Si ergo virum accipere uxorem, & virginem nubere, iuxta Apostolum, peccatum non est, & beatitudinem non aufert, sed affert; & quia uterque benè facit, ideò ambo beati: nos qui uxores propter infirmitatem habemus, quid habendo peccamus? Aut si Apostolus unicuique propter fornicationem uxorem suam habere indulget & permittit, cur nos qui ex eadem massa sumus, & carnem peccati ex carne Adæ peccatricem traximus, & continere non possumus, propter eandem causam & secundum eandem indulgentiam uxores habere non permittimur, & habitas dimittere angariamur? Aut itaque uxores nobis habere imitantes Apostolum permittite, aut nos ex eadem massa non esse docete, aut nobis eandem indulgentiam, & permissionem non esse concessam ab Apostolo demonstrate. Quod opinor dicturi estis, quia hæc indulgentia non fuit data ab Apostolo Clericis aut alicui nostri ordinis, sed solis Laicis. Quod ex verbis Apostoli, vel ex circumstantia Epistolæ non potest defendi, cum nulla ibi certa distinctio vel denominatio habeatur personarum vel graduum siue professionum, nec ipse discernit seu nominibus seu officijs, vel qui sibi scripserunt, vel de quibus, vel quibus ipse rescribebat, nisi tantum generalitèr omni Ecclesiæ Corinthiorum, sicut ipse in principio huius Epistolæ his verbis demonstrat; Paulus vocatus Apostolus Christi Iesu per voluntatem Dei, & Sosthenes Frater Ecclesiæ Dei quæ est Corinthi, sanctificatis in Christo Iesu, vocatis sanctis, cum omnibus qui invocant nomen Domini. (Et post nonnulla alia quæ compendij causa hic rescidimus, haud ita multum ad rem attinentia, subinfert mox ad hunc modum:) Infirmitatem nostram vos considerare, ac misereri rogamus, & ne ei violentiam inferatis suppliciter imploramus. Nam sicut iam satis superius inculcauimus vobis, nullus ad continentiam invitus debet compelli. Neque hoc genus virtutis ulli per Legem Dei necessariò imperatum est, sed voluntaria deuotione Domino offerendum, dicente ipso de hoc Evangelio; Non omnes capiunt verbum istud, sed quibus datum est. Ad quam tamen benigna mox exhortatione eos qui possunt invitat dicens: Qui potest capere capiat. Vnde gratia distinctionis non Moses fœmoralibus vestire Aaron & filios eius iubetur, ut de prioribus dicitur: vesties ijs Aaron fratrem tuum & filios eius cum eo; sed facies (inquit) fœmoralia linea ut operiant carnem turpitudinis suæ. Ipsi (inquit) operiant carnem turpitudinis suæ, tu fœmoralia pontifici & filijs eius facies; tu castitatis regulam docebis; tu abstinendum ab uxorio complexu eis qui Sacerdotio functuri sunt, intimabis; nulli tamen violentum huiusmodi continentiæ iugum imponens; sed quicunque sacerdotes fieri ac ministerio altaris servire volunt, ipsi sua sponte uxori servi esse desistant. Quod ubi perfecerint, atque suscepto semel continentiæ proposito, ministros se sanctuarij atque Altaris fore consenserint, aderit divina gratia, quæ velut cæteris illis habitum Sacerdotibus congruum imponens, quomodo vivere vel docere debeant, abundanter instituit. Qui sensus subsequentibus quoque Domini verbis affirmatur, quibus post pauca subiungit; Cumque laueris patrem cum filijs aqua, indues Aaron vestimentis suis, id est, linea & tunica, & superhumerali, & rationali, quod stringes balteo, & pones tiaram, & oleum unctionis fundes super caput eius, atque hoc ritu consecrabitur. Filios quoque illius applicabis & indues tunicis lineis, cingesque Aaron Balteo, scilicet & liberos eius, & impones eis Mitras, eruntque Sacerdotes mei in religione perpetua. Namque hic de fœmoralibus à Mose accipiendis præcipitur. Vnde liquido constat quod se hoc genere vestimenti ipse prius Aaron ac filij eius induerant, & sic ad manum Mosi lavandi, induendi, ungendi, & consecrandi intrabant. Hic apertè ostenditur & docetur, nulli continentiæ iugum invito imponendum, sed à Deo prompta & devota voluntate accipiendum. Quod & Dionysius Areopagita theosophus, id est, Deum sapiens, Pauli Apostoli Discipulus, & ab eo Athenienſium Archiepiſc. ordinatus, in Epistola quadam ad Pymtum Gnasiorum Episcopum missa, in qua plurima de nuptijs & castitate commemorat, sicut ecclesiastica refert historia, monet, & precatur illum ne gravia onera discipulorum cervicibus imponat, neve fratribus necessitatẽ compulsæ castitatis inducat, in qua nonnullorum periclitatur infirmitas. Atq; Pymtus Dionysio rescripsit sententiam seconsilij melioris, quod ipse dabat, amplecti. Hoc itidem & Paphnutius vir divinissimus atque castissimus, cùm in Niceno Concilio (ut in Tripartita historia invenimus) patres qui ibi aderant, hoc interdicere sacerdotibus voluissent, in medium eorum zelo humanæ infirmitatis commotus & conscius exurgens, hoc ne facerent rogavit, quin

Rn.6. 1 Cor.7.

Necessitas in usu apud Pauũ quæ sit.

1 Cor.4.

1 Cor.7.

1 Cor.7.

1 Cor.7.

1 Cor.7.

potius in voluntate uniuscuiusq; ponerent exorauit, ne forte per hoc locum darent & occasionem adulterio & fornicationi. Hic namque cautela sancti viri in religione utebantur, ut cum de institutione & ædificatione subditorum aliquid agerent, & eos ad meliorem vitam de divinis præceptis commoneri facerent, cùm patientia & mansuetudine potius obedienda præciperent, quam cum potentia & austeritate imperarent, nullumque invitum sibi obedire compellerent. Quorum vos exempla sequentes, qui eorum loca tenetis & nomen, ne nobis infirmis importabilem sarcinam quæsumus imponatis, ne imprecatione dominica cum Pharisæis & legisperitis suscipiamini, in qua ait: Væ vobis legisperiti, qui oneratis homines oneribus quæ non possunt portari, & ipsi uno digito vestro ea non tangitis. Et ne clamor filiorum Israel ascendat ad Dominum propter duritiam eorum qui præsunt operibus. Neque vos voletis facere eunuchos qui de utero matris sic nati sunt, vel eos eunuchos qui violenter a b hominibus facti sunt, sed potius eos eunuchos, qui seipsos sua sponte eunuchizauerunt propter regnum cœlorum: neve sacris ordinibus & divino mysterio, propter nos tantum, calumniam faciatis vel inferatis, qui propter nostram vitam improbam illud hominibus contemptibile facitis, dum eis ne à nobis illud audiant & percipiant, prohibetis: ac per hoc vitam improbam infamatis & odorem nostrum corã Pharaone & servis eius fœtere facitis. Quod vos non recte, si dici liceat (ne molestè accipiatis) videtur nobis facere, & contra divinam authoritatem & canonicam regulam hoc quod facitis, esse: cum Dominus per legislatorem dicat; Turpitudinem matris tuæ non reueles, & ignominiam eius ne discooperias. Mater nostra ecclesia est; Filij huius matris, quique fidelium sunt. Cuius tamen materna appellatio maxima in Sacerdotibus est. Nam ipsi generãt fideles, & verbo prædicationis & sacramento baptismatis. An non mater erat quæ dicebat; Filioli mei quos iterum parturio? Turpitudo ergo & ignominia matris nostræ reprehensibilis est actio sacerdotalis vitæ. Quæ turpitudo tunc revelatur, & ignominia discooperitur, cum sacerdotalis vita publicè infamatur. Quod vos nimirum facitis, qui fragilitatem nostrã, quãsi hactenus latentem & coopertã (quia eam nullus ita cognouerat) hominib. diffamatis, & propter eam divina mysteria vel ministeria aspernanda sancitis. Quasi ad ea pertineat pollutio aliena, & ea polluat & cõmaculet immũdicia nostra, cum Psalmogr. dicat, Lex domini immaculata. Aut quasi illa nostra contagione contaminentur, qui ea ex nostro ore & ex nostro officio adipiscuntur. Quod si ut dicitis esset, nequaquam discipulis & turbis de Pharisæis dominus præciperet; Omnia quæcunq; dixerint vobis, seruate & facite. Et rursus, si ita esset, nequaquam Dominus Iudam, quem furem esse sciebat & proditorem suum futurum, cum discipulis alijs ad prædicandum mitteret, neque potestatem signa faciendi & sanitates donandi, neque ad communionem sacrosanctæ cœnæ eum admitteret. Et si immundicia nostra divina Mysteria vel Ministeria & eorum capaces & auditores inficeret & deterioraret, nequaquãdominus leprosum quem mundauerat, tangeret, neque ei osculum daret, & nequaquam cum Simone alio Leproso manducaret, & nequaquam á Maria peccatrice pedes suos osculari, & lachrymis lauari, & capillis tergi, & caput suum ungi permitteret. Hinc sacrorum Canonum veneranda authoritas sanxit, nullum qui etiam ab hæretico sacramenta dominica rectè perceperit, ullatenus ipsa hæretica prauitate corrumpi, nec vlla sacramenta illius contagione commaculari. Vnde Romana ecclesia Anastasium papam, in quadam Epistola ad Anastas. Imperatorem directa, decreuit & scripsit, quod nullum de his vel quos baptizauit Acatius, vel quos sacerdotes, vel Levitas secundum Canones ordinauit, vlla eos ex nomine Acati portio læsionis attingat, quo forsan per iniquum tradita sacramenti gratia minus firma videatur. Nam & baptismum (quod procul sit ab Ecclesia) siue ab adultero, siue a fure datum fuerit, ad percipientem non minus peruenit illibatum. Quid vox illa quæ sonuit per columbam? Omnẽ malitiam vel maculam humanæ pollutionis excludit, qua declaratur ac dicitur; Hic est qui baptizat, &c. Nam si vilibilis solis istius radij cum per loca fœtidissima transeunt, nulla contactus inquinatione maculantur; multo magis virtus illius qui istum visibilem solem fecit, nulla mysterij dignitate constringitur. Quicquid ergo ad hominum profectum quilibet in Ecclesia minister pro officio suo videtur operari, hoc totum continetur implendo diuinitatis effectu. Ita ille, per quem Christus loquitur, Paulus affirmat, Ego plantaui, Apollo rigavit; sed Deus incrementum dedit. A Deo non quæritur quis vel qualis prædicet, sed sic prædicet, vt invidos etiam bene de Christo prædicare confirmet. Tanta est namque diuinæ potentia gratiæ, ut per malos acquirat bonos, & per reprobos & improbos acquirat & colligat probos. His itaque authoritatibus & alijs prædictis rationibus persuaderi debetis, neque nos a diuini officij celebritate arcere, neque illos, quorum nihil interest, ab eius communione suspendere. Quod si mali sumus, nobis ipsis sumus, & plus nobis quam alijs nocemus; & quos fortasse malos conspicitis, quid boni interius habeant ignoratis. Sunt enim plerique quos de incontinentia iudicatis, qui continentiores sunt quam illi quos de continentia glorificatis. Qui habemus vxores, juxta Apostolum tanquam non habemus. Quam videlicet continentiam quia nobis non potestis dare, orate nobiscum & pro nobis, ut ille nobis donet, cuius hoc donum noscitur esse, & sine quo nemo poterit continens esse. Aliter enim illam habere non possumus nisi ex totis præcordijs illum oremus cuius hoc donum esse cognoscimus. Et hoc ipsum (inquit Salomon) est sapientia, scire cuius hoc donum est, & quoniam super hoc nihil est.

Luke 11. Exod. 5. Matth. 19. Exod. 5. Levit. 18. Gal. 4. Psal. 18. Mat. 23. Matth. 3. 1 Cor. 3. 1 Cor. 7. Sap. 8.

The same in English.

FOrsomuch as we are created under the power of "Free will, and not under the law but under grace, let us so live as we are created. You, which lay upon us the law of continency against our will, do deprive us of the liberty of Free will. You command us, and by commanding compell us to will that wee would not, and not to will that we would doe. You binde us to the law, from the which by grace we are made free: and you constraine us to receive the spirit of bondage againe to feare; and goe about to make the grace of God of no effect, without the which we can do nothing, so that, as the Apostle sayth, Grace is now no grace, and the gift of God is not the gift of God; and not of God, but of man; not of him that calleth, but of him that worketh, whereas the Apostle sayth, It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercy.

The epistle of Volusian, B. of Carthage for priests mariages.

"What I meaneth by free will he expoundeth plainly hereafter.

Rom. 9.

For whereas there bee three principall and effectuall things, whereby every humane soule indued with reason apprehendeth and perceiveth whatsoever spirituall thing it is able to apprehend and perceive, and without the which it can perceive nothing; the which three things bee these; to wit, Free Will, the Commandement, and Grace (for by Free Will we discerne and chuse the good from the evill: By the Commandement we are provoked and stirred up to doe all things: by Grace wee are furthered and holpen to performe the same) yet of all these Grace is the Lady and Mistresse, and as a mighty Empresse and Queene, upon whose berke the other doe wait and give attendance, receiving of her both their strength and efficacy, and without her

1 Free will. 2 The commandement of the law. 3 Grace.

Grace, by and quer- ber the co- mandeme and Free will.

her can do nothing, but remain as things of themselves dull and dead, much like as amongst the philosophers their Materia without Forma being thereto adjoyned.

For in the stead of Materia, we may after a maner not unfitly place frée will; and in the place of Forma we may set grace, and the commandement (which is the mean betwéene them both as a certaine instrument) to have respect to both; whereby the principall Artificer, which is God, furtherеth and setteth forward frée will as a rude dull matter, applieth to it his grace as the forme thereof. And like as the said Materia without Forma is rude and shapelesse, so frée will is a thing rude and deforme, if it be not holpen with grace comming thereunto, to move it and to further it, the commandement comming as a meane betwéen them both in the stead of the instrumentall cause, as is before sayd. Therefore like as Forma is in respect of Materia, the like resemblance beareth frée will in respect of grace. And againe, as Materia is in respect of Forma, the same also is frée will in respect of grace. And as the instrument serveth betwéen the aforesayd Materia and Forma, so doth the commandement betwéen frée will and grace. The instrument comming and working upon the sayd Materia being of it selfe ugly, rugged, and a thing without all shape and fashion, doth forme it, shape, and polish it, and maketh it handsome, sightly, lightsome, bright and cléere; even so likewise the commandment comming and working upon frée will, being of it selfe a thing rude, grosse, unshapen and deformed, blind and obscure, doth clarifie it, deck it, adorn it, beautifie and lighten it through the brightnes of grace comming unto it, according to the saying of the prophet, The commandment of the Lord is bright and cléere, giving sight unto the eyes.

And as the matter and the instrument without the form can do nothing, even so frée will and commandment without grace have no power to work. For what can either frée will or the commandement doe except they be holpen with grace both going before and following? For grace sendeth the commandement as a messenger and minister to frée will; the commandement provoketh frée will and stirreth it up, as out of a sléepe to doe good works, and leadeth it as a blind man by the hand, teaching him the way wherein to goe. Which both if they be destitute of grace, are able of themselves to doe nothing. And if they begin, yet they proceed not, neither doe they performe or accomplish any thing; and if they presume, it prospereth not, and is but labour lost. For where the commandement cometh, either by man or by Angel, and also where frée will is moved, provoked, and informed either by the motion of man or of Angell, yet unlesse Gods grace goe withall, preventing and following the same, what is it able to doe? For when man was put in paradise, what availed him the commandement which he heard, Thou shalt eat of every tree of paradise, but only of the tree of knowledge of good and evill thou shalt not eat. Which commandment wrought not to his salvation but to his condemnation. And why? Because grace, that saveth and helpeth, was wanting, which he presuming unjustly upon his owne strength despised. Or what did the commandement of the law, given by Moses, profit the people of Israel in the Wildernesse, which law they refused to obey? Or what profit wrought it to him which presumed to follow the Lord of his owne free will and not of the Lords calling, saying unto him, Lord I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest. By these and many other places of holy Scripture, both of the old and new testament, it may be proved that neither the commandement nor free will have power to work of themselves, unlesse they be holpen by Gods grace preventing and following them.

Frée will likened to Matter, Grace to Forma.

Ps. will, which after I calleth voluntary devotion, without the law, and the law without Grace can do nothing.

Ps. 119.

The will and the law without Grace be no power.

Gal. 2. The commandment without grace added Adam dying in Paradise.

Mat. 8.

Séeing therefore the gift of continency, as all other gifts be, is the gift only of Gods grace, and commeth not by the commandement nor by frée will; they erre therefore and strive in vaine which labour to obtaine it by their owne power. And much more they also doe erre, which by force constrain men against their will thereunto, moving them to offer gifts into the Sanctuary of God, not of their owne accord, or but by coaction, either not knowing or else not remembring the saying of the Lord to Moses, Separate amongst you the first fruits unto the Lord, and let every man of his own voluntary and willing mind come and offer the same unto the Lord. What is this, to separate with you the first fruits to the Lord, but only to weigh and consider diligently in your hearts, and with discretion to lay down and separate unto the Lord, what we ought to present unto him out of the treasure of our heart? for if thou offer rightly and doest not rightly divide, thou sinnest. And what is to offer with a willing and ready minde, but as the Psalmist sayth, I will offer sacrifice unto thee willingly and cheerfully; and the Apostle sayth, Not grudgingly or of necessity: For God loveth a cheerfull giver. And Salomon sayth, give the Lord his glory with a good and frée heart, and in every gift thou givest, shew a joyfull countenance, and sanctifie thy tithes with gladnesse: and with a cheerfull eye do all that thou takest in hand. And the Apostle James sayth, The Lord loveth not constrained service. And cursed be he that doth the worke of the Lord negligently, that is, not carefully, and with a willing mind.

Continency only the gift of God.

Num. 15.

Psal. 4.

2 Co. 9.

Eccle. 35.

Ierem. 48.

Wherefore as the Lord willeth us not to offer any thing to him against our wills; so doth he forbid us to compell any man to offer any thing against their wils by the foresayd Moses where he sayth, Thou shalt not do thy neighbor wrong, neither oppresse him with violence. To do wrong to thy neighbor is to correct him for his sin, not of any compassion or mercy towards him, but to reprove him and to judge him, in disdaining, upbraiding and rebuking him; not to informe him in the spirit of lenity, but to destroy him in the spirit of bitternesse and rigor, as the Apostle saith, If a man be taken in any fault, you that are spirituall informe such in the spirit of lenity, considering thy selfe lest thou also be tempted.

Levit.

Gal. 6.

To oppresse our neighbour with violence, is to exact any thing of him above his power, and to lay upon him more than he is able to beare, and more peradventure than they themselves are able to weeld, which lay it upon him. Whereas the Lord, speaking of the Pharises to his disciples, forbiddeth them the same, saying, The Scribes and Pharises do sit upon the chaire of Moses, &c. And the Apostle Pet. Feed, saith he, as much as in you lyeth, the Lords flock, providing for them, not by constraint, but willingly after a godly sort, and not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind, not as though ye were Lords over the clergy, but be you as an example to the flock of good will.

1 Pet. 5.

This shepheard of shepheards and prince of the Apostles doth plainely and evidently declare and insinuate what all other pastors and apostles ought to doe: how to intreat the flocke of the Lord committed unto them, and what great care and compassion of mind they ought to have towards their cure: and removeth farre out of their hearts all power of tyrannicall Lordship and all ambition, which some do exercise with greedinesse upon those that are committed to their charge, and pronounceth, that they ought not to be Lords, but fathers over their flocke: and not imperiously to command them, as exercising stately authority and power upon them, but gently to admonish them and beseech them in the zeale of piety, according to the

Lordship over the clergy defended.

strength of every person, after the Lord, and not after the affection of their owne will, or ambitiously setting forth their owne power and jurisdiction, and that they ought to be an example to the flock, doing first themselves that thing, which they command others, and so to teach them no lesse by examples than by words. Willingly, sayth he, and not by constraint; of charity, and not for greedy gaine. For there be many which being inflamed with affection, not of charity, but of covetous greedinesse and ambition, commend others that which they are not able to accomplish, and while they pretend to seeke the gaine of souls, they hunt and seeke rather for worldly lucre: which Balaam the prophet did well expresse; who converted the gift of Prophecy, and the grace of blessing which he had received of God, not to the profit of others, but to his owne commodity.

Num. 22.

And some there be, which whiles they correct others, they pretend to doe it with the zeale of God, and whiles they would seem to be better than other, this they doe with a certain presumption and rashnesse, and so fall in their owne presumption and temerity. Of whom the Apostle speaketh, Which have a zeale of God, but not according to knowledge. To have a zeale of God according to knowledge, is to do any thing in Gods matters prudently and circumspectly. Of whom Oza beareth a type and resemblance. Who whiles that he went about with his hand to stay the Arke of the Lord staggering a little by reason of the kicking of the Oxen which carried it, fell downe therefore dead. The Arke of the Lord to stagger or miscarry by the kicking of the Oxen, signifieth the Law of the Lord (which the priests themselves ought to bear and hold up) to be contaried of them in not observing the same, and to be turned out of the right course to the contrary part, which Oza, who is interpreted to be a helper of God, attempteth to hold up. For there be certaine prelates, which while they see the order of Priesthood, by some enormity or excesse, to straine the law of God never so little out of the right course, and labour to redresse and rectifie that misorder, rather by vaine ostentation of their own strength, then for any pure zeale to God: while they thus presume inordinatly to doe, thinking to seeme to be the helpers of God, many times doe mortally fall, and incurre thereby great danger and peril. Some other also there be which having before their eyes no consideration of mans infirmity, neither being touched with any respect of mercy and compassion, nor knowing how to say with the Apostle, Who is infirme and I am not infirme? these whiles they compare themselves to such as be under their charge, not in condition wherin they are equall, but in authority wherein they are superiours, and covet to be their maisters, and more to rule over them than to profit them, they oppresse the weaknesse of them, by force and violence of authority, and compell them to their obedience; which is rightly figured by the fact, which is read in the Gospel of Symon Cyreneus, whom the persecutors of the Lord constrained to take up the Crosse of Christ. Whose name also doth fitly agree with the same figure. For Simon by interpretation is called obedient. Simon then, that is to say, the obedient man is forced to beare the crosse of the Lord, when as subiects being constrained of their maisters by the rigor either of lordsh. or authority, or feare of their curse, and so compelled to obey them, are driven to sustaine the crosse of continency against their wils; who neither doe love the crosse which they beare, because they beare it rather to their destruction than to their health; neither by bearing the crosse do die unto sinne, but by the bearing thereof are rather quickened unto sinne. For thereof rise divers other more grievous sinnes. For by the inhibiting of lawfull and natu-

Rom. 10. Zeale without knowledge what it is.

2 King. 6.

Oza punished for holding up the arke.

Luke. 23.

rall mariage with one woman, riseth the unnaturall and most execrable Sodomiticall fornication; riseth also the unlawfull and damnable defiling of other mens wives, riseth furthermore cursed and whorish filthinesse and pollution; and moreover riseth most abhominable incest against all nature, with their own kindred, with a heape of manifold other filthy abhominations and lecherous pollutions, wherby the fraile infirmity of man is brought no doubt into great perill.

What inconvenience rise of coacted mariage.

Wherefore Lot being delivered from the burning of Sodome through the guiding of the Lords Angell, and bereaved of the fellowship of his wife, whiles he considering his own infirmity durst not ascend unto the mountaine as the Angel bad him, did chuse rather to dwell in Segor a little city nére by, the Angell thus bidding him and speaking unto him, Save thy soule and looke not behind thée, but save thy selfe in the mountaine lest thou also perish. To whom Lot answered, I pray thée Lord, because thy servant hath found such grace in thy sight that thou wilt save me, I cannot be saved in the mountain, lest perhaps some evill take me and I die: There is a little city hereby whereunto I may flye and be saved in it.

Gen. 19.

What meaneth this that Lot flying from Sodome by the commandement of the Angel, to bée saved in the mountain, would not ascend up to the hill fearing there to perish, but did chuse rather to dwell in Segor a small city nére unto the hill, there to be saved, but that every faithfull man covetting to eschew the burning and danger of Sodomiticall lust, while neither he is able to mount up to the top of virginity, and also is afraid to ascend to the mountaine of the state of widowhood lest he perish therein, flyeth therefore to the state of matrimony, which is a small continency in respect of the other two, and also nére unto them both. For after those two kinds of continency, this chastity is also proved to be laudable, and is not deprived of the reward of the kingdome of heaven.

Lots refusall to go up to the mountaine, what it meaneth.

The chastitie of mariage, nére to head as virginity.

Unto this chastity he is commanded to flie, which cannot otherwise contain, and to be saved in it, lest peradventure if hée clime up to the mount he fall into inconvenience and perish therein: that is, lest if he shall attempt to obtain by his owne strength the continency which is not given unto him of God, the evill of incontinency, or fornication, or of some of the other evils afore rehearsed, do fall upon him, and so he perish in them mortally. For there be many who while they consider not their owne infirmity, and while they strive to atchieve greater things than they are able to reach, in this their climbing doe fall headlong into worse inconvenience, and while they foolishly seeke for great things doe lose the lesse, which before they seemed to have. Which we may well understand by the example of Lot afore sayd, who what time he left the small city Segor, which he chose before to inhabite, in the which hée sought to be saved, went up to the mountaine, and there abiding fell into the stolne incest of his owne daughters, as the Scripture witnesseth, saying, Lot went up from Segor and remained in the mountaine, and his daughters gave to their Father wine to drinke that night. And the elder of them went and lay with her father. Which thing had not befalne him, if hée had kept himselfe still in Segor, where hée might have bin saved at the bidding of the Angell as he himselfe required. But because he forsooke that which was granted to him of the Angell, and presumed to that upon his owne will, contrary to the precept of the Angell, which was not granted: therefore he fell into great danger of his soul and committed the grievous sin of incest.

No otherwise doth it happen to many other, who whiles either they forsake the thing which is granted them of God, or ambitiously climbe after that which

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Rom.6.

I or.7.

is to them not granted, both they lose that which they had granted unto them, and fall into that which to them was not granted. For divers there be which while they forsake, either willingly or against their will, the married life which is to them lawfully permitted, and in which they might be saved, and strive with a presumptuous desire to leade a single life, both they lose that health and safety which they might have had in one, and incurre great danger in the other: So that wherby they suppose most to gain, by the same they lose and fall into the pit of greater ruine. Which thing S. Paul the Doctor of the Gentiles well considering, and tenderly providing for the infirmity of the weake Corinthians writing to him for counsell touching this matter, did write to them againe in this wise, saying, As concerning the things wherof you wrot unto me, it is good for a man not to touch a woman. Neverthelesse to avoide whoredome, let every man have his wife, and let every woman have her husband. Let the husband give unto his wife due benevolence: likewise also the wife unto her husband. And a little after, withdraw not (saith he) your selves one from another, except it be with consent for a time, that you may give your selves unto fasting and prayer, and afterward come together again, lest Satan tempt you for your incontinency. For as the Poet saith, we cannot all do all things, and as the Apostle saith, It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercy. Also in another place, for to every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ. And that every one of us ought to keep and not to transgresse this measure, he teacheth anon after, saying, I wish that all men were as I my selfe am, but every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, another after that.

And that we are to be kept within our compasse and measure, and ought therewith to be content, he teacheth moreover as followeth. Let every man abide in that vocation wherein hee is called. And shortly after, for confirmation thereof, he repeateth the same againe and saith, Let every man wherin he is called, therein abide with the Lord. And because he perceived that the infirmity of man was not able to sustain the burning motions and heats of nature stirring in a man, but only by the grace of God, neither be able to conquer the flesh fighting against the spirit, according to that which he saith of himselfe in another place, For I see another law in my members rebelling against the law of my mind; he therefore of mercy and compassion, as condescending unto their weakenesse, and not by rigor of law and force of commandement, thus said. As also in another place in his Epistles he speaketh in like words saying, I speak thus grossely after the manner of men, because of the infirmity of your flesh. And in this foresaid Epistle, moreover a little before, using the same maner of speech, hee saith, This I say to you as of favour and not of commandement. And adding moreover, he sheweth, As touching virgins I have no commandement of the Lord, but only do give counsell, as one that have found mercy with God, that I should be faithfull. That is, after the same mercy wherewith the Lord hath informed and instructed me when he called me to the faith, and made me faithfull to him; so I likewise do give counsell to other and shew the same mercy to them.

I or.7.

And forsomuch as both are good; to wit, to have a wife or not to have; to have a husband or not to have; neither is there any sinne in having wife or husband; shortly after hee inferreth saying, I suppose therefore this to be good for the present necessity: I meane, that it is good for a man so to bee: What meaneth this, for present necessity? What is this necessity present, but present infirmity? or else instant necessity, compelling to doe as the order of necessity requireth. Or else hee meaneth by this present necessity, the distresse of that time which then was instant, and compelled him to write, and so to bear with them, which was for the avoyding of fornication amongst them, and many other kinds of filthynesse above touched which might have happened. For the which fornication he took occasion to write unto the Corinthians and to answere to their letters; and therefore he vehemently against the said Corinthians in the former part of the said Epistle uttereth these words; What, will you I shall come to you with a rod? or in love and in the spirit of meekenesse? There is heard among you to be fornication, and such fornication as is not named among the Gentiles, that one should have his owne fathers wife; &c. And therefore for this necessity of avoiding such fornication, he saith, It is good for a man so to be, that he which cannot containe shall mary and take a wife, which afterward he expoundeth, thus inferring, Art thou bound to a wife? seeke not to be losed. And if thou be losed from a wife, seeke not a wife. But if thou takest a wife thou sinnest not, and if a virgin marry shee sinneth not, &c. And that he spake not this by way of commanding, but of sufferance and compassion, he sheweth plainely in these words following; But I spare you, that is to say, I beare with your infirmity; and therefore hee leaveth it in the free power and will of every man, to chose what hee liketh best. Neither doth he enforce any man (hee saith) violently, nor charge them with any strait commandement, and therefore addeth these words following, And this I speake for your owne commodity, not to tangle you as in a snare, but for that it is good and honest for you, that you may serve the Lord without separation.

For present necessity to marry what it meaneth.

1 Cor.4.

1 Cor.7.

This he saith to them whom before he exhorteth to continency, and whom he would not to be let or troubled by matrimoniall conjunction. But to other he saith thus, If any man thinke that it is uncomely for his virgine to remaine over long unmaried, and if need so require, let him doe what he thinketh good, he sinneth not, let them mary. And againe, both be good, he saith, but yet the one to be better he concludeth, saying, therefore he that joyneth in matrimony his virgin, doeth well, but he that doeth not, doth better. Which agreeth well with the text above, speaking of both kindes as well the man as the woman, where he saith, if thou take a wife thou sinnest not, and if the virgin take a husband she sinneth not.

If therefore it be no sinne for the man to take a wife, nor for the virgin to take a husband, after the Apostles minde, neither doth diminish their felicity, but rather increase it, and forsomuch as both doe well; so both be blessed; we then which take wives for our infirmity, what do we sin in having them? Or if the Apostle doe suffer and permit to every man for the avoyding of fornication to have his wife; we then which come of the same lumpe or masse, and taking our sinfull flesh of the sinfull flesh of Adam are not able otherwise to containe, why are we not permitted for the same cause, and by the same permission, to have likwise our wives, but are inforced to forsake them being married.

Wherefore either doe you permit us, following the Apostle, to have our wives, or else teach us that we come not of the same masse, either else shew us that the same sufferance and permission is not granted to us by the apostle which is granted to other. Which cause peradventure you will thus pretend; that this sufferance was granted of the Apostle, not to the Clergy or to any of our order, but onely to lay men. Which cannot well be defended, neither by the words of the Apostle, nor by any circumstance of his Epistle, forsomuch as there is no

Mariage is permitted to the infirmity of all men. Priests are infirme as other men be, Ergo, mariage ought to be permitted to Priests also.

certaine distinction or denomination either of persons or degrées or professions there mentioned, neither doth he make any difference either in names or offices of men, either of them which wrote unto him, either of those persons of whom he wrote, or else of those to whom he answered, but onely in generall to the whole Church of the Corinthians, as he himselfe in the beginning of his Epistle purporteth in these words, Paul called the Apostle of Iesus Christ, by the will of God, and Sosthenes his brother, to the church which is at Corinth, such as be sanctified in Christ Iesus, called Saints, with all that invocate the name of the Lord, &c. (And after a few other words, which here for brevities sake we omit, as not being greatly to the purpose pertinent; thus he inferreth.) These premisses being well considered, we beseech you to have regard and compassion of our infirmity, most humbly desiring you not to oppresse us with this violence. For as we have sufficiently before proved, no man ought to be constrained unto continency against his will, neither is this kind of vertue commanded of God to any man of necessity, but only of voluntary devotion to be offered to the Lord; as he himselfe speaketh in the Gospel, All men cannot receive this saying, but to whom it is given. Whereunto he gently exhorteth them that can take it, saying, He that is able to receive this, let him receive it, &c. Wherefore for distinctions sake Moses is not himself commanded to cloth Aaron and his sonnes with breeches, as in these words going before, Thou shalt cloath with these Aaron thy brother, and his sons, &c. But he thus sayth, Thou shalt make linnen breeches that they themselves may cover the filth of their flesh. That they themselves, sayth he, may cover the filth of their flesh. Thou, saith he, shal make the breeches for the bishop and his sons: thou shalt teach the rule of chastity; thou shalt exhort them to abstaine from the company of their wives, and shalt do the priests office; yet laying upon none violently the sayd yoke of continency, but whosoever shall be priests and shall serve the altar, shall of their owne accord surcease from the use of matrimony: which when they shall do, and of their owne voluntary consent shall take upon them the purpose of continency to serve the Altar, then shall the grace of God be present, which as it did apparell those other priests aforesayd with attire for them convenient, so shall it instruct these aboundantly, how they ought to live and to teach. And this sense well agréeth with the text that followeth, saying, And when thou shalt wash the father and the sons with water, thou shalt take the garments, that is, the strait coat, the tunicle, and the brestlap, and put them upon Aaron, and gird them to him with a broodered girdle of the Ephod. Then thou shalt put the myter upon his head, and shalt put the holy crown upon the myter, and thus shall he be consecrated. Also thou shalt bring his sons and put coats upon them, and shalt gird them with girdles, both Aaron and his sons, and shalt put bonets on them, and the priests office shall be theirs for a perpetuall law.

1 Cor. 1.

Forced continency is no vertue. Matth. 15.

Exod. 29.

The place of Moses Exodus 29. applied.

Thus then you see a commandement of receiving of the linnen breeches of Moses. Whereby it plainely appeareth, that Aaron and his sons first did apparell themselves with this kind of apparel, and so entred in to be washed, inducted, annointed and consecrated by the hands of Moses.

By the which we are plainly taught, that the yoke of continency is not to be enforced upon any man against his will, but is to be received of God with a prompt and devout will. Which thing also Dionysius Areopagita, that godly wise man, the disciple of Saint Paul, and ordained of him Bishop of Athens, in a certaine Epistle of his sent to Pymtus B. of the Gnasians, in which he toucheth many things of mariage and chastity (as is in the Ecclesiastall history rehearsed) doth admonish the sayd Pymtus, and prayeth him that he will lay no grievous burthens upon the neckes of the Disciples, neither infer any necessity of compelled chastity upon the brethen, whereby the infirmity of some of them might be in danger. And Pymtus answering to Dionysius againe, sheweth himself willing to embrace the sentence of his wholesome counsell. The same also did Paphnutius, the divine and chast bishop, who in the counsell of Nice (as the Tripartite history doth shew us) when the fathers which there were present went about to restraine priests from mariage, he rising up among them and moved with the zeale of mans infirmity, desired them that they would not so doe, but rather to leave it unto the voluntary discretion of every man, lest in so doing they might peradventure give occasion of adultery and fornication. For those holy men did then use this cautell and moderation in religion, that when they treated any thing concerning instruction and edification of the people, and would have them stirred up to a better life by godly instructions, they would rather persuade things to be observed with patience and lenity, then command with rigor and authority: neither would they compel any man to their obedience against his will.

Ex histor. Tripartita.

The spirit of lenity required in bishops.

Whose examples you also following, which succéed in their room and name, do you not lay upon us infirme persons such importable burthens, lest you be partakers with the Pharises and lawyers of the Lords curse: Who saith, Woe to you lawyers which lay burthens upon men, which they cannot beare, and you your selves touch not the burthens with one finger; and lest the cry of the children of Israel ascend up to the Lord for the cruell dealing of them which are overséers of the works. Neither do you make such eunuches which are so born from their mothers wombe, or such eunuches which are violently made by men, but rather those eunuches that of their own accord have gelded themselves for the kingdome of heaven. Neither do you bring upon the holy order of Gods ministers, for us only, such an offence and slander, that for our wicked life you make the ministery to be despised of others, while you will not suffer them either to heare us, or to receive the sacraments of us, inflaming thereby our lewd life, and causing the savor of us to stinke before Pharaoh, and his servants. Wherein it séemeth to us that you deal not soundly and uprightly, if a man may so say (I pray you take it in good worth that I speake) and also to be against the authority of Gods word, and the canonicall constitutions, which you doe, whereas the Lord sayth by Moses the law giver, The shame of thy mother thou shalt not disclose, and her ignominy thou shalt not discover. Our mother is the church, the sons of this mother be all the faithfull, which name yet most fitly is appropriate to priests, for they do beget the faithfull, both by the word of preaching and sacrament of baptisme. Was not he to be counted a right mother who said, My little children of whom I travel in birth again? The shame and ignominy of our mother, what is it but the reprobeable conversation of the life of priests: which shame and ignominy is then revealed when the life of priests is publikly infamed: which thing you do, that discover and notifie to men our fragility, lying before as hid and covered, because before it was not known, and for that same you bring the holy ministery and mysteries of God into contempt and hatred: as though the polluted life of other did any thing pertain therto to pollute the same, and as though our uncleannes did any thing blemish them, or diminish the purenes therof, wheras the Psal. saith, The law of the Lord is pure and immaculate; or as though they were any whit polluted by our infection, which do receive the said mysteries either by our mouth or ministery: which if you grant, then the Lord would never have spoken so to his disciples, and the people

Exod. 3.

Reade the canons of the Apostles. Can. 22.

Mat. 19.

Exod. 5.

Levit. 18.

Gal. 4.

Psal. 18.

ple touching the Pharises, saying; Whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do.

Mat.23.

And againe, if it were so, the Lord would not have sent forth Judas, whom he knew should betray him, with the other Disciples to preach, neither would have committed to him the power of working miracles, and of giving health, nor have admitted him to the communion of the Supper. And if our impurity should infect our holy mysteries or ministrations, and make them worse that heare and receive the same, then the Lord would never have touched the Leper whom he had healed, neither would he have kissed him, neither would have eaten with Simon another Leper, neither would have suffered his feet to be kissed, and with the teares to be washed, and with the haire to be dryed, and his head to be annointed of Mary the sinner.

The wicked-nesse of the ministers hes not the ministery vaile.

Therefore the holy Canons have thus decréed, That no man, which rightly receiveth the Lords sacraments of an heretike, should be therefore any thing corrupted by his heretical pravity, nor the said sacraments should be any whit distained by the infection of him. Whereupon the Church of Rome, in a certain Epistle directed unto Anastasius the Emperor, to Anastasius the Pope, did so ordaine and write, that none of all them whom Acatius did baptise, or whom he ordained Canonically to be Priests or Levites, should be any thing hurt by the name of the said Acatius; so that thereby the sacraments which by him were ministred should séeme the lesse firme and effectuall. For the sacrament of baptisme also being ministred of an Adulterer or a théefe (which God forefend to be in the Church) doth come unto the receiver never a whit the worse. What meant that voice which sounded by the Dove, but that it excluded all evill & impurity of the corruption of man? in the which it is declared and said, This is he which baptiseth, &c. For if the beames of this visible Sun passing by the filthy places, receive no spot or filthinesse thereby, much more the grace of him which made this visible Sun, is not tyed to any worthinesse of our workes. Whatsoever therefore any Minister of the Church worketh in his function to the behoofe of the people, all that taketh his effect by the operation of God. Thus witnesseth Paul, by whom Christ speaketh, I have planted, and Apollo hath watred, but it is the Lord that hath given the increase. God regardeth not so much who or what manner of person doth preach, but that he so preach that he may confirme them that be naught, and cause them to preach well of Christ. For such is the operation of Gods mighty grace, that by evill men he winneth good men, and by reprobate and wicked persons he getteth and gathereth together those that be good.

Mat.3.

1 Cor.3.

By these and such other reasons and authorities above alledged, you ought to be perswaded, neither to abandon us that be married from the administration of Divine service, nor yet to excommunicate such, to whom the matter nothing pertaineth, from the Communion thereof. And if we be evill, we are evil to our selves, and hurt our selves more than others. And such as you suppose peradventure to be vicious, yet may have some good thing inwardly which you know not of.

For many there be whom you judge to be incontinent, which live more chastly than they who you so greatly extoll for their continency. We that have wives, according to the Apostles minde, so have them as though we had them not. Which gift of continency forsomuch as you cannot give us, pray therefore with us and for us, that he wil give it unto us who only is the giver thereof, and without whom no man is able to live continently. For otherwise we cannot have it, unlesse we pray unto him from the bottome of our hearts, who is knowne to be the author and giver thereof. And this same (saith Solomon) is wisedome, to know whose gift it is, neither is there any gift above this.

1 Cor.7.

Sap.8.

These two Epistles, written to Pope Nicolas under the title of Volusianus, give us to understand by the contents thereof, first that he himselfe was then a married Bishop.

Secondly, That the liberty of priests marriage ought not to be restrained by any generall Law, of compulsion, but to be left to every mans free choice and voluntary devotion.

Thirdly, The said Epistles being written to Pope Nicolas (if the title be true) declare, that this Law, prohibiting the lawfull matrimony of Churchmen, began first in this Popes time generally to be enacted.

And although it be not here expressed which pope Nicolas this was, yet by the circumstance of time, and especially by the words of Pope Alexander, 1. *Distinct.* 32. *Prater*, it may probably be esteemed to be Nicolas the second, & not Nicolas the first, as some do suppose: amongst whom is *Illyricus in Centur. 9. cap.* 10. and also John Bale, *de Scriptoribus Cent.* 2. with certaine other. From whose judgments although I am loth to dissent, yet notwithstanding modestly and freely to utter herein my opinion, this I suppose, that if the truth of this matter were throughly tryed, it might peradventure be found that they be herein deceived, and all by mistaking a certaine place of Gratian. For the better explanation whereof here it is to be understood, that amongst the Distinctions of Gratian there is a Constitution, *Distinct.* 32. *Nullus*, the tenour whereof is this, *Nullus missam audiat presbyteri, quem scit concubinam indubitanter habere, aut subintroductam mulierem, &c.* That is, That no man shall heare Masse of any Priest whom he knoweth undoubtedly to have a concubine, or a woman privily resorting to him, &c.

Dist. 32. prater. Flac. Illyric. Cent. 9. cap. 10. Ioan. Baleus. De Scriptoribus Cent 2.

A doubt discussed whether this Nicholas was 1. or 2. to whom Volusianus wrote.

Dist. 32. Nullus.

This decrée forsomuch as Gratian doth alledge under the name and title of pope Nicolas, not naming what Nicolas he was, therefore John Bale and Illyricus, one following the other, and they both following Volaterane, *Lib.* 22. do vouch this Constitution upon Nicolas the first. The words of Volaterane be these, writing of Nicolas the first, *Multa hic utilia constituit, inter quæ nequis Concubinam habenti Presbytero aut sacrificanti interesset, ut testatur Gratianus, &c.*

Volateran. lib. 22. dist. prater.

In like effect follow also the words of Illyricus aforesaid, *Decretum fecit, ne quis à Sacerdote sacramentum suscipiat, quem sciret habere concubinam, seu uxorem.* and alledgeth (as Volaterane doth) the said Distinction of Gratian, *Distinct.* 32. *Nullus.* In alledging whereof both they séeme to be deceived, in mistaking belike one Nicolas for another, as may be proved and made good by three or foure reasons.

The first reason to prove this Nicolas to whom Volusianus wrote, to be Nicholas the second.

First, by the words of Pope Alexander the second in the next chapter following, who being the successor of Leo and Nicolas the second, useth the same words in his Sinod of Mantua (which Gratian referreth unto Nicolas) and prosecuteth the same more amply and fully, alledging moreover the former Constitution of both his predecessors, Pope Leo and Nicolas, which by all stories are knowne to be Leo the ninth, and Nicolas the second, which both were next before him. The words of Alexander 2. be these; *Prater hoc autem præcipiendo mandamus, ut nullus missam audiat presbyteri quem scit concubinã habere indubitanter, vel subintroductam mulierem, unde etiam sancta Synodus hoc capitulum sub excommunicatione statuit dicens; Quicunq; Sacerdotum, Diaconorum, Subdiaconorum, post constitutum beatæ memoriæ prædecessoris nostri sancti Leonis papæ, & Nicolai,*

The constitution of P. Alexand. 2. against priests marriage.

Nicolai, de castitate clericorum, concubinam palam duxerit, vel ductam non reliquerit, &c. By the which words speaking of Nicholas his predecessor, it is evident to understand this to be Pope Nicholas the second, which was his next predecessor, and not pope Nicholas the first, who was about 200 yeares before him.

The 2. reason. The second reason I take out of the next chapter of Gratian going before, where he alledgeth again the same Nicholas writing to Otho Archbishop. Which Otho was then in the time of this Nicholas the second Archbishop of Colen, and was afterward in the councell of Mantua, under pope Alexander the second, *teste Ioan. Quintio, iureconsulto.* Whereby it must needs be granted, that this was Nicholas the second, and not the first.

Ex Ioan. Quintio in Speculo Sacerdotii.

The 3. reason. The third conjecture or reason is this, for that Pope Nicholas the first never made any such Act or Decree, that Priests that were intangled with a Concubine, should neither sing Masse, nor that any should resort to heare the Masse of such, &c. but rather the contrary. For so we reade in the history of Antonius and in the decrees, 15. q. 8. *Scisciantibus. Scisciantibus vobis si à sacerdote qui fuerit comprehensus in adulterio, sive de hoc sola fama resperserit. debeatis communionem suscipere, nec ne, respondemus; Non potest aliquis, quantumcunque pollutus sit, sacramenta divina polluere, quæ purgatoria cunctarum contagionum existunt, &c.*

Antonius part 2. tit. 16.

And yet more plainly also afterward he saith, *Consulendum decernitis utrum presbyterum habentem uxorem debeatis sustentare & honorare, an à vobis projcere? in quo respondemus quoniam licet ipsi valde sint reprehensibiles, vos tamen convenit Deũ imitari, qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos & malos; rejcere enim à vobis eos non debetis, Distinct. 18. consulendum, &c.* That is, Where ye demand concerning the priest that hath a wife, whether ye ought to sustain him, and honor him, or reject him from you, we answer, That albeit they be very much blame worthy, yet we ought to be followers of God which maketh his Sun to rise both upon the good, & upon the bad. And therefore ye ought not to reject such away from you, &c.

Dist. 18. Consulendum.

Ex Antonino Ibidem.

And this Nicholas, Antonius confesseth plainly to be Nicholas the first. Whereby it is not only not unlike, but also most certain, that Nicholas the first was not the author of this constitution, either to exterminate married priests from their Churches, or to excommunicate the people from receiving their Communion, much lesse then from hearing their service.

The 4. reason out of the words of Volusianus. Fourthly, forasmuch then as it is undoubted that Nicholas the second, and Alexander the second, through the instigation of wicked Hildebrand, were the authors of that constitution, whereof Gratian speaketh, it remaineth plaine by the words of Volusianus, in the later end of his letter (wherein he maketh mention both of discharging the priest from singing Masse, and the people from hearing) that the said Epistle was written, not to pope Nicholas the first, but to the second, because both these were decreed against married Priests under Nicholas the second and Alexander the second as is afore declared.

And further lest my judgement herein should seeme to stand alone and singular, without some to take my part, I will here produce for me a Parisian doctor, and a famous Lawyer, *Ioannes Quintius* above mentioned, who in his book, *de clericorum moribus*, plainly accordeth with mine opinion touching this Nicholas author of the decree aforesaid, where he writeth in these words, *Nicholaus papa Othoni Colonienſi Archiepiſ. &c. Quinque fuerunt hoc nomine pontifices, primum secundumve oportuit esse, qui hæc rescripserit, ille Romanus an. 860. hic Burgundus, an. 1059. Reliquos Nicholaos antecessit Gratianus, qui scripsit hæc, anno 1250. Posteriorem fuisse credo, qui in Panomia lib. 3. Tit. de lapsis, nominatur Nicholaus minor, cujus est & aliud decretum sequens, &c.* That is to say in English, Pope Nicholas writing to Otho Archbishop of Colen. Glosse. There have been in all five Popes called by the name of Nicholas. Of the which five, this Nicholas the writer hereof must be either the first or second: the one a Romane, Anno 860. the other a Burgundian, Anno 1059. or 1060. The other Nicholas lived after Gratian, who wrote in the yeare 1150. In my judgement I suppose this to be Nicholas the second, which in the third booke of the lawes called Panomiæ, tit. *De lapsis*, is named Nicholas the yonger. Which Nicholas also is author of the next Decree that followeth, &c.

Ex testimonio Joan. Quintii de clericorum moribus.

The author of this book of Panomiæ was Iue Carnotensis in which he compiled divers Canons of pope and Bishops

Wherefore if any man shall object hereafter, that because Gratian in the Distinction aforesaid nameth pope Nicolas absolutely without any additions, it is therefore to be taken for Nicolas the first; unto this objection I set here these two Lawyers to answer. Unto whose answer this I adde also, That the common manner of Gratian lightly in all his Distinctions is, that when he speaketh of Popes, as of Innocentius, Gregorius, Leo, Lucius, and such other, very seldome he expresseth the difference of their names. So in the distinction 18. Presbyteris, where he bringeth in the Decree of Calixtus in like manner against the Matrimony of Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons, he addeth thereto no discrepance of his name; and yet all the world knoweth that this was Calixtus the second, and not the first, &c. But whether he were or no the matter forceth not much. The Letters (no doubt) by their title appeare to be written by Volusianus. Most certaine this is, by whomsoever they were written, fruitfull Epistles they are, and effectuall to the purpose.

Objection answered.

But lest we should seeme too much to digresse from our purpose, let us returne to the story and time of Nicolas the second againe, which was about the yeare, as is said, 1060. a little before Hildebrand was Pope. Which Hildebrand, albeit he was then but a Cardinall, yet was he the whole doer of all things, and concluded what him lifted in the Church of Rome, & also made popes whom he would, as appeareth both by this Nicolas, & also Pope Alexander which followed him. So that this dissolution of priests marriage began somewhat to kindle under this Pope Nicolas, through the pestilent meanes of Hildebrand, and after him encreased more under pope Alexander, as appeareth by the Synod holden at Millain, An. 1067. But most of all it burst out under the said Hildebrand himselfe being Pope, the yeare as is said 1076.

Reade afore.

Although as touching this prohibition of priests to be married, I am not ignorant that certaine of the contrary faction, in searching out the reach and antiquity of this Tradition, for priests to abstain from wives, doe refer the same to the time of the second councell of Carthage, which was about the time of pope Syritius, a great enemy to Ministers wives, as appeareth Distinct. 84. Cum præterito. Yet notwithstanding to the same may be answered, that this was no universall or generall Councell, but some particular Synod, and therefore of no such great forcible authority.

The times examined of this Volusianus Epistle to pope Nicholas.

Concilium Carthag. 2. cap. 3.

Dist 84. cap. Cum præterit

2 Secondly, the same Synod being about the time of pope Syritius, who was a capitall Enemy against priests marriage, may seem to draw some corruption of the time then present.

3 Thirdly, Neither is it impossible, but as divers bastard Epistles have been falsely fathered upon certain ancient Bishops of the Primitive Church, and divers Canons also, as of the Councell of Nice, have been corrupted by Bishops of Rome, so some falsehood likewise or forgery might

might be used in this second Councell of Carthage.

4 Fourthly, although no false conveyance had beene used therein, yet forsomuch as the said Canon of the second Councell of Carthage doth misreport and falsifie the Canons of the Apostles, in so doing it doth justly diminish his owne credit.

Priests and Bishops married long after the second Councell of Carthage.

5 Fifthly, seeing the foresaid Canon of this second councell of Carthage tendeth cleane contrary to the Canons of the Apostles, to the Councell of Gangra, and other Councels moe, and commandeth that which they doe accurse, the authority thereof ought to have no great force, but rather may be rejected.

6 Finally, though this constitution of the Councell of Carthage were perfectly sound without all corruption, yet plaine and evident it is by this Volusianus, Bishop also of Carthage, that the same constitution toke no great hold in the Church, forsomuch as we see, that both this Volusianus was married after that in Carthage himselfe, and also besides him, many hundreth yeares after, marriage was a common matter through most Churches of Christendome, amongst bishops and priests, as partly before hath been declared. And more may be seen in histories, what great tumults and businesse was long after that in Hildebrands time, and after him also amongst the Clergy men both in Italy, Spaine, France, and in all quarters of Christendome, for separating Priests from their liberty of marying.

And againe if this tradition concerning the unmarried life of Priests had stood upon such an olde foundation from the second Councell of Carthage (as they pretend) what needed then in the time of Pope Nicholas the second, Pope Alexander the second, Pope Gregory the seventh, and other popes after them, so much labour to be taken, so many lawes and decrees to be devised and enacted, for the abolishing of Priests marriage, if the same had been of such a long antiquity as they would make men beleeve?

Generall law forbidding priests to marry, when it began.

By these things considered it may appeare, that this detraction of Priests marriage, by publike Law compelling them to single life, was neuer received for a full law generally to be observed in the Church of Rome, but only since the beginning of Hildebrand, that is, since these five hundred yeares.

About which time first is to be noted, that under pope Leo, and this pope Nicholas, Cranzius, and certain Germane Chronicles do say, that symony and priests marriage were prohibited. This pope Leo was Anno, 1051.

Romana Sy. do 4.

After him pope Nicholas (to whom the foresaid letter of Volusianus seemeth to be written) made this ordinance: *Vt nullus missam audiat presbyteri quem scit concubinam indubitanter habere aut subintroductam mulierem. Et mox, quicunq; Sacerdotum, Diaconorum, Subdiaconorum, post constitutum beatæ memoriæ prædecessoris nostri sanctiss. papæ Leonis, de castitate clericorum, concubinam palam duxerit, vel ductam non reliquerit, ex parte omnipotentis Dei & authoritate beati Petri & Pauli præcipimus, & omnino contradicimus ut missam non cantet, &c.* That is, Whatsoever priest, deacon, or subdeacon, according to the constitution of pope Leo our predecessor, concerning the chastity of Clerks, shall openly marry a concubine, or shall not put her away being married: in the behalfe of Almighty God, &c. we utterly charge and forbid the same, that hee sing no masse, nor reade the Gospel or Epistle at masse, nor execute any divine service, &c. And this was about the yeare of our Lord, 1058.

Although in this constitution of pope Nicholas, this word Concubine may be understood for no wife, but so as Gratian understandeth it in the fifteenth Canon of the Apostles in these words, Concubina vero intelligenda est præter uxorem, That is, for one besides a mans wife. Then after this pope Nicholas comming pope Alexander and specially pope Hildebrand, doe expound this Concubine forbidden, for a wife, and such priests as bee married, they expound them for Nicolaitans; for so we reade in the Synod of Millaine, under pope Alexander the second: *Nicolaitæ autem dicuntur Clerici, qui contra castitatis Ecclesiasticæ regulam fœminis admisceantur, &c.*

Concubina.

Dist. 33. quis. Ex Synod. Mediolanens. Married priests called Nicolaitans.

And further it followeth in the same Synod, *Nicolaitarum quoque hæresin nihilominus condemnamus, & non modo presbyteros, sed & Diaconos & Subdiaconos ab uxorum, vel concubinarum fœdo consortio nostris studiis, in quantum nobis possibilitas fuerit, arcendos esse promittimus, &c.*

And after it followeth in this wise, *Si hæc de Simoniaca & Nicolaitarum hæresi delenda & funditus destruenda fideliter non observavero, ab omnipotenti Deo & omnibus Sanctis sim excommunicatus & anathematizatus, & ab omni Christianorum consortio inveniar alienus.*

And moreover it followeth upon the same, *Anathematizo quoque omnes hæreses extollentes se adversus sanctam catholicam & Apostolicam ecclesiam, specialiter vero & nominatim Simoniacam hæresin; deinde Nicolaitarum æque abhominalem hæresin, quæ impudenter latrat, sacri altaris Ministros debere vel posse licenter uti conjugibus, quomodo & laicos, &c.* As much to say in English, as, I do accurse all hereúes extolling themselves against the holy Catholike and Apostolike Church, but especially and namely, the heresie of symony: and in like maner the abhominable heresie of the Nicolaitans, which impudently barketh, that the ministers of the holy altar may and ought to use wives lawfully, as well as lay men, &c. And thus much concerning the Synod of Millain, under pope Alexander, 2. An. 1067.

Ibidem.

The Synods of Millaine against priests marriage.

Next after this Alexander rose up pope Hildebrand, of all other the chiefest and most principall enemy against priests marriage. For whereas all other approved Canons and councels were contented, that any Clergy man, having a wife before his entring into his ministry, might enjoy the liberty of his marriage, so that he married not a widdow, or a knowne harlot, or kept a Concubine, or were twice married, now commeth in pope Hildebrand, making priests marriage to be heresie, and further enacting, That whatsoever Clerk, Deacon, or Minister had a wife, whatsoever shee was, maide, or other, either before his orders, or after, should utterly put her from him, or else forsake his ministery, &c.

Anno, 1067. Pope Hildebrand the greatest enemy to priests marriage.

Although notwithstanding the greatest part of Ecclesiasticall Ministers seeing this strange doctrine and procedings (which S. Paul expresly calleth the doctrine of devils) did what they could to withstand the same. Of whom Lambertus Schafnaburgensis thus writeth, Adversus hoc decretum protinus vehementer infremuit tota factio Clericorum, hominem plane hæreticum, & vesani dogmatis esse clamitans, qui oblitus sermonis Domini, quo ait, Non omnes capiunt hoc verbum: Qui potest capere, capiat, &c. Et Apostoli, Qui se non continet, nubat; Melius est nubere, quam uri; violenta exactione homines vivere cogeret ritu angelorum. Quod si pergeret, malle se sacerdotium quam conjugium deserere, &c. In English thus, Against this decree the whole number of the clergy did vehemently storm and grudge, crying out upon him, as a pernicious heretike, and one that made phantasticall doctrine: who forgetting what the Lord saith, All men cannot take this word, but he that can take it, let him take it. And also what the Apostle saith, who so cannot otherwise contain, let him

1 Tim. 4. *Ex Lamberto Schafnaburgensi.*

him marry: better it is to marry than to burn, &c. Yet notwithstanding would he binde men to live like angels. Who if he continued as he began, they would (they said) sooner forsake the Order of Priesthood, than their Order of Matrimony, &c.

The councell of Rome against priests marriage under pope Hildebrand. Anno (1074)

Which Hildebrand, all this notwithstanding, yet ceased not still to call upon them, and to send to the bishops every where to execute his commandement with all severity, threatning to lay the Apostolicall censure upon them, if otherwise they shewed not their diligence therein to the uttermost. Ex Lamb. This was An. 1074. Of the same Hildebrand Radulphus de Diceto also writing, hath these words:

Ex Rodulpho de Diceto.

Gregorius papa septimus Hildebrandus, celebrata Synodo, Simoniacos anathematizavit, uxoratos sacerdotes à divino removit officio, & laicis missam eorum audire interdixit novo exemplo, & (ut multis visum est) inconsiderato praeiudicio contra sanctorum patrum sententiam, &c. The English is this; Pope Gregory the seventh called Hildebrand, holding a Synod, accursed such as committed Symony, and removed married priests from saying service, forbidding also the lay men to heare their Masse, after a new and strange example, and as many thought, after an inconsiderate prejudice, against the sentence of holy Fathers.

And thus much for the antiquity of bringing in the single life of Priests, which first springing from the time of Pope Nicholas and Alexander the second, began first with a custome, and afterwards was brought into a Law, chiefly by Pope Hildebrand, and so spread from Italy into other Countries, and at length into England also, albeit not without much adoe, as ye shall heare, the Lord willing.

In the meane while, as pope Nicholas and Hildebrand were busie at Rome, so Lankrank Archbishop of Canterbury likewise was doing here in England about the same matter, although he began not altogether so roughly as pope Hildebrand did, for so it appeared by his Councell holden at Winchester: Where though he inhibited such as were Prebendaries of Cathedrall Churches to have wives, yet did he permit in his Decree, that such priests as dwelt in townes and villages, having wives, should retain them still, and not to be compelled to be separate from them; and they which had none, should be inhibited to have; injoyning moreover the bishops thus, to foresee hereafter, that they presumed not to admit into order any priests or deacons, unlesse they should first make a solemne profession to have no wives.

Lankrankes law for priests not to marry.

Ex acta Concilii Wintoniensis sub Lanfranco.

The words of the councell be these; *Decretumque est, ut nullus Canonicus uxorem habeat, Sacerdotum vero in Castellis & in vicis habitantium habentes uxores, non coganturut dimittant: non habentes, interdicantur ut habeant: & deinceps caveant Episcopi, ut Sacerdotes vel Diaconos non presumant ordinare, nisi profiteantur ut uxores non habeant, &c.*

And here to note by the way of the said Lankranke, for all his glorious gay shew of his Monkish virginity and single life, yet he escaped not altogether so unspotted for his part, but that the story of Mathew Paris, writing of Paulus Cadonensis, whom Lankranke preferred so gladly to be Abbot of S. Albanes, thus reporteth of him, *Paulus (inquit) Monachus Cadonensis Archiepiscopi Lanfranci nepos, sure, aliquorum relationibus, consanguinitate propinquior, &c.* That is; Paul a Monke of Cadune, and nephew of the Archbishop Lankranke, yea as some say further, more neere in blood to him than so, &c.

Ex Mat. Paris. Lankranke supposed not to be a pure virgin.

Then after Lankranke came Anselme into the See of Canterbury, who taking to him a stouter stomack, more fiercely and eagerly laboured this matter, in abrogating utterly the marriage of Priests, Deacons, Subdeacons, and of the universall Clergy, not permitting (as Lankranke did) Priests that had wives in villages and townes to keep them still, but utterly commanding, and that under great pain, not only Priests and Deacons but Subdeacons also (which is against the Councell of Laterane) which were already married, to be separated, and that none should be received into order hereafter, without profession of perpetuall chastity.

Anselme Archbishop Canterbury constant doer against priests marriage. Conc. Later. Can. 14 De clericis non trimon. copulatis.

And yet notwithstanding, for all this great bluttering and thundering of this Romish [illegible], the priests yet still holding their own as well as they could, gave not much place to his unlawfull Injunction, but kept still their wives almost 2. hundred yeares after, refusing and resisting of long time the yoke of that servile bondage, to keep still their freedome from such vowing, professing, and promising, as may well appeare by those Priests of Yorke, of whom Gerardus Archbishop of Yorke speaketh, writing to Anselme in these words:

Situ clericorum meorum integritatem. sed praeterquam in paucis admodum, vel Aspidis surditatem, vel fabulosi cuiusdã Prothei mutabilitatem invenio. Variis linguarum aculeis, modò minas, modò cõvitia infigunt, Sed hoc facilius in his qui remotiores sunt, tolero. Illud omnino grave genus mali est, quòd hi qui quasi in sinu meo sunt, qui canonicorũ nomine gaudent, Canones asperuant, adversus concilii nostri statuta, quasi sophistici disputatores argumentantur, professiones verò mihi penitus abregant Canonici illi, qui sine professione ad sacros ordines inordinabiliter sunt provecti, & qui in Presbyteratu vel Diaconatu constituti, uxores sive Concubinas in publico hactenus habuerunt, ab altari nulla se reverentia continuerunt, Cum verò ad ordines aliquos invito, dura cervice nituntur, ne in ordinando castitatem profiteantur.

In English thus: I much desire the purity of my clergy men. Howbeit except it be in very few, I find in them the deafenesse of the serpent *Aspis*, & the inconstancy of *Proteus*, that the Poets fable spake of. With their stinging tongues they cast out sometimes threats, somewhile taunts & rebukes. But this grieveth me lesse in them that be further off. This grieveth me most of all, that they which be of mine own Church, as in mine owne bosome, and Prebendaries of mine own see, contemne our Canons, and argue like sophisticall disputers, against the statutes of our councell. The prebendaries which unordinately have been taken into Orders heretofore, without making vow or profession, refuse utterly to make profession to me. And they that be priests or deacons, having married before openly wives or concubines, will not be removed for any reverence from the Altar. And when I call upon any to receive Order, stiffely they deny to professe chastity in their ordering, &c.

Hereby appeareth the priests in the old time how in England under mad vow of chastity, at their orders before this time.

Thus for all their rigorous austerity, by this Anselme enforcing his Decree made at London, against the marriage of priests, yet the same had no great successe, neither in his life time, nor after his life. For although sundry priests during his life time were compelled by his extremity to renounce their wives, yet many denied to obey him.

Ex Edmero.

Divers were contented rather to leave their benefices than their wives. A great number were permitted by K. Henry for money to enjoy their wives. Which was so chargeable unto them (saith Edmer in his fourth booke) that at length 200. priests, in their Albes and Priestly vestments, came barefoot to the Kings palace, crying to him for mercy, and especially making their suit to the queen, who using much compassion towards them, yet durst not make any intercession for them.

Reade bel[illegible].

Anselme at this time was over the sea, making his voyage to the Pope. Who hearing hereof writeth to the King, declaring that such forfeitures appertained

pertained nothing to him, but only unto Bishops, and in their default to the Archbishops. Whereof reade more before. So wilfull was the blinde zeale of this prelate, against all reason, against nature it selfe, against the example of his fore-Elders, against publike custome of his time, against the doctrine of the Apostles, the Constitution of councels, against all honestie, and all Gods forbode, that he neither at the commiseration of the King, nor at the crying out and publike dolour of so many Priests, nor yet moved with the Letters of pope Paschalis himselfe, who putting him in remembrance of so many priests sons, willed him to consider the necessity of the time, would yet any thing relent from his stubborne purpose unto his latter end. In whom, as many great crimes may justly be noted, so of all other this is most principally in him to be reprehended: for that he seeing and perceiving what sodomiticall feditie and abhomination, with other inconveniencies did spring incontinently upon this his diabolicall doctrine, yet for all that would not give over his pestilent purpose.

For so the story recordeth, that when Anselme had established his synodall Constitution, in separating priests from their wives (which was Anno 1103) not long after, rumors and complaints were brought to him, of the execrable vice of sodomitry, which then began specially to raigne in the Clergy, after this inhibition of matrimony.

Whereupon Anselme was constrained to call another Councell at Pauls within London, to provide for this mischiefe. In which councell this Act was made. *Sodomiticum flagitium facientes, & eos in hac voluntate invantes, gravi anathemate damnamus, donec pœnitentia & confessione absolutionem mereantur, &c.* All them that commit the ungracious sin of Sodomitry, and them also which assist them in their wicked purpose, with grievous curse we doe condemne, till such time as they shall deserve absolution by penance and confession, &c.

Thus ye have heard what abominable wickednesse ensued after that priests were debarred from marriage, and what sore punishment was devised by this maidenly prelate, for extirping that sinfull wickednesse; in the abolishing whereof, more wisely he should have removed away the occasion whereof he was the author himselfe, then by penalty to suppresse, which he could never doe.

Now let us heare further, what followed in that worthy Councell; *Qui vero in hoc crimine publicatus fuerit, Statutum est, siquidem fuerit persona religiosi ordinis, ut ad nullum amplius gradum promoveatur, & si quem habet, ab illo deponatur. Si autem laicus, ut in toto Regno Angliæ legali sua condignitate privetur. Et ne hujus criminis absolutionem, is quisquis sub regula vivere voverunt, aliquis nisi Episcopus de incepsa facere præsumat. Statutum quoque est, ut per totam Angliam in omnibus Ecclesiis, & in omnibus diebus Dominicis, excommunicatio prædicta publicetur ac renovetur, &c.* Which is as much to say in English, It is enacted, that whosoever shall be publikely known to be guilty hereof, if he be a religious person, he shall from henceforth be promoted to no degree of honor, and that degree which he hath already shal be taken from him. If he be a lay person, he shall be deprived of all his freedome within the whole realme of England. And that none under a Bishop shall presume to assoile such as have been Monks professed of that trespasse. It is also enacted, that every Sunday in the yeare, and in every parish Church in England, this generall curse aforesaid shall be published and renewed, &c. Ex Rog. Hoved. & Epist. Anselm. 278.

Is not here (trow you) good division of Justice, that lawfull wedlock of priests can finde no grace nor pardon, yea, is made now heresie; where adultery and horrible Sodomitry is washed away with a little confession? And see yet what followeth more. After that this penall curse should now goe abroad and be published in Churches, the Monkes perceiving this matter to touch them somewhat neere, whispered in Anselmus eare, perswading him that the publication of that Act might grow to great danger and inconvenience in opening the vice which before was not knowne; in such sort, that in short time after that curse was called in againe.

The curse against cursed Sodomitry called in again Ex Ioan. Trevisa.

And so cursed Sodomitry and adultery passed free without punishment, or word speaking against it, where contrarily godly matrimony could finde no mercy.

Vertue punished, vice scapeth free.

Now what reasons and arguments this Anselmus sucked out of the Court of Rome, to prove the matrimony of priests unlawfull, were it not for combring the reader with tediousnesse, here would be shewed. Briefly the chiefe grounds of all his long disputation, in his book intituled, Offendiculum Sacerdotum, betweene the master and scholler, come to this effect.

Anselm. Offendiculum Sacerdotum.

Argument.

The reasons and arguments of Anselme against the marriage of priests.

Priests of the old law, during the time of their administration, abstained from their wives.

Ergo, Priests in the time of the Gospell, which every day ministers at the altar, must never have any wives.

Another Argument.

Moses, when he should sanctifie the people, going up to the hill, commanded them to sequester themselves from their wives three daies:

Ergo, Priests that must be sanctified to the Lord alwaies, ought to live chastly alwaies without wives.

Another Argument.

David, before he should eat of the shewbread, was asked whether he and his company had been without the company of their wives three daies:

Ergo, Priests that be continually attending upon the table and sacraments of the Lord, ought never to have company with any such.

Another Argument.

Oza, which put his hand to the Ark, was slain therefore, as it is thought, because he lay with his wife the night before. 1 Kings 6.

Ergo, Priests whose hands be alwaies occupied about the Lords service, must be pure from the company of wife or any woman.

Another Argument.

Nadab and Abihu, which sacrificed with strange fire, were devoured therefore, because they companied with their wives the same night:

Ergo, Priests and sacrificers must have no wives to company withall.

Another Argument.

The Priests of the Gentiles in old time when they sacrificed to their Idols, are said to lie from their wives:

Ergo, much more the priests that sacrifice to the living God ought so to doe.

Another Argument.

Christ was born of a Virgin, Christ lived ever a Vir-

a Virgin, and commandeth them that will serve him, to follow him. *Qui mihi ministrat, me sequatur, (id est) Si vis mihi ministrare, me caste vivendo imitare.* John 12.

Ergo, Priests that have wives are not meet to serve him.

1 Cor. 7.

Let every man have his owne wife for avoiding of fornication.

The exposition of Anselme.

The grosse expositions of Anselm, upon the words of S. Paul.

That is meant and granted of the Apostle only to Lay men: *Hoc solis Laicis concessisse, nemo ignorat.*

1 Cor. 7.

Melius est nubere quam uri: It is better to marry than to burne.

The exposition.

Melius, id est, levius est legitimæ uxori nubere, quam uri, id est, quam alienarum mulierum concupiscentia consumi. It is a lighter fault to marry one lawfull wife, than to be consumed with concupiscence of strange women.

1 Tim. 3.

Oportet esse Episcopum irreprehensibilem, unius uxoris virum, &c. A Bishop ought to be unreproveable, the husband of one wife, &c.

The exposition.

Præcipit Apostolus, ne quis ad sacerdotium accedere præsumat, nisi is qui non nisi unicam uxorem laicus habuisset, Accepto autem ordine nunquam ei carnis commixtione se copularet, tantum vitæ necessaria ei subministraret: That is; The Apostle here commandeth, that none should presume to be Priest, but he who being a Lay man before, hath had no more but one wife: And after he be made Priest, not to couple himselfe any more with her, but only to minister to her things necessary for her living, &c.

And finally after these things thus disputed and alledged, the said Anselme concludeth the matter with this finall censure and determination, as followeth: *Per hos autem quod sacras vestes induunt, vel sacra vasa tangunt, Christo violenter manus injiciunt. Per hoc autem quod impudenter offerre præsumunt, Christum quodam modo visibiliter in altari crucifigunt. Legitur ministerum eorum Christi persecutio, imo crucifixio appellatur.* In English thus; In that these men (he speaketh of married Priests) doe put on the holy vestments, or do touch the holy vessels, they do lay violent hands upon Christ. And in that they presume impudently to offer, they do in a manner visibly crucifie Christ upon the Altar. The ministery of such is read to be a persecution, or rather a crucifying of Christ, &c.

The conclusion or censure of Anselme upon maried priests.

Loe here the mighty reasons, the strong timbred arguments, and the deep divinity wherewith this Anselme and all other that draw after his string, goe about to impugne the lawfulnesse of priests marriage. Because the Israelites when they should appeare before the Lord at Mount Sinai, were commanded to be kept from their wives three daies; and because the priests of the old Law in doing their Function, as their turne came about, refrained the company of their wives for that present time; Ergo, Priests of the new Law must at no time have any wives, but live alwaies single, &c.

Answere to Anselmes reasons

And why might not Anselm as well argue thus: the people of Israel approaching to the mount, were commanded in like sort to wash their garments; Ergo, Priests of the new Law, which are occupied every day about the Altar, ought every day to wash all their garments.

Moses, approaching to the presence of the Lord in the Bush, was commanded to put off his shoes; Ergo, Priests of the new Law, which are ever approaching to the presence of their God, should never weare shoes.

Of King David and his company, which but once in all their life did eat of the Shew-bread, it was demanded by the high priest, whether they had kept them from their wives three daies before: Ergo, Kings and the people of the new Testament, which every yeare eat the bread of the Lords board, more precious then ever was that Panis Propositionis, should abide all their life wiveleese and unspoused.

But here Anselme should have considered by these Scriptures, how we are taught not to put away our wives, but wisely to distinguish times, when and how to have them. For as Solomon teacheth that there is a time for all things; so is there a time to marry, and a time not to marry, a time to resort, a time to withdraw, a time of company, a time of abstinence and prayer, which S. Paul calleth, συνοδος; and as he speaketh of a time of prayer and abstinence, so he speaketh also of a time of resorting together, and addeth the cause why; *Ne tentet vos Satanas propter incontinentiam vestram &c.* That is, lest Satan, saith he, tempt you for your incontinency.

A time for all things.

1 Cor. 7.

And thus should Anselme, with Solomon and Paul, have considered the order and distinction of times. Oftentimes in Scripture that is commanded to some, and at some time, which extendeth not to others. And that which for a time is convenient, is not by and by alwaies convenient. Neither that which for a time is forbidden in Scripture, is therefore forbidden for ever. Neither ought speciall examples to breake generall orders; neither again do extraordinary prohibitions make an universall rule.

Speciall examples breake no generall orders.

They were then commanded to sequester themselves from their wives at the comming of the Lord; not that the comming of the Lord did breake wedlock, but his commandement did binde obedience; and therefore obeyed they, because they were commanded. And yet were they not commanded to put away their wives, but only to separate themselves for a time, and that not for monthes and yeares, but only for three daies: which abstinence also was enjoyned them, not in the presence, nor at the appearing of the Lord, but three daies before his descending to them on the hill. Whereby it appeareth, that the use of their wedlock neither displeased God being present, nor yet did drive his presence away when he was come; for he remained there present amongst them on the hill forty daies notwithstanding.

Separation of the Israelits from their wives for three daies no argument that priests should never marry.

Furthermore, this time of separation from their wives, as it was expresly commanded to them of God, so was it not long nor tedious, but such as was neither hard for them, nor unconvenient for the time: giving us thereby to understand, how to use separation in wedlock wisely, that is, neither at no time, nor yet too long.

For as they doe not well which never follow the time of Saint Paul called, συνοδος, for abstinence and prayer: so do they worse which fall into that συνοδος, whereof Saint Paul again giveth us warning, *Ne tentet vos Satanas per incontinentiam vestram.* But worst of all do they, which so separate their wives cleane from them, and so abjure all matrimony, that they fall headlong into the devils pitfall of fornication & all filthy abomination. And therefore the Lord foreseeing the perill thereof, said unto the people, *Este parati in diem tertiũ, & ne appropinquetis uxoribus vestris, &c.* Exod. 19. Appointing indeed a separatiõ from their wives; but

Seperatie in wedlock how it is to be used.

KING HEN. 8.

but yet, knowing the infirmitie of man, limiteth the time withall, adding, in diem tertiam and goeth no further.

He saith not, as Anselme said in the Councell of Winchester, Iurabunt presbyteri, diaconi, & subdiaconi, uxores suas omnino abjurare, nec ullam deinceps cum iis conversationem habere, sub distinctione censuræ, &c.

The like order also was taken by the Lord with the Priests of the Old Testament, who although they were enjoyned to withdraw themselves from their wives during the time of their priestly service, yet for avoiding fornication they were permitted to have their wives notwithstanding. So that both their absenting from their wives served to sanctification, and their resorting againe unto them served to aboide adulterie and fornication.

Lanfranci nepotimo aliquorum relatione consanguinitate propinquior.

No publike law in England against priests marriage before Lanfranke and Anselme. Anno 1041. Reade afore.

Objection of the Papists that priests should leave wives.

But here our priestly Prelates will object, That because they be continually conversant about the priestly Function, therefore a perpetuall sanctification is of them specially required. Whereunto I answer.

Answer to the objection.

1 First, The priestly Function of those high Priests, sacrificing for the people in the old law, representeth onely the function of Christ the High-priest, sacrificing for the sinnes of the world, which truly and only performed that pure chastitie in his sanctified body, which the law then in those Priests prefigured.

A sacrificer for sinne but as a figure of Christ.

2 Secondarily, speaking now of the priests of the New Testament (and speaking properly) the Scripture neither knoweth nor admitteth any Priest to sacrifice to God for the sinnes of man, but onely the high King and Priest Christ Jesus.

3 Unto that Priest all other be but servants and ministers; of whom some be Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, some Preachers, having the gift of utterance, some Interpreters and Doctors, having the gift of understanding, some Deacons serving the Lords word. The Office of all whom chiefely consisteth in ministring the word, next in administring the sacraments.

Marriage more convenient for Priests of the new law then of the old.

4 Fourthly, Forasmuch as in these, principally above all other, pureneese and sanctification of life is required, as much and more too, then was in the Priests of the old Law, from whom all fornication, adulterie, incest, and uncleannes of life ought most to be banished; therefore in these especially, above the Priests of the old Law, matrimony and spousage is most requisite and convenient, whosoever he be, which otherwise cannot containe; according to the Apostle, saying, Vnusquisque uxorem suam habeat propter fornicationem.

1 Cor. 7.

Matrimony is no hinderance, but a furtherance to sanctification.

5 Fifthly, Neither is this matrimony in these any hinderance to their sanctification before God, but rather furthereth and helpeth their sanctification, forasmuch as where matrimony is not, there commonly reigneth adulterie fornication, and all kindes of filthinesse; according to the true saying of Bernard, Tolle de Ecclesia honorabile connubium, & thorum immaculatum, nonne reples eam Concubinariis, incestuosis, seminifluis, mollibus, masculorum concubitoribus & omni denique genere immundorum? That is, Take from the Church honourable mariage, and the bed undefiled, shalt thou not repleniih it with Concubinaries, with incestuous persons, Sodomiticall vices, and finally with all kinde of beastly filthinesse?

Bernard. super Cant. Ser. 66.

The truth of which saying lacketh no kinde of examples for confirmation, if we listed here to ransack the lives of these glorious despisers of matrimonie, even from Lanfr. the first ringleader of this dance here in England, with "Paulus Monk of Cadone his Nephew, whom Matthew Parts misdoubted to be his owne sonne, even to Stephen Gardiner with his gold locks, the authour and workmaster of these six articles. But to the reasons of Anselme hitherto sufficient, which of themselves are so fribolous and grosse, that onely to recite them is enough to confute the same.

"Matth. Paris. Paulus Monachus Cadomensis Episc.

Permitting therefore the rest to the discussing of Divines, it shall suffice for our purpose, professing here to write stories, to declare and make manifest by processe of times and histories, that this cruell Law, compelling ministers of the Church to abjure matrimonie, entred not into this land before Lanfranke and Anselme his successor, as both may appeare by the multitude of Priests sons lawfully begotten in matrimonie, and succeeding in the Churches here in England, testified by the Epistle of Pope Paschalis to Anselme before, and also may appeare likewise by the Councel of Anselme, holden at Winchester, which partly was touched before, and now the full Act we have more largely expressed to be read and seene of all posterite, as under followeth.

The Act against Priests marriage, concluded in the Councell at Winchester, under Anselme, Anno 1104.

Acts concluded at the councell in Winchester.

Hæc sunt Statuta de Archidiaconus, Presbyteris, & Canonicis in quocunque gradu constitutis, quæ Wintoniæ statuerunt Anselmus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, & cum eo, Girardus Archiepiscopus Eboracensis, & omnes alii Angliæ Episcopi, in præsentia glorioſi Regis Henrici, assensu omnium Baronum suorum. Statutum est ut Presbyteri & Diaconi castè vivant, & fœminas in domibus suis non habeant præter proxima consanguinitate sibi junctas, secundum hoc quod sancta Nicena Synodus definivit. Illi verò presbyteri, Diaconi, sive subdiaconi, qui post interdictum Londonensis Concilii, fœminas suas tenuerint vel alias dixerint, si elegerint in sacris ordinibus remanere, jurent quod cum eis carnale commercium non habebunt amplius. Statutum est etiam ut prædictæ fœminæ in domo cum eis scienter non conveniant, neque hujusmodi fœminæ in territorio Ecclesiæ habitent. Si autem propter aliquam honestam causam eos colloqui oporteat, cum duobus ad minus legitimis testibus extra domum colloquantur. Si vero in duobus aut tribus legitimis testibus vel publica parochianorum fama, aliquis eorum accusatus fuerit, quod hoc statutum transierit, purgabit se adjunctis secum ordinis sui idoneis testibus, sex si Presbyter, quinque si Diaconus, quatuor si subdiaconus fuerit. Cui autem hæc purgatio defecerit, ut transgressor sacri statuti judicabitur. Illi verò Presbyteri qui divini altaris & sacrorum ordinum contemptores prælegerint cum uxoribus suis habitare, à divino officio remoti, extra "hortum ponantur, infames pronunciati. Eadem sententia Archidiaconos & Canonicos omnes complectitur, & de abjurandis uxoribus, & de vitanda earum conversatione, & destructione censuræ si statuta transgressi fuerint. Iurabunt & Archidiaconi omnes quod pecuniam non accipient pro toleranda transgressione hujus statuti. Sed neque ullo modo tolerabunt presbyteros uxoratos cantare, vel vicarios habere, & quod ipsi non dissimulabunt per Archidiaconos suos hoc inquirere, & fidelitèr Episcopis suis renunciabunt, & attente, & fidelitèr de exequenda hujus rei vindicta Episcopos suos adjuvabunt. Qui verò Archidiaconus, vel Diaconus hoc jurare noluerit, Archidiaconatum vel Diaconiam irreparabiliter perdet. Presbyteri verò, qui relictis uxoribus Deo & sacris ordinibus servire elegerunt, quadraginta dies ab officio cessantes, pro se vicarios habebunt, injuncta eis pœnitentia secundum quod Episcopis eorum visum fuerit.

" Forte extra hortum paradisi intelligie.

The cruel law of Anſelme took no great place.

¶ And yet this unreaſonable ſtatute of Anſelme, ſo diligently defenſed with ſharpe cenſures and penalties, had no great ſpeed, neither in the life time of the ſaid Anſelme, nor long after his death; but divers prieſts notwithſtanding kept ſtill their wives, or after his death they returned to their wives again, through the ſufferance of the famous and learned king, named then Henry Beweclarke, who ſomething ſtated the importunitie of this monkiſh prelat, and willed the prieſts ſhould kæpe both their wives and their Churches, as they did before in Lanfranks dales.

Ex epiſt. Anſelme. 77. Radulph. archiepiſc. Cant.

Then after Anſelme followed Radulphus Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in whoſe time was no great ſtirre againſt the prieſts that were married About the time of this Archbiſhop King Henrie called a Councell at London, where he obtained of the ſpiritualtie a grant to have the puniſhment of maried Prieſts (which the Spiritualty afterward did much repent) whereby the prieſts, paying a certain to the King, were ſuffered to retaine their wives ſtill, as is above ſtoried.

Reade afore.

Richardus de Turbine. archiepiſc. Cant.

Next after this Radulph, then ſucceeded William Turbile, ſurnamed De Turbine, who renued againe the conſtitution of Anſelme againſt married prieſts, eſpecially by the helpe of Ioannes prieſt and Cardinall of Crema, the popes Legate, ſent the ſame time into England, An. 1129. Of which Cardinall Cremenſis, becauſe enough hath beene before declared, how after his ſtout replying in the Councell of London, againſt the married ſtate of prieſts exclaiming what a ſhamefull thing it was to riſe from the ſides of an whore to make Chriſts body, the night following he was ſhamefully taken with a notable Whore, &c. as is apparant before.

Of this cardinall Cremenſis reade afore.

I will therfore paſſe over that matter, returning againe to William the Archbiſhop, who with the Cardinall Legate aforeſaid, although he buſily occupied himſelfe in reproving the matrimony of prieſts, inſomuch that he would give them no longer reſpite to put away their wives but from Michaelmas to Saint Andrewes day following, yet could he not bring his purpoſe to paſſe, but that the Prieſts ſtill continued with their wives by the Kings leave, as the Saxon ſtory plainly recordeth in theſe words: This bebedſe Arcebiſcop William of Canterbriges, and ealle thaleod Biſcopes tha tha wæron on Engelon. and neforſtod noht ealle tha bodlaces. eall heoldon her pifes be thæs kinges leue, ſwa ſwa hi ear didon: That is to ſay in Engliſh, This William Archbiſhop of Canterburie and the Biſhops which were in England did command, and yet all theſe Decrees and biddings ſtood not: all held their Wives by the Kings leave, even ſo as they before did. So hard was this cauſe to be won, that the Archbiſhop at length gave it over, and left the controverſie wholly unto the King. Whereupon he decreed that the Prieſts ſhould remaine with their Wives ſtill. And ſo continued they after that, in the time of Theobaldus after him, of Thomas Becket, Richard Baldwin, Stephen Langton, Richard Edmund, Boniface, Peckham, and other, during welnære the time after Anſelme, two hundred yeeres.

Cronic. Saxon.

The prieſts kept their wives contrary to the archbiſhops commandment.

An. 25. H. 1.

And leaſt the quarrelling adverſarie, being peradventure diſpoſed here to cavill, ſhould object and ſay that ſuch marriage amongſt the ſpirituall men might be private and ſecret, but not openly known, nor quietly ſuffered by any law of this realme: to avoide therefore what may be by them objected, I thought it good, and as a thing neither impertinent nor unprofitable to this Story, and for the further ſatisfying of the Readers minde herein, to inſerre and make known by good record, not onely that the libertie of marriage, amongſt Spirituall men, hath continued within this realme during the time aforeſaid (videlicet) two hundred yéeres or thereabouts, after Anſelme, and that not onely in ſecret wiſe, but alſo openly, and the ſame being well knowne, ſuffered, and lawfully allowed of, in ſuch ſort, as both they, their wives, children, and aſſignes might inherite and enioy, Lands, Tenements, and other hereditaments, by way of Feoffment, deed of gifts, or any other aſſurance, in ſuch ſort, manner and forme, as lay men, their heires and aſſignes at this day lawfully may do. As by divers writings and inſtruments ſhewed to us at the writing hereof, by divers men whoſe names hereafter follow (ſome to this day remaining faire ſealed, ſome by antiquitie and long kæping much worne and their ſeales mouldred and walked) is very evident and manifeſt to be ſæne. The copies whereof being by us truely and faithfully excerpted out of the very Originals (being yet extant) we have herennder inſerted, as followeth.

{KING HEN. 8.}

Prieſts with wives how long they continued in England after Anſelme.

Certaine Inſtruments and Evidences of ancient record, declaring the mariage of Prieſts to have ſtood in times paſt, both with ancient cuſtome, and publike lawes of this Realme.

Carta feoffamenti, Wil. de Blund. mil. fa Stephan. de Saxlingham Clerico & Matild. uxori ſue de terris in Neuton in com. Norf.

SCiant præſentes & futuri quod ego Williel. de Blunwell miles, conceſſi, dedi, & hac præſenti charta mea confirmavi Stephano de Saxlingham Clerico, & Matildæ uxori ſuæ pro homagiis & ſervitiis ſuis & pro ſex marcis argenti quas mihi dederunt in gerſumam, unam peciam terræ arrabilis, quæ jacet in campo de Neuton in cultura, inter meſſuagium Galfridi Sulyard, & cœmeterium Eccleſiæ de Neuton, inter terram Radulphi Malherbe, & terram Ioannis de Neuton, & abuttat ſuper regiam ſtratam verſus orientem, & ſuper terram quæ fuit Henrici Popiltele verſus occidentem: habendum & tenendum de me & hæredibus meis, illis & hæredibus ſuis aut quibuſcunque dare, legare, vendere vel aſſignare voluerint, in quocunque ſtatu fuerint, liberè, quietè, in feodo, perpetuè & hæreditariè. Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus meis duos denarios, ſcilicet ad Feſtum ſancti Andreæ denarium et ad Nativitatem Sancti Ioannis Baptiſtæ unum Denarium. Et ad ſcutagium Domini Regis quando evenit unum obolum tantum et non amplius pro omnibus ſervitiis, conſuetudinibus, ſectis curiæ & exactionibus ſecularibus. Et ego Willielmus de Blunwell, & hæredes mei warantizabimus, acquietabimus, & defendemus prædictam peciam terræ prænominatis Stephano & Matildæ uxori ſuæ & hæredibus ſuis aut cuicunque dare, legare, vendere, vel aſſignare voluerint, contra omnes gentes tam Iudæos quam Chriſtianos in perpetuum per præfatum ſervitium. Et ut hæc conceſſio et donatio rata ſit & ſtabilis in perpetuum, hanc Cartam Sigillo meo roboravi; His teſtibus, Radulpho Malherbe, Willielmo de Reyneſtorp, Ioanne de Neuton, Willielmo Canebor, Ioanne filio Simonis, Milone le Moch, Radulpho de Kinegham, Willielmo de Champo Thoma Croce, Andreo Waleys, Willielmo Valiant, & aliis.

One piece of Evidence in cuſtody of Tho Blundevil.

This ſaid piece of Evidence called a Deede of Feoffement of lands remaineth in the keeping of Thomas Blundevill of Neuton Flotman in the Countie of Northfolke, Eſquire, at this preſent (videlicet) 22. Die Novembris, Anno, Regni Elizabeth. R. decimo. Et Anno Domini, 1567. Who (I know) will not refuſe to ſhew the ſame to any man that ſhall deſire the ſight thereof.

I Other

KING HEN. 8.

1 *Other deeds and inſtruments of like antiquitie, declaring the ſame, received of M. Iohn Forde.*

Carta Willielmi filii Walteri de Idware facta. Agneti de Edinghall Clerico & Matildæ uxori ejus, de terris in Edinghall in com. Derb.

SCiant omnes præſentes & futuri, quod ego Williel. filius Walteri, Dominus de Ridware Hamſtall, conceſſi & tradidi Ioanni filio Galfridi de Edinghall Clerico, & uxori ſuæ Matildæ filiæ Henrici Colbein, unam dimidiam virgatam terræ in Edinghall, cum omnibus pertinentiis in toftis & croftis, pratis & paſturis in villa & in territorio de Edinghall; illam ſcillicet quam Thomas Palmer aliquando de me tenuit. Habend. & tenend. de me & heredibus meis, ſibi & uxori ſuæ Matildæ, ad totam vitam eorum liberè, et quietè, benè et pacificè, &c. Et ego vero Willielmus et heredes mei prædict. dimidiam virgatam terræ cum pertinentiis predictis Ioanni et uxori ſuæ prædict. ad totam vitam eorum contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus, &c. In hujus conceſſionis & traditionis robur & teſtimonium uterque noſtrum alterius ſcripto ſigillum ſuum appoſuit; His teſtibus Roberto Salvein de Haſelour, Andrea Salvein de eadem, Ioanne filio Radulphi de Edinghall, Richardo de Ykebrom, Rob. de Fryeford, & aliis.

2 *Another evidence touching the ſame, of lands in the countie of Leiceſter.*

Carta feoffamenti Radulphi Wiſcarde de Sole facta. Agneti de Willington & pueris ſuis de Wil. perſona de Lollinton procreatis. Note the wife & children of the perſon of Willington be not known, nor doth enjoy, neither acting to this Deed.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, quod ego Radulphus filius & heres Ioannis Wiſcarde de Sceyle, dedi, & conceſſi, & hac mea preſenti carta confirmavi Agneti de Welintona vnam acram terræ in territorio de majori Sceylæ quæ jacet ſuper le Wovelondis, inter terram monachorum de merival, extendentem ſe ad unum caput ſuper foreram monachorum de Merival, & aliud caput verſus villam de Sceyle: Habend. & tenend. de me & heredibus meis vel aſſignatis & eorum heredibus, pred. Agneti de Welintona & pueris ſuis de Wil. Parſona de Lollinton procreatis, videlicet Wil. filio ſuo primogenito, ſi ſupervixerit matri ſuæ. Deinde Galfrido fratri ejus. Poſtea Roberto fratri eorum juniori. Deinde ſororibus eorum ſi frater ſuperſtes non fuerit. Ità quidem quod quilibet eorum alteri ſuccedat in dictam terram, cum pertin. licentialiter ſine omni recognitione mihi & omnibus meis prædict. facienda: & quod hered. vel aſſign. ultimi vel ultimæ poſſidentis remaneat ulterius in perpetuum liberè, & quietè, benè & in pace jure perpetuo: Reddend. inde annuatim mihi & hered. meis vel aſſignatis meis & eorum hæredibus unum obolum argenti ad paſcha, pro omnibus ſervitiis, & exactionib. wardis, maritagiis, releviis, legatis, tallagiis, & omnimodis ſectis comitatus, hundredorum & curiæ meæ & hered. meorum, & aliorum & ſervitiis forinſecis vel exigentiis humanis. Ego vero Radulphus & hered. mei vel aſſignati & eorum heredes, totam predict. terram cum pertinend. pred. Agneti & filiis ſuis & filiabus poſt deceſſum pred. Agnetis, ſingulis eorum de dicta perſona genitis uni poſt alterum ſucceſſive, & hered. vel aſſignatis ultimi vel ultimæ poſſidentis (ut prædictum eſt) contra omnes mortales in perpetuum warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, et defendemus. Et ut hæc omnia ſupradicta rata & inconcuſſa permaneant in poſterum, preſentem cartam Sigilli mei impreſſione corroboravi; His teſtibus Willielmo tunc parſona de Stretton, Petro de Vorantiſthorp, Richardo & Roberto filiis ſuis, Henrico filio Richardi Clerici de Sceyle. Williel. filio ſuo, Ioanne filio Radulphi Aky, Wil. Clerico de eadem, et multis aliis.

3 *Another evidence of like effect.*

SCiant preſentes et futuri, quod ego Radulphus Wilſcharde, filius et heres Ioannis Wilſcardi de Sceyle, dedi et conceſſi, et hac mea preſenti carta confirmavi Agneti de Wellington, quatuor acras & unam Rodam terræ meæ arabilis in campo de majori Sceyle. Quarum una Acra jacet ſuper Wodde Hulles, &c. (Et paulo infra:) Habendum & tenendum de me & heredibus meis vel aſſignatis & eorum Heredibus, predictis Agnetæ de Willington & pueris ſuis de Williel. parſona de Lollinton procreatis, videlicet Willielmo filio ſuo primogenito ſi ſupervixerit matri ſuæ, deinde Galfrido Fratri ejus, poſtea Roberto Fratri eorum juniori, deinde ſororibus eorum ſi Frater ſuperſtes non fuerit, ita quidem quòd quilibet eorum alteri ſuccedat in dictam terram cum pertinentiis, licentialiter ſine omni recognitione mihi & omnibus meis prædictis facienda, & quod hæredibus vel aſſignatis ultimi vel ultimæ poſſidentis remaneat ulterius in perpetuum libere, & quiete, bene, & in pace jure perpetuo: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus vel aſſignatis & eorum hæredibus, unum obolum argenti ad paſcha, aut unam par albarum Chirothecarum de precio unius oboli apud Sceyle ad voluntatem ſoluentis, pro omnibus ſervitiis & exactionibus, wardis, maritagiis, releuiis, legatis, tallagiis, & omnimodis ſectis comitatus, hundredorum, & curiæ meæ et hæredibus meorum et aliorum, et ſervitiis forinſecis vel exigentiis humanis. Ego vero Radulphus et hæredes mei vel aſſignati et eorum hæredes, totam predictam terram cum pertinentiis, prædict. Agneti et filiis ejus et filiabus poſt diſceſſum prædict. Agnetis ſingulis eorum de dicta perſona genitis, uni poſt alterum ſucceſſive, et heredibus vel aſſignatis ultimi vel vltimæ poſſidentis (ut prædictum eſt) contra omnes mortales in perpetuum warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, et defendemus. Et ut hæc omnia ſupradicta rata et inconcuſſa permaneant in poſterum præſentem cartam ſigilli mei impreſſione corroboravi; his teſtibus, Will. tunc perſona de Stretton, Petro de Vorantiſthorp, Rich. et Rob. filiis ſuis. Henr. filio Perſonæ Sceyle, Ioanne filio, Radulph. Aky, de eadem, Rob. Haſting, Wil. Grym, et aliis.

Carta Radulphi Wilſcarde de Sceyle facti. Agneti de Willing. & pueris ſuis de Wil. Perſona de Lollint. procreat. de terris in Sceyle, in com. Leiceſt.

4 *Another Evidence upon the like matter.*

Carta Henrici de Apleby facti. Henrico de Aldoleſter Clerico & Amiciæ uxori ſuæ, de terr. in territorio de Apleby in com. Leiceſt.

SCiant preſentes & futuri, quod ego Henricus filius Domini Willielmi de Apleby militis, dedi, conceſſi, et hac preſenti Carta mea confirmavi Henrico de Aldoleſter Clerico et Amiciæ uxori ſuæ, illud meſſuagium quod Mattheus Gilbert quondam de me tenuit in parvo Apleby, in longitudine, juxta altam viam: tenendum et habendum de me et heredibus meis ſibi et Amiciæ uxori ſuæ et eorum heredibus, et cui vel quibus communibus horis quandocunque dare vel aſſignare voluerint liberè, quietè, benè, et in pace, &c. Et ego pred. Henricus et heredes mei prædictum meſſuagium cum omnibus aiſiamentis et pertinentiis ſuis, præfatis Henrico et Amiciæ uxori ſuæ et eorum heredibus et aſſignatis (ut ſupra ſcriptum eſt) contra omnes gentes warratizabimus et defendemus in perpetuum, &c. Vt hæc omnia ſubſcripta robur obtineant in futuro, huic preſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui; His teſtibus, Ioanne de Norton, Wil. Huſlin de Apleby, &c.

5 *Another Evidence touching the like.*

Carta Rogeri Peſcher de Apleby facti. Henr. de Aldoleſter clerico & Amiciæ uxori ſuæ de terris in territorio de Apleby in com. Leiceſt.

SCiant preſentes et futuri, quod ego Roger. Peſcher de Apleby dedi, conceſſi, et hac preſenti carta mea confirmavi Henrico de Aldoleſter Clerico, et Amiciæ uxori ſuæ, viginti buttes Terræ arabilis cum pertinentiis ſuis in territorio de Apleby. Quarum tres buttes jacent ſuper Brodelein, &c. (Et Paulo poſt.) Habendum et tenendum predictis Henrico et Amiciæ uxori ſuæ et eorum heredibus et aſſignatis, cui vel quibus

quibus in ſanitate, vel in ægritudine, dare, legare, vendere, vel aſſignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, benè, et hæreditariè in perpetuum, &c. Et ego prædictus Rogerus Peſcher & hæredes mei totam prædictam terram cum pertinentiis ſuis ubicunque memoratis, Henrico & Amiciæ uxori ſuæ & eorum hæredibus & aſſignatis (ut ſupra ſcriptum eſt) contra omnes gentes in calumnias warrantizabimus, et in omnibus per omnia acquietabimus et defendemus in futurum, &c. Vt hæc mea donatio, conceſſio, & Cartæ meæ confirmatio robur obtineat in perpetuum, huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum pro me et hæredibus meis duxi apponendum, fide mediante; his teſtibus, Williel. de Meytam, Ioanne filio Henr. de Norton, &c.

6 *Another Evidence touching the ſame, of Lands in the Countie of Darby.*

Carta feoffament Will. filii & hæred. Will. Mahenmey de Banquel clerici fact. Nic. de Crumford de omnibus terris & tenement. quæ jure hereditario per Williel. patrem ſuum habuit.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, quod ego Willielmus filius & hæres quondam Williel. Mahenmey de Banquel Clerici, dedi, conceſſi, & omnino quietum clamavi de me & hæredibus meis in perpetuum Nich. de Crumford, pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ quam idem Nicolaus mihi præ manibus donavit, omnes terras & tenementa cum gardinis, curtilagiis, burgagiis, & edificiis, & cum omnibus pertinentiis ſuis in omnibus rebus & locis, ſine aliquo retinemento, quæ et quas habuit jure hæreditario in feodo de Banquel, per Williel. de Banquel Clericum quondam patrem meum. Habend. & tenend. ipſo Nicolao et hæredibus ſuis vel aſſignatis in feodo et hæreditate de capitali Domino de Banquel, liberè, benè, quietè, et in pace cum omnibus libertatibus et aiſiamentis in omnibus locis et ſingulis ad prædictas terras et tenementa pertinentibus infra villam de Banquel et extra: Ita quidem quod nec ego Willi. nec hæredes mei, nec aliquis pro me nec nomine noſtro, jus vel clameum in prædictis terris et tenementis, gardinis, curtilagiis, burgagiis et edificiis, et omnibus pertinentiis ſuis de cætero, habere, exigere, vindicare, vel reclamare potero vel poterimus in perpetuum: Faciendo pro prædictis terris & tenementis capitali Domin. 7 ſolidos, 3 denarios et obolum argenti annui redditus ad terminos ſtatutos Paſchatis et Sanct. Michaelis. In cujus rei teſtimonium huic ſcripto præſenti ſigillum meum appoſui et munimenta inde eidem Nicolao tradidi; His teſtibus, Domino Ioanne de Oſemondiſton perpetuo vicario de Banquel, Mathæo de Reynedon, Mathæo Drabill, Elio de Banquel Clerico, Richardo de Yollegrave, Roger. filio Yoke. & aliis.

Note, a ſonne of a Prieſt did inherit his fathers lands, and ſold them, as by this deed appeareth.

7 *Another Evidence concerning the like.*

Alia charta dicti, Wil. Mahenmey fact. dicto Nic. de Crumford de uno capitali meſuag. & diverſis terris in villa & territorio de Banquel in com. Derb.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, Quod ego Williel. filius & hæres quondam Williel. de Mahenmey de Banquel Clerici, dedi, conceſſi, et hac præſenti carta mea confirmavi de me et hæredib. meis in perpetuum, Nicolao de Crumford pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ mihi præ manibus data, unum capitale meſuagium ædificatum, et unam bovatam terræ, cum prato & omnibus pertinen. ſuis ſine aliquo retinemento, illam videlicet bovatam terræ cum pertinentiis quam Willielmus Mahenmey quondam pater meus habuit et tenuit in villa et territorio de Banquel; et octo acras terræ arabilis, et unam particulam prati diviſim jacentes in campis de Banquel, &c. Habend. et tenend. ipſi Nicolao et hæredibus ſuis vel ſuis aſſignatis in feodo et hæreditate libere, quietè, benè, et in pace, cum omnibus libertatibus et aiſiamentis in omnibus rebus et locis infra villam de Banquel et extra, ad prædictas terras et tenementa cum pertinentiis pertinentibus de capitali Domino de Banquel, &c. Et ego Williel. et hæredes mei omnia prædictas terras et tenemẽta cum omnibus pertinentiis ſuis (ut prædictum eſt) dicto Nicolao et hæredibus ſuis vel aſſign. ſuis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cujus rei teſtimonium præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui: His Teſtibus Domino Ioanne de Oſemondiſton perpetuo Vicario de Banquel, Math. de Reynedo. Math. Drabil, Elio de Banquel, Richard. de Yollegrave, Rogero filio Yoke de Banquel, et aliis.

{KING HEN. 8.}

8 *Another Evidence concerning the like.*

Carta Thomæ de Bylleſton clerici & Leticiæ ux. ejus fact. Gerard & Cæcilia ux. ſ. de certis terris in feodo de Banquel in Com. Derb.

SCiant præſentes et futuri, Quod nos Thom. de Billeſton Clericus, et Leticia uxor mea, dedimus, conceſſimus, et hac præſenti carta noſtra confirmavimus Gerardo filio Alexandri de Wiſton & Cæciliæ uxori ſuæ, omnia illa burgagia, meſuagia, gardina, curtilagia, terras, tenementa, prata et edificia, ſeldas cum redditibus, ſervitiis, paſcuis, communis, paſturis, et cæteris omnibus pertinentiis ſuis in feodo de Banquel, quæ habuimus ex dono & feoſamento dicti Gerardi: Habendum et tenendum dictis Gerardo et Cæciliæ uxori ſuæ ad totam vitam eorundem de nobis & hæredibus noſtris, liberè, quietè, benè, & in pace, cum omnibus ſuis pertinentiis; faciendo inde annuatim nobis & hæredibus noſtris, prædict. Gerard. & Cæcilia ad totam eorum vitam, unum denarium argenti ad feſtum Sanct. Michaelis, & faciendo etiam pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris capital. Dominis feodi illius ſervitia inde annuatim debita & conſueta. Et nos vero prædicti Thomas & Leticia & noſtri hæredes omnia prædicta Burgagia, meſuagia, gardina, curtilagia, terras, tenementa, prata, & ædificia, ſeldas cum redditibus, ſervitiis, paſcuis, communis, paſturis, & cæteris omnibus pertinentiis ſuis prædictis Gerardo & Cæciliæ ad totam vitam eorundem contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cujus rei teſtimonium huic præſenti cartæ noſtræ ſigilla noſtra appoſuimus; his teſtibus, Thoma de Beley, Radulpho Cotterrell, Willielm. de Cramford, Williel. de Gratton, Nic. de Cromford in Banquel, Rad. Bercario in eadem, Rob. de Walley in eadem & aliis.

Note to have and to hold of the Prieſt, his wife and their heires during the lives of the teoffers for a peny of peeres rent.

3 *Another evidence touching the ſame.*

VNiverſis ad quos præſens ſcriptum pervenerit, Leticia quæ fuit uxor Thomæ Bylleſton, ſalutem in Domino. Noveritis me in pura viduitate mea conceſſiſſe & confirmaſſe, pro me & hæredibus meis, Gerardo filio Alexandri de Wyſton, & Cæciliæ uxori ſuæ omnes terras & tenementa cum omnibus pertinentiis ſuis in Banquel, quæ idem Gerardus & Cæcilia uxor ejus habent ex conceſſione Thomæ de Bylleſton quondam viri mei: Habendum & tenendum eiſdem Gerardo & Cæciliæ ad totam vitam eorundem de me & hæredibus meis liberè, quietè, cum omnibus pertinentiis ſuis; faciendo inde mihi & hæredibus meis unum denarium argenti ad Feſtum Sanct. Michaelis, & faciendo inde pro me & hæredibus meis capitalibus Dominis ſervitia inde annuatim debita & conſueta. Et ego præfata Leticia & Hæredes mei prædicta tenementa cum pertinentiis prædictis Gerardo & Cæciliæ ad totam vitam eorundem contra omnes Gentes warrantizabimus. In cujus rei teſtimonium præſentibus ſigillum meum appoſui; His Teſtibus, Robert le Walley, Robert le Tailor, & aliis.

Datum apud Banquel, die Veneris proximo poſt feſtum Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ, an. regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi, nono.

10 *Another Evidence touching the like matter.*

SCiant præſentes & futuri, Quod ego Williel. dictus Basket, dedi, conceſſi, & hac Præſenti mea charta

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charta confirmavi Iohanni de Bradbarne clerico, et Aliciæ uxori ſuæ, et hæredibus de corporibus eorum exeuntibus, unam particulam curtilagii mei (videlicet) centum pedes in longitudine, et triginta in latitudine, cum omnibus pertinentiis et aiſiamentiis, eidem placeæ pertinentibus: Habendum et tenendum eidem Ioanni et Aliciæ et eorum hæredibus legitimè procreatis, liberè, quietè, benè, et in pace in perpetuum, reddendo inde annuatim mihi et hæredibus meis unum florem Roſæ ad Feſtum Nativitat. S. Iohannis Baptiſtæ pro omnibus. Et ego prædictus Willielmus Basket et hæredes mei prædict. placeam cum Aiſiamentis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus et cõtra omnes gentes defendemus. Et ſi contingat (quòd abſit) quòd prædictus Ioannes et Alicia ſine hæredibus de corporibus eorum legitimè procreatis objerint, quòd prædicta placea ſine alicujus contradictione revertat. Et ut hæc mea donatio conceſſio, et præſentes cartæ meæ confirmatio rata ſit, et ſtabilis permaneat, huic præſenti cartæ ſigillum meum appoſui. His teſtibus, Richardo de Longdun, Robert Brag. Roger Gerard, Thoma le Plumer, Ioanne Glankirion, et aliis. Datum apud Yelgrave in feſto S. Ioannis ante portam Latinam, Anno Dom. 1314.

11 *Another evidence touching the ſame.*

SCiant præſentes et futuri, Quod ego Rogerus le Potter hæres Aliciæ filiæ Williel. de Downedale de parva Ridware dedi, conceſſi, et hac præſenti carta mea confirmavi magiſtro Richard. de Hampton Clerico et Margaretæ uxori ejus, et hæredibus vel Aſſignatis prædicti Rich. omnes terras et tenementa mea quæ habeo in diverſis locis in feodo de parva Ridware: Habend. et tenend. omnes prædictas terras et tenementa cum pertinentiis eorum, prædictis Rich. et Margaretæ uxori ejus et hæredibus vel aſſignatis prædicti Rich. de capitali Domino feodi illius per ſervitia debita et de jure conſueta, liberè, quietè, benè, et in pace in perpetuum. Et ego verò prædictus Rogerus et hæredes mei omnes prædictas terras et tenementa cum omnibus pertinentiis eorum, prædictis Rich. et Margaretæ uxori ejus et hæredibus vel aſſignatis prædicti Rich. contra omnes gentes warratizabimus et defendemus in perpetuum. In cujus rei teſtimonium huic præſenti Cartæ ſigillum meum appoſui. His Teſtibus, Thoma de Pipe, Rich. Iulian, Roberto Ka. Edmund le Walſhemon, Williel. le Flecher, et aliis. Datum apud parvam Ridware, die Lunæ proximo poſt feſtum Sancti Gregor. Papæ, Anno regni regis Edwardi tertii poſt Conqueſtum, 28.

¶ **The originals of theſe eleven pieces of Evidences laſt recited, I received, in the writing of this Storie, of a right honeſt and Worſhipfull Gentleman called Maſter John Forde, a Student of the Lawes in the inner Temple; in whoſe hands I truſt (after the finiſhing of this Story) they ſhall remain to be ſeen of them that ſhall deſire the ſame.**

1 *The copies of other Evidences touching the ſame matter, received of Maſter* Iohn Hunt.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, quod ego Philippus Poupũ de parva Bradley, dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti Carta mea confirmavi Henrico de Denardiſton Clerico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, pro ſervitiis eorum & pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in gerſumam, unam peciam terræ meæ arabilis cum omnibus pertinentiis, ſive habeatur plus ſive minus, prout boundæ teſtantur, in campo vocato Grenecroft, in villa de parva Bradley, jacentem inter terram meam ex parte una, & terram predicti Henrici ex parte altera, uno capite abuttante ſuper cœmeterium de Parva Bradley, et alio capite abuttante ſuper terram predict. Henrici: Habend. & tenend. de capitalibus Dominis feodi prædict. Henrico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. & aſſignat. dict. Henrici, vel cuicunque vel quibuſcunque dict. peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinentiis, dare, vendere, legare vel aſſignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, jure, benè in pace in perpetuum & hæreditariè: Reddendo inde annuatim capitalibus dominis feodi ſervitium inde debitum & conſuetum, videlicet unum obolum ad Nativitatem beati Ioannis Baptiſtæ pro omnibus ſervitiis, conſuetudinibus, auxiliis, curiarum ſectis, & ſecularibus demand. Et ego prædict. Phil. hæred. & aſſignati mei warrantizabimus prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. prædictis Henrico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. & aſſignat. dict. Henrici, contra omnes gentes in perpetuum. In cujus rei teſtimonium huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui; his teſtibus, Petro de Walpol. Richard. de Hanvile. Williel. Waſtell, Hugone Waſtell. Tho. de Bures, Williel. Picot, Laurentio Picot, Williel. le Heyward, & aliis.

2 *Another Evidence touching the ſame.*

OMnibus Chriſti fidelibus ad quos preſens ſcriptum pervenerit, Williel. le Bigod, ſalutem in Domino ſempiternam. Noverit univerſitas veſtra me dediſſe, conceſſiſſe, remiſiſſe, ac omnino tam pro me quam pro hæredibus meis in perpetuum, quietum clamaſſe Henr. de Denardiſton Clerico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. & aſſignat. eorum totum jus & clameum quod habui vel habere potui, aut potero in omnibus redditibus, homagiis, wardis, releviis, eſchaetis, libertatibus & omnibus pertin. ſuis, quæ in aliquo modo ſeu tempore facere debuerunt vel conſueverunt pro terris & tenementis quæ quondam fuerunt Richard. Proup. in villa de parva Bradley, & in aliis terris & tenementis quæ vel quas prædict. Henr. & Alicia tenent vel tenuerunt de me ſeu de feodo meo die confectionis preſentium in prædicta villa de parva Bradley: Ita quod ego Williel. prædict. nec hæred. mei nec aliquis nomine noſtro amodo in premiſſis aliquod juris vel clamei aliquo modo exigere vel vendicare poterimus in perpetuum. In cujus rei teſtimonium, huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui; His teſtibus, Ioh. Maveyſin, Rich. Bercar. Henry. Maveyſin, Ioh. Bercar, Will. Waſtel. Hug. Waſtel. Wil. Attegrene, Walt. Bercar, & aliis.

Carta relaxationis Williel. Bygod tunc Domini de parva Bradly facta. Henrico Denardiſton clerico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, eorum hæredibus.

3 *Another Evidence touching the ſame.*

SCiant præſentes & futuri, quod ego Reginaldus filius Iordani de Wethresfield, dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti carta mea confirmavi Henr. de Denardiſton Clerico & Aliciæ uxori ejus pro homagiis & ſervitiis eorum & pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in "gerſumam unam peciam terræ meæ arabilis cum omnibus ſuis pertinentiis, ſive habeatur plus ſive minus in villa de parva Bradley, in Campo vocato Heldhey, jacentem inter terram Will. de Mampford quondam, & terram Ioannis le Rede quondam, ex parte una in longitudine, & terram Richard. de Hanuyle ex altera, & abuttat ad unum caput ſuper terram Ioannis le Lumbard, & aliud caput ſuper campum vocatum Crondon, cum ſepibus & foveis & omnibus aliis pertinentiis ad dictam terram ſpectantibus: Habend. & tenend. de me hæredibus & aſſignatis meis, prædictis Henrico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæredibus & aſſignatis dict. Henrici vel cuicunque vel quibuſcunque dict. Henric. prædictam terram cum omnibus pertinentiis prædict. dare, vendere, vel aliquo modo aſſignare voluerit, liberè, quietè, jurè, benè, in pace, & hæreditarie: Reddendo inde annuatim

Carta Reginaldi filii Iordani Wethresfield facta. Henrico de Denardiſton clerico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, de terris in Parva Bradley in com. Suff.

"Gerſuma ſignifieth money paid before hand, which we call a fine.

mihi, hæredibus, & aſſignatis meis, unam roſam ad feſtum nativitatis Sancti Ioannis Baptiſtæ pro omnibus ſervitiis, conſuetudinibus, auxiliis, curiarum ſectis & ſecularibus demandis. Et ego prædict. Reginaldus, hæredes, & aſſignati mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus et defendemus prædictam terram cum ſepibus et foveis et omnibus aliis pertinentiis, prædictis. Henrico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæredibus, et aſſignat. dict. Henrici per prædict. ſervitium contra omnes mortales in perpetuum. In cujus rei teſtimonium, huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Ioanne Maveyſin, Petro de Walepol, Richardo de Hanuyle, Richardo Bercar, Henrico Maveyſin, Ioanne Bercar, Willielmo Waſtel, Hugone Waſtel, Tho. de Bures, Williel. filio Rogeri, & aliis.

{KING HEN. 8.} Dated an. R. Ed. R. 2. 8 which was An. 1315.

4 *Another Evidence of the like effect.*

Carta Rich. Hanuyle de parva Bradley fact. Henrico de Denardiſton clerico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, & eorum hæredibus de terris in parva Bradley in com. Suff.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, quod ego Richardus de Hanuyle de parva Bradley, dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti carta mea confirmavi Henr. de Denardiſton Clerico, & Aliciæ uxori ejus, unam peciam terræ meæ arabilis, cum omnibus pertinent. in parva Bradley in campo vocato Mortecroft, pro homagiis et ſervitiis eorum et pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in gerſumam, jacentem inter terras Williel. de Mampford quondam ex utraque parte, et unum caput abuttat ſuper campum vocat. Wodcroft. Habendum et tenendum de me, hæred. vel aſſignatis meis, ipſis, hæred. & aſſignat. eorum, vel cuicunque vel quibuſcunque dict. tenementum cum omnibus pertinentiis, dare, vendere, legare, vel aſſignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, jure, benè, in pace & hereditariè: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus meis duos denarios ad duos anni terminos, videlicet ad feſtum ſancti Michaelis unum denarium, et ad Paſcha unum denarium pro omnibus ſervitiis, conſuetudinibus, auxiliis, Curiæ ſectis, et ſecularibus demaundis. Et ego prædict. Richard. hæred. et aſſignati mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus et defendemus prædict. tenementum cum omnibus pertinentiis prædictis, Henrico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. & aſſignat. eorum per prædictum ſervitium contra omnes mortales in perpetuum. In cujus rei teſtimonium huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui; His teſtibus, Petro de Walepol, Williel. Waſtel, Hugone Waſtel, Rich. Bercar, Hen. Maveyſin, Iohanne Bercar, Rob. de ponte, Williel. Picot & aliis.

5 *Another Evidence touching the ſame.*

Scriptum Mat. de Racliſde fact. Henrico de Denardiſton clerico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, de terris in Parva Bradley in com. Suff.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, quod ego Mattheus de Racliſde dedi, conceſſi, et hac præſenti carta mea confirmavi Henrico de Denardiſton Clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. & aſſignat. dict. Henrici; unam peciam terræ arabilis cum omnibus ſuis pertinent. ſive habeatur plus ſive minus, pro ut jacet in villa de parva Bradley in campo vocato Cronudonbrede inter terram Rich. de Hanuyle ex una parte, & terram dict. Henr. de Denardiſton ex alia parte, et unum caput abuttat ſuper viam vocatam Libreddich, et aliud caput ſuper terram Richard. de Hanuyle ante dict. Habend. & tenend. prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus ſuis pertinent. de capitali Domino feodi, & cuicunque vel quibuſcunque prædictus Henr. prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. dare, vendere. vel aſſignare voluerit, liberè, quieté, jure, benè, in pace hæreditariè in perpetuum: faciendo capitali Domino feodi ſervitia inde de jure debita et conſueta. Et Ego prædict. Matthæus et hæredes mei prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus ſuis perninent. (ut prædictum eſt) prædict. Henr. et Aliciæ hæred. et aſſignat. dict. Henr. contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus in perpetuum. In cujus rei teſtimonium huic præſenti cartæ ſigillum meum appoſui; his teſtibus, Richard. de Hanuyle, Ioanne de Stonham, Ioanne Godfrey, Williel. Waſtel, Clement. de Bures, et aliis. Dat. apud parvum Bradley, die Lunæ in quindena ſancti Michaelis. An. Regni regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi, octavo.

6 *Another Evidence touching the ſame.*

Scriptum Rich. de Loverhall de parva Bradley, fact. Henrico Denardiſton clerico, & Aliciæ uxori ejus de terris in parva Bradley prædict.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, quod ego Richardus de Loverhal de parva Bradley, dedi, conceſſi, et hac præſenti carta mea confirmavi Henr. de Denardiſton Clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, & hæred. dict. Henr. unam peciam terræ meæ arabilis, ſive habeat plus ſive minus, prout jacet in villa de parva Bradley in campo vocatò Peterfeld, inter terram Henr. Coſin ex una parte, et terram Thom. Bercar ex alia parte, uno capite abuttante ſuper croftam Williel. Attegrene, et alio capite ſuper le Overhall mede. Habend. & tenend. dictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. de Capitali Domino feodi, præd. Henr. & Aliciæ & hæred. dict. Henr. cuicunque et quibuscunque dictam peciam terræ dare, vendere, vel aſſignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, jure, benè, in pace, hæreditariè, in feodo et in perpetuum: faciendo eidem capitali Domino feodi ſervitia inde de jure debita et conſueta. Et ego præd. Richar. et hæred. mei prædict. peciam terræ præd. Hen. & Aliciæ et hæredib. dict. Henr. et ſuis aſſignat. contra omnes gentes Warrantizabimus in perpetuum. In cujus rei teſtimonium huic præſenti cartæ ſigillum meum appoſui; His teſtib. Ricar. de Hanuyle, Ioan. Godfrey, Iohan. de Stonham, Wil. Attegrene, Roberto Petipas, Wil. Aleyne, & aliis. Datum apud parvam Bradley die dominica proxima poſt feſtum Paſch. An. Regni Regis Edw. filii regis Edw. 10.

This deed ſeemeth by the date to be made An. R. Edw. R. 2. 10 an. 1317. which was about 200. yeers after Anſelme.

7 *Another evidence touching the like matter.*

Scriptum Clementis de Cloptone fact. Ioani de Cowling clerico & Baſiliæ uxori ejus de terris in Cowling in Suff.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, quod ego Clemens de Cloptone, conceſſi, dedi, et hac præſenti carta mea confirmavi Ioan. de Boſco de Coulynge Clerico et Baſiliæ uxori ejus & hæredibus præd. Ioannis, tres acras terræ cum omnibus ſuis pertinent. in Coulynge, ſive ſit ibi majus ſive minus, prout ſimul jacent inter terram domini Robert. de Aſpal ex parte una, & terram quondam Ioan. le Pogeys ex alia, uno capite abuttante ſuper viam communem, & alio ſuper terram quandam prædict. Ioan. Pogeys: Habend. & tenend, prædict. tres acras terræ cum omnibus ſuis pertinent. prædict. Ioanni & Baſiliæ & hæred. præd. Ioannis de capitalibus Domin. feodi illius per ſervitia inde debita & de jure conſueta. Et ego prædict. Clemens et hæredes mei prædict. Ioanni et Baſiliæ et hæred. pred. Ioannis totam prædictam terram cum omnibus ſuis pertinentiis contra omnes gentes in perpetuum warrantizabimus. In cujus rei teſtimonium, huic præſenti Chartæ ſigillum meum appoſui. His teſtibus, Thoma de Caldebek, Rich. Farewel, Ioan. de Schelford, Roberto Godfrey, Rogero le Porter, et Williel le Paumer. Datum apud Coulinge die Dominica proxima poſt feſtum Sancti Lucæ Evangeliſtæ. Anno regni regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi, tertio decimo.

Dated R. R. 2. 13. which was an 1320

¶ All the Originals of theſe ſeven ſeveral pieces of Evidences, the true Copies whereof are here before inſerted and laſt recited, at this preſent (videlicet) **this 23. of November in the yere of our Lord, 1575. are in the cuſtodie and do remain among the evidences, and writings of John Hunt of Eſſe** alias **Aſhen, in the Countie of Eſſex Eſquire, and are pertaining and belonging to his manor of Overhall,** alias **Parva Bradley aforeſaid, in the County of Suffolke. At whoſe hands they are eaſily at this preſent and long time** (I truſt) after

M. John Hunt hath ſeven peeces of Evidence for prieſts marriages in his cuſtodie.

KING HEN. 8.

after the writting of this history shall remain to be seen, of good record, if any man either be destrous of the sight thereof, or doubtfull of the truth of the same.

Although these Instruments and Evidences above here specified be of themselves evident and plain enough, so that no man can reasonably object any thing to the contrary, yet to stop the mouthes of all such wranglers and cavillers, who being satisfied with no truth, will here peradventure take some occasion upon this word Clericus, so oftentimes named in these Evidences aforesaid, to object that this word may as well be taken for other as for Priests; therefore to prevent the cavilling objections of such, this will be briefly to reply thereunto, That in the common Laws of this Realm, in all gifts or feoffements made to any spirituall person (unlesse he be some Graduate of Divinity in the Schools) the said spirituall person is named by no other terme but by the word Clericus; as by divers places, as well in the printed books, as in old Registers and writings of the Lawyers, as well in the Common Law as Statute Law, remaineth of record very evident to be seen. Some speciall notes whereof, as well for the ease of the Reader in the search of the same, as also for the further satisfying of some who peradventure shall want the Books, I thought good here to exhibite in form and tenour as followeth.

Objections concerning the said Clericus solved.

¶ *Certain Notes how this word* Clericus *is taken in the Law Books.*

Sta. de Marige. An. 51. H. 3. cap. 27.

SI Clericus aliquis pro reatu vel crimine aliquo, quod ad Coronam pertineat, arestatus fuerit, & postmodo per præceptum Domini Regis in Ballium traditus, vel replegiatus extiterit, ita quod hi quibus traditus fuerit in Ballium eum habeant coram Iusticiariis, non amercientur de cætero illi quibus traditus fuerit in Ballium, nec alii plegii sui, si corpus suum habeant coram Iusticiariis, licet coram eis propter privilegium Clericale respondere noluerit, vel non potuerit propter Ordinarios suos.

¶ *Another Note.*

Articuli cleri. 9. dup. 2. in fine. c. 8.

REx & Antecessores sui, a tempore cuius, contrarii memoria non existit, usi sunt, quod Clerici suis immorantes obsequiis, dum obsequiis illis intenderint, ad residentiam in suis Beneficiis faciendam minime compellantur, nec debet dici tendere in præiudicium Ecclesiasticæ libertatis quod pro rege & republica necessarium invenitur.

¶ *Another Note.*

Fitzherb. artic. cler. in fine c. 15.

CLericus ad Ecclesiam confugiens pro felonia, pro immunitate Ecclesiastica obtinenda, si asserit se esse Clericum, regnum non compellatur abinurare, sed legi regni se reddens gaudebit Ecclesiastica libertate, iuxta laudabilem consuetudinem regni hactenus usitatam.

¶ *Another Note.*

Itap. 16.

APpellaturi in forma debita tanquam Clerico per ordinarium petito libertatis Ecclesiasticæ beneficium non negabitur.

In the Statute entituled Articuli Cleri, made onely for the benefit of the Clergy, Anno Regni Edwardi Reg. 2. nono, are divers notes to like effect.

¶ But what need many arguments for the proof hereof, the Statutes and Law books of this realm are very full of them in divers and many places, besides the Presidents, for the form of giving of Benefices, whereof none are capable but such as are spirituall men, and of the Clergy, wherein they are not called or termed by any other title or terme in Latine, then Clerici, for most part, not in the Kings own grant, or the Lord Chancellors, or any other subjects of his, as very well appeareth both by divers old written Presidents which hath been shewed unto me, and also by the forms of presentations, collected and set forth for the instruction of such as are ignorant, or not very perfect in the order of them, in a printed book called, The Book of sundrie Instruments: In which form in the said Book the words in the Kings Grant be these;

Clericus in the Law ever taken for a Priest

REx Reverendissimo in Christo, &c. Ad Ecclesiam Parochialem de N. vestræ Diocæsis modo per mortem ultimi incumbentis ibidem vacantem, & ad nostram donationem pleno iure spectantem, dilectum Capellanum nostrum A. B. Clericum, intuitu charitatis vobis præsentamus, & mandamus uti dictum A. Capellanum nostrum ad præfatam Ecclesiam admittere, eumque Rectorem eiusdem instituere, cum suis iuribus, &c.

But if the presentation be from a Knight, an Esquire, or a Gentleman, then these words Capellanum nostrum are alwayes left out, as in the said Book appeareth in this sort:

REverendo in Christo patri, &c. A. B. de N. ad Ecclesiam de N. prædictam vestræ diocæsis modo per mortem T. D. ultimi Incumbentis ibidem vacantem, & ad meam præsentationem pleno iure spectantem, dilectum mihi in Christo Iacobum P. Clericum vestræ paternitati præsento, humiliter rogans quatenus præfatum I. ad dictam Ecclesiam admittere, ipsumque, in Rectorem eiusdem Ecclesiæ institui & induci facere velitis cum suis iuribus & pertinentiis universis, &c. As in the said Book is more at large to be seen or perused.

Thus I doubt not, loving reader, but by these so plain evidences above prefixed thou hast sufficiently to understand, that this violent restraint of Priests lawfull marriage, within this realm of England, is of no such long reach and antiquitie, as hath been thought of many, and all by reason of ignorance of histories, and course of times. So that briefly as in a summarie table to comprehend the whole effect hereof:

First about the yeer of our Lord, 946. the profession of single life, and displacing of marriage began to come into example here in England by reason of saint Benets Monks, which then began to increase here about the time of King Edgar, and especially by the means of Oswald bishop of Yorke, Odo and Dunstane, Archbishops of Canterburie, and Ethelwold Bishop of Wint. so that in divers Cathedrall Churches, and Bishops Sees, Monks with their professed singlenesse of life crept in, and married Ministers (which were then called secular Priests) with their wives out of sundry Churches were dispossessed, not from wives, but onely from their places: and yet not in all Churches, but onely in certain whereof read before.

Anno 946. Priests marriages, how and when it began first to be excluded out of Churches.

Not long after that, about the time of Pope Nicolas the second, An. 1060. of Alexander, and Hildebrand, came into the See of Canterbury another Monk called Lanfrank, who also, being a promoter of this professed chastitie, made the Decree more generall, that all Prebendaries being married in any Churches should be displaced; yet the Priests in towns and villages should not be compelled to leave their married wives, unlesse they would.

Anno 1067.

Last of all followed monkish Anselme, Anno 1106.

commonly saith) to have a second view and oversight of things before passed and decréed.

The wise Athenians made a Decrée when the City of Mitylene was recovered, which before had forsaken them, that all the Citizens there should be slain, and the city utterly destroyed. Whereupon there was a ship sent forth with the same commandement to the army. On the next morrow the matter was brought again before the same Judges, and after better advice taken, there was a contrarie Decrée made; that the whole multitude should not be put to the sword, but a few of the chief Authors of their rebellion should be punished, and the Citie saved. There was therefore another ship sent forth with a countermand in all haste to overtake and prevent their former ship, as also it happened. Neither was that noble City, which then ruled and reigned far and wide, ashamed to alter and reform their former Decrée. Many such examples there be, the most part whereof I am sure are well known unto you. But in the Church especially Princes have many times altered and reformed their Decrées, as Nabuchodonosor and Darius. There was a Decrée set forth in the name of Assuerus, concerning the killing of the Jews: that Decrée was afterwards called in again. So did Adrianus and Antoninus also correct and reform their Decrées.

Therefore, although there be a Decrée set forth in England, which threatneth strange punishments and penalties, disagréing from the custome of the true Church, and swarving from the rules and Canons thereof; yet I thought it not unsémly for us to become Petitioners unto you, for the mitigation of these your sharp and sebere procédings. The which when I consider it grieveth my minde, not onely for the perill and danger of them which professe the same Doctrine that we doe, but also I doe lament for your cause, that they should make you an instrument and a minister of their bloody tyrannie and impietie. And partly also I lament to sée the course of Christian doctrine perverted, superstitious rites confirmed, whoredome and lecherous lusts maintained.

Besides all this, I hear of divers good men, excelling both in doctrine and vertue, to be there detained in prison, as Latimer, Cromer, Sharton, and others, to whom I wish strength, patience, and consolation in the Lord. Unto whom albeit there can nothing happen more luckily or more gloriously, then to give their lives in the confession of the manifest truth and veritie; yet would I wish that you should not distain your hands with the blood of such men; neither would I wish such lanterns of light in your Church to be extinguished; neither these spitefull and malicious Pharisees, the enemies of Christ, to have their wils so much fulfilled. Neither again would I wish that you should so much serve the will and desire of that Romish Antichrist, which laugheth in his sleeve to see you now to take part with him against us, hoping well by the help of his Bishops to recover again his former possession, which of late by your vertues and godly means he lost: he seeth your Bishops for the time loyall unto you, and obsequious to obey your will; but in heart he seeth them linked unto him in a perpetuall bond of fidelitie and obedience. In all these feats and practises the Romish Bishops are not to seek. They see what great storms and blasts heretofore they have passed by bearing and suffering. They see that great things be brought to passe in time. Neither do they forget the old verse of the Poet:

Multa dies variusque labor mutabilis ævi
——Retulit in melius.

Many good and learned men in Germanie conceived of you great hope, that by your authoritie and example other Princes also would be provoked to surcease likewise from their unjust cruelties, and better to advise themselves for the reformation of errors crept into the Church; trusting that you would be as a guide and Captain of that godly purpose and enterprise. But now séeing these your contrary procédings, we are utterly discouraged; the indignation of other Princes is confirmed; the stubbornesse of the wicked is augmented; and old and great errors are thereby established.

But here your Bishops will say again, no doubt, That they defend no errors, but the very truth of Gods holy word. And although they be not ignorant that they strive in very déed both against the true word of God, and the Apostolique Church, yet like craftie Sophisters they can finde out fair glosses, pretending a godly shew outwardly, to colour their errors and abuses.

And this sophistication not onely now in England is had in great admiration, and estéemed for great wisedome; neither in Rome onely reigneth, where Cardinall Conterrenus, Sadolet, and Cardinall Pool go about to paint out abuses with new colours and godly glosses; but also in Germanie divers Noblemen are likewise corrupted and seduced with the like sophistication. And therefore I nothing marvell that so many there with you be deceived with these craftie juglings. And although you for your part lack neither learning nor judgement, yet sometimes we sée it so happen, that wise men also be carried away, by fair and colourable perswasions, from the veritie. The saying of Simonides is praise worthy; Opinion (saith he) many times perverteth veritie. And many times false opinion hath outwardly a fairer shew, then simple truth: and spetially it so happeneth in cases of religion, where the devil transformeth himself into an Angel of light, setting forth, with all colourable and godly shews, false opinions. How fair séemeth the Glosse of Samosatenus upon the Gospel of Saint John, In the beginning was the Word, &c. and yet is it full of impietie. But I omit forreine examples.

In these Articles of yours, how many things are craftily and deceitfully devised? Confession, saith the Article, is necessarie, and ought to be retained. And why say they not plainly, That the rehearsing and numbering up of sins is necessarie by Gods Word? This the Bishops knew well to be verie false, and therefore in the article they placed their words generally, to blear the eyes of the simple people, that when they hear confession to be necessarie, they should thereby think the enumeration of sins to be necessary by Gods word.

The like legerdemain also they use in the article of private Masses, albeit the beginning of the said Article containeth a manifest untruth, where they say that it is necessarie to retain private Masses. What man in all the primitive Church, more then foure hundred yeers after the Apostles time, did ever so say or think, at what time there were no such private Masses used: but afterward in the procesle of the article follow other blinde sophistications, to make the people beleeve that they should receive by them divine consolations and benefits. And why do they not plainly declare what consolations and benefits those be? The Bishops here do name no application and merit, for they know that they cannot be defended. Yet they dally with glosing words, whereby they may winde out and escape, if any should impeach their application. And yet notwithstanding they would have this their application to be understood & beléeved of the people. They would have this idolatrous perswasion confirmed, to wit, that this sacrifice doth merit unto others remission à pœna et culpa; release of all calamities, and also gain and lucre in common traffique, and

{KING HEN. 8.}

Example of the Athenians revoking their decree.

Ester 8.

Mitigation of the six Articles desired.

Latimer, Cromer, Sharton, and others imprisoned for the six articles.

The Bishops pretend outward obedience to the King, but their hearts be with the Pope.

The Bishops maintain evil against their knowledge.

Falshood sometimes bear a fairer shew than truth.

Confession

Private masses

By application of Masses is meant, what the passion and merits of Christ is applied to us by the vertue of the Masse.

KING HEN. 8.

and to conclude, whatsoever else the carefull heart of man doth desire.

The like sophistication they use also, where they say that Priests marriage is against the Law of God. They are not ignorant what S. Paul saith; A Bishop ought to be the husband of one wife: and therefore they know right well that marriage is permitted to priests by the law of God. But because now they say they have made a vow, they go craftily to work, and do not say that priests for their vows sake cannot marry, but plainly give out the article after this sort: That marriage of priests is utterly against the law of God. Again, what impudencie and tyrannie do they shew moreover, when they compell marriages to be dissolved, and command those to be put to death which will not put away their wives and renounce their matrimonie? Whereas the Vow of priests, if it had any force at all, should extend no further but onely to put them from the Ministery if they would marry. And this no doubt is the true meaning of the Councels and Canons.

O cursed Bishops! O impudent and wicked Winchester! who under these colourable fetches thinketh to deceive the eyes of Christ, & the judgements of all the godly in the whole world. These things have I written, that you may understand the crafty sleights, and so judge of the purpose and policie of these Bishops. For if they would simply and heartily search for the truth, they would not use these craftie collusions and deceitfull jugglings.

This sophistication, as it is in all other affairs pernitious and odious, so above all things, most specially it is to be aboided in matters of Religion: wherein it is a heinous impiety to corrupt or pervert the pure Word of God. And hereof the Divel, which is called Diabolus, specially taketh his name, because he wresteth the Word of God out of mens hearts by such false juggling and sophisticall cabillations. And why do not these bishops as well plainly utter and confesse, that they will abide no reformation of doctrine and religion in the Church, for that it shall make against their dignity, pomp, and pleasure? Why do not their adherents also, and such as take their part, plainly say that they will retain still this present state of the Church, for their own profit, tranquillitie, and maintenance? Thus to confesse were true and plain dealing.

Now whiles they pretend hypocritically a false zeal and love to the Truth and sincere Religion, they come in with their blinde sophistications, wherewith they cover their errours. For their Articles set forth in this Act be erroneous, false, and impious, how glorious soever they seem outwardly. Wherefore it were to be wished that these bishops would remember Gods terrible threatnings in the Prophet Isaiah; Wo to you (saith he) which make wicked laws, what will you do in the day of visitation and calamitie to come? &c. Wo unto you that call evil good, &c.

Now to come more nèr to the matter which we have in hand; this cannot be denied, but that long and horrible darknesse hath bèn in the Church of Christ. Mens Traditions not onely have bèn a yoke to good mens consciences, but also (which is much worse) they have bèn reputed for Gods holy service, to the great dishonour of God. There were vows, things bequeathed to Churches, diversitie of garments, choice of meats, long babling prayers, pardons, image worship, manifest Idolatrie committed to Saints, the true worship of God and true good works not known. Briefly, little difference there was betwixt the Christian and heathen religion, as still is yet at Rome to this present day to be seen. The true doctrine of Repentance, of remission of sins, which cometh by the faith of Christ, of justification of faith, of the difference betwèn the Law and the Gospel, of the right use of the Sacraments, was hid and unknown. The Keyes were abused to the maintenance of the Popes usurped tyrannie. Ceremonies of mens invention were much preferred before Civill obedience and duties done in the Commonwealth.

Unto these errors moreover was joyned a corrupt life, full of all leacherous and filthy lusts, by reason of the Law forbidding Priests to marrie. Out of this miserable darknesse God something hath begun to deliver his Church through the restoring again of true doctrine. For so we must nèds acknowledge, that these so great and long kettered errors have not bèn disclosed and brought to light by the industry of man; but this light of the Gospel is onely the gift of God, who now again hath appeared unto the Church. For so doth the holy Ghost prophecie before, how in the later times the godly should sustain sore and perillous conflicts with Antichrist, foreshewing that he should come, environed with a mighty and strong army of bishops, hypocrites, and Princes: that he should fight against the Truth, and slay the Godly.

The filthy life of the Clergy for lack of marriage.

This restoring of the Gospel is onely of God & not of man.

And that now all these things are so come to passe, it is most evident and cannot be denied. The tyranny of the bishop of Rome hath partly brought in errors into the Church, partly hath confirmed them, and now maintaineth the same with force and violence, as Daniel well foreshewed. And much we rejoyced to sèe you divided from him, hoping and trusting wel that the Church of England would now flourish. But your bishops be not divided from the Romish Antichrist; his Idolatry, errors, and vices they defend and maintain with tooth and nail; for the Articles now passed are craftily picked out. They confirm all humane traditions, in that they establish solemn vows, single life, and auricular confession. They uphold and advance not onely their pride and authority, but all errors withall, in retaining the private Masse.

By the six Articles all errors and traditions are maintained.

Thus have they craftily provided that no reformation can take any place, that their dignitie and wealth may still be upholden. And this to be the purpose of the bishops, experience it self doth plainly teach us. Now what man will not lament to sèe the glory of Christ thus to be defaced? For (as I said before) this matter concerneth not onely these Articles which be there enacted, but all other Articles of sound doctrine are likewise overthrown, if such traditions of men shall be reputed as necessarie, and to be retained. For why doth Christ say, For they worship me in vain with the precepts of men? or why doth saint Paul so oft detest mens traditions?

Mar. 7.

It is no light offence to set up new kinds of worshipping and serving of God without his word, or to defend the same. Such presumption God doth horribly detest, which will be known in his word onely. He will have none other Religions invented by mans devise; for else all sorts of religions of all nations might be approved and allowed. Lean not (saith he) to thine own wisdome. But he sent Christ, and commanded us to heare him, and not the invention of subtle and politike heads, which apply religion to their own lucre and commoditie.

God will not be worshipped but after his word.

Prov. 3.

Furthermore, private Masses, vows, the single life of Priests, numbring up of sins to the Priest, with other things moe, being but mère ordinances of men, are used for Gods true service and worship. For although the Supper of the Lord was truly instituted by Christ, yet the private Masse is a wicked prophanation of the Lords Supper. For in the canon, what corruption is contained in this, where it is said, That Christ is offered, and that the work it self is a sacrifice which redeemeth the quick and the dead? These things were never ordained of Christ;

Against private Masses and the Canon of the Masse.

Christ but once offered.

Christ; yea manifold wayes they are repugnant to the Gospel. Christ willeth not himself to be offered up of priests, neither can the work of the offerer, or of the receiver, by any means be a sacrifice. This is manifest Idolatrie, and overthroweth the true doctrine of faith, and the true use of the sacraments. By faith in Christ we are justified, and not by any work of the priest. And the supper is ordained that the minister should distribute to others, to the intent, that they repenting for their sins should be admonished firmly to beleeve the promises of the Gospel to pertain unto them. Here is set a plain testimony before us, that we are made the members of Christ, and washed by his blood.

The true use of the Lords Supper.

And this is the true use of that supper, which is ordained in the Gospel, and was observed in the primitive Church three hundred yeers and more, from the which we ought not to be removed. For it is plain impietie to transfer the Lords institution to any other use, as we are taught by the second commandement. Wherefore these private Masses, forasmuch as they swerve from the right institution of Christ manifold wayes, as by oblation, sacrifice, application, and many other wayes besides, they are not to be retained, but to be abolished. Flie (saith Saint Paul) from all Idolatrie: In these private masses much Idolatry is committed, which we see our bishops now so stoutly to defend; and no marvell. For in the later times the Scripture plainly sheweth that great Idolatry shall reign in the Church of God. As Christ himself also signifieth, saying, When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, which is foretold of the Prophet Daniel, standing in the holy place, he that readeth, let him understand. And Daniel in the eleventh chapter, and he shall worship the God Mazim in his place, and shal adore the God whom his Fathers knew not, with gold, silver, and pretious stones. Both these places do speak of the Masse.

Sacraments ought not to be removed out of their right use.

1 Cor. 10.

Matth. 24.

Dan. 11.

This kind of worship and horrible prophanation of the sacrament God abhorreth. For how many and sundrie kinds of manifest impietie are here committed in this one action of the Masse? First it is set forth to sale. Secondly, they that are unworthy are compelled to receive whether they will or no. Thirdly, it is applied for meritorious and satisfactorie for the quick and the dead. Fourthly, many things are promised thereby, as prosperous navigation, remedies against diseases both for man and beast, with other infinite moe. These be most manifest and notorious abominations. But besides these, there be other also no lesse to be reprehended, which the simple people do not so plainly see. Such worshipping and serving of God is not to be set up after the phantasie of men.

What impietie is in the Masse.

Wherefore they do wickedly when they offer sacrifice to God without his commandement. For when of this work they make a sacrifice, they imagine that private masses are to be done, because God would be worshipped after this sort. And we see that masses are bought with gold and silver, great riches and sumptuous charges; also that the Sacrament is carried about in gold and silver to be worshipped, whereas the sacrament was never ordained for any such purpose. Wherefore seeing the commandement of God biddeth, flie from Idolatrie, private masses are not to be maintained. And I marvell that they say that such private masses are necessary to be retained, when it is evident that in the old time there was none such. Shal we think that things, pertaining to the necessary worship of God, could so long be lacking in the primitive Church, three hundreth yeers after the Apostles and more? What can be more absurd and against all reason?

No private Masses used in the old time.

We see these private masses to be defended with great labour and much ado: of some, for fear lest their gain should decay; of some, because they would serve the affection of the vulgar people (which thinketh to have great succour thereby, and therefore are loath to leave it) rather then for any just cause or reason to lead them. But howsoever they do, a most manifest and evident cause there is why these private masses ought to be abolished. For first their application undoubtedly is wicked; neither doth the work of the priest merit any grace to any person, but every one is justified by his own faith. Neither again would God have any man to trust upon any ceremonie, but onely to the benefit of Christ; and most certain it is, that the application of these masses for the dead is full of great errour and impietie.

But here come in blind gloses (albeit to no purpose) to excuse this application. For universally among all the people, who is he that thinketh otherwise, but that this work is available for the whole church? Yea the Canon of the masse it self declareth no lesse. And why then do some of these craftie sophisters dallie out the matter with their glosing words, denying that they make any application of their masses, when they know full well that the error of the people is confirmed by this their doing; although they themselves do think otherwise? Albeit how few be there in very deed which do otherwise think.

Application of the Masse is idolatrous.

We ought not to dissemble in Gods matters. Let us use them as the holy Scripture teacheth, and as the ancient custome of the Primitive Church doth lead us. Why should any man be so presumptuous to swerve from ancient custome? Why now do they defend the error of other which have perverted the institution of Christ.

The old institution of Christ is not to be altered by new inventions.

Now, although some perhaps will pretend and say, that he maketh no application of his masses, yet notwithstanding he so dealeth in handling the ceremony privately by himself, that he thinketh this his oblation to be high service done to God, and such as God requireth: Which is also erroneous and to be reproved. For why? No service or worship pertaining unto God ought to be set up by mans device, without the commandement of God.

Wherefore I beseech you, for the glory of Christ, that you will not defend the article of this act concerning these private masses, but that you will suffer the matter to be well examined by vertuous and learned men. All things that we here with us do, we do them by evident and substantiall testimonie of the primitive Church, which testimony I dare be bold to set against the judgements of all that have since followed, such as have corrupted the ancient Doctrine and old Rites with manifold errors.

Against the priests life. The common error concerning vows.

As touching the other Articles, they have no need of any long disputation. Vows that be wicked, fained, and impossible, are not to be kept. There is no doubt but this is the common perswasion of all men touching vows, that all these will-works devised by man are the true service and worship of God; and so think they also which speak most indifferently of them. Other adde thereunto more grosse errours, saying, that these works bring with them perfection, and merit everlasting life. Now all these opinions the Scripture in many places doth reprove. Christ saith, They worship me in vain with the precepts of men. Mark. 7. And Paul saith, that these observations be the doctrine of devils; for they ascribe to the power and strength of man false honour, because they are taken for the service of God: they obscure faith and the true worship of God. 1 Tim. 4. Item, the said Paul to the Colossians saith, Let no man deceive you by fained humilitie, &c. Coloss. 2. Why make you Decrees, &c. Wherefore these corrupt traditions of men are indeed a wicked and detestable service of God.

Unto

Unto these also are annexed many other corrupt and wicked abuses. The whole Order of Monkery what superstition doth it contain? What prophanations of Masses, invocation of Saints, colours and fashions of apparrell, choice of meats, superstitious prayers without all measure? Of which causes every one were sufficient, why these vowes ought to be broken. Besides this, a great part of men are drawne to this kinde of life chiefly for the bellies sake, and then afterward they pretend the holinesse of their vow and profession.

Furthermore this vow of single life is not to all men possible to be kept, as Christ himself saith, All men do not receive this. Such vowes therefore which without sin cannot be performed are to be undone; but these things I have discussed sufficiently in other of my workes.

But this causeth me much to marvell, that this vow of Priests in your English Decree is more straite and hard, than is the vow of Monkes, whereas the Canons themselves do binde a Priest no farther to single life, but onely for the time that he remaineth in the Ministery. And certainly it made my heart to tremble when I read this Article which so forbiddeth Matrimony, and dissolveth the same being contracted, and appointeth moreover the punishment of death for the same. Although there have been divers godly Priests which in certain places have been put to death for their Marriage, yet hath never man hitherto been so bold to stablish any such law. For every man in a manner well perceived that all well disposed and reasonable persons would abhorre that cruelty; and also they feared lest the posterity would think evil thereof. Who would ever think that in the Church of Christ, wherein all lenity toward the Godly ought most principally to be shewed, such cruelties and tyranny could take place, to set forth bloody lawes to be executed upon the Godly for lawfull Matrimony?

But they brake their vowes, will the Bishop say. For (as I said) that vow ought not to stand, seeing it is turned to a false worship of God, and is impossible to be kept. Again, although it stood in force, yet it should not extend to them which forsake the Ministery. Finally, if the Bishops here would have a care and regard to mens consciences, they should then obtain Priests without any such profession or vow-making, as appeareth by the old Canons, how that many were admitted to the Ministery without professing of any vow; and the same afterward, when they had married their Wives, remained in the Ministery, as is testified, Cap. Diaconi. Distinct. 28.

Certainly what here I may complain I cannot tell. First, in this Article I cannot impute it to ignorance that they do. For no man is ignorant of the Commandment of God, which saith, Let every man have his Wife for avoiding of fornication. Again, who is so blinde but he seeth what a life these unmarried Priests do live? The complaints of good men are well knowne. The filthinesse of the wicked is too too manifest. But peradventure your Bishops, holding with the sect of Epicures, do think God is not offended with filthy lust. Which if they so think, then do we sustain doubtles an hard cause where such must be judges.

I am not ignorant that this single life is very fit to set out the glory and bravery of Bishops and Colleges of Priests, and to maintain their wealth and portly state, and this I suppose to be the cause why some doe abhorre so much that Priests should be married. But O lamentable state of the Church, if lawes should be so forced to serve, not the verity and the will of God, but the private gain and commodity of men! They erre which think it lawfull for them to make lawes repugnant to the Commandment of God, and to the law of nature, so that they be profitable to attain wealth and riches: and of truth from my very heart I do mourne and lament, Right Noble Prince, both for your sake, and also for the cause of Christs Church. You pretend to impugne and gainstand the tyranny of the Romish Bishop, and truly do call him Antichrist, as indeed he is; and in the mean time you defend and maintain those lawes of that Romish Antichrist, which be the strength and sinewes of all his power, as private Masses, single life of Priests, and other superstitions. You threaten horrible punishments to good men, and to the members of Christ, you violently oppresse and bear down the verity of the Gospel beginning to shine in your Churches. This is not to abolish Antichrist, but to establish him.

I beseech you therefore for our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye file not your conscience in defending those Articles which your Bishops have devised and set forth touching private Masses, Auricular Confession, Vowes, single life of Priests, and prohibition of the one halfe of the Sacrament. It is no light offence to establish idolatry, errours, cruelty, the filthy lusts of Antichrist. If the Roman Bishop should call a Councell, what other Articles chiefely would he devise and publish unto the world, but the very same which your Bishops have here enacted?

Understand and consider, I pray you, the subtill traines and deceits of the devill, which is wont first to set upon and assail the chief Governours. And as he is the enemy of Christ from the beginning of the world, so his chiefe purpose is by all crafty and subtill meanes to worke contumely against Christ, by sparsing abroad wicked opinions, and setting up idolatry, and also in polluting mankinde with bloody murthers and fleshly lusts: in the working whereof he abuseth the policies and wits of hypocrites, also the power and strength of mighty Princes: as stories of all times bear witnesse, what great Kingdomes and Empires have set themselves with all might and main against the poor Church of Christ.

The subtilty of Sathan in abusing the power of Princes to maintain his kingdome.

And yet notwithstanding God hath reserved some good Princes at all times out of the great multitude of such Gyants, and hath brought them to his Church, to embrace true doctrine, and to defend his true worship; as Abraham taught Abimelech; Joseph the Egyptian Kings; and after them came David, Josaphat, Ezechias, Josias excelling in true godlinesse. Daniel converted to the knowledge of God the Kings of Chaldea and Persia. Also Brittany brought forth unto the world the godly Prince Constantine. In this number I wish you rather to be, than amongst the Enemies of Christ, defiled with Idolatry, and spotted with the blud of the godly; of whom God will take punishment, as he doth many times forewarne, and many examples do teach.

Example of good Princes.

Yet again therefore I pray and beseech you, for our Lord Jesus Christ, that you will correct and mitigate this Decree of the Bishops; in which doing you shall advance the glory of Christ, and provide as well for the wealth of your owne soul, as the safegard of your Churches.

Let the hearty desires of so many godly men through the whole world move you, so earnestly wishing that some good Kings would extend their authority to the true reformation of the Church of God, to the abolishing of all idolatrous worship, and the furthering of the course of the Gospel. Regard also and consider, I beseech you, those godly persons which are with you in bands for the Gospels sake, being the true members of Christ.

He meaneth Sbaxton, Latimer, Cromer, and others.

And if that cruell Decree be not altered, the Bishops will never cease to rage against the Church of Christ, without mercy or pitty: for them the Devil useth as instruments and ministers of his fury

The devils instruments by whom he worketh.

and malice against Christ. These he stirreth up to slay and kill the members of Christ. Whose wicked and cruell procéedings and subtil sophisticatíons that you will not preferre before our true and most righteous request, all the godly most humbly and hartily do pray and beseech you. Which if they shall obtain, no doubt but God shall recompence to you great rewards for your piety, and your excellent vertue shall bee renowned both by pen and voice of all the godly, whiles the world standeth. For Christ shall judge all them that shall deserve either well or evil of his Church. And whiles letters shall remain, the memoriall worthy of such noble deserts shall never die or bee forgotten with the posterity to come. And séeing we séek the glory of Christ, and that our Churches are the Churches of Christ, there shall never be wanting such as both shall defend the righteous cause, and magnifie with due commendation such as have well deserved, and likewise shall condemne the unjust cruelty of the enemies.

Christ goeth about hungry, thirsty, naked, prisoned, complaining of the raging fury of the Bishops, and of the wrongfull oppression and cruelty of divers Kings and Princes, intreating that the members of his body bee not rent in pieces, but that true Churches may be defended, and his Gospel advanced. This request of Christ to hear, to receive, and to embrace, is the office of a godly king, and service most acceptable unto God.

Intreating a little before, of certain old instruments for proof of Priests lawfull marriage in times past, I gave a little touch of a certain Record taken out of an old Martyrologue of the Church of Canturbury touching Livingus a Priest and his wife, in the time of Lanfrancke. Wherein I touched also of certain lands and houses restored again by the said Lanfranke to the Church of S. Andrew. Now for asmuch as the perfect note thereof is more fully come to my hands, and partly considering the restoring of the said lands to bee to Christs Church in Canturbury, and not S. Andrew in Rochester, and also for that I have found some other presidents approving the lawfull Marriage of Priests, and legitimation of their children, I thought good for the more full satisfying of the Reader, to enter the same, as followeth.

Livingus, Priest, and his wife.

A note out of an old Martyrologue of Canturbury.

Obiit Gulielmus Rex Anglorum, &c. Hic reddidit Ecclesiæ Christi omnes fere terras, &c. That is, After the death of William King of England, the said Lanfrancke restored again to Christs Church in Canturbury all the lands which from ancient memory unto these later dayes have been taken away from the right of the said Church. The names of which lands bee these: in Kent, Raculf, Sandwich, Rateburch, Wodetun, the Abbey of Limming, with the lands and customes unto the same Monastery belonging, Saltwude, &c. (Stocke and Denentun, because they belonged of old time to the Church of S. Andrew, them he restored to the same Church) in Sutherey, Mutelac, the Abbey of S. Mary in London, with the lands and houses which Livingus priest, and his wife had in London. All these Lanfrancke restored again for the health of his owne soul, freely and without money, &c.

Ex Archivis Eccl. Cant.

S. Andrews church in Rochester.

Livingus priest and a married man.

A note for the legitimation of Priests children, Extermino Michael. Anno 21. Hen.7. fol.59. pag.2.

M.21.H.7. NOte, that in the nine and twentieth year of this King, in an Assise at Warwicke, before Sir Guy Fairfax, and Sir Iohn Vavisour, it was found by Verdict, that the father of the tenant had taken the Order of Deacon, and after married a wife, and had issue, the tenant died, and the issue of the tenant did enter. Vpon whom the plaintiffe did enter as next heir collaterall to the father of the tenant. Vpon whom he did reenter, &c. and for difficulty, the Iustices did adjourne the Assise. And it was debated in the Eschequer Chamber: If the tenant shall bee a Bastard, &c. And heer by advice it was adjudged that hee shall not bee a Bastard, &c. ¶ Frowicke chiefe Iustice said to mee in the nine and twentieth year of Henry the Seventh, in the common place, that he was of counsaile in this matter, and that it was adjudged as before, which Vavisour did grant. ¶ And Frowicke said, that if a Priest marry a wife, and hath issue and dieth, his issue shall inherite, for that the espousals bee not void, but voidable. ¶ Vavisour, if a man take a Nun to wife, this espousall is void.

A deacon taketh a wife, hath issue and dieth, the issue adjudged no bastard.

Frowickes opinion that the issue of a Priest shall inherite.

¶ Note that in the later impression of Henry the seventh his years of the law, this word Priest in this case aforesaid in some books is left out; whether of purpose or by negligence, I leave it to the Reader to judge.

Another note for legitimation of Priests Children.

AD Curiam generalem D. Philippi & D. Mariæ Dei gratia, &c. xvi. die Iulii, Anno Reg. dict. Regis & Reginæ, primo & tertio irrotulatur sic. Præsentatum est per totum homagium quod Simon Heynes "Clericus diu ante istam Curiam, vid. per duos annos jam elapsos, fuit seisitus secundum consuetudinem hujus Manerii in Dominico suo ut de feodo, de & in 2. Acris Terræ, parcellis de xxxv. Acris & dimid. Terræ, nuper in tenura Iohannis Heynes. Ac de & in uno tenemento vocato Bernardes, nuper in tenura Iohannis Cotton. Ac de & in lvii. Acris & iii. Rodis Terræ & pasturæ, sive plus sive minus, prout jacent in Campis de Myldenhal prædicta in diversis speciis, ut patet in Curia hic tenta die Iovis proximo post festum Sancti Lucæ Euangelistæ, An. regni regis Henrici viii, xxxviii. Nec non de & in xii. Acris terræ nativæ jacentibus in Townefield & Twamelfield in diversis peciis. Ac de & in quatuor acris & dimidio terræ jacent. in Myldenhal præd: Ac de & in quinque rodis terræ jacent. in Halywelfield. Quapropter præmissa idem Simon nuper habuit exsursum redditione Willielmi Heynes, prout patet in curia hic tenta die Martis proximo post dominicam in Albis an. reg. Regis Ed. vi. primo. Et sic seisitus idem Simon de omnibus supradict. præmissis, inde obiit solus seisitus. Et quod Ioseph Heynes est filius & hæres ejus propinquior & modo ætatis quinque annorum & amplius. Qui quidem Ioseph præsens hic in curia in propria persona sua petit se admitti ad omnia supradict. præmissa tanquam ad jus & hæred. suam. Et D. Rex & D. Regina ex gratia sua speciali, per Clementem Heigham militem Seneschallum suum, concesserunt ei inde seisinam tenend. sibi, hæred. & assignat. ejus, per virgam ad voluntatem dict. D. Regis & D. Reginæ secundum consuetudinem hujus manerii, per servitia & redditus inde debita, &c. Salvo jure, &c. Et dat. Dom. Regi & D. Reginæ v. li. de fine pro ingressu suo habendo, & fidelitas inde respectuatur quousque, &c. Et ulterius consideratum est per Curiam quod dict. Ioseph est infra ætatem ut præfertur. Ideo determinatum est & concessum est per consensum curiæ quod Iohanna Heynes nuper uxor præd. Simonis, ac mater præd. Ioseph habebit custodiam ejusdem Ioseph, quousque idem Ioseph pervenerit ad suam legitimam ætatem.

"Note that this Simon Heynes a Doctour an Priest is not called otherwise here in forme of law then Clericus, as in the evidences before other Priests are called.

Note that the opinion of Frowicke hath alway been taken be law, as may appear by this precedent that passed before Sir Clement Heigham being learned the law, and late chiefe Baron of the Chequer in the time of late Queen Mary.

Concerning these six articles passed in this act aforesaid, in the one and twentieth yeare of King

The penalty of the six articles decla

Henry, sufficiently hitherto hath bin declared, first what these articles were: Secondly, by whom, and from whom they chiefly proceeded: thirdly, how erroneous, pernicious, repugnant, and contrarious to true doctrine, Christian Religion, and the word of God, to nature also it selfe, all reason and honesty, and finally to the ancient lawes, customes, and examples of our fore-elders, during the dayes of a thousand yéars after Christ they were. Fourthly, ye have heard also what unreasonable & extream penalty was set upon the same, that a man may déeme these lawes to be written not with the inke of Stephen Gardener, but with the blood of a Dragon, or rather the clawes of the Divell. The breach whereof was made no lesse than treason and felony, and no lesse punishment assigned thereto than death.

Tacuis leges sub guine scripti.

Besides all this, the words of the Act were so curious and subtile, that no man could speake, write, or cypher against them, without present danger, yea scarcely a man might speake any word of Christ and his religion, but he was in perill of these six Articles. Over and besides, the Papists began so finely to interpret the Act, that they spared not to indite men for abusing their countenance and behaviour in the Church. So great was the power of darknesse in those dayes. And thus much concerning this Act.

Festus tenebrum.

Besides these six articles in this aforesaid Act concluded, there was also another constitution annexed withall, not without the advice (as may séeme) of the Lord Cromwell, which was this: That priests and ministers of the Church, séeing now they would néeds themselves be bound from all Matrimony, should therefore by law likewise be bound to such honesty & continency of life, that carnally they should use, and accustome no manner of woman married or single by way of advoutry, or fornication; the breach whereof for the first time was to forfeit goods, and to suffer imprisonment at the kings pleasure: and for the second time, being duly convicted, it was made felony, as the other were.

1 act against fication of married p ests.

In this constitution, if the Lord Cromwell and other good men of the parliament might have had their will, there is no doubt, but the first crime of these concubinary Priests, as well as the second, had had the same penalty, as the other six articles had, and should have bin punished with death. But Stephen Gardener with his fellow Bishops, who then ruled all the rost, so bassed this extraordinary Article with their accustomed shifts, that if they were taken and duly convict for their not castè, nor caute, at first time it was but forfeit of goods. Also for the second conviction or attainder they so provided, that the next yeare following, that punishment and pain of death by act of parliament was clean wiped away and repealed. And why so? Because, saith the statute, that punishment by paine of death is very sore, and much extreame, therefore it pleaseth the King, with the assent of the Lords, that that clause above written concerning fellony, and paines of death, and other penalties and forfeitures, for and upon the first and second conviction or attainder of any priest or woman for any such offences of whoredome, or advoutry aforesaid, shall be from henceforth void and of none effect, &c. So that by this statute it was provided, for all such votaries as lived in whoredome and adultery, for the first offence to lose his goods, and all his spirituall promotions except one; for the second, to forfeit all that he had to the king; for the third conviction to sustaine continuall imprisonment.

St. An. 22. K. Hen. 8. c. 10.

Great a gainst the kingdome of p ests quallified and after wht manner.

Gr manifest impiety of the p ests doctrine disclosed.

In these ungodly procéedings of the popes Catholike clergie two things we have to note.

1 First, the horrible impiety of their doctrine, directly fighting against the expresse authority of God and his Word, for asmuch as that which God permitteth they restrain; that which he bids they forbid. Habeat, saith he, Non habeat, say they, taking exceptions against the word of the Lord. That which he calleth honourable and undefiled, they call heresie; that which he commandeth and instituteth, they punish with paine of death. Not onely the priests that marry, but them also that say or cypher that a priest may marry, at the first they kill as fellons. Neither can any Miserere take place for chaste and lawfull wedlock; whereas contrariwise a spirituall man may thrice defile his neighbours wife, or thrice defloure his brothers daughter, and no felony at all layed to his charge. What is this in plain words to say, but that it is lesse sin thrice to commit advoutry, than once to marry?

Dilemma against votaries that will not marry.

2 The second is to be noted, how these painted hypocrites doe bewray their false dissembled dealings unawares, with whō a man might thus reason. Tell us you priests and votaries, which so precisely flie the state of matrimony, intend you to live chaste & are able so to do without wives, or do you kéep your selves honest & chast without them, without burning, or not? If you be not able, why then marry you not? Why take you not the remedy appointed of God? why make you those vowes, which you cannot performe? Or why doe you not breake them being made, falling thereby in danger of breaking Gods commandment, for kéeping your own? If you be able & so do intend to continue an honest and a continent conuersation without wives, then shall I aske of you according as Doctor Turner gravely and truly layeth to your charge; Why do you so carefully provide a remedy by your lawes aforehand for a mischiefe to come, which you may avoyd if you list, unlesse either ye listed not to stand though you might, or else saw your own infirmity, that you could not though you would? And therefore, fearing your own weake fragilitie, you provide wisely for your selves aforehand, that where others shall suffer paine of death at the first for well doing, you may fall thrice in abhominable adultery, and yet by the law have your lives pardoned.

D. Turner hunting the Romish Fox.

The papists bewray their own hypocrisie.

And here commeth out your own hypocrisie by your selves bewrayed; for whereas you all confesse, that you are able to live chaste if ye will without wives, this moderation of the law provided before against your adbouterous incontinency, plainely declareth that either ye purpose willingly to fall, at least ye feare and stand in doubt not to be able to stand. And why then do you so confidently take such vowes upon you, standing in such doubt and feare for the performance thereof?

And be it to you admitted that all doe not fall, but that some kéep their vow, though some viciously run to other mens wives and daughters; then here again I ask you, séeing these vicious whore-hunters and adboutrous persons among you doe live vitiously, (as you cannot deny) and may doe otherwise if they list, as you confesse, what punishment then are they worthy to have, which may live continent and will not, neither yet will take the remedy provided by God, but refuse it? Which being so, then what iniquity is this in you, or rather impiety inexcusable against God? a man, to procure a moderation of law for you, & to shew such compassion & clemency to these so heinous adulterers, whore-hunters, & beastly fornicators, that if they adulterat other mens wives neuer so oft, yet there is no death for them; & to shew no compassion at all, nor to finde out any moderation for such, but at the very first to kill them as fellons & heretikes, which honestly doe marry in the feare of God, or once say that a priest may marry? How can ye here be excused, O you children of iniquity? What reason is in your doing, or what truth in your doctrine, or what feare of God in your hearts?

The impiety of the papists inexcusable.

you that neither are able to avoid burning and pollution without wedlocke, nor yet will receive that remedy that the Lord hath given you, how will you stand in his face, when he shall reveale your operations and cogitations to your perpetuall confusion, unlesse by time ye convert and repent? And thus being ashamed of your execrable doings, I cease to defile my pen any further in this so stinking matter of yours, leaving you to the Lord.

Reade before.

¶ It was declared before, that what time these six Articles were in hand in the parliament house, Cranmer, then being Archbish. of Canterbury, only withstood the same, disputing three daies against them; whose reasons & arguments I wish were extant and remaining. After these articles were thus passed and concluded, the King, who always bare especiall favour unto Cranmer, perceiving him to be not a little discomforted therewith, sent all the Lords of the Parliament, and with them the Lord Cromwell, to dine with him at Lambeth (as is before declared) and within few daies also upon the same, requiring that he would give a note of all his doings and reasonings in the said parliament: Which the said Cranmer effsones accomplished accordingly, drawing out his reasons and allegations; the copy whereof, being faire written out by his Secretary, was sent and delivered unto the King, and there remained.

Cranmers reasons and allegations against the six articles written to the K.

Now after these things thus discussed, as touching the six wicked articles, it followeth next, in returning to the order of our storp againe, to declare those things which after the setting out of these articles ensued, comming now to the time and story of the Lord Cromwell, a man whose worthy fame and deeds are worthy to live renowned in perpetuall memory.

The History concerning the life, acts, and death of the famous and worthy Counsellour Lord *Thomas Cromwell* Earle of Essex.

The story of the L. Thom. Cromwell.

THomas Cromwell although borne of a simple Parentage, and house obscure, through the singular excellency of wisdome, and dexterity of wit wrought in him by God, coupled with like industry of minde, and deserts of life, rose to high preferment and authority; insomuch that by steps and staires of office and honour, he ascended at length to that, that not only he was made Earle of Essex, but also most secret and deare counsellor to King Henry, and Vicegerent unto his person, which office hath not commonly been supplyed, at least not so fruitfully discharged within this realm.

The base degree of the L. Cromwell recompenced with noble ornaments.

First as touching his birth, he was borne at Putney or thereabout, being a Smiths son, whose mother married after to a Shéereman. In the simple estate and rude beginnings of this man, as of divers other before him, we may sée and learn, that the excellency of noble vertues and heroical prowesses, which advance to fame and honour, stand not only upon birth and blod, as privileges only entailed and appropriate to noble houses; but are disposed indifferently, and proceed of the gift of God, who raiseth up the poore abject many times out of the dunghill, and matcheth him in Throne with Péeres and Princes, Psal. 113.

Commendation of the L. Cromwell.

As touching the order and manner of his comming up, it would be superfluous to discourse what may be said at large; only by way of storp it may suffice to give a touch of certain particulars, and so to proceed. Although the humble condition and poverty of this man was at the beginning (as it is to many other) a great let and hinderance for vertue to shew her selfe, yet such was the activity and forward ripenesse of nature in him, so pregnant in wit, and so ready he was, in judgement discréet, in tongue eloquent, in service faithfull, in stomacke couragious, in his pen active, that being conversant in the sight of men, he could not be long unespied, nor yet unprovided of favour and helpe of friends to let him forward in place and office. Neither was any place or office put unto him, whereunto he was not apt and fit. Nothing was so hard which with wit & industry he could not compasse. Neither was his capacity so good, but his memory was as great in retaining whatsoever he had attained. Which well appeareth in canning the text of the whole new Testament of Erasmus translation without book, in his journey going and comming from Rome, whereof you shall heare anon.

Thomas Cromwell learned the new Testament in Latine without booke.

Thus in his growing yeares, as he shot up in age and ripenesse, a great delight came in his minde to stray into forreine countries, to sée the world abroad, and to learn experience; whereby he learned such tongues and languages as might better serve for his use hereafter.

And thus passing over his youth being at Antwerp he was there retained of the English Merchants, to be their Clerk or Secretary, or in some such like condition placed pertaining to their affaires.

The towne Boston.

It happened the same time that the towne of Boston thought good to send up to Rome, for renewing of their two pardons, one called the great pardon, the other the lesser pardon. Which thing although it should stand them in great expences of money (for the popes merchandise is always deare ware) yet notwithstanding such sweetnesse they had felt thereof, and such gain to come to their towne by that Romish merchandise (as all superstition is commonly gainfull) that they like good Catholique merchants, and the popes good customers, thought to spare for no cost, to have their leases againe of their pardons renewed, whatsoever they paid for the fine. And yet was all this good religion then, such was the lamentable blindnesse of that time.

The popes merchandise deare ware. Superstition commonly gainfull.

The Pope leases of pardons.

This then being so determined & decréed among my countrimen of Boston, to have their pardons néeds repaired and renued from Rome, one Geffrey Chambers with another champion was sent for the messengers, with writings and money, no small quantity, well furnished, and with all other things appointed, necessary for so chargeable and costly exploit. Who comming in his journey to Antwerp, and misdoubting to be too weak for the compassing of such a weighty piece of worke, conferred and perswaded with Thomas Cromwell to associat him in that legacy, & to assist him in the contriving thereof. Cromwel although perceiving the enterprise to be of no small difficulty, to traverse the popes Court, for the unreasonable expences amongst those grédy Cormorants, yet having some skil of the Italian tongue, and as yet not grounded in the judgement of religion in those his youthfull daies, was at length obtained and content to give the adventure, and so took his journey towards Rome. Cromwell loth to spend much time, and more loth to spend his money; and again perceiving that the popes grédy humour must néeds be served with some present or other (for without rewards there is no doing at Rome) began to cast with himself, what thing best to devise wherein he might best serve the popes devotion.

Cromwell goeth to Rome.

At length having knowledge how that the popes holy toth greatly delighted in new fangled strange delicates, and dainty dishes, it came in his minde to prepare certain fine dishes of gelly, after the best fashion, made after our countrey manner here in England,

England, which to them of Rome was not known nor seene before.

This done, Cromwell observing his time accordingly, as the Pope was newly come from hunting into his pavilion, he with his companions approched with his English presents brought in with a three mans song (as wee call it) in the English tongue, and all after the English fashion. The pope suddenly marvelling at the strangenesse of the song, and understanding that they were English men, and that they came not emptie handed, willed them to be called in. Cromwell there shewing his obedience, and offering his jolly junkets, such as Kings and Princes onely, said he, in the Realme of England use to feed upon, desired the same to be accepted in benevolent part, which he and his companions, as poore suters unto his Holinesse, had there brought and presented, as novelties meet for his recreation, &c.

Pope Julius, seeing the strangenes of the dishes, commanded by and by his Cardinall to take the assay. Who in tasting thereof liked it so well, and so likewise the pope after him, that knowing of them what their sutes were, and requiring them to make knowne the making of that meat, he incontinent, without any more adoe, stamped both their pardons as well the greater as the lesser.

And thus were the jolly pardons of the towne of Boston obtained as you have heard, for the maintenance of their decayed port. The copie of which pardons (which I have in my hands) briefely comprehended, commeth to this effect; That all the Brethren and Sisters of the Gilde of our Lady in S. Botolphes Church at Boston, should have free licence to chuse for their Confessour or ghostly Father whom they would, either secular Priest, or religious person, to assoile them plenarily from all their sins, except onely in cases reserved to the Pope.

Also should have licence to carry about with them an Altar-stone, whereby they might have a Priest to say them Masse, or other divine Service where they would, without prejudice of any other Church or Chappell, though it were also before day, yea and at three of the clocke after midnight in the summer time.

Furthermore, that all such brethren and sisters of the said Gilde, which should resort to the Chappell of our Lady in Saint Botolphes Church at the feast of Easter, Whitsuntide, Corpus Christi, the nativitie or assumption of our Lady, or in the Octaves of them, the feast of Saint Michael, and first Sunday in Lent, should have pardon no lesse then if they themselves personally had visited the stations of Rome.

Provided that every such person, man or woman, entring into the same Gilde, at his first entrance should give to the finding of seven Priests, twelve Quiristers, and thirteene Beadelmen, and to the lights of the same brotherhood and a Grammar schole, five shillings eight pence, and for every yeere after twelve pence.

And these premisses being before granted by Pope Innocentius, and Pope Julius the second, this Pope Clement also confirmed, granting moreover, that whatsoever brother or sister of the same Gilde, through povertie, sicknesse, or any other let could not resort personally to the said Chappell, notwithstanding he should be dispensed withall, as wel for that, as for all other vowes, irregularities, censures Canonicall whatsoever, onely the vow of going the Stations of Rome, and going to S. Iames of Compostella excepted, &c.

He also granted unto them power to receive full remission, a pœna & culpa, once in their life, or in the houre of death.

Item, that having their Altar stone, they might have Masse said in any place, though it were unhallowed. And in the time of interdict, to have Masse or any Sacrament ministred: and also being departed, that they might be buried in Christian buriall notwithstanding the interdict.

Extending moreover his Grant, to all such Brethren and Sisters, in resorting to the foresaid Chappell of our Lady upon the nativitie, or assumption of our Lady, giving supportation to the foresaid Chappell, at every such Festivall day to have full Remission of their sinnes. Or if they for any impediment could not be present at the Chappell aforesaid, yet if they came unto their owne Parish Church, and there said one Pater noster, and Ave Maria, they should enjoy the same remission above specified; or whosoever came every Fryday to the same Chappell, should have as much Remission, as if he went unto the Chappell of our Lady called Scala Cœli.

The Chappell of *Scala Cœli* about Rome.

Furthermore, that whatsoever Christian people, or what estate or condition soever, either spirituall or temporall, would aid and support the Chamber-laines or Substitutes of the foresaid Gilde, should have five hundred yeres of pardon.

Item, to all Brethers and Sisters of the same Gilde was granted free liberty to eate in the time of Lent, or other fasting dayes, Egges, Milke, Butter, Cheese, and also flesh, by the counsell of their ghostly Father and Physitian, without any scruple of conscience.

The Pope selleth egges, butter and, cheese.

Item, that all partakers of the same Gilde, and being supporters thereof, which once a quarter, or every Fryday or Saturday, either in the said Chappell in Saint Botolphes Church, or any other Chappell, of their devotion, shall say a Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and Creed, or shall say or cause to be said Masses, for soules departed in paines of Purgatory, shall not onely have the full Remission due to them which visite the Chappell of Scala Cœli, or of S. John Lateran, but also the soules in Purgatory shall enjoy full remission, and be released of all their paines.

Pardon for soules in Purgatory.

Item, that all the Soules departed of the Brothers and Sisters of the said Gilde, also the soules of their Fathers and Mothers shall be partakers of all the Prayers, Suffrages, Almoses, Fastings, Masses, and Pattens, Pilgrimages, and all other good deedes of all the holy Church militant for ever, &c.

These Indulgences, Pardons, Grants, and Relarations were given and granted by Pope Nicholas the fifth, Pope Pius the second, Pope Sixtus, and Pope Julius the second, of which Pope Julius it seemeth that Cromwell obtained this Pardon aforesaid about the yere of our Lord, 1510. Which Pardon againe afterward through the request of King Henry, Anno, 1526, was confirmed by Pope Clement the seventh. And thus much concerning the Pardon of Boston, renewed by the meanes of Thomas Cromwell, of Pope Julius the second.

Ex literis papæ Clementis 7. ad Guliel. Warramum Archiep.

All this while it appeareth, that Cromwell had yet no sound taste nor judgement of Religion, but was wild and youthfull, without sense or regard of God and his Word as he himselfe was wont oftimes to declare unto Cranmer Archbishop of Canturbury, shewing what a Ruffian he was in his young dayes, and how he was in the Warres of the Duke of Bourbon at the siege of Rome, also what a great doer he was with Geffrey Chambers in publishing and setting forth the Pardon of Boston every where in Churches as he went, and so continued, till at length by learning the Text of the New Testament without booke of Erasmus translation in his going and comming from Rome (as is aforesaid) he began to be touched and called to better understanding.

Cromwell was in the wars of the Duke of Bourbon besieging Rome.

In this meane time Thomas Wolsey Cardinall of Yorke began to beare a great port in England, and almost to rule all under the King, or rather with the King, so that the freshest wits, and of best

Cromwell receiued into the Cardinals seruice.

towardnesse, most commonly sought unto him. Among whom was also Thomas Cromwell to his seruice aduanced, where hée continued a certaine space of yéeres, growing up in office and authoritie, till at length he was preferred to be solicitour to the Cardinall.

Cromwell solicitour to the Cardinall.

There was also about the same time, or not much different, in the household of the said Cardinall, Thomas Moze, afterward Knight and Chancellor of England, and Steven Gardiner after Bishop of Winchester and of the Kings Counsell. All these three were brought up in one household, and all of one standing almost together. Whose ages as they were not greatly discrepant, nor their wits much unequall; so neither was their fortune and aduancements greatly diuers, albeit their dispositions and studies were most contrary. And though peradventure in Moze and in Gardiner there was moze art of the letters, and skill of learning, yet notwithstanding there was in this man a moze heauenly light of the minde, and moze prompt and perfect iudgement, eloquence equall, and as may be supposed in this man moze pregnant, and finally in him was wrought a moze heroicall and Princely disposition, borne to greater affaires in the Common-wealth, and to the singular helpe of many.

Cromwell, Moze, and Gardiner, companions in the Cardinals house.

A comparison betweene Cromwell, Moze, and Gardiner.

It happened that in this meane season, as Cromwell was placed in this office to be Solicitour to the Cardinall, the said Cardinall had then in hand the building of certaine Colledges, namely his Colledge in Oxford, called then Frideswide, now Christs Church. By reason whereof, certaine small Monasteries and Priories, in diuers places of the Realme, were by the said Cardinall suppressed, and the lands seised to the Cardinals hands. The doing whereof was committed to the charge of Thomas Cromwell. In the expedition whereof he shewed himselfe very forward and industrious, in such sort as in the handling thereof he procured to himselfe much grudge with diuers of the superstitious sort, and with some also of Noble calling about the King. And thus was Cromwell first set awoorke by the Cardinall, to suppresse Religious houses. Which was about the yéere of our Lord, 1525.

Small Monasteries suppressed by the Cardinall.

Cromwell first set a woorke by the Cardinall to suppresse religious houses.

As this passed on, it was not long, but the Cardinall which had gotten up so high began to come downe as fast, first from the Chancellorship (in which rome was placed Sir Thomas Moze, as is before said) then he fell into a premunire; So that his household being dissolued, Thomas Cromwell, amongst other, laboured also to be retained into the Kings seruice.

Sir Christopher Hales helper of Cromwell to the King.

There was at the same time one Sir Christopher Hales Knight, Master of the Rolles, who notwithstanding was then a mighty Papist; yet bare he such fauour and good liking to Cromwell, that he commended him to the King, as a man most fit for his purpose, having then to doe against the Pope. But here before is to be understood, that Cromwell had greatly béene complained of, and defamed by certaine of authority about the King, for his rude manner and homely dealing in defacing the Monkes houses, and in handling of their Altars, &c. Wherefore the King, hearing of the name of Cromwell, began to detest the mention of him, neither lacked there some slanders by, who with reuiling words ceased not to increase and inflame the Kings hatred against him: what their names were it shall not néed here to recite. Among other, there present at the same hearing, was the Lord Russel Earle of Bedford, whose life Cromwell before had preserued at Bonony, through politicke conueiance, at what time the said Earle, comming secretly in the kings affaires, was there espied, and therefore being in great danger to be taken, through the meanes and policy of Cromwell escaped.

Cromwell commended to the King by sir Christopher Hales Master of the Rolles.

Cromwell complained of to the King.

This Lord Russell therefore not forgetting the old benefits past, and with like gratuity willing againe to requite that he had receiued, in a vehement boldnesse stood forth, to take upon him the defence of Thomas Cromwell, uttering before the King many commendable words in the behalfe of him, and declaring withall how by his singular deuice and policy he had done for him at Bonony, being there in the Kings affaires in extreme perill. And forasmuch as now his Majesty had to doe with the Pope, his great enemy, there was (he thought) in all England none so apt for the Kings purpose, which could say or do more in that matter, then could Thomas Cromwell, & partly gaue the king to understand wherein. The king hearing this, & specially marking the later end of his talke, was contented and willing to talke with him, to heare and know what he could say.

The Lord Russel Earle of Bedford, through the policy of Cromwell, escaped at Bonony.

The Lord Russel commendeth Cromwell to the King.

This was not so priuily done, but Cromwell had knowledge incontinent that the King would talke with him, and whereupon; and therefore prouiding before hand for matter, had in a readinesse the copy of the Bishops oath, which they use commonly to make to the Pope at their consecration; and so being called for, was brought to the King in his garden at Westminster, which was about the yéere of our Lord 1530.

Cromwell brought to talke with the King.

Cromwell after most loyall obeysance, doing his duty to the King, according as he was demanded, made his declaration in all points; this especially making manifest unto his Highnesse, how his princely authoritie was abused within his owne Realme by the Pope and his Clergy, who being sworne unto him, were afterward dispensed from the same, and sworne anew unto the Pope; so that he was but as halfe King, and they but halfe his Subiects in his owne land: which (said he) was derogatory to his Crowne, and vtterly prejudicial to the Common-lawes of his Realme. Declaring thereupon how his Majesty might accumulate to himselfe great riches, so much as all the Clergy in his Realme was worth, if it so pleased him to take the occasion now offered. The King giuing good eare to this, and liking right well his aduice, required if he could auouch that which he spake. All this he could (he said) auouch to be certaine, so well, as that he had the copy of their owne oath to the Pope there present to shew, and that no lesse also he could manifestly proue, if his Highnesse would giue leaue; and therewith shewed the Bishops oath unto the King.

Cromwels words to the King concerning the premunire of the Clergy.

The King, following the veine of his counsell, tooke his Ring off his finger, and first admitting him into his seruice, sent him therewith to the Conuocation house among the Bishops. Cromwell comming with the Kings signet boldly into the Clergy house, and there placing himselfe among the Bishops (William Warham being then Archbishop) began to make his Oration, declaring unto them the authority of a King, and the office of subiects, and especially the obedience of Bishops and Churchmen under publique lawes, necessarily prouided for the profit and quiet of the Common-wealth. Which Lawes notwithstanding they had all transgressed, and highly offended in derogation of the Kings royall estate, falling in the Law of Præmunire, in that not onely they had consented to the power Legatiue of the Cardinall, but also in that they had all sworne to the Pope, contrary to the fealtie of their Soueraigne Lord the King, and therefore had forfeited to the King all their Goods, Chattels, Lands, Possessions, and whatsoeuer Liuings they had. The Bishops hearing this were not a little amased, and first began to excuse and deny the fact. But after that Cromwell had shewed them the very copy of their Oath made to the Pope at their Consecration, and the matter was so plaine that they could not deny it, they began to shrinke and to fall to entreatie, desiring respite to

Cromwell sent by the King to the Conuocation house.

For the copy of the Bishop oath to the Pope read before.

The Clergy condemned in the premunire.

pause

pause upon the matter. Notwithstanding, the end thereof fell so out, that to be quit out of that Præmunire by Act of Parliament, it cost them to the King for both the Provinces, Canturbury and Yorke, no lesse then one hundred eightéene thousand, eight hundred and forty pounds, which was about the yeere of our Lord, 1520. whereof before you may read more at large.

Sir Thomas Cromwell made knight and Master of the Kings Jewell house.

After this, Anno 1522. Sir Thomas Cromwell, growing in great favour with the King, was made Knight and Master of the Kings Jewell house, and shortly after was admitted also into the Kings Counsell, which was about the comming in of Quéene Anne Bullen. Furthermore, within two yéeres after the same, Anno 1524. he was made master of the Rols, doctor Tailor being discharged.

Cromwell made Master of the Rolles.

Thus Cromwell springing up in favour and honour, after this, in the yeere, 1537. a little before the birth of King Edward, was made Knight of the Garter, and not long after was advanced to the Earldome of Esser, and made great Chamberlaine of England. Over and besides all which honours, he was constitute also Vicegerent to the King, representing his person. Which office although it standeth well by the Law, yet seldome hath there béene séene any besides this Cromwell alone, either to have sustained it, or else to have so furnished the same with counsell and wisedome, as Cromwell did. And thus much hitherto concerning the steps and degrées of the Lord Cromwells rising up to dignitie and high estate.

Cromwell made knight of the Garter.

Lord Cromwell made Earle of Esser, great Chamberlain of England, and Vicegerent to the King.

Now somewhat would be said likewise of the noble Acts, the memorable examples, and worthy vertues not drowned by ease of honour in him, but increased rather, and quickned by advancement of authoritie and place, to worke more abundantly in the Commonwealth. Among the which his worthy acts and other manifold vertues, in this one chiefely above all other riseth his commendation, for his singular Zeale and laborious travell bestowed in restoring the true Church of Christ, and subverting the Synagogue of Antichrist, the Abbyes, I meane, and Religious houses of Friers and Monkes. For so it pleased Almighty God, by the meanes of the said Lord Cromwell, to induce the King to suppresse first the Chauntries, then the Friers houses and small Monasteries, till at length all the Abbyes in England, both great and lesse, were utterly overthrowne and pluckt up by the rootes. The which act and enterprise of him, as it may give a president of singular Zeale to all Realmes Christened, which no Prince yet to this day scarse dare follow; so to this Realme of England it wrought such benefit and commodity, as the fruit thereof yet remaineth, and will remaine still in the Realme of England, though we séeme little to féele it. Rudely and simply I speake what I suppose, without prejudice of other which can inferre any better reason. In the meane time my reason is this; That if God had not raised up this Cromwell as he did, to be the instrument of rooting out of the Abbyes and Cells of strange Religion, what other men sée I know not; for my part I never yet saw in this Realme any such Cromwell since Cromwels time, whose heart and courage might not sooner have béene subverted with the money and bribes of Abbats, then he to have subverted any Abbey in all England.

The acts and doings of the Lord Cromwell described.

The Lord Cromwell a profitable instrument in suppressing Abbats.

The defence of the Lord Cromwell over-throwing the Abbyes.

But here I must of necessitie answer the complaint of certaine of our Countrey men. For so I heare of many the subversion of these Monasteries to be reprehended, as evill & wicked. The building, say they, might have béene converted unto Scholes and houses of learning. The goods and possessions might have béen bestowed to much better and more godly use of the poore, and maintaining of hospitality. Neither doe I deny, but that these things are well and godly spoken of them, and could willingly embrace their opinion with my whole heart, if I did not consider herein a more secret and déeper meaning of Gods holy providence, then at the first blush peradventure to all men doeth appeare.

The abhominable life in Monasteries, bewrayed by their owne confession.

And first to omit the wicked and execrable life of these religious orders, full of all fedity, and found out by the kings visitors, and in their registers also recorded, so horrible to be heard, so incredible to be beléeved, so stinking before the face of God & man, that no marbell it is if Gods vengeance from heaven provoked would not suffer any stone or monument of these abhominable houses to be unplucked up. But, as I said, letting these things passe under chaste silence, which for very shame will abhorre any story to disclose, let us now come to the first institution of these orders and houses of monkery, and consider how and to what end they were first instituted and erected here among the Saxons, at the first foundation of them, about the time, 666.

Beade afore.

In the former part of this history, declaration was made before, first by whom, and at what time these Monkish houses here in England among the Saxons (flowing no doubt out of the order of Saint Benet, and brought in by Augustine) began first to be founded, as by Augustine the Monke, Furseus, Wedulphus, Adanus, Ceadda, King Ulferus, Oswius, Elfreda, King Oswis daughter Kineburga, Hilda, Botolphus, Edeldreda, King Oswald, Edgar, Erkenewaldus Bishop, Ethelwoldus Bishop of Winchester, Osketellus Archbishop of Yorke, Oswaldus Bishop of Worcester, Leswinus Bishop of Dorcester, Dunstan and divers others.

The first beginning of religious houses in time of the Saxons.

The end and finall cause why they were builded, appeareth in Stories to be, Pro remissione & redemptione peccatorum: pro remedio & liberatione animæ; pro amore cœlestis patriæ; in eleemosinam animæ; in remissionem criminum; pro salute regnorum, pro salute & requie animarum patrum & matrum, fratrum, & sororum nostrarum, parentum, & omnium benefactorum; in honorem gloriosæ Virginis, &c. As may appeare in ancient histories, in old Charters and Donations unto Religious houses, and in the Chronicle of Ingulphus, as also all other stories be full of the same.

The end and cause of building religious houses.

So King Ethelstane, for killing his brother Edwine, builded two monasteries, Middleton, and Michelney, for his soule. Which doctrine and institution, forsomuch as it tendeth and soundeth directly against the foundation of Christian religion, against the testament of God, the Gospell of Jesus Christ, the frédome of our redemption, and frée justification by faith, it is therefore to be condemned as execrable or horrible, as evill or worse then the life of the persons, and not onely worthy to be suppressed to the foundation, but to be marvelled rather, that God would suffer it to stand so long. Albeit Gods mighty vengeance and scourge hath not ceased from time to time to worke against such impious foundations from the time of their first setting up. For besides the invasions of the Danes (which may séeme to be stirred up of God, especially for the subversion of Abbyes) let old histories be searched, what Monastery almost in all this Realme was either left by the Danes, or reedified againe after the Danes, but by some notorious casualty of fire sent by Gods hand it hath béene burned up?

The damnable doctrine and institutions of religious sects and orders.

Gods continuall plague against Monasteries.

Ex Chronic. Gervasij. Ingulphi.

First, the monastery of Canturbury, called the house of Saint Gregory, was burnt, Anno 1145. and afterward againe burnt, Anno 1174. Ex Histor. Gervasij.

Peterborow. Walteri. Weekes. Hovedeni. Gualteri. Coventr. Fabiani.

The Abbey of Croyland also was twice burnt. Ex hist. Ingulph.

The Abbey of Peterborow twice set on fire, Anno 1070. Ex Chron. Peterb.

The Abbey of S. Maries in Yorke burnt, with the Hospitall also.

The Abbey of Norwich burnt.

The

The Abbey of S. Edmonds Bury burnt and destroyed, Ex chron. S. Edmund.

William. Malm sb.

The Abbey of Worcester.

The Abbey of Glocester was also burnt.

The Abbey of Chichester burnt.

The Abbey of Glastenbury burnt.

The Abbey of Saint Mary in Southwarke burnt.

Abbeyes burnt and plagued with fire.

The Church of the Abbey of Beverly burnt.

The Steeple of the Abbey of Evesham burnt.

These, with many other Monasteries moe, God brought downe to the ground, so that few or none of all the Monasticall foundations in all England, either before the Conquest, escaped the hands of the Danes and Scots, or else after the Conquest escaped destruction of fire, and that not without just cause deserved; for as the trade of their lives was too too wretched and beastiall, so the profession of their Doctrine was intolerable, fraught with all superstition, full of much Idolatry, and utterly contrary to the Grace of the Gospell and Doctrine of Christ.

The doctrine of the monkes worse then their lives.

Furthermore, the more these Abbeys multiplied, and the longer they continued, in time the more corruption still they drew unto them. And albeit we reade the name of Monkes to have continued from the old ancient time, yet notwithstanding the Monkes of those dayes were not like the Monkes of our time, nor their houses then like to our Abbeys now. So we reade of the Monkes of Bangor before the comming of Augustine; but those Monkes got their living with toyle and labour of their hands, and had no other lands nor Lordships to live upon. Againe, neither were they as Ministers then, but as lay men, according as Hierome describeth the Monkes of his time, saying, *Monachus non docentis, sed plangentis habet officium.* And againe he saith, *Alia causa est Monachi, alia Clerici; Clerici Oves pascunt; Ego pascor.* That is, A Monkes office is not to Preach, but to mourne. The state of a Monke is one thing, and the state of a Priest is another. Priests feed the Flocke of Christ, I am fed, &c.

16 q. Monachus.

16 q. 2 Alia causa Glossa.

Also in the story of Ingulphus Abbot of Croyland thus I finde. *Anno* 1075. *In Croylandiam primum installatus inveni tunc in isto Monasterio Croylandensi Monachos numero 62, Quorum quatuor laici fratres erant, præter aliorum Monasteriorum Monachos nostri capituli conprofessos, &c.* That is, Being installed in the Abbey of Croyland I found there to the number of sixty two Monkes. Of which Monkes, foure of them were Lay Brethren, besides the Monkes of other Monasteries which were also professed to our Chapter, &c.

Ex Chron. Ingulphi. Abbat. Croylandens.

Lay men received for Monkes into Monasteries.

Monkes forbidden to intermeddle in Ecclesiasticall matters.

The like matter also appeareth in the fourth Canon of the Councell of Chalcedon, where it is prohibited, *Ne Monachi se Ecclesiasticis negotijs immisceant, &c. Et Leo, Epist. 62. Vetat Monachos & laicos et si scientiæ nomine glorientur, admitti ad officium docendi & concionandi.* Whereof reade more before.

Thus it appeareth about or before the time of Hierome, that Monkes in the first Persecutions of the Primitive Church were Lay men, and companies of Christians associating themselves together, either for feare of persecution, or for the eschewing the company of Heathen Gentiles: afterward in continuance of time, when the Gentiles began to be called to Christianitie, the Monkes yet keeping their name, and growing in superstition, would not ioyne with other Christians, but kept still their brotherhods, dividing themselves from other Christians, and professing a kinde of life strange and divers from the common trade. Upon this diversity of life and profession followed also like diversitie of garments and attire differing from their other Brethren. After this moreover came in the rule of Saint Benedict, enioyning to them a prescribed forme of going, of wearing, of watching, sleeping, rising, praying, of silence, sole life and diet, and all things almost differing from the vulgar sort of common Christians.

Monkes fo lay men, th made Rega lars and C taries: at length mad Churchme by Pope B nifface.

Monkes diffe from other men in trade of life.

Monkes differ from other in apparell.

Whereby men, seeing their austerity, began to have them in great admiration. And thus growing up in opinion of Holinesse, of Lay men and Labourers they came at length to be Clergie men, and greatest doers of all other in Christs Religion; insomuch that at last there was none reputed almost for a Religious man or perfect Christian, unlesse he were a Monke: neither almost was any advanced to any dignitie of the Church, but either he was a Monke, or afterward he put on a Monkes weede. According as in the Stories of this Realme is to be seene, how in the time of Dunstane Archbishop of Canturbury, of Ethelwold Bishop of Worcester, and of Oswald Bishop of Winchester, Pope John the thirteenth, writing to King Edgar, willed him in his letters, to see in his Cathedrall Churches none to be promoted to be Bishops, but such as were of the Monasticall Religion, and willed him moreover to exclude the Secular Prebendaries at Winchester, and to place in Monkes, and that none of the Secular Clerkes there should be chosen Bishop, but either taken out of the same Covent of that Church, or of some other Abbey.

Monkes of lay men made Clergy men.

Pope John 13. wrote to King Edgar, that none should be made bishops but Monkes.

So was also King Henry the second commanded to doe in the house of Waltham, where the Secular Canons were removed out, and Regular Canons intruded. The same did Oswald Bishop with the Church of Worcester, likewise in their Sees did Dunstane Archbishop of Canturbury, Osketellus Archbishop of Yorke, Ethelwold Bishop of Worcester (who in stories is reported to be *Multorum fundator Monasteriorum*) Leswinus also Bishop of Dorcester, with other Bishops moe about the time and raigne of King Edgar. Odo Archbishop of Canturbury before Dunstane, Anno 934. after his election refused to take that dignitie upon him, before he had received the habit of a Monke in the Abbey of Florence in France, because as the story telleth (if it be true) *Nullus ad id tempus, nisi Monachali schemate indutus, Archiepiscopus fuisset, &c.* That is, Because all the Archbishops of Canturbury before him had beene Monkes, &c. In like maner Baldwinus also, Anno 1114. after he was elected Archbishop of Canturbury, tooke upon him the habit and profession of Wereton Abbey. And so did Reginaldus his next successor after him, &c.

Secular Priests put out, and Monkes intraded into Churches.

Ex Guliel. Malmesb. in vita Odonis.

Ex Neaburgens. lib. 4. cap. 33.

As concerning therefore the origine of Monkes, ye haue heard how first they began of Lay men only, leading a straiter life from the society of other persons, who then following the rule of Saint Benet, were called Regulars, and Votaries, and yet all this while had nothing to doe with any Ecclesiasticall ministery, till the time of pope Bonifacius the fourth, Anno 606, who then made a Decree, that Monkes might use the office of Preaching, of Christening, of hearing Confessions and assoyling them of their sinnes, differing from Priests onely in this, that they were called *Regulares*, and priests were called *Seculares*, the Monkes were Votaries, the Priests had free liberty to have wives, till the time of Lanfranke and Anselme, as is afore said. Albeit Athanasius, in his Epistle *ad Dracontium*, witnesseth also, that he knew Monkes in the old time, and Bishops, which were maried and had children. Furthermore, as ignorance and superstition with time increased, so the number and swarme of Monkes still more and more multiplied, in such sort as not onely they thrust out Secular Priests from their houses, but also out of them were made Popes, Cardinalls, Archbishops, and Bishops, to governe Churches. Of which number began Augustine the first Archbishop of the See of Canturbury, and the most part of all other Archbishops

Difference betweene Monkes & Priests.

bishops after him, untill the time of the conquest, and after.

The comming in of the friers.

All this while the Friers were not yet come, neither the discipline of S. Dominick, nor the testament of S. Frances, nor the order of the Austen brothers, nor of the Carmelits was yet heard of: which last of all came in with their pageants, and plaid their art likewise, an. 1220. being much more full of hypocrisie, blindnesse, Idolatry, and superstition, than were the monks: So that, what with monks on the one side, & with the friers on the other side, while all things were ruled by the rules of S. Benet, by the Canons of the pope, by the doctrine of S. Dominick, and by the testament of S. Francis, Christs Testament was troden under foot, the rule of Gods words neglected, true Christian religion defaced, faith forgotten, the right way of salvation abolished, sound doctrine oppressed, Christs servants persecuted, and the peoples soules uncomforted; yea, and the true Church of Christ almost clean extirped, had not Almighty God (who cannot forget his promise) provided remedy in time, in raising up this Cromwell his servant, and other like Champions, to cut up from the rot the houses of them, which otherwise would utterly have rooted up the house of the Lord, and had subverted a great part already.

The life of monkes & friers considered.

Wherefore, whosoever findeth himself aggrieved with Cromwels doings in suppressing these Monasteries of monks and friers, let him wisely consider with himself, first the doctrine, laws and traditions of these men, which he shall finde rebelling to the religion of Christ, pernitious to our salvation, derogatory to Christs glory, full of much blasphemy and damnable idolatry. Secondly, let him likewise well advise the horrible and execrable lives of these Clottsterers, or at the least search out the rolls & registers of matters found out by inquisition in K. Henry the eight his dates, against them; which here is not to be spoken of, unlesse we will speak as Matthew Paris speaketh of the Court of Rome, Cujus fœtor usque ad nubes fumum teterrimum exhalabat, That is, Whose filthy stinch, saith he, did breathe up a most pestiferous fume, even unto the clouds of heaven, &c.

The L. Crom well defendeth suppression Abbies.

All which things well considered, what marvell is it then, if God of his just judgement did set up the foresaid Lord Cromwell to destroy these sinfull houses, whom their owne corruptions could suffer no longer to stand? And as touching the dissipation of their lands and possessions to the hands of such as they were bestowed upon, if it so pleased the King, in bestowing those Abbey lands upon his Nobles and gentlemen, either to restore them again unto them from whence they came, or else to gratifie his nobility by that meanes of policy, not to mislike his doings, what is that to Cromwell? But they might, say you, have bene much better imployed to other more fruitfull uses. Briefly to answer thereunto, what may be done presently in a Common-wealth, is not enough to say, but what may also follow must be considered. If this throwing down of Abbeyes had happened in such free and reformed cities and countries, as are amongst the Germans, where the State governed and directed by lawes, rather then by rulers, remaineth alwaies alike and unmutable, who doubteth, but such houses there standing stil, the possessions might well be transported to such uses abovesaid, without any feare or perill? But in such realmes and kingdomes as this, where lawes and parliaments be not alwaies one, but are subject to the disposition of the Prince, neither is it certaine alwaies what Princes may come; the surest way therefore to send monkery and popery packing out of the realm, is to do with their houses and possessions as K. Henry here did, through the motion of the counsell of Cromwel. For else who seeth not in quéen Maries time, if either the houses of monkes had stood, or their lands had béen otherwise disposed than into the hands of such as they were, how many of them had béen restored & replenished again with monks and friers, in as ample wise as ever they were? And if Dukes, Barons, and the nobilities scarse were able to retain the lands and possessions of abbies distributed to them by K. Henry, from the devotion of quéen Mary séeking to build againe the walls of Jericho, what then should the meaner sort have done, let other men conjecture. Wherefore it is not unlike, but that Gods heavenly providence did well foresée and dispose these things before by this man, in working the destruction of these Abbies; Whereupon as often as he sent out any man to suppresse any monastery, he used most commōly to send them with this charge, that they should throw down those houses to the foundation.

Which words although it may séem percase to some to be cruelly spoken of him; yet contrariwise doe I suppose the doing thereof not to be without Gods speciall providence and secret guiding: Or else we might peradventure have had such swarms of friers & monkes possessed in their nests againe before this day in England, in so great a number, that ten Cromwels afterward unneth should have béen suffered to have unhoused them.

The utter ruine of monasteries was Gods worke.

Wherefore if the plantation, which the Lord God never planted, be plucked up by the rootes, let God alone with his working, and let the Monasteries goe.

Matt. 15.

Now that you have séen, what this Malleus Monachorum hath done in defacing the Synagogue of the pope, let us sée how the same Cromwell again did travell in setting up Christs Church and Congregation.

Malleus monachorum Cromwell.

After that the bishop of Romes power and authority was banished out of England, the bishops of his sect never ceased to seek all occasion how either to restore his head againe, being broken and wounded, or at the least to keepe upright those things which yet remained, wherein although their labours were not altogether frustrate, yet had they brought much more to passe, if Cromwel (as a mighty wall and defence of the Church) had not resisted continually their enterprises.

Cromwel the post & defence of the Church

It happened, that after the abolishing of the pope certaine tumults beganne to rise about Religion. Whereupon it séemed good unto K. Henry, to appoint an assembly of learned men and Bishops, which should soberly and modestly intreat and determine those things which pertained unto religion. Briefly, at the Kings pleasure all the learned men, but especially the bishops assembled, to whom this matter séemed chiefly to belong. Cromwell thought also to bee present himself with the bishops, who by chance méeting with Alexander Alesius by the way, a Scottish man, brought him with him to the convocation house, where all the bishops were assembled together. Which was in the year 1537. The bishops and prelats attending upon the comming of Cromwell, as he was come in, rose up & did obeisance unto him as to their Vicar Generall, and he again saluted every one in their degrée, and sate down in the highest place at the table, according to his degrée and office, and after him every bishop in his order, and doctors. First over against him sate the Archbishop of Canterbury, then the Archbish. of York, the bishops of London, Lincolne, Salisbury, Bath, Ely, Herford, Chichester, Norwich, Rochester, & Worcester, &c. There Cromwell in the name of the King (whose most deare and secret counsellor at that present he was, and Lord privy Seale, and Vicar generall of the Realm) spake these words in manner following.

An assembly of learned men appointed by the K.

Cromwell with Alexander Alesius resort to the assembly.

Cromwels oration to the Bishops.

RIght reverend fathers in Christ: The Kings Majesty giveth you high thankes that ye have so diligently

gently, without any excuse, assembled hither according to his commandement. And yee bee not ignorant that yee bee called hither to determine certaine controversies, which at this time bee moved concerning the Christian Religion and faith, not onely in this Realme, but also in all Nations thorow the world. For the King studieth day and night to set a quietnesse in the Church, and he cannot rest untill all such controversies be fully debated and ended, through the determination of you and of his whole Parliament. For although his speciall desire is to set a stay for the unlearned people, whose consciences are in doubt what they may beleeve; and he himselfe by his excellent learning knoweth these controversies well enough, yet hee will suffer no common alteration but by the consent of you and of his whole Parliament. By the which thing yee may perceive both his high wisedome, and also his great love toward you. And he desireth you for Christs sake, that all malice, obstinacy, and carnall respect set apart, yee will friendly and lovingly dispute among your selves of the controversies moved in the Church, and that you will conclude all things by the Word of God, without all brawling or scolding; neither will his Majesty suffer the Scripture to be wrested and defaced by any Glosses, any Papisticall lawes, or by any authority of Doctors or Councels, and much lesse will he admit any articles or doctrine not contained in the Scripture, but approved onely by continuance of time and old custome, and by unwritten verities, as ye were wont to do. Ye know well enough that ye be bound to shew this service to Christ and to his Church, and yet notwithstanding his Majestie will give you high thanks, if yee will set and conclude a godly and a perfect unity: whereunto this is the onely way and meane, if yee will determine all things by the Scripture, as God commandeth you in Deuteronomy, which thing his Majestie exhorteth and desireth you to doe.

Questions and controverses of religion necessary to be discussed.

False worshipping.

Ceremonies.

The kings request to the Bishops.

Matth. 5.

2 Tim. 2.

When Cromwell had ended this his Oration, the Bishops rose up all together, giving thankes unto the Kings Majesty, not onely for his great zeale toward the Church of Christ, but also for his most godly exhortation, worthy so Christian a Prince.

Immediately they rose up to disputation, where Stokesly Bishop of London, first of all, being the most earnest Champion and maintainer of the Romish Decrees, (whom Cromwell a little before had checked by name, for defending unwritten verities) indeavoured himselfe with all his labor & industry, out of the old Schole-Glosses, to maintain the seven sacraments of the Church; the archbishop of Yorke, Lincolne, Bathe, Chichester, and Norwich also favoured his part and sect. On the contrary part was the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Salisbury, Ely, Hereford, Worcester, with many other.

Stokesley defendeth the seven Sacraments.

All be not Sacraments of the new testament which may have the name of Sacraments.

After much communication had on either part, and that they had long contended about the testimony of the doctors, which as it seemed unto them dissented and disagreed among themselves, the Archbishop of Canterbury at the last spake and said thus unto them.

The Archb. of Canterburies Oration to the Bishops.

IT beseemeth not men of learning and gravity to make much babling and brawling about bare words, so that we agree in the very substance and effect of the matter. For to brawle about words is the property of Sophisters and such as mean deceit and subtilty, which delight in the debate and dissension of the world, and in the miserable state of the Church; and not of them which should seek the glory of Christ; and should study for the unity and quietnes of the Church: there be weighty controversies now moved and put forth, not of ceremonies and light things, but of the true understanding, and of the right difference of the Law and the Gospel; of the manner and way how sinnes be forgiven; of comforting doubtfull and wavering consciences, by what meanes they may be certified that they please God; seeing they feele the strength of the Law accusing them of sinne; of the true use of the Sacraments, whether the outward worke of them doth justifie man, or whether we receive our justification by faith. Item, which be the good works, and the true service and honour which pleaseth God; and whether the choice of meates, the difference of garments, the vowes of Monks and Priests and other traditions which have no Word of God to confirme them; whether these (I say) be right good workes, and such as make a perfect Christian man or no? Item, whether vaine service and false honouring of God, and mans traditions, do binde mens consciences or no? Finally, whether the ceremony of Confirmation, of Orders, and of anneling, and such other (which cannot be proved to be institute of Christ, nor have any word in them to certifie us of remission of sinnes) ought to be called Sacraments, and to be compared with Baptisme and the Supper of the Lord, or no?

Sophistication of words to be avoided in matters of waight.

These be no light matters, but even the principall points of our Christian Religion. Wherefore wee contend not about words and titles, but about high and earnest matters. Christ saith, **Blessed be the Peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God.** And Paul, writing unto Timothy, commanded Bishops to avoyd brawling and contention about words, which bee profitable to nothing but unto the subversion and destruction of the hearers: and moniseth him specially, that hee should resist with the Scriptures, when any man disputeth with him of the Faith; and hee addeth a cause whereas he saith, **Doing this thou shalt preserve both thy self, and also them which heare thee.** Now if yee will follow these Counsellors Christ and Paul, all contention and brawling about words must bee set apart, and ye must stablish a godly and a perfect unity and concord out of the Scripture. Wherefore in this disputation we must first agree of the number of the Sacraments, and what a Sacrament doth signifie in the holy Scripture, and when we cal Baptisme and the Supper of the Lord, Sacraments of the Gospell, what we meane thereby. I know right well that Saint Ambrose and other Authors call the washing of the Disciples feet and other things, Sacraments; which I am sure you your selves would not suffer to be numbred among the other Sacraments.

When he had ended his Oration, Cromwell commanded Alesius which stood by (whom he perceived to give attentive eare to that which was spoken) to shew his mind and opinion, declaring to the Bishops before, that he was the Kings Scholler, and therefore desired them to be contented to heare him indifferently.

Alesius, after he had first done his duty unto the Lord Cromwell and to the other Prelates of the Church, said in this wise.

Alex. Alesius reasoneth with the B.

Right honorable and noble Lord, and you most reverend Fathers and Prelats of the Church, although I come unprepared unto this disputation, yet trusting in the aid of Christ, which promiseth to give both mouth and wisedome unto us when we be required of our faith, I will utter my sentence and judgement of this Disputation. And I think that my Lord archbishop hath given you a profitable exhortation, that ye should first agree of the signification of a Sacrament, whether ye will call a sacrament a ceremony instituted of Christ in the Gospel, to signifie a speciall or a singular vertue of the Gospel, and of godlinesse (as Paul nameth remission of sins to be) or whether yee meane every ceremony generally, which may be a token or a sig-

The name of a Sacrament how farre extendeth.

signification of an holy thing to bee a sacrament? For after this later signification I will not sticke to grant you that there bee seven sacraments and more too, if yee will. But yet Paul seemeth to describe a sacrament after the just signification, whereas he saith, That Circumcision is a token and a seal of the righteousnesse of faith. This definition of one particular sacrament must be understood to appertain unto all sacraments generally, for the Jewes had but one sacrament onely, as all the sophisticall writers do grant. And he describeth Baptisme after the same manner, in the fifth to the Ephesians, whereas he saith, That Christ doth sanctifie the Church, that is to say, all that be baptized, through the Bath of water in the Word of Life. For here also he addeth the Word and promise of God unto the Ceremony. And Christ also requireth faith where he saith, Whosoever beleeveth and is baptized shall be saved.

And S. Augustine describeth a sacrament thus; The Word of God comming unto the Element maketh the Sacrament. And in another place he saith, A sacrament is a thing wherein the power of God, under the forme of visible things, doth work secretly salvation. And the Master of the sentences doth describe a sacrament no otherwise: A sacrament (saith he) is an invisible grace, and hath a visible forme: and by this invisible grace I meane (saith he) remission of sins. Finally, S. Thomas denieth that any man hath authority to institute a sacrament. Now if yee agree unto this definition of a sacrament, it is an easie thing to judge of the number of those sacraments which have the manifest Word of God, and be institute by Christ, to signifie unto us the remission of our sins.

S. Augustine saith that there be but two such sacraments, in the hundred and eightenth Epistle to Januarius. His words be these; First, I would have thee to understand the summe and effect of this Disputation, which is this: That our Lord Iesus Christ (as he himselfe saith in the Gospel) hath laden us but with a light and easie yoke or burthen. Wherefore he hath knit together the fellowship of his new people with Sacraments, very few in number, very easie to be kept, and very excellent in signification, which be Baptisme, and the Supper of the Lord, and such other, if there be any moe commanded in the holy Scripture, those except which were burthens for the servitude of the people in the old Law, for the hardnesse of their hearts, &c. And again in the third book of the learning of the Christian man, he saith, The Scripture hath taught us but few signes, as be the sacrament of Baptisme, and the solemne celebration and remembrance of the body and blood of the Lord, &c.

Then the Bishop of London, which could scarcely refrain himself all this while, and now could forbear no longer, brake out in this manner: First of all, saith he, where you alleage that all the sacraments which are in the Church instituted by Christ himselfe, have either some manifest ground in the Scriptures, or ought to shew forth some signification of remission of sins, it is false, and not to be allowed.

Then said Alesius, that he would prove it, not onely by manifest authorities of Scripture, but also by evident testimonies of ancient Doctours and School writers.

But the Bishop of Hereford (which was then lately returned out of Germany, where he had been Embassadour for the King to the Protestants) being moved with the bishop of Londons frowardnesse, turning himself first to Alexander Alesius, willed him not to contend with the Bishop in such manner, by the testimonies of Doctours and schoolmen, forsomuch as they do not all agree in like matters, neither are they stedfast among themselves in all points, but do vary, and in many points are utterly repugnant. Wherefore if this Disputation shall be decided by their mindes and verdicts, there shall be nothing established, neither shall appear any way of agreement to follow. Furthermore, we be commanded by the King, that these controversies should be determined onely by the rule and judgement of the Scripture. This he spake unto Alesius. Then he turning himself unto the Bishops, likewise admonished them with a grave and sharpe Oration, which we thought not good to omit in this place.

The Oration of Foxe Bishop of Hereford, unto the Bishops.

THink yee not (said he) that we can by any sophisticall subtilties steal out of the world again the light which every man doth see. Christ hath so lightened the world at this time, that the light of the Gospel hath put to flight all mysty darknesse, and it will shortly have the higher hand of all clouds, though we resist in vain never so much. The Lay people do now know the holy Scripture better then many of us. And the Germanes have made the Text of the Bible so plain and easie by the Hebrew and Greek Tongue, that now many things may be better understood without any Glosses at all, than by all the Commentaries of the Doctours. And moreover, they have so opened these controversies by their writings, that women and children may wonder at the blindenesse and falsehood that hath been hitherto. Wherefore yee must consider earnestly what yee will determine of these controversies, that yee make not your selves to be mocked and laughed to scorne of all the world, and that yee bring them not to have this opinion of you, to think evermore hereafter, that yee have neither one spark of learning, nor yet of godlinesse in you. And thus shall you lose all your estimation and authority with them, which before took you for learned men, and profitable members unto the Common-wealth of Christendome, For that which you do hope upon, that there was never heresie in the Church so great, but that processe of time, with the power and authority of the Pope, hath quenched it, it is nothing to the purpose. But yee must turne your opinion, and think this surely, that there is nothing so feeble and weak, so that it be true, but it shall finde place, and be able to stand against all falsehood.

The Gospel shining in all places.

The faithfull diligence of the Germans in translating the Bible.

The vulgar people not able to judge upon errours.

It is a vain hope to trust upon the popes authority.

Truth will come out at last.

Truth is the daughter of time, and time is the mother of truth. And whosoever is besieged of Truth cannot long continue, and upon whose side Truth doth stand, that ought not to be thought transitory, or that it will ever fall. All things consist not in painted eloquence and strength or authority. For the truth is of so great power, strength, and efficacy, that it can neither be defended with words, nor be overcome with any strength, but after shee hath hidden herself long, at length shee putteth up her head and appeareth, as it is written in Esdras. A King is strong, wine is strong, yet women be more strong; but Truth excelleth all.

Truth daughter of time.

The nature of truth.

3 Esdras 4.

To this effect, in a manner, and much more, did he speak and utter in that Convocation, both copiously and discreetly. Through whose Oration Alesius being encouraged, proceeded further, to urge the Bishop with this Argument.

¶ The Argument in forme.

Ba- Sacraments be seals ascertaining us of Gods good will.
ro- Without the Word there is no certainty of Gods good will.
co. Ergo, Without the Word there be no Sacraments.

Sacraments be seals certaining us of Gods good will.

The first part of this reason is Saint Pauls owne

owne saying, the fourth to the Romans, where he
Rom 4. saith, That Circumcision is a token and a seal of the righteousnesse of faith. Ergo, it requireth faith to certifie mans heart of the will of God. But the
The Word is the ground of faith. Word of God is the foundation of faith, as Saint Paul witnesseth. Rom. 10. Faith commeth by
Rom. 10. hearing, and hearing commeth by the Word of God. For the minde must be taught and instructed to the will of God by the Word, like as the eye is taught and instructed by the outward ceremony. And so Paul by that saying confuteth this opinion, that the Sacraments should make men righteous and just before God, for the very outward worke, without faith of them that receive them.

Ex opere operato.
Ephes. 5. And after this manner doth Paul speak unto the Ephesians, that Christ doth sanctifie his Church through the bathe of water in the Word of life. And for as much as he joyneth the Word unto the ceremony, and declareth the vertue and power of the Word of God, that it bringeth with it selfe, he doth manifestly teach that the Word of God is a principall thing, and even as it were the very substance and body of the Sacrament; and the outward ceremony to be in very deed nothing else but a token of that lively inflammation which we receive through Faith in the Word and Promise. Saint Paul also in ministring the Sacrament of the Lords supper, doth manifestly adde the words of Christ. He took Bread, saith he, and when he had given thanks, hee brake it and said, Take yee this, and eate yee this, for it is my Body. Item, Doe yee this in my remembrance. Beside this he teacheth evidently that onely Christ and none but he had power to institute a Sacrament; and that neither the Apostles, nor the Church hath any authority to alter or to adde any thing unto his Ordinance, whereas he saith, For I have received of the Lord that which I delivered unto you, &c. To what purpose should he go about to move the people to beleeve him, and to win their hearts with this protestation, if it had been lawfull for him to have made any Sacraments, or to have altered the forme and manner of ministring this Sacrament, as some men both wickedly and shamefully do affirme, that the Apostles did alter the forme of Baptisme.

Sacraments onely to be gathered out of the Word of God.

The institution of Christ ought not to be altered.
1 Cor. 11.

When he had spoken thus much, the Bishop of London did interrupt him and said; Let us grant that the Sacraments may be gathered out of the Word of God, yet are you farre deceived, if yée thinke that there is none other Word of God, but that which every Sowter and Cobler do reade in their mother tongue. And if yée think that nothing pertaineth unto the Christian faith, but that onely that is written in the Bible, then erre yée plainly with the Lutherans. For John saith, that Iesus did many things which be not written. And Paul commandeth the Thessalonians to observe and keep certain unwritten traditions and ceremonies. 2 Thess. 2. Moreover he himselfe did preach not the Scripture onely, but even also the traditions of the Elders, Acts 16. Finally we have received many things of the Doctors and Councels by times, which although they be not written in the Bible, yet forsomuch as the old Doctors of the Church do make mention of them, we ought to grant that we received them of the Apostles, and that they be of like authority with the Scripture, and finally that they may worthily be called the Word of God unwritten.

The answer of the Bishop of London against Alesius.

John 21.

2 Thess. 2.

Unwritten verities and traditions of fathers in equall force with Gods written Word.

Acts 16.

The unwritten Word of God.

Now when the right noble Lord Cromwell, the Archbishop, with the other Bishops, which did defend the pure doctrine of the Gospel, heard this, they smiled a little one upon another, forsomuch as they saw him flée even in the very beginning of the disputation, unto his old rusty sophistry and unwritten verities. Then Alesius would have proceeded further with the Bishop to have confuted this blasphemous lie; but the Lord Cromwell bad him be content, for the time began to go away, and it was twelve of the Clocke, and thus he made an end with his Protestation. Right reverend Master Bishop, you deny that our Christian faith and Religion doth lean onely upon the Word of God, which is written in the Bible: which thing if I can prove and declare, then you will grant me that there be no sacraments but those that have the manifest Word of God to confirme them. Unto this he did consent, and then immediately that assembly was dissolved for that day.

Stokesley laughed to scorne.

The next day when the Bishops were set again, the Archbishop of Canterbury sending his Archdeacon, commanded Alesius to abstain from disputation. Whereupon he wrote his minde, and delivered it to Cromwell, who afterward shewed the same unto the Bishops. Thus through the industry of Cromwell, the Colloquies were brought to this end, that albeit Religion could not wholly be reformed, yet at that time there was some reformation had throwout all England.

The publike care of Cromwell for the common wealth.

How desirous and studious this Cromwell was in the cause of Christs Religion, examples need not to be brought. His whole life was nothing else but a continuall care and travell how to advance and further the right knowledge of the Gospel, and reforme the house of God: as by so many Proclamations above specified, by his meanes set forth, may well appear, wherein first he caused the people to be instructed in the Lords prayer, and Creed in English. Then procured the Scripture also to be read and set forth in the same language for every English man to understand: after that, to rescue the bulgar people from damnable Idolatry, caused certain of the most grossest pilgrimages to be destroyed. And further, for the more commodity of the poor sort, which get their living with their daily labour, and worke of their hands, hee provided that divers idle holy dayes were diminished. Item he procured for them liberty to eate egges and whitemeat in Lent. Furthermore by him it was also provided for the better instruction of the people, that Beneficed men should be resident in their Cures and Parishes, there to teach, and to keep hospitality, with many other things else most fruitfully redressed for the reformation of Religion and behoof of Christs Church: as by the Proclamations, Injunctions, and necessary articles of Christian doctrine above specified, set forth in the Kings name, by his meanes, may more abundantly appear.

Reade af

Now to adjoyn withall his private benefits in helping divers good men and women at sundry times out of troubles and great distresses, it would require a long discourse. Briefely his whole life was full of such examples, being a man to that intent ordained of God (as his deeds well proved) to do many men good, and especially such as were in danger of persecution for religions sake. Amongst other infinite stories, one or two examples shall suffice for a testimony of his worthy doings.

¶ How Cromwell holpe a poor woman with childe out of great trouble, longing for a peece of meat in time of Lent.

Persecutors.	*Persecuted.*
Fishers wife of Harnesey.	Thomas Frebarne and his Wife.

The causes.

IN the yéer of our Lord 1538. Sir William Forman be-

A story of Frebarne's wife longing for a peece of meat in

KING HEN. 8.

Persecutors.	*Persecuted, and the causes.*
Doctor Cocks.	ing Maior of the Citie of London, three weekes before Easter, the wife of one Thomas Frebarne dwelling in Pater noster row, being with childe, longed after a morsell of a Pigge, and told her mind unto a maid dwelling in Abchurch lane, desiring her if it were possible to helpe her unto a piece. The maid perceiving her earnest desire, shewed unto her husband what his wife had said unto her, telling him that it might chance to cost her her life, and the childes too which she went with, if she had it not. Upon this, Thomas Frebarn her husband spake to a butter wife which he knew, that dwelled at Yarnesey, named good wife Filher, to help him to a Pig for his wife, for she was with child, and longed sore to eat of a pig: unto whom the said goodwife Filher promised that she would bring him one the friday following, and so she did, being ready dressed and scalded before. But when she had delivered him the Pig, she craftily conveyed one of the Pigs feet, and carried it unto Doctor Cockes, at that time being Deane of Canterburie, dwelling in Ivy lane, who at that time of his dinner, before certaine guests which he had bidden, shewed the Pigges foot, declaring who had the body thereof. And after that they had talked their pleasure, and dinner was done, one of his guests being landlord unto Frebarne aforesaid, called Master Garret, and by his office king of armes, sent his man unto the said Frebarne, demanding if there were no body sick in his house. Unto whom he answered, that they were all in good health, he gave God thankes. Then said he againe, it was told his master that some body was sicke, or else they would not eate flesh in Lent. Unto whom Frebarne made answer, that his wife was with childe, and longed for a piece of a Pigge, and if he could get some for her he would. Then departed his landlords man home againe.
Bishop Stokesly.	And shortly after his Landlord sent for him. But before that he sent for him, he had sent for the bishop of Londons sumner, whose name was Holland, and when this Frebarne was come, he demanded of him, if he had not a Pig in his house, which he denied not. Then commanded Master Garret the said sumner called Holland, to take him and go home to his house, and to take the Pig, and carry both him and the pig unto Doctor Stokesley his master, being then Bishop of London, and so he did. Then the bishop being in his chamber with divers other of the Clergy, called this Frebarne before him, and had him in examination for this Pig, laying also unto his charge, that he had eaten in his house that Lent poudred Beefe and Calves heads. My Lord, if the heads were eaten in my house, in whose houses were the bodies eaten; Also, if there be either man or woman that can prove, that either I, or any in my house hath done as your Lordship saith, let me suffer death therefore. You spake (said he) against pilgrimages, and will not take holy bread, nor holy water, nor yet go on Procession on Palme-sunday; Thou art no Christian man. My Lord, said Frebarne, I trust I am a true Christian man, and have done nothing either against Gods law or my Princes.
Holland his Sumner.	In the time of this his examination, which was during the space of two houres, divers came unto the Bishop, some to have their children confirmed, and some for other causes. Unto whom as they came, having the pig before him covered, he would lift up the cloth and shew it them, saying, How think you of such a fellow as this is? is not this good meate, I pray you, to be eaten in this blessed time of Lent, yea and also poudred Beefe and Calves heads too beside this. Pharisaicall judgement.
Master Garret King of Armes.	After this, the Bishop called his Sumner unto him, and commanded him to goe and carry this Thomas Frebarne and his pig openly thorow the streets, into the Old Baylie, unto Sir Roger Chomley; for the Bishop said, he had nothing to do to punish him, for that belonged unto the Civill magistrates; and so was Frebarne carried with the pig before him, to Sir Roger Chomleies house in the old Baily, and he being not at home at that time, Frebarne was brought likewise back againe unto the Bishops place with the Pig, and there lay in the Porters lodge till it was nine of the Clock at night. Then the Bishop sent him unto the counter in the Poultrey by the Sumner and other of his servants. Tho. Frebarne brought to the Counter.
	The next day being Saturday, he was brought before the Maior of London and his brethren, unto the Guild hall, but before his coming they had the Pig delivered unto them by the Bishops Officer. Then the Maior and the Bench laid unto his charge (as they were informed from the Bishop) that he had eaten poudred Beefe and Calves heads in his house the same Lent, but no man was able to come in that would justifie it, neither could any thing be found, save onely the Pig, which (as is before said) was for the preservation of his Wives life, and that she went withall. Notwithstanding the Maior of London said, that the Monday next following he should stand on the Pillorie in Cheapside, with the one halfe of the Pig on the one shoulder, and the other halfe on the other. Tho. Frebarne brought before the L. Maior.
	Then spake the wife of the said Frebarne unto the Maior and the Bench, desiring that she might stand there, and not he, for it was long of her and not of him. After this they took a Satten lift, and tied it fast about the Pigs neck, and made Frebarne to carry it hanging on his shoulder until he came unto the Counter of the Poultrey, from whence he came.
	After this was done, the wife of this Prisoner tooke with her an honest woman, the Wife of one Michael Lobley, which was well acquainted with divers in the Lord Cromwels house, unto whom the said woman resorted for some helpe for this Prisoner, desiring them to speake unto their Lord and Master for his deliverance out of trouble.
	It hapned that the same time came in Doctor Barns and M. Barlow, who understanding the matter by Lobleys wife, went up to the L. Cromwell, and certified him thereof; who upon their request sent for the Maior of the City of London: but what was said unto him is unknown, saving that in the afternoon of the same day the wife of the person aforesaid resorted again unto the Lord Maior, suing to get her husband delivered out of prison, declaring how that she had two small children, and had nothing to help her and them but onely her husband, who laboured for their livings. Unto whom the Maior answered; What come ye to me? You are taken up with the Kings Counsell. I supposed you had come to desire me that your husband should not stand upon the Pillory in Cheapside on Monday next, with the one halfe of the Pigge on his one shoulder, and the other halfe on the other. Also the Maior said unto her, That he could not deliver him without the consent of the rest of his Brethren the Aldermen. Wherefore he bade her the next day following, which was the Sabbath day, to resort unto Pauls, to Saint Dunstanes Chappell, and when he had Doct. Barnes and Barlow sue to the Lord Cromwell for Tho. Frebarne. The Lord Maiors answer to the poore woman.

ſpoken with his brethren, he would then tell her more. Other anſwer could ſhe get none at that time. Wherefore ſhe went unto maiſter Wilkinſon, then being Sheriffe of London, deſiring him to be good unto her, and that ſhe might have her poore husband out of priſon. Unto whom Maiſter Wilkinſon anſwered: O woman Chriſt hath laid a peece of his Croſſe upon thy neck, to prove whether thou wilt helpe him to beare it or no, ſaying moreover unto her, that if the Lord Maior had ſent him to his Counter, as he ſent him to his brothers, he ſhould not have tarried there an houre, and ſo commanded her to come the next day unto him to dinner, and he would doe the beſt for her he could. So the next day came, and this woman reſorted againe to Maiſter Wilkinſons, according as he had her, who alſo had bidden divers gueſts, unto whom he ſpake in her behalfe. But as they were ſet at dinner, and ſhe alſo ſitting at the Table, when ſhe ſaw the hot fiſh come in, ſhe fell downe in a ſwound, ſo that for the ſpace of two houres they could keepe no life in her. Wherefore they ſent her home to her houſe in Paternoſter row, and then they ſent for the midwife, ſuppoſing that ſhe would have beene delivered incontinent of her childe that ſhe went with (but after that ſhe came ſomewhat again to her ſelf) where ſhe lay ſick and kept her bed the ſpace of fifteen weeks after, being not able to help her ſelfe, but as ſhe was helped of others, during the time of fifteen weeks.

The gentle words of M. Wilkinſon Sheriffe of London to the poore woman.

Now to ſhew further what became of this Pig wherof we have ſpoken ſo much, it was carried into Finſburie field by the biſhop of Londons Sumner, at his maiſters commandement, and there buried. The Monday following, being the fourth day after that this priſoner aforeſaid was apprehended, the Maior of London, with the reſidue of his brethren being at Guild Hall, ſent for the priſoner aforenamed, and demanded ſureties of him for his forth coming, whatſoever hereafter ſhould or might be laid unto his charge; but for lack of ſuch ſureties as they required, upon his owne band, which was a recognisance of twenty pound, he was delivered out of their hands. But ſhortly after that he was delivered out of this his trouble, Maiſter Garter, of whom we have ſpoken before, being his Landlord, warned him out of his houſe, ſo that in foure yeers after he could not get another, but was conſtrained to be within other good folkes, to his great hinderance and undoing.

That God ordaineth to be eaten, ſuperſtition barreth.

Tho. Frebarne delivered out of priſon.

Tho. Frebarne diſcharged out of his houſe by M. Garter his Landlord.

Hard it were and almoſt out of number to rehearſe the names and ſtories of all them, which felt the gentle helpe of this good man in ſome caſe or other. Where might be remembred the notable deliverance of one Gray a Smith of Biſhops Stafford, who being accuſed for denying the Sacrament of the Altar to be our Saviour, was ſent up for the ſame to London, and there ſhould have beene condemned to be burnt, but that by the meanes of the Lord Cromwell he was ſent home again and delivered. One other example, though it be ſomewhat long with the circumſtances and all, I will declare, how he helped the Secretary that then was to doctor Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterburie, which Secretary is yet alive, and can beare preſent record of the ſame.

Gray a ſmith, accuſed of hereſie, and delivered by the L. Cromwel.

How the Lord Cromwel helped Cranmers Secretarie.

The archbiſh. Cranmer diſputed 3. dayes in the Parliament againſt the 6. articles.

MEntion was made before how king Henry, in the one and twentieth yeare of his reign, cauſed the ſix Articles to paſſe, much againſt the mind and contrary to the conſent of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, who had diſputed three dayes againſt the ſame in the Parliament houſe, with great reaſons and authorities. Which Articles after they were granted and paſt by the Parliament, the King for the ſingular favor which he ever bare to Cranmer, & reverence to his learning, being deſirous to know what he had ſaid, and objected in the Parliament againſt theſe Articles, or what could be alledged by learning againſt the ſame, required a note of the Archbiſhop of his doings, what he had ſaid and oppoſed in the Parliament touching that matter. And this word was ſent to him from the King by Cromwel, and other Lords of the parliament, whom the King then ſent to dine with him at Lambeth, ſomewhat to comfort againe his grieved minde and troubled ſpirits, as hath beene above recited.

Whereupon when his dinner was finiſhed, the next day after the Archbiſhop collecting both his arguments, authorities of Scriptures, and Doctors together, cauſed his Secretarie to write a faire booke thereof for the king, after this order. Firſt the Scriptures were alledged, then the doctors, thirdly followed the Arguments deduced from thoſe authorities. This booke was written in his Secretaries Chamber. Where, in a by chamber, lay the Archbiſhops Almoſiner. When this booke was faire written, and whiles the Secretarie was gone to deliver the ſame unto the Archbiſhop his maiſter, who was (as it then chanced) rid to Croydon, returning back to his chamber, he found the doore ſhut, and the key carried away to London by the Almoſiner.

The name of this ſecretarie was M. Ralf Worice, beir yet alive.

At this ſeaſon alſo chanced the Father of the ſaid Secretarie to come to the citie by whoſe occaſion it ſo fell out that he muſt needs go to London. The booke he could not lay into his chamber, neither durſt he commit it to any other perſon to keep, being ſtraitly charged, in any condition, of the archbiſhop his maiſter, to be circumſpect thereof; ſo that he determined to go to his father, and to keep the booke about him. And ſo thruſting the booke under his girdle, he went over unto Weſtminſter bridge with a Sculler, where he entered into a Wherrie that went to London, wherin were foure of the Guard who meant to land at Pauls Wharf, and to paſſe by the Kings highneſſe, who then was in his Barge, with a great number of Barges and Boates about him, then baiting of Beares in the water over againſt the banke.

These foreſaid yeomen of the Guard, when they came againſt the kings Barge, they durſt not paſſe by towards Pauls Wharfe, leſt they ſhould be eſpied, and therefore intreated the Secretarie to go with them to the Beare-baiting, and they would finde the means being of the guard to make roome, and to ſee all the paſtime; the ſecretary, perceiving no other remedie, aſſented thereto. When the Wherry came nigh the multitude of the Boates, they with pollaxes got the Wherrie ſo farre, that being compaſſed with many other Wherries, and Boates, there was no refuge if the Beare ſhould breake looſe & come upon them, as in very deed, within one Pater noſter while, the Beare brake looſe and came into the Boat where the yeomen of the guard were, and the ſaid Secretarie. The Guard forſook the Wherry, and went into another Barge, one or two of them leaping ſhort, and ſo fell into the water. The Beare and the dogs ſo ſhaked the Wherry, wherein the Secretaris was, that the Boat being full of water ſunk to the ground, and being alſo as it chanced an ebbing tyde, he there ſat in the end of the Wherry up to the middle in water. To whom came the beare and all the dogs. The beare, ſeeking as it were aid and ſuccour of him, came back with his hinder parts upon him, and ſo ruſhing upon him, the book was looſed from his girdle, and fell into the Thames out of his reach.

A bear-baiting upon Thames before the K.

Tall yeomen but ill keepers.

The booke of D. Cranmer againſt the 6. articles loſt in the Thames.

The flying of the people, after that the beare was looſe, from one boat to another, was ſo combrous, that divers perſons were throwen into the Thames the king comanding certain men that could ſwim, to

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to ſtrip themſelves naked, and to help to ſave them that were in danger. This paſtime ſo diſpleaſed the King, that he bad away with the Beare, and let us go all hence.

The Secretarie perceiving his booke to fleete away in the Thames, called to the Beareward to take up the Book. When the Beareward had the Book in his cuſtodie, being an arrant Papiſt, far from the Religion of his Miſtres (for he was the Lady Elizabeths Bearward, now the Quæns Majeſtie) ere that the Secretarie could come to land, he had delivered the Book to a Prieſt of his owne affinitie in Religion ſtanding on the banke, who reading in the Book, and perceiving that it was a manifeſt refutation of the ſix Articles, made much ado, and told the Beareward that whoſoever claimed the Book ſhould ſurely be hanged. Anon the ſecretary came to the Bearward for his Book. What quoth the Beareward, dare you challenge this book? Whoſe ſervant be you? I am ſervant to one of the Councell, ſaid the Secretary, and my Lord of Canterbury is my maſter. Yea marrie, qd. the Bearward, I thought ſo much: you be like I truſt, quoth the Bearward, to be both hanged for this book. Wel, ſaid he, it is not ſo evill as you take it, and I warrant you my Lord will avouch the book to the kings majeſty. But I pray you let me have my book, and I will give you a crowne to drink. If you would give me five hundred crownes you ſhall not have it, quoth the Beareward. With that the Secretarie departed from him, and underſtanding the malicious frowardneſſe of the Beareward, he learned that Blage the Grocer in Cheapſide might do much with the Bearward, to whom the Secretarie brake this matter, requiring him to ſend for the Beareward to ſupper, and he would pay for the whole charge thereof, and beſides that rather then he would forgo his Booke after this ſort, the Bearward ſhould have twenty ſhillings to drinke. The ſupper was prepared. The Bearward was ſent for & came. After ſupper the matter was intreated of, and twenty ſhillings offered for the Book. But do what could be done, neither friendſhip, acquaintance, nor yet reward of money could obtain the book out of his hands, but that the ſame ſhould be delivered unto ſome of the Counſel that would not ſlightly look on ſo weighty a matter, as to have it redeemed for a ſupper, or a pēce of money. The honeſt man Maſter Blage with many good reaſons would have perſwaded him not to be ſtiffe in his owne conceit, declaring that in the end he ſhould nothing at all prevaile of his purpoſe, but be laught to ſcorne, getting neither penny nor prattle for his travell. He hearing that ruſhed ſuddenly out of the doors from his friend M. Blage, without any manner of thankes giving for his ſupper, more like a Bearward, then like an honeſt man. When the Secretary ſaw the matter ſo extreamely to be uſed againſt him, he then thought it expedient to fall from any farther practiſing of intreaty with the Bearward, as with him that ſeemed rather to be a Beare himſelf, then the maſter of the beaſt, determining the next morning to make the Lord Cromwel privy of the chance that happened.

So on the next day, as the Lord Cromwel went to the Court, the Secretary declared the whole matter unto him, and how he had offred him twenty ſhillings for the finding thereof. Where is the fellow, quoth the Lord Cromwell? I ſuppoſe, ſaid the Secretary, that he is now in the Court attending to deliver the book unto ſome of the Councell. Well, ſaid the Lord Cromwel, it maketh no matter; goe with me thither and I ſhall get you your booke againe. When the Lord Cromwell came into the Hall of the Court, there ſtood the Beareward with the booke in his hand, waiting to have delivered the ſame unto Sir Anthony Browne, or unto the biſhop of Wincheſter, as it was reported. To whom the Lord Cromwell ſaid, Come hither fellow, what book haſt thou there in thy hand? and with that ſnatched the booke out of his hand, and looking in the booke, he ſaid, I know this hand well enough. This is your hand, ſaid he to the Secretarie. But where haddeſt thou this booke, quoth the Lord Cromwel to the Beareward? This Gentleman loſt it two dayes ago in the Thames, ſaid the Beareward. Doeſt thou know whoſe ſervant he is, ſaid the Lord Cromwell? Ye ſaith, quoth the Beareward, that he is my Lords of Canterburies ſervant. Why then diddeſt thou not deliver to him the book, when he required it, ſaid the Lord Cromwel? who made thee ſo bold as to detain and withhold any book or writting from a Counſellers ſervant, ſpecially being his Secretarie? It is more meete for thee to meddle with thy Beares, then with ſuch writting, & were it not for thy Miſtreſſe ſake, I would ſet thee faſt by the fēet, to teach ſuch malapert knaves to meddle with Counſellers matters. Had not money been well beſtowed upon ſuch a good fellow as this is, that knoweth not a Counſellers man from a Coblers man? And with thoſe words the Lord Cromwell went into the Kings Chamber of preſence, and the Archbiſhops Secretary with him, where he found in the Chamber the Lord of Canterbury. To whom he ſaid, My Lord, I have found here good ſtuffe for you (ſhewing to him the paper book that he had in his hand) ready to bring both you and this good fellow your man to the halter, namely if the knave Beareward now in the Hall might have well compaſſed it. At theſe words the Archbiſhop ſmiled and ſaid, be that loſt the book is like to have the worſt bargaine, for beſides that he was well waſhed in the Thames, he muſt write the book faire again: and at theſe words, the Lord Cromwell caſt the book unto the Secretarie, ſaying, I pray thee Maſter go in hand therewith, by and by with al expedition, for it muſt ſerve a turne. Surely, my Lord, it ſomewhat rejoyceth me, quoth the Lord Cromwell, that the Varlet might have had of your man twenty ſhillings for the book, and now I have diſcharged the matter with never a penny, and ſhaked him well up for his over much malapertneſſe. I know the fellow well enough, quoth he, there is not a ranker papiſt within this realme then he is, moſt unworthy to be a ſervant unto ſo noble a Princeſſe. And ſo after humble thanks given to the Lord Cromwell, the ſaid Maſter departed with his book, which when he againe had faire written, was delivered to the Kings Majeſtie by the ſaid Lord Cromwell, within foure dayes after.

His Beare-ard was incenſe Elizabeths ſervant.

Cranmers ok againſt ſix Articles livered to a ſh Prieſt.

Beare-d waiting de Cran-s book to Councell.

The L. Cromwell getteth the book from the Beareward.

The words of the L. Cromwel to the Archbiſhop Cranmer.

The Lord Cromwell not forgetting his old friends and benefactors.

IT is commonly ſeen, that men advanced once from baſe degrée to ample dignities, do riſe alſo with fortune into ſuch inſolencie and exaltation of minde, that not onely they forget themſelves what they were, and from whence they came, but alſo caſt out of remembrance all their old friends & former acquaintance, which have been to them before beneficiall. From which ſort of men how farre the courteous condition of this Chriſtian Earl did differ, by divers examples it may appeare. As by a certain poore woman keeping ſometimes a victualling houſe about Yownſloe, to whom the ſaid Lord Cromwell remained in debt for certaine old reckonings, to the ſumme of forty ſhillings. It happened that the L. Cromwell with Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterburie, riding through Cheapſide towards the court, in turning his eye over the way and there eſpying this poore woman brought now in need and miſerie, cauſed her to be called unto him. Who being come, after certaine

The gentle behaviour of the L. Cromwel, in remembring his old friends.

questions asked her if she were not such a woman, and dwelling in such a place. At last he demanded if he were not behinde for a certaine payment of money betweene him and her. To whom she with reverent obeysance confessed that he owed her money for a certaine old reckoning which was yet unpaid, whereof she stood now in great necessitie, but never durst call upon him, nor could come at him to require her right. Then the Lord Cromwel sending the poore woman home to his house, and one of his servants withall, that the Porter should let her in, after his returne from the Court not only discharged the debt which he owed, but also gave her yearely pension of foure pounds, and a livery every yeare while she lived.

Example of a gratefull debter.

The like courtesie the said lord Cromwel shewed also to a certaine Italian, who in the citie of Florence had shewed him much kindnes in succouring and relieving his necessitie, as in this story following may appeare. Which story set forth and compiled in the Italian tongue by Bandello, and imprinted at Luke by Busdrago, Anno, 1554. I thought here to insert, with the whole order and circumstance thereof, as it is reported.

Ex historia Italica.

A notable story of the Lord Cromwell, and an Italian.

Not many yeeres past, saith the author, there was in Florence a Merchant, whose name was Francis, descended from the noble and ancient Family of the Frescobalds. This gentleman was naturally indued with a noble and liberall minde, unto whom also, through prosperous successe and fortunate luck in his affaires and doings, much abundance of riches increased, so that he grew in great wealth, having his coffers replenished with many heapes of much treasure, He according to the custome of Merchants, used his trade into many countries, but chiefly into England, where long time he lived, sojourning in London, keeping house to his great commendation and praise.

Cromwel asking his alms of Frescobald.

It happened, that Francis Frescobald being in Florence, there appeared before him a poore young man, asking his almes for Gods sake. Frescobald, as he earnestly beheld this ragged stripling, who was not so disguised in his tottered attire, but that his countenance gave signification of much towardnesse and vertue in him, with conformitie of manners agreeing to the same, being moved with pitie demanded of what country he was, and where he was borne. I am Sir, quoth he, of England, and my name is Thomas Cromwell. My father is a poore man, and by his occupation a cloth shearer. I am strayed from my countrey, and am now come into Italy with the camp of Frenchmen that were overthrowne at Gatilyon, where I was the page to a footman, carrying after him his Pike and burganet. Frescobald partly considering the present state of this young man, and partly for the love he bare to the English nation, of whom he had received in times past sundry pleasures, receiued him into his house, and with such courtesie entertained his guest, as at his departure, when he was in minde to returne to his countrey, he provided such necessaries as he any way needed. He gave him both horse and new apparell, and fortene Duckats of gold in his purse, to bring him into his countrey. Cromwell, rendring his heartie thankes, tooke leave of his host and returned into England. This Cromwell was a man of noble courage, and heroicall spirit, given to enterprise great matters, very liberall, and a grave counsellor, &c. But to our purpose.

Note that this cloth-shearer was his father in law.

Cromwell page to a souldier.

The gentlenesse of Frescobald shewed to Cromwell.

At what time Cromwell was so highly favoured of his prince, and advanced to such dignitie as is aforesaid, Francis Frescobald (as it many times happeneth to Merchants) was by many misfortunes and great losses cast back and become very poore. For, according to conscience and equitie, he paid whatsoever was due to any other from himself, but such debts as were owing unto him he could by no meanes obtaine: yet calling further to remembrance that in England by certaine Merchants there was due to him the summe of fifteene thousand Duckats, he so purposed with himselfe, that if he could recover that money, he would well content himselfe, and no longer deale in his trade of Merchants, but quietly passe over the rest of his dayes.

An Italian Duckate commeth to as much as one English crowne.

All things prepared for his journey, he setting forward towards England at last arrived at London, having utterly forgotten what courtesie long before he had shewed to Cromwell, which is the propertie alwaies of a good nature, for a man to forget what benefits he hath shewed to other, but to keepe in minde continually what he hath received of other. Frescobald thus being now arrived at London, and there travelling earnestly about his businesse, it chanced him by the way to meete with this Noble man, as he was riding towards the Court. Whom, as soone as the said Lord Cromwell had espied, and had earnestly beheld, he bethought himselfe that he should be the man of Florence, at whose hands in times past he had received so gentle entertainment, and thereupon suddenly alighting (to the great admiration of those that were with him) in his armes he gently embraced the stranger, and with a broken voyce scarce able to refraine teares, he demanded if he were not Francis Frescobald the Florentine, Yea Sir, he answered, and your humble servant. My servant (quoth Cromwell:) no as you have not been my servant in times past, so will I not now account you other wise then my great and speciall friend, assuring you that I have iust reason to be sorie, that you knowing what I am (for at the least what I should be) will not let me understand of your arriving in this Land, which known unto me, truely I should have payed part of that debt which I confesse to owe you; but thanked be God, I have yet time. Well, Sir, in conclusion, you are heartily welcome. But having now weightie affaires in my Princes cause, you must hold me excused, that I can no longer tarie with you. Therefore at this time I take my leave, desiring you with the faithfull mind of a friend, that you forget not this day to come to my house to dinner, and then in remounting on his horse, he passed to the Court. Frescobald greatly marvelling with himselfe who this Lord should be, at last, after some pause his remembrance better called home, he knew him to be the same, whom long before (as you have heard) he had relieved in Florence, and thereat not a little ioyed, especially considering how that by his meanes he should the better recover his due.

The words of the Lord Cromwell to the Florentian Merchant.

Old friendship remembred.

The houre of dinner drawing neere, he repaired to the house of this honourable Counsellor, where walking a while in his base Court, he attended his coming. The Lord shortly returned from the court, and no sooner dismounted, but he again embraced this Gentleman with so friendly a countenance, that both the Lord Admirall, and all the other noble men of the court being then in his company, did not a little marvell thereat.

Which thing when the L. Cromwel perceived, he turning towards them, and holding Frescobald fast by the hand, doe ye not marvell my Lords, quoth he, that I seeme so glad of this man? This is he by whose meanes I have atchieved the degree of this my present calling: and because ye shall not be ignorant of his courtesie when I greatly needed, I shall tell it you, and there declared unto them every thing in order according as before hath been recited unto you. His tale finished, holding him still by the hand, he entered his house, and coming into the Chamber, where his dinner was prepared, he sate him down to the table, placing his best welcommed guest next unto him.

The courtesie of the Lord Cromwell in entertaining his old host.

The

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The dinner ended, and the Lords departed, he would know what occaſion had brought Freſcobald to London. Francis in few words opened his cauſe, truly telling, that from great wealth he was fallen into povertie, and that his onely poſſion to maintaine the reſt of his life was fifteene thouſand duckats which were owing him in England, and two thouſand in Spaine. Wherevnto the Lord Cromwell anſwering againe, ſaid, Touching the things M. Freſcobald that be already paſt, although it cannot now be undone by mans power, nor by policy called againe, which hath hapned unto you by the unſtable condition and mutabilitie of this world altering to and fro; yet is not your ſorrow ſo peculiar to your ſelfe alone, but that by the bond of mutuall love I muſt alſo bewaile with you this your ſtate and condition: which ſtate and condition of yours, though it may worke in you matter of juſt heavineſſe, yet notwithſtanding, to the intent you may receive in this your heavie diſtreſſe ſome conſolation for your old courteſie ſhewed to me in times paſt, the like courteſie now requireth of me again, that I likewiſe ſhould repay ſome portion of that debt wherein I am bound unto you; according as the part of a thankfull man bindeth me to do, in requiting your benefits on my part heretofore received. And this further I avouch in the word of a true friend, that during this life and ſtate of mine, I will never fail to do for you, wherein my authority may prevaile to ſupply your lack and neceſſitie: and ſo let theſe few words ſuffice to give you knowledge of my friendly meaning. But let me delay the time no longer.

ample of a bfull debter.

Then taking him by the hand, he led him into his chamber, whence, after that every man by his commandement was departed, he locked faſt the doore. Then opening a coffer full heaped with treaſure, he firſt took out fifteen Duckates, and delivering them to Freſcobald, he ſaid; Lo here (my friend) is your money which you lent me at my departure from Florence, and here other ten which you beſtowed in my apparell, with ten more that you diſburſed for the horſe I rid away on. But conſidering you are a merchant, it ſeemeth to me not honeſt to returne your money without ſome conſideration for the long detaining of it. Take you therefore theſe foure bags, and in every of them is foure hundred Duckats, theſe you ſhall receive and enjoy from the hands of your aſſured friend.

e Lord omwels rie.

Freſcobald, although from great wealth he was brought to a low ebbe, and almoſt an utter decay, yet erpreſſing the vertue of a modeſt minde, after gentle thanks given to the Lord Cromwell for his ercæding kindneſſe ſhewed, courteouſly would have refuſed that which was offered, had not the other enforced him againſt his will to receive it.

Idneſſe re ted with oneſſe.

This done, he cauſed Freſcobald to give him a note of the names of all his debters, and the ſum that every one of them was owing him. This ſchedule he delivered to one of his ſervants, unto whom he gave charge diligently to ſearch out ſuch men whoſe names were therein contained, if they were within any part of the realm, and then ſtraitly to charge them to make payment of thoſe ſums within fifteene dayes, or elſe to abide the hazard of his diſpleaſure. The ſervant ſo well perforned his maſters commandement, that in very ſhort time they made payment of the whole ſumme: and if it had liked Freſcobald ſo to have demanded,, they ſhould have anſwered to the uttermoſt ſuch commoditie as the uſe of his money in ſo many yeres would have given him profit: but he, contented with his principall, would demand no further. By which meanes he got both hearty love and great eſtimation, and the more, for that he was ſo dere to the Lord Cromwell, and ſo highly eſteemed of him.

deſſie in talian.

And during all this time, Freſcobald continually lodged in the houſe of the Lord Cromwell, who ever gave him ſuch entertainment as he had right well deſerved, and often times moved him to abide here in England, offering him the lone of three ſcore thouſand Duckats for the ſpace of foure yeres, if he would continue and make his Banke in London. But Freſcobald, who deſired to returne into his countrey, and there quietly to continue the reſt of his life, with the great favor of the Lord Cromwell, after many thanks for his high and noble entertainment, departed towards his deſired home, where richly arriving, he gave himſelfe quietly to live. But this wealth he ſmall time enjoyed, for in the firſt yere of his returne he died.

The Duckats after the Italian count came much neere to our Engliſh crownes.

So plentifull was the life of this man in ſuch fruits full of ſingular gratitude and courteſie, that to rehearſe all it would require too long a tractation. Yet one amongſt many other I may not overpaſſe, whereby we may evidently conſider, or rather marvell at the lowly minde of ſuch a perſon in ſo high a ſtate and place of honour. For as he coming with other of the Lords of the Councell and Commiſſioners, to the houſe of Shene, about the examination of certaine Monks which there denied the Kings ſupremacie, after the examination done was there ſitting at dinner, it chanced him to eſpie a farre off a certaine poore man, which there ſerved to ſweepe their Cels and Cloiſter, and to ring the bels. Whom when the Lord Cromwell had well adviſed, he ſent for the poore man to come unto him, and before all the Table moſt lovingly and friendly called him by his name, took him by the hand, and asked how he did, with many other good words; and turning therewith to the Lords, My Lords (quoth he) ſee you this poore man? This mans father hath beene a great friend to me in my neceſſitie, and hath given me many a meales meate. Then ſaid he unto the poore man, Come unto me, and I will provide for thee, and thou ſhalt not lack ſo long as I live. Such as were there preſent, and ſaw and heard the ſame, report it to be true.

An other example of the kinde and lowly minde of the L. Cromwell.

In this worthy and noble perſon, beſides divers other eminent vertues, three things eſpecially are to be conſidered, to wit, flouriſhing authoritie, excelling wiſedome, and fervent zeale to Chriſt and to his Goſpel. Firſt, as touching his fervent zeale in ſetting forward the ſincerities of Chriſtian faith, ſufficient is to be ſeene before by the injunctions, proclamations, and articles above ſpecified, that more cannot almoſt be wiſhed in a noble man, and ſcarce the like hath been ſeen in any.

Three things in the Lord Cromwell. 1. Zeale. 2. Wiſdome. 3. Authoritie.

Secondly, for his wiſdome and policy no leſſe ſingular, joyned with his Chriſtian zeale, he brought great things to paſſe, as well on this ſide the ſea as in the other parts beyond. But eſpecially his working was to nourith peace abroad with forreine realmes, as may well by the Kings letters and inſtructions ſent by his meanes to his Ambaſſadors reſident both with the Emperour, the French King, and the King of Scots, and alſo with the Pope, appeare. In all whoſe Courts, ſuch watch and eſpiall he had, that nothing there was done, nor pretended, whereof he before had not intelligence. Neither was there any ſpark of miſchiefe kindling never ſo little againſt the King and the Realme, which he by wit and policy did not quench and keep down. And where policy would not ſerve to obtain peace, yet by money he bought it out; ſo that during all the time of Cromwels proſperitie, the King never had warres with any forreine Nation: notwithſtanding, that both the Pope, the Emperour, the King of France and Scotland were mightily bent and incenſed againſt him.

The wiſdome and policy of the Lord Cromwell.

The L. Cromwel a continu nourither of peace.

Thus as the prudent policy of this man was ever circumſpect abroad, to ſtay the Realme from forreine warres; ſo his authoritie was no leſſe occupied in keeping good order and rule at home: Firſt, in hampering the popiſh prelates, and diſap-

The authoritie of the Lord Cromwell employed to the publike commoditie of the Realme.

pointing their subtill devises; secondly in bridling and keeping other unruly subjects under subjection and discipline of the lawes. Whereby as he was a succour and refuge to all Godly persons, so was he a terror to the evill doers; so that not the presence of him onely, but also the hearing of the coming of Cromwell brake many frates, and much evill rule, as well appeared by a certain notorious fray or riot, appointed to be fought by a companie of Ruffians in the strèt of London called Pater noster Row; where carts were set on both sides, of purpose prepared to inclose them, that none might breake in to part them. It happened, that as this desperate skirmish should begin, the Lord Cromwell coming the same time from the Court through Pauls Churchyard, and entering into Cheape, had intelligence of the great fray toward, and because of the carts he could not come at them, but was forced to goe about the little conduit, and so came upon them through Pannier Alley.

A skirmish or fray in Pater noster row, stopped by the coming of the L. Cromwell.

Thus as the conflict began to wax hot, and the people were standing by in great expectation to sée them fight, suddenly at the noise of the Lord Cromwels coming the campe brake up, and the Ruffians to go, neither could the carts kèp in those so courageous campers, but well was he that first could be gone. And so ceased this tumultuous outrage, without any other parting, onely through the authoritie of the Lord Cromwels name.

One example more of the like affinitie cometh here in minde, which ought not to be omitted, concerning a certaine serving man of the like ruffianly order, who thinking to dissever himselfe from the common usage of all other men in strange newfangleneesse of fashions by himselfe (as many there be whom nothing doth please, which is daily sèene and received) used to go with his haire hanging about his eares down unto his shoulders, after a strange monstrous manner, counterfeiting belike the wilde Irish men, or else Crinitus Ioppas, which Virgil speaketh of, as one weare of his owne English fashion; or else as one ashamed to be sèene like a man, would rather go like a woman, or like to one of the Gorgon sisters, but most of all like to himselfe, that is, like to a Ruffian, that could not tell how to go.

A story between the L. Cromwel and a Ruffian.

As this Ruffian ruffing thus with his locks was walking in the strèts, as chance was who should mète him but the L. Cromwell? Who beholding the deformè and unsèemely manner of his disguised going, full of much vanitie and hurtfull example, called the man to question with him whose servant he was: which being declared, then was demanded whether his Maister or any of his fellows used so to goe with such haire about their shoulders as he did, or no? Which when he denied, and was not able to yèld any reason for refuge of that his monstrous disguising, at length he fell to this excuse, that he had made a vow. To this the Lord Cromwell answered againe, that for so much as he had made himselfe a votarie, he would not force him to breake his vow, but untill his vow should be expired, he should lie the meane time in prison, and so sent him immediately to the Marshalsey, where he indured, till at length this intonsus Cato, being perswaded by his maister to cut his haire, by suit and petition of friends, he was brought againe to the Lord Cromwell with his head polled according to the accustomed sort of his other fellowes, and so was dismissed.

The Ruffian with the long haire.

Hèreunto also pertaineth the example of Frier Bartley, who wearing still his Friers coule after the suppression of religious houses, Cromwell coming through Pauls Churchyard, and espying him in Rheines his shop, yea said he, will not that coule of yours be left of yet? And if I heare by one a clock that this apparell be not changed, thou shalt be hanged immediately, for example to all other. And so putting his Coule away, he durst neuer weare it after.

Frier Bartley calleth away his Friers coule.

If the same Lord Cromwell, which could not abide this servingman so disfigured in his haire, were now in these our dates alive, with the same authoritie which then he had, & saw these new fangled fashions of attire, used here amongst us both of men and women, I suppose verily that neither these monstrous ruffes, nor these prodigious hose, and prodigall or rather hyperbolicall barbarous brèches (which sème rather like barrells then brèches) would have any place in England. In which unmeasurable excesse of dessure this I have to marvel; first, how these servingmen, which commonly have nothing else but their wages, and that so slender and bare, can maintain such slops, so huge and so sumptuous, which commonly stand them in more then their thrèe yères wages do come unto. Secondly, I marvel that their Maisters and Lords (who shall yèld to God account of their servants doings) do not search and trie out their Servants walkes, how they come by these expenses wherewith to uphold this braverie, sèeing their stipendarie wages, and all revenues else they have, will not extend thereunto. Thirdly, this most of all is to be marvelled, that magistrates which have in their hands the ordering and guiding of good Lawes, doe not provide more severely for the needfull reformation of these enormities. But here we may well sée, and truly this may say, That England once had a Cromwell.

The monstrous slops of England lack'd Cromwell.

Long it were to recite what innumerable benefits this worthy Counsellor, by his prudent policy, his grave authoritie, and perfect zeale, wrought and brought to passe in the publike realme, and especially in the Church of England, what good Orders he established, what wickednesse and vices he suppressed, what corruptions he reformed, what abuses he brought to light, what crafty jugglings, what idolatrous deceptions, and superstitious dellusions he detected and abolished out of the Church. What posteritie will ever think the Church of the Pope, pretending such religion, to have beene so wicked, so long to abuse the peoples eyes with an old rotten stock (called the Rod of Grace) wherein a man should stand inclosed, with an hundred wyers with in the Roode to make the Image goggle with the eyes, to nod with the head, to hang the lip, to move and shake his jawes, according as the valew was of the gift which was offered? If it were a smal piece of silver he would hang a frowning lip, if it were a piece of gold, then should his jawes go merrily. Thus miserably was the people of Christ abused, their soules seduced, their senses beguiled, and their purses spoiled, till this idolatrous forgerie at last by Cromwels meanes was disclosed, and the Image with all his engins shewed openly at Pauls Crosse, and there torne in peces by the People. The like was done by the blood of Hales, which in like manner by Cromwell was brought to Pauls Crosse, and there proved to be the blood of a Duck.

Divers corruptions in the Church detected and reformed by Cromwell.

The Roode of Grace gogling with his eyes.

The blood of Hales.

Who would have judged, but that the Maide of Kent had bèene an holy woman and a Prophetesse inspired, had not Cromwel and Cranmer tried her at Pauls Crosse to be a strong whore.

The holy Maid of Kent made bely

What should I speak of Darvell Gartheren, of the Roode of Chester, of Thomas Becket, our Lady of Walsingham, with an infinite multitude more of the like affinitie? All which stocks and blocks of cursed idolatry Cromwel, stirred up by the providence of God, removed out of the peoples way, that they might walk more safely in the sincere service of Almightie God.

Stocks & blocks removed out of the

While the Lord Cromwell was thus blessedly occupied in profiting the common wealth, & purging the Church of Christ, it hapned to him, as commonly

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monly it doth to all good men, that where any excellency of vertue appeareth, there envie creepeth in, and where true pietie seeketh most after Christ, there some persecution followeth withall.

This, I say, as he was labouring in the commonwealth, and doing good to the poore afflicted saints, helping them out of trouble, the malice of his enemies so wrought, continually hunting for matter against him, that they never ceased, till in the end they by false trains and craftie surmises brought him out of the Kings favour.

Gardiner chiefe enemie to the Lord Cromwell.

The chiefe and principall enemie against him was Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester; who ever disdaining and envying the state and felicitie of the Lord Cromwell, and now taking his occasion by the marriage of Lady Anne of Cleve, being a stranger and forreiner, put in the Kings eares what a perfect thing it were to the quiet of the realm, and establishment to the Kings successi-on, to have an English Queen and Prince that were meere English; so that in conclusion, the Kings affection, the more it was diminished from the late married Anne of Cleve, the lesse favour he bare unto Cromwell. Besides this Gardiner, there lacked not other back friends also, and ill willers in the Court about the King, which little made for Cromwell both for his religion which they maligned, and for other private grudges also incident by the way.

Over and besides all which, it is moreover supposed, that some part of displeasure might rise against him, by reason of a certain talk which happened a little before at Lambeth, at what time the King after the making of the six Articles, sent the said Lord Cromwell his Vicegerent, with the two Dukes of Northfolk and Suffolk, with all the lords of the Parliament to Lambeth, to dine with the Archbishop (who mightily had disputed and alledged in the Parliament against the said Articles) to cheer and comfort his daunted spirits again.

talk between the Lord Cromwell and some of the lords at Lambeth.

There the said Cromwell with the other Noble Lords sitting with the Archbishop at his table in talk, as everie Lord brought forth his sentence in commendation of Cranmer, to signifie what good will both the King and they bare unto him; amongst the rest one of the companie entring into a comparison betweene the said Thomas Cranmer, and Thomas Wolsey late Cardinall of York, declared in his judgement, that Cranmer was much to be preferred for his milde and gentle nature, whereas the Cardinall was a stubborn and a churlish Prelate, and one that could never abide any Nobleman, and that, said he, know you well enough, my Lord Cromwell, for he was your Maister, &c. At these words the Lord Cromwell, being somewhat touched to hear the Cardinals service cast in his teeth, inferred again, saying, That he could not denie but he was servant sometime to Cardinall Wolsey, neither did repent the same, for he received of him both fee, meat, and drink, and other commodities; but yet he was never so far in love with him, as to have waited upon him to Rome, if he had been chosen Pope, as he understood that he would have done, if the case had so fallen out. Which when the other had denied to be true, Cromwell still persisted, affirming the same, and shewing moreover what number of Florens he should have received, to be his Admirall, and to have safe conducted him to Rome, in case he had been elected Bishop of Rome. The party, not a little moved with these words, told him, he lied. The other again affirmed it to be true. Upon this, great and high words rose between them. Which contention, although it was through intreatie of the Archbishop and other Nobles somewhat pacified for the time, yet it might be, that some bitter root of grudge remained behind, which afterward grew unto him to some displeasure. And this was Anno 1540. in the moneth of July. Ex testimonio Secretarii Cantuar.

After this, the next yeer following, which was 1541. in the moneth of April, was holden a Parliament, which after divers prorogations was continued till the moneth of July the said yeer. In the which moneth of July, the Lord Cromwell being in the counsell Chamber was suddenly apprehended, and committed to the tower of London. Whereat as many good men, which knew nothing but truth by him, did lament and prayed heartily for him, so moe there were on the contrarie side that rejoyced, especially of the religious sort, and of the Clergie, such as had been in some dignitie before in the Church, and now by his meanes were put from it. For indeed such was his nature, that in all his doings he could not abide any kinde of Poperie, or of false religion creeping under hypocrisie, and lesse could he abide the ambitious pride of Popish prelacie, which professing all humilitie was so elated in pride, that Kings could not rule in their own realms for them. These snuffing prelates as he could never abide, so they again hated him as much, which was the cause of shortning his dayes, and to bring him to his end; so that the xix. day of the moneth aforesaid, he was attainted by Parliament.

{Anno. 1541.} A Parliament. The Lord Cromwell apprehended.

In the which Attainder, divers and sundrie crimes, surmises, objections, and accusations were brought against him, but chiefly and above all other he was charged and accused of heresie, for that he was a supporter of them (whom they reconnted for heretiques) as Barns, Clark, and many other, whom he by his authoritie and letters written to Sheriffes and Justices in divers shires rescued, and discharged out of prison. Also that he did divulgate and disperse abroad among the Kings Subjects great numbers of books, containing (as they said) manifest matter of much heresie, diffidence, and misbeleef. Item, that he caused to be translated into our English tongue books comprising matter expresly against the Sacrament of the altar, and that after the translation thereof, he commended and maintained the same for good and Christian Doctrine. Over and besides all this, they brought in certain witnesses (what they were, the attainder expresseth not) which most especially prested (or rather oppressed) him with hainous words spoken against the King in the Church of saint Peter the Poore, in the moneth of March, in the thirtieth yeer of the Kings reign. Which words if they be true, as the Attainder doth purport, there things I have here much to marvell at. First, if his adversaries had so sure hold and matter against him, then what should move them to make such hastie speed, in all poste haste to have him dispatched and rid out of the way, and in no case could abide him to come to his purgation? Which if he might have done, it is not otherwise to be thought, but he would easily have cleered himselfe thereof.

Crimes and accusations brought against the Lord Cromwell.

Witnesses against Cromwell suspected.

Secondly, this I marvell, that if the words had been so hainous against the King, as his enemies did pretend, why then did those witnesses which heard those words in St. Peters Church, in the thirtieth yeer of the Kings reign, conceal the said words of such treason so long, the space almost of two yeers, and now uttered the same in the two and thirtieth yeer of the Kings reign, in the moneth of July.

Thirdly, here is again to be marvelled, if the King had known or beleeved these words to be true, and that Cromwel had indeed been such a traitour to his person, why then did the King so shortly after lament his death, wishing to have his Cromwell alive again? What Prince will wish the life of him whom he suspecteth undoubtedly to be a traitor to his life and person? Whereby it may appear what judgement the King had of Cromwell

What mischiefe malicious make bates make in a commonwealth.

well in himself, howsoever the Parliament by sinister information was otherwise incensed to judge upon him.

Example of men falsly accused, and wrongfully judged.

Such malicious makebates about Princes and Parliaments never lacked in commonweals. By such King Ethelstane was incensed to kill his brother Edwine. So was King Edward the second deposed. So likewise when King Richard the second was once brought into the tower, what crimes and accusations were laid against him in the Parliament? So was Humfrey the good Duke of Gloucester, the Kings uncle, by Henry Beaufort bishop of Winchester, and other in the Parliament holden at Bery, arrested as a traytour, and falsely made away. What great treason was in the words of him, who, dwelling in Cheapside at the signe of the Crown, said merrily to his son, that if he lived, he would make him heire of the Crown; and yet was he therefore attainted and judged for a traytor? In the time of King Henry the eighth, how was that Parliament incensed, wherein both Quæne Anne was falsly condemned, and Quæn Elizabeth her daughter as falsly disherited? To omit here the Attainder of the Duke of Buckingham, wrought by the Cardinall of York; of the Lord Cobham likewise, and sir Roger Acton: If the cause of the Lord Henry late Earle of Surrey were well tried out, peradventure no such hainous purpose of any treason should be found therein as then was made. Who incensed the late Duke of Somerset to behead his own brother, but such makebates as these? And afterward, when the said Duke himself was attainted for a traitor, and condemned for a felon, a briber, and extortioner; how was the Parliament then incensed? Adam Damlip received of Cardinall Poole at Rome but a silly crown in way of Alms, and therefore, by means of Stephen Gardiner, was attainted for a traitour. George Egles did but read sometimes in woods, and by the said Gardiner was also condemned, and suffered as a traitour. Not that I here speak or mean against the high Courts of Parliaments of this our realm, necessarily assembled for the commonwealth, to whom I alwayes attribute their due reverence and authoritie. But as it happeneth sometimes in Generall Councels, which though they be never so generall, yet notwithstanding sometimes they may and do erre in weightie matters of religion: so likewise they that say, that Princes and Parliaments may be misinformed sometimes, by some sinister heads, in matters civill and politique, do not therein derogate or empair the high estate of Parliaments, but rather give wholsome admontion to Princes and Parliament men, to be more circumspect and vigilant what counsell they shall admit, and what witnesses they do credit. For private affection, which commonly beareth a great stroke in all societies and doings of men, creepeth sometimes into such generall Councels, and into Princes Courts also, either too much amplifying things that be but small, making mountains of molehils, or else too much extenuating things that be of themselves great and weightie, according as it is truly said of the Poet Iuvenal; Dat veniam coruis, vexat censura columbas; or as our English Proverb sheweth, As a man is friended, so is his matter ended; And where the hedge is low, a man may lightly make large leaps; or rather to speak after the French phrase; Qui son chien veult tuer, la rage luy met sus, That is, He that is disposed to have his dogge killed, first maketh men beleeve that he is mad. And thus much having declared touching the matter of his accusation, the rest I refer to the high Parliament of that mightie King, who shall one day bring all things to perfect light.

Authority of Parliaments.

A French proverb.

In the meane season, howsoever the cause of the Lord Cromwell standeth true or false, this is certain, that Stephen Gardiner wanted not an head, nor yet privy allikers, which cunningly could fetch this matter about, and watch their time, when as the King being disposed to marrie another wife, which was the Lady Katherine Haward, immediately after the beheading of the Lord Cromwell, did repudiate Ladie Anne of Cleve, which otherwise is to be thought during the life of Cromwell could not so well be brought to passe.

Lady Anne of Cleve divorced from the King.

But these things being now done and past, let us passe them over, and return again from whence we have digressed, that is, to the Lord Cromwell, being now attainted and committed to the tower. Who so long as he went with full sail of Fortune, how moderately, and how temperately he did ever bear himself in his estate, before hath been declared. So now the said Lord Cromwell, alwayes one man, by the contrarie winde of adversitie being overblown, received the same with no lesse constancie, and patience of a Christian heart, neither yet was he so unprovided of counsell and forecast, but that he did foresee this tempest long before it fell, and also prepared for the same; for two yeers before, smelling the conspiracie of his adversaries, and fearing what might happen, he called unto him his servants, and there shewing unto them in what a slipperie state he stood, and also perceiving some stormie weather alreadie to gather, required them to look diligently to their order and doings, lest through their default any occasion might rise against him. And furthermore before the time of his apprehension, such order he took for his servants, that many of them, especially the younger brethren, which had little else to take unto, had honestly left for them in their friends hands to relieve them, whatsoever should him befall.

The Christian patience of the L. Cromwel in his adversitie.

Cromwell foreseeing and preparing for his trouble before it fell.

Cromwel gentle to his servants.

Briefly, such a loving and kinde Maister he was to his servants, that he provided afore hand almost for them all; insomuch, that he gave to twelve children, which were his musitians, twenty pounds a piece, and so committed them to their friends of whom some yet remain alive, who both enjoyed the same, and also gave record of this to be true.

Furthermore, being in the Tower a prisoner, how quietly he bare it, how valiantly he behaved himself, how gravely and discreetly he answered, and entertained the Commissioners sent unto him, it is worthy noting. Whatsoever Articles and Interrogatories they propounded, they could put nothing unto him, either concerning matters Ecclesiasticall or Temporall, wherein he was not more ripened, and more furnished in every condition then they themselves.

Amongst the rest of those Commissioners which came unto him, one there was, whom the Lord Cromwell desired to carry for him a letter to the King, which when he refused, saying that he would carry no letter to the King from a traitor; then the Lord Cromwel desired him at least to do from him a message to the King. To that the other was contented, and granted, so that it were not against his allegiance. Then the Lord Cromwell taking witnesse of the other Lords, what he had promised; You shall commend me, said he, to the King, and tell him, By that he hath so well tried, and throughly proved you as I have done, he shall finde you as false a man as ever came about him.

Besides this, he wrote also a letter from the Tower to the King, whereof when none durst take the carriage upon him, sir Ralf Sadler (whom he also had preferred to the King before, being ever trustie and faithfull unto him) went unto the King to understand his pleasure, whether he would permit him to bring the letter or not, which when the King had granted, the said maister Sadler, as he was required, presented the letter unto the King, which he commanded thrice to be read

Sir Ralf Sadler, the L. Cromwels trustie frie.

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read unto him, insomuch as the King seemed to be moved therewith.

Notwithstanding by reason of the Act of Parliament afore passed, the worthy and noble Lord Cromwell, oppressed by his enemies, and condemned in the tower, and not coming to his answer, the twenty eighth day of July, Anno 1541, was brought to the scaffold on Tower hill, where he said these words following.

The L. Cromwell brought to the scaffold.

I Am come hither to die, and not to purge my self, as some think peradventure that I will. For if I should so do, I were a very wretch and a Miser. I am by the Law condemned to die, and thank my Lord God, that hath appointed me this death for mine offence. For sithence the time that I have had years of discretion, I have lived a sinner, and offended my Lord God, for the which I ask him heartily forgivenesse. And it is not unknown to many of you, that I have been a great traveller in this world, and being but of a base degree, was called to high estate, and sithence the time I came thereunto I have offended my Prince, for the which I alke him heartily forgivenesse, and beseech you all to pray to God with me, that he will forgive me. And now I pray you that be here, to bear me record, I die in the Catholique faith, not doubting in any Article of my Faith, no nor doubting in any Sacrament of the Church. Many have slandered me, and reported that I have been a bearer of such as have maintained evill opinions, which is untrue. But I confesse, that like as God by his holy Spirit doth instruct us in the Truth, so the Devill is readie to seduce us, and I have been seduced; but bear me witnesse that I die in the Catholique Faith of the holy Church: and I heartily desire you to pray for the Kings Grace, that he may long live with you in health and prosperitie; and that after him his Son, Prince Edward that godly Impe, may long reign over you. And once again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as life remaineth in this flesh, I waver nothing in my Faith. And so making his Prayer, kneeling on his knees he spake these words, the effect whereof here followeth.

The Christian confession of the L. Cromwell at his death.

¶ *A Prayer that the Lord* Cromwell *said at the houre of his death.*

O Lord Iesus, which art the onely health of all men living, and the everlasting life of them which die in thee; I wretched sinner do submit my self wholly unto thy most blessed will, and being sure that the thing cannot perish which is committed unto thy mercie, willingly now I leave this frail and wicked flesh, in sure hope that thou wilt in better wise restore it to me again at the last day in the resurrection of the just. I beseech thee most mercifull Lord Iesus Christ, that thou wilt by thy grace make strong my soul against all temptations, and defend me with the buckler of thy mercie against all the assaults of the devill. I see and knowledge that there is in my self no hope of salvation, but all my confidence, hope and trust is in thy most mercifull goodnesse. I have no merits nor good works which I may alledge before thee. Of sins and evill works (alas) I see a great heap; but yet through thy mercie I trust to be in the number of them to whom thou wilt not impute their sins; but wilt take and accept me for righteous and just, and to be the inheritor of everlasting life. Thou mercifull Lord was born for my sake, thou didst suffer both hunger and thirst for my sake; thou didst teach, pray, and fast for my sake; all thy holy actions and works thou wroughtest for my sake; thou sufferedst most grievous pains and torments for my sake; finally, thou gavest thy most precious bodie and thy blood to be shed on the Crosse for my sake. Now most mercifull Saviour, let all these things profit me, that thou freely hast done for me, which hast given thy self also for me. Let thy blood cleanse and wash away the spots and foulnesse of my sins. Let thy righteousnesse hide and cover my unrighteousnesse. Let the merits of thy passion and blood-shedding be satisfaction for my sins. Give me Lord thy grace, that the faith of my salvation in thy blood waver not in me, but may ever be firme and constant. That the hope of thy mercie and life everlasting never decay in me, that love wax not cold in me. Finally, that the weakenesse of my flesh be not overcome with the fear of death. Grant me mercifull Saviour, that when death hath shut up the eyes of my body, yet the eyes of my soul may still behold and look upon thee, and when death hath taken away the use of my tongue, yet my heart may cry and say unto thee, Lord into thy hands I commend my soul, Lord Iesus receive my spirit. Amen.

The prayer of the Lord Cromwell at his death.

And thus his prayer made, after he had godly and lovingly exhorted them that were about him on the scaffold, he quietly committed his soul into the hands of God, and so patiently suffered the stroke of the Ax, by a ragged and butcherly Miser, which very ungodly performed his office.

The death of the Lord Cromwell.

¶ Of the Bible in English, printed in the large volume; and of *Edmund Boner* preferred to the Bishoprick of London, by the means of the Lord *Cromwell*.

ABout the time and yeer when Edmund Boner Bishop of Hereford, and Embassadour resident in France began first to be nominate and preferred by the means of the Lord Cromwell to the Bishoprick of London, which was Anno 1540. it happened that the said Thomas Lord Cromwell Earl of Esser procured of the King of England his gracious letters to the French King, to permit and licence a subject of his to imprint the Bible in English within the Universitie of Paris, because paper was there more meet and apt to be had for the doing thereof, then in the realm of England, and also that there were more store of good workmen for the readie dispatch of the same. And in like manner at the same time the said King wrote unto his Embassadour, who then was Edmund Boner Bishop of Hereford lying in Paris, that he should aid and assist the doers thereof in all their reasonable suits. The which Bishop outwardly shewed great friendship to the Merchants that were the Imprinters of the same, and moreover did divers and sundrie times call and command the said persons to be in manner daily at his Table both dinner and supper, and so much rejoyced in the workmanship of the said Bibles, that he himself would visit the Imprinters house, where the same Bibles were printed, and also would take part of such dinners as the Englishmen there had, and that to his cost, which as it seemed he little weighed. And further, the said Boner was so fervent, that he caused the said Englishmen to put in print a new Testament in English and Latine, and himself took a great many of them, and payed for them, and gave them to his friends. And it chanced the mean time, while the said Bible was in printing, that King Henry the eight preferred the said Boner from the said Bishoprick of Hereford to be Bishop of London; at which time the said Boner according to the Statute Law of England took his Oath to the King, knowledging his Supremacie, and called one of the aforesaid Englishmen that printed the Bible, whom he then loved, although afterward upon the change of the world he did hate him as much, whose name was Richard Grafton,

The Bible of the greatest volume printed in Paris.

The doers hereof were Richard Grafton and Whitechurch.

Edm. Boner a great furtherer in printing the bible in English.

The new Testament in English and Latin put in print by Boner.

Edm. Boner made Bishop of London.

Boners words to Grafton, when he took his oath to the King.

Boner reproveth Stokesley for his persecuting.

Boners promise to set forth the Scripture in English.

Boner sweareth heartily to the Kings supremacie.

Miles Coverdale Corrector in printing the Bible of the large volume.

The printing of the Bible stayed at Paris through the practise of English Bishops.

English Bibles burnt at Paris.

How Grafton and Whitchurch became Printers.

Grafton; to whom the said Boner said when he took his oath, Maister Grafton, so it is, that the Kings most excellent Maiestie hath by his gracious gift presented me to the Bishoprick of London, for, the which I am sorie, for if it would have pleased his Grace, I could have bene well content to have kept mine old Bishoprick of Hereford. Then said Grafton, I am right glad to hear of it, and so I am sure will be a great number of the Citie of London; for though they yet know you not, yet they have heard so much goodnesse of you from hence, as no doubt they will be glad of your placing. Then said Boner, I pray God I may do that may content them. And to tell you maister Grafton, before God (for that was commonly his oath) the greatest fault that ever I found in Stokesley was for vexing and troubling of poore men, as Lobley the Bookbinder, and other, for having the Scripture in English; and, God willing, he did not so much hinder it, but I will as much further it, and I will have of your Bibles set up in the Church of Pauls, at least in sundrie places six of them, and I will pay you honestly for them, and give you heartie thankes. Which words he then spake in the hearing of divers credible persons, as Edmund Stile Grocer, and other. But now maister Grafton at this time I have specially called you to be a witnesse with me, that upon this translation of the Bishops Sées, I must according to the Statute take an oath unto the Kings Maiestie, knowledging his supremacie, which before God I take with my heart, and so think him to be, and beseech almightie God to save him, and long to prosper his Grace. Hold the book strah, and read you the Oath (said he to one of his Chaplains) and he laid his hand on the book, and so he took his Oath. And after this he shewed great friendship to the said Grafton, and to his partner Edward Whitchurch, but especially to Myles Coverdale, who was the Corrector of the great Bible.

Now after that the foresaid letters were delivered, the French King gave very good words, and was well contented to permit the doing thereof, and so the Printer went forward and printed forth the Booke even to the last part, and then was the quarrell picked to the Printer, and he was sent for to the Inquisitors of the Faith, and there charged with certain Articles of heresie. Then were sent for the English men that were at the cost and charge thereof, and also such as had the correction of the same, which was Myles Coverdale: but having some warning what would follow, the said English men posted away as fast as they could to save themselves, leaving behinde them all their Bibles, which were to the number of two thousand five hundred, called the Bibles of the great volume, and never recovered any of them, saving that the Lieutenant criminall having them delivered unto him to burn in a place of Paris (like Smithfield) called Maulbert place, was somewhat moved with covetousnesse, and sould foure great dryfats of them to a Haberdasher to lap Caps in, and those were bought again, but the rest were burned, to the great and importunate losse of those that bare the charge of them. But notwithstanding the said losse, after they had recovered some part of the foresaid books, and were comforted and encouraged by the Lord Cromwell, the said English men went again to Paris, and there got the Presses, letters, and Servants of the foresaid Printer, and brought them to London, and there they became Printers themselves (which before they never intended) and printed out the said Bible in London, and after that printed sundrie Impressions of them; but yet not without great trouble and losse, for the hatred of the Bishops, namely Stephen Gardiner and his fellows, who mightily did stomack and maligne the printing thereof.

Here by the way, for the more direction to the story, thou shalt loving Reader to note and understand, that in those dayes there were two sundrie Bibles in English, printed and set forth, bearing divers titles, and printed in divers places. The first was called Thomas Mathews Bible, printed at Hamborough, about the yeer of our Lord 1532. the Corrector of which print was then John Rogers, of whom ye shall hear more Christ willing hereafter. The Printers were Richard Grafton, and Whitchurch. In the translation of this Bible, the greatest doer was indeed William Tindall, who with the help of Miles Coverdale had translated all the bookes thereof, except onely the Apocrypha, and certain notes in the margent which were added after. But because the said William Tindall in the meane time was apprehended before this Bible was fully perfected, it was thought good to them which had the doing thereof, to change the name of William Tindall, because that name then was odious, and to further it by a strange name of Thomas Mathew, John Rogers the same time being Corrector to the print, who had then translated the residue of the Apocrypha, and added also certain notes thereto in the margent, and thereof came it to be called Thomas Mathews Bible. Which Bible of Thomas Mathew, after it was imprinted and presented to the Lord Cromwell, and the Lord Cranmer Archbishop of Canterburie, who liked very well of it, the said Cromwell presented it to the King, and obtained that the same might freely passe to be read of his subjects with his Graces licence; so that there was printed upon the same book, one line in red letters with these words, Set forth with the Kings most gracious licence.

T. Mathews Bible by whom and how.

The Bible sented to the King by the Cromwell.

The Bible forth with t K. privileg

The setting forth of this book did not a little offend the Clergy, namely the bishops aforesaid, both for the prologues, and specially because in the same book was one speciall Table collected of the common places in the Bible, and the scriptures for the approbation of the same, and chiefly about the supper of the Lord, and marriage of Priests, and the masse which there was said not to be found in the Scripture.

Another Bi of the grea lume print Paris.

Furthermore, after the restraint of this foresaid Bible of Mathew, another bible began to be printed at Paris, Anno 1540. Which was called the Bible of the large volume. The printers whereof were the foresaid Richard Grafton, and Whitchurch which bare the charges. A great helper thereto was the Lord Cromwel. The chiefest overseer was Miles Coverdale, who taking the translation of Tindal, conferred the same with the Hebrew, and amended many things.

In this bible although the former notes of Thomas Matthew were omitted, yet sundry markes and hands were annexed on the sides, which meant that in those places should be made certaine notes, wherewith also the Clergie was offended, though the notes were not made.

The Bisho offended at e Bible tran into Engl The sale of e Bible staye by the king th and the bishops means.

After this the Bishops, bringing their purpose to passe, brought the Lord Cromwell out of favor, and shortly to his death; and not long after, great complaint was made to the King of the translation of the Bible, and of the preface of the same, and then was the sale of the Bible commanded to be stayed, the Bishops promising to amend and correct it, but never performing the same. Then Grafton was called, and first charged with the printing of Matthewes Bible, but he being fearefull of trouble made excuses for himselfe in all things. Then was he examined of the great Bible, and what notes he was purposed to make. To which he answered, that he knew none. For his purpose was to have retained learned men to have made the notes, but when he perceived the Kings Maiestie, and his Clergy not willing to have any, he proceeded

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proceeded no further. But for all theſe excuſes, Grafton was ſent to the Fleet, and there remained ſix weeks, and before he came out, was bound in three hundred pound that he ſhould neither ſell, nor imprint, or cauſe to be imprinted, any moe Bibles, untill the King and the Clergie ſhould agree upon a Tranſlation. And thus was the Bible from that time ſtayed, during the reign of King Henry the eighth.

But yet one thing more is to be noted, that after the Imprinters had loſt their Bibles, they continued ſuters to Boner, as is aforeſaid, to be a mean to obtain of the French King their books again: but ſo long they continued ſuters, and Boner ever fed them with fair words, promiſſing them much, but did nothing for them, till at the laſt Boner was diſcharged of his Embaſſade, and returned home, where he was right joyfully welcomed home by the Lord Cromwell, who loved him dearly, and had a marvellous good opinion of him. And ſo long as Cromwell remained in authoritie, ſo long was Boner at his beck and friend to his friends, and enemy to his enemies: as namely, at that time to Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, who never favoured Cromwell, and therefore Boner could not favour him, but he and Wincheſter were the greateſt enemies that might be. But ſo ſoon as Cromwell fell, immediately Boner and Wincheſter pretended to be the greateſt men that lived, and no good word could Boner ſpeak of Cromwell, but the lewdeſt, vileſt, and bittereſt that he could ſpeak, calling him the rankeſt heretique that ever lived: and then ſuch as the ſaid Boner knew to be in good favour with Cromwell, he could never abide their ſight. Inſomuch as the next day after that Cromwell was apprehended, the above named Grafton, who before had been very familiar with Boner, met with the ſaid Boner ſuddenly, and ſaid unto him, That he was ſorie to hear of the news that then was abroad. What are they, ſaid he? Of the apprehenſion of the Lord Cromwell, ſaid Grafton. Are ye ſorie for that, ſaid he? It had been good that he had been diſpatched long ago. With that Grafton looked upon him and knew not what to ſay, but came no more to Boner. Howbeit afterward the ſaid Grafton being charged for the imprinting of a ballad made in the favour of Cromwell, was called before the Counſell, where Boner was preſent, and there Boner charged him with the words that he ſpake to him of Cromwell, and told out a great long tale. But the Lord Audley, who then was lord Chancellor, right diſcreetly and honourably, cut off the matter, and entred into other talk.

Fr. Grafton impriſoned for printing the Bible.

E. Boner a great friend to L. Cromwell in the time of his proſperity.

Gardiner & Boner of like made men.

Boner altereth his friendſhip and religion.

Of Boner with the L. Cromwell.

The Hiſtorie of Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Hierome, Divines.

Barns, Garret, Hierome Martyrs.

LIke as in forrein battels the chief point of victorie conſiſteth in the ſafetie of the Generall or Captain: even ſo when the valiant Standardbearer and ſtay of the Church of England, Thomas Cromwell I mean, was made away, pitie it is to behold what miſerable ſlaughter of good men and good women enſued thereupon, whereof we have now (Chriſt willing) to intreat. For Wincheſter having now gotten his full purpoſe, & free ſwinge to exerciſe his cruelties, wonder it was to ſee that Aper Calydonius, or (as the Scripture ſpeaketh) that Ferus ſingularis, what troubles he raiſed in the Lords Vineyard. And leſt by delays he might loſe the occaſion preſently offered, he ſtraightways made his firſt aſſaults upon Robert Barns, Thomas Garret, and William Hierome, whom in the verie ſame moneth, within two dayes after Cromwels death, he cauſed to be put to execution. Whoſe Hiſtories ſeverally to comprehend, firſt of all we will ſomewhat ſpeak of Barns Doctor of Divinitie, whoſe particular Storie here followeth.

This Barns, after he came from the Univerſitie of Lovain, went to Cambridge, where he was made Prior and Maſter of the houſe of the Auguſtines. At that time the knowledge of good letters was ſcarcely entred into the Univerſitie, all things being full of rudeneſſe and barbaritie, ſaving in very few, which were privie and ſecret. Whereupon Barns, having ſome feeling of better learning and Authors, began in his houſe to read Terence, Plautus, and Cicero, ſo that what with his induſtrie, pains, and labour, and with the help of Thomas Parnel his ſcholer, whom he brought from Lovain with him, reading Copia verborum & rerum, he cauſed the houſe ſhortly to flouriſh with good letters, and made a great part of the houſe learned (which before were drowned in barbarous rudeneſſe) as maſter Cambridge, maſter Field, maſter Coleman, maſter Burley, maſter Coverdale, with divers other of the Univerſitie, that ſojourned there for learnings ſake. After theſe foundations laid, then did he read openly in the houſe Pauls Epiſtles, and put by Duns and Dorbell, and yet he was a queſtionarie himſelf: and onely, becauſe he would have Chriſt there taught and his holy word, he turned their unſavorie problemes and fruitleſſe diſputations to other better matter of the holy Scripture, and thereby in ſhort ſpace he made divers good Divines. The ſame order of diſputation which he kept in his houſe, he obſerved likewiſe in the Univerſitie abroad when he ſhould diſpute with any man in the common ſchools. And the firſt man that anſwered Doctor Barns in the Scriptures, was maſter Stafford for his form to be Batcheler of Divinitie, which Diſputation was marvellous in the ſight of the great blinde Doctors, and joyfull to the godly ſpirited.

Rob. Barns Prior of the houſe of Auguſtines in Cambridge.

Tho. Parnell a Londoner born, ſcholler to Barns.

W. Cambridge, W. Field, W. Coleman, W. Coverdale, Bachelors of Divinitie.

Thus Barns what with his reading, diſputation, and preaching, became famous and mightie in the Scriptures, preaching ever againſt Biſhops and hypocrites, and yet did not ſee his inward and outward idolatrie, which he both taught and maintained, till that good maſter Bilney with other (as is aforeſaid in the life of maſter Bilney) converted him wholly unto Chriſt.

The firſt Sermon that ever he preached of this truth was the Sunday before Chriſtmas day, at Saint Edwards Church belonging to Trinitie Hall in Cambridge, by the Peaſe Market; whoſe Theame was the Epiſtle of the ſame Sunday, Gaudete in Domino, &c. And ſo poſtilled the whole Epiſtle, following the Scripture and Luthers poſtill, and for that Sermon he was immediately accuſed of hereſie by two fellows of the Kings Hall. Then the godly learned in Chriſt both of Penbroke hall, ſaint Johns, Peter-houſe, Quéens Colledge, the Kings Colledge, Gunwell hall, and Benet Colledge ſhewed themſelves and flocked together in open ſight, both in the Schools and at open Sermons at ſaint Maries, and at the Auſtens, and at other diſputations, and then they conferred continually together.

The firſt Sermon that D. Barns preached in defence of the truth.

The houſe that they reſorted moſt commonly unto was the white horſe, which for deſpite of them, to bring Gods word into contempt, was called Germany. This houſe eſpecially was choſen becauſe of them of Saint Johns. The Kings Colledge, and the Quéens Colledge came in on the back ſide. At this time much trouble began to enſue. The adverſaries of Doctor Barns accuſed him in the Regent houſe before the Vice-Chancellour, whereas his Articles were preſented with him and received, he promiſing to make anſwer at the next convocation, and ſo it was done. Then Doctor Nottoris, a rank enemie to Chriſt, moved Doctor Barns to recant, but he refuſed ſo to do; which appeareth

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in his book that he made to King Henry the eighth in English, confuting the judgement of Cardinall Wolsey, and the residue of the Bishops Papisticall, and so for the time stood stedfast. And this tragedie continued in Cambridge, one preaching against another, in trying out of Gods Truth, untill within six dayes of Shrovetide. Then suddenly was sent down to Cambridge a Sergeant of Arms, called maister Gibson, dwelling in Saint Thomas Apostles in London, who suddenly arrested Doctor Barns openly in the Convocation house, to make all other afraid; and privily they had determined to make search for Luthers bookes, and all the Germans works suddenly.

Trouble amongst the Cambridge men for the Gospel.

D. Barns arrested by M. Gibson.

But good Doctor Farman of the Quéens Colledge sent word incontinently thereof, to the chambers of those that were suspected, which were in number thirty persons. But, God be praised, they were conveyed away by that time that the Sergeant at Arms, the Vicechancellor and the Proctors were at every mans Chamber, going directly to the place where the bookes lay (whereby it was perceived that there were some privy spies amongst that small company) and that night they studied together, and gave him his answer, which answer he carried with him to London the next morning, which was the Thursday before Shrovesunday, and came on the Wednesday to London, and lay at maister Parnels house by the Stocks. In the morning he was carried by the Sergeant at Arms to Cardinal Wolsey to Westminster, waiting there all day, and could not speak with him till night. Then by reason of Doctor Gardiner Secretary to the Cardinall, (of whose familiar acquaintance he had been before) and maister For maister of the Wards, he spake the same night with the Cardinall in his Chamber of Estate, kneeling on his knées. Then said the Cardinall to them, Is this Doctor Barns your man that is accused of heresie? Yea, and please your Grace, and we trust you shall finde him reformable, for he is both well learned and wise.

Search in Cambridge for bookes.

False brethren.

Doctor Barns brought to London.

D. Gardiner Secretary to the Cardinall.

What, M. Doctor (said the Cardinall) had you not a sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden shoes, my pollares, my pillars, my golden cushions, my Crosses did so sore offend you, that you must make us ridiculum Caput amongst the people? We were jollily that day laughed to scorn. Verily it was a sermon more fitter to be preached on a stage then in a pulpit; for at the last you said, I weare a paire of red gloves, I should say bloody gloves (quoth you) that I should not be cold in the midst of my Ceremonies. And he answered, I spake nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures, according to my conscience, and according to the old Doctors; and then did he deliver him six sheets of paper written, to confirm and corroborate his sayings.

The talk between Cardinal Wolsey and D. Barns.

He received them smiling on him, and saying, We perceive then that you intend to stand to your Articles, and to shew your learning.

Yea, said Barns, that I do intend, by Gods grace, with your Lordships favour.

He answered, Such as you are do bear us little favour and the Catholique Church. I will ask you a question: Whether do you think it more necessarie that I should have all this royaltie, because I represent the Kings Majesties person in all the high Courts of this Realm, to the terror and keeping down of all rebellious treasons, Traitors, all the wicked and corrupt members of this commonwealth, or to be as simple as you would have us, to sell all these aforesaid things, and to give it to the poore, which thereby will pierce it against the walls, and to pull away this majesty of a princely dignity, which is a terror to all the wicked, and to follow your counsell in this behalf?

The pretensed reasons of the Cardinall, whereby he maintained his pomp.

He answered, I think it necessarie to be sold and given to the poore. For this is not comely for your calling, nor is the Kings Majestie maintained by your pomp and pollares, but by God who saith, Per me reges regnant, Kings and their Majesties reign and stand by me.

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Then answered he, Lo maister Doctors, here is the learned wise man that you told me of. Then they knæled down and said, we desire your grace to be good unto him, for he will be reformable.

Then said he, Stand you up; for your sakes and the Universitie we will be good unto him. Now say you maister Doctor, do you not know that I am Legatus de latere, and that I am able to dispence in all matters concerning religion within this Realm, as much as the Pope may? He said I know it be so.

D. Gardiner later for Barns.

Will you then be ruled by us, and we will do all things for your honestie, and for the honestie of the Universitie.

He answered, I thank your grace for your good will, I will stick to the holy Scripture, and to Gods book, according to the simple talent that God hath lent me.

Well, said he, thou shalt have thy learning tried to the uttermost, and thou shalt have the Law.

Then he required him that he might have justice with equitie, and forthwith he should have gone to the Tower, but that Gardiner and For became his sureties that night, and so he came home to M. Parnels house again, and that night fell to writing again and slept not, maister Coverdale, maister Goodwin, and maister Field being his writers; and in the morning he came to Work place to Gardiner and For, and by and by he was committed to the Sergeant of Arms to bring him into the Chapter house at Westminster before the Bishops and the Abbot of Westminster called Islip.

The same time when Doctor Barns should appear before the Cardinal, there were five Stillyard men to be examined for Luthers books and Lollardy, but after they spied Barns they set the other aside, and asked the Sergeant of Arms what was his errand. He said he had brought one Doctor Barns to be examined of heresie, and presented both his articles and his accusers. Then immediately after a little talk, they sware him and laid his Articles to him. Who like as he answered the Cardinall before so said he unto them; and then he offered the book of his probations unto them. Who asked him whether he had another for himself, and he said yea, shewing it unto them. Who then took it from him, and said they would have no leisure to dispute with him at that present, for other affairs of the Kings Majestie, which they had to do, and therefore bade him stand aside. Then they called the Stillyard men again one by one, and when they were examined, they called forth the maister of the Fleet, and they were committed all to the Fleet. Then they called Doctor Barns again, and asked him whether he would subscribe to his articles or no, and he subscribed willingly; and then they committed him and young maister Parnell to the Fleet also with the other. There they remained, till Saturday in the morning, and the Warden of the Fleet was commanded that no man should speak with him.

Stillyard men examined for Lollardy.

The Stillyard men committed to the Fleet.

D. Barnes with Parnel committed to the Fleet.

On the Saturday he came again afore them into the Chapter house, and there with the Stillyard men remained till five a clock at night. And after long disputations, threatnings, and scornings, about five a clock at night they called him, to know whether he would abjure or burn. He was then in a great agony, and thought rather to burn then to abjure. But then was he sent again to have the Counsell of Guard. And For, and they perswaded him rather to abjure then to burn, because

D. Barnes with the Stillyard men brought again before the Cardinall

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cause (they said) he should do more in time to come, & with divers other perswasions that were mighty in the sight of reason and foolish flesh. Upon that, kneeling upon his knees, he consented to abjure, and the abjuration put in his hand, he abjured as it was there written, and then he subscribed with his owne hand; and yet they would scarcely receive him into the bosome of the Church as they termed it. Then they put him to an Oath, and charged him to execute, do, and fulfill all that they commanded him, and he promised so to do.

Then they commanded the Warden of the Fleet to carrie him and his fellowes to the place from whence he came, and to be kept in close prison, and in the morning to provide five fagots for Doctor Barnes, and the foure Stilliard men. The fifth Stilliard man was commanded to have a Taper of 5. pound weight to be provided for him, to offer to the rood of Northen in Pauls, & all these things to be ready by eight of the clock in the morning; and that he with all that he could make, with bils and glaves, and the Knight Marshall with all his tipstaves that he could make, should bring them to Pauls and conduct them home againe. In the morning they were all ready by their houre appointed in Pauls Church, the Church being so full that no man could get in. The Cardinall had a Scaffold made on the top of the staires for himselfe, with six and thirtie Abbots, mitred priors and bishops, and he in his whole pompe mitred (which Barns spake against) sate there enthronised, his Chaplaines and spirituall Doctors in gownes of Damaske and Sattin, and he himselfe in purple, even like a bloudy Antichrist. And there was a new pulpit erected on the top of the staires also, for the Bishop of Rochester to preach against Luther and Doctor Barns; and great baskets full of bookes standing before them within the railes, which were commanded, after the great fire was made afore the rood of Northen, there to be burned, and these heretikes after the sermon to go thrice about the fire and to cast in their fagots.

Now while the sermon was a doing, D. Barnes and the Stilliard men were commanded to kneele downe and aske God forgivenesse, the Catholike Church, and Cardinals grace; and after that he was commanded at the end of the Sermon to declare that he was more charitably handled then he deserved, or was worthy (his heresies were so horrible and so detestable) and once againe kneeled down on his knees, desiring the people of forgivenesse and to pray for him; and so the Cardinall departed under a canopie with all his mitred men with him till he came to the second gate of Pauls, and then he tooke his mule, and the mitred men came backs againe. Then these poore men being commanded to come downe from the stage (whereon the swæpers use to stand when they sweepe the church) the bishops sat them down againe, and commanded the Knight Marshall and the Warden of the Fleete with their company to carry them about the fire, and so were they brought to the bishops, and there for absolution kneeled downe. Where Rochester stood up and declared unto the people how many dayes of pardon and forgivenesse of sinnes they had for being at that Sermon, and there did asseple Doctor Barnes with the other, and shewed the people that they were received into the Church again.

This done, the Warden of the Fleete and the Knight Marshall were commanded to have them to the Fleet againe, and charged that they should have the libertie of the Fleet as other prisoners had, and that their friends might resort unto them, and there to remaine till the Lord Cardinals pleasure was knowne.

After that Barnes there in the Fleet had continued the space of halfe a yeere, at length being delivered, he was committed to be a free prisoner at the Austen Friers in London. When those Caterpillars and bloudy beasts had there undermined him, they complained again to the Lord Cardinall. Whereupon he was removed to the Austen Friers of Northampton, there to be burned. Yet he himselfe understanding nothing thereof, but supposing still that he should there remaine, and continue in free prison, at last, one Walker Horne, who had brought him up, and was his speciall friend, having intelligence of the writ which should shortly be sent downe to burne him, gave him counsell to faine himselfe to be desperate, and that he should write a letter to the Cardinall and leave it on his table where he lay, and a paper by, to declare whither he was gone to drown himself, and to leave his clothes in the same place; and there another letter to be left to the Maior of the towne to search for him in the water, because he had a letter written in parchment about his neck, closed in wax for the Cardinall, which should teach all men to beware by him. Upon this, they were seven dayes in searching for him, but he was conveyed to London in a poore mans apparell, and so tarried not there, but tooke shipping and went by long Seas to Antwerpe, and so to Luther, and there fell to studie till he had made an answer to all the Bishops of the realme, and had made a book intituled, Acta Romanorum Pontificum, and another booke with a supplication to King Henrie. Immediatly it was told the Cardinall, that he was drowned, and he said, Perit memoria ejus cum sonitu. But this did light upon himselfe shortly after, which wretchedly died at Leicester.

Doct. Barnes fained himselfe to be drowned.

In the same season D. Barnes was made strong in Christ & got favor both of the learned in Christ, and forrein Princes in Germany, and was great with Luther, Melanchthon, Pomeran, Justus Jonas, Hegendorphinus, and Aepinus, and with the Duke of Saxon, and with the King of Denmarke; which King of Denmarke in the time of More and Stokesley sent him with the Lubecks, as an Embassadour to King Henrie the eight. He lay with the Lubecks Chancellor at the Stilliard.

Doct. Barnes sent Embassador from the King of Denmarke to King Henry, into England.

Sir Thomas More then chancellor would faine have entrapped him, but the K. would not let him, for Cromwell was his great friend. And ere he went, the Lubecks and he disputed with the Bishops of this Realme in defence of the truth, and so he departed again without restraint with the Lubecks. After his going again to Wittenberge to the Duke of Saxon, and to Luther, he remained there to set forward his works in print that he had begun, from whence he returned againe in the beginning of the reign of quéen Anne, as other did, and continued a faithfull preacher in this citie, being all her time well entertained and promoted. After that he was sent Embassador by king. H. the eight to the Duke of Cleve, for the marriage of the Lady Anne of Cleve, between the King and her, and was well accepted in that Embassade and in all his doings, untill the time that Steven Gardiner came out of France; but after he came, neither Religion prospered, nor the Queenes Majestie, nor Cromwell, nor the preachers; who, after the marriage of the Lady Cleve, never ceased untill he had grafted the mariage in another stock, by the occasion whereof he began his bloudy broyle.

Sir Thomas More sought the death of Doct Barnes.

Doct. Barnes returned again into England in the time of Queen Anne.

Doct. Barnes sent Embassador by King Henry, to the Duke of Cleve.

For not long after, D. Barnes with his brethren were apprehended and carried before the Kings majestie to Hampton court, and there he was examined. Where the kings majestie seeking the mean of his safety, to bring Winchester and him agreed, at Winchesters request granted him leave to goe home with the bishop to conferre with him, and so he did. But as it happened, they not agreeing, Gardiner and his compartners sought by all subtill meanes how to entangle and to entrap

them in further danger, which not long after was brought to passe. For by certaine complaints made to the King of them, they were enjoyned to preach three sermons the next Easter following at the Spittle. At the which sermons, besides other Reporters which were thither sent, Stephen Gardiner also was there present sitting with the Maior, either to beare record of their recantation, or else as the Pharisees came to Christ, to trip them in their talke, if they had spoken any thing awrie. When these three had thus preached their sermons, among whom Barnes preaching the first sermon, and seeing Stephen Gardiner there present, humbly desired him in the face of all the audience, if he forgave him, to hold up his hand, and the said Gardiner thereupon held up his finger; yet notwithstanding shortly after, by the means of the said reporters, they were sent for to Hampton Court; who from thence were carried to the tower by sir John Gostwike. From thence they never came out till they came to their death, as hereafter, Christ willing, shall more appeare.

And thus hitherto concerning the history of Barnes. Now let us likewise, consider the storie and doings of Thomas Garret.

The Story of Thomas Garret or Garrard, and of his trouble in Oxford, testified and recorded by Anthony Dalaber, who was there present the same time.

Tho. Garret brought bookes to Oxford.

ABout the yeare of our Lord 1526. maister Garret, Curate in Honey lane in London, came unto Oxford, and brought with him sundrie bookes in Latine, treating of the Scripture, with the first part of Vnio dissidentium, and Tindals first translation of the New Testament in English, the which bookes he sold to divers Scholliers in Oxford.

Garret sought for at London.

After he had been there awhile, and had dispatched those bookes, newes came from London, that he was searched for through all London to be apprehended and taken as an heretike, and to be imprisoned for selling of those hereticall bookes (as they termed them) because they spake against the usurped authoritie and erroneous doctrine of the Bishop of Rome, and his no lesse impure and filthy Synagogue. For it was not unknowne to Cardinall Wolsey, and to the Bishop of London, and to other of that ungodly generation, that Maister Garret had a great number of those bookes, and that he was gone to Oxford to make sale of them there, to such as he knew to be the lovers of the Gospel. Wherefore they determined forthwith to make a privy search through all Oxford, to apprehend and imprison him, and to burne all and every his foresaid bookes, and him to if they could; so burning hot was their charitie. But yet at that time one of the foresaid Proctors, called M. Cole of Magdalene Colledge, who after was Crosse-bearer unto Cardinall Wolsey, was well acquainted with Maister Garret, and therefore he gave secret warning unto a friend or two of Maister Garrets of this privie search, and willed therefore that he should forthwith, as secretly as he could, depart out of Oxford; for if he were taken in the same search, no remedie but he should be forthwith sent up unto the Cardinall, and so he should be committed unto the Tower.

A privie search in Oxford for Garret. M. Cole of Magdalene Colledge in Oxford.

Anthony Dalaber scholler of Alborne Hall reporter hereof.

The Christmas before that time, I Anthony Dalaber then Scholler of Alborne Hall, who had bookes of Maister Garrets, had been in my countrey in Oxfordshire at Stalbridge, where I had a brother Parson of that Parish, who was very desirous to have a Curate out of Oxford, and willed me in any wise to get him one there if I could. This fit occasion offered, it was thought good among the Brethren (for so did we not onely call one another, but were indeed one to another) that Maister Garret, changing his name, should be sent forth with my letters into Oxfordshire to my brother, to serve him there for a time, untill he might secretly from thence convey himselfe some whither over the sea. According hereunto I wrote my letters in all hast possible unto my Brother, for maister Garret to be his Curate, but not declaring what he was indeed, for my brother was a ranke Papist, and after was the most mortall enemy that ever I had for the Gospels sake.

Brother agast brother.

So the Wednesday in the morning before Shrovetide Maister Garret departed out of Oxford toward Oxfordshire, with his letters for his new service. How farre he went, and by what occasion he so soone returned, I know not. But the Friday next, in the night time he came againe to Radleyes house, where he lay before, and so after midnight, in the privy search which was then made for him, he was apprehended and taken there in his bed by the two Proctors, and on the Saturday in the morning was delivered unto one Doctor Cottisford Maister of Lincolne Colledge, then being Commissarie of the Universitie, who kept him as prisoner in his owne chamber. There was great joy and rejoycing among all the Papists for his apprehension, and specially with Doctor London, Warden of the New Colledge, and Doctor Higdon Deane of Fridaswides, two archpapists, who immediately sent their letters in poste hast unto the Cardinall, to informe him of the apprehension of this notable heretike. For the which their doing they were well assured to have great thankes. But of all this sudden hurly burly was I utterly ignorant, so that I knew neither of Maister Garrets so sudden returne, neither that he was so taken; untill that afterward he came unto my chamber, being then in Glocester Colledge, as a man amased, and as soone as he saw me, he said he was undone, for he was taken. Thus he spake unadvisedly in the presence of a young man that came with him. When the young man was departed I asked him what he was, and what acquaintance he had with him. He said he knew him not: but he had been to seek a Monke of his acquaintance in that Colledge, who was not in his chamber, and thereupon desired that his servant (not knowing my chamber, for that I was newly removed thither) to bring him to me: and so forth declared how he was returned and taken that night in the privy search, as ye have heard, and that now when the Commissarie and all his company were gone to Even-song, and had locked him alone in his chamber, he hearing no body stirring in the Colledge, put back the barre of the lock with his finger, and so came straight unto Glocester Colledge, to speak with that Monk, if he had been within, who had also bought bookes of him.

Garret taken in the privie search.

The meane louis deliverance of Garret out of the commissaries chamber.

Then said I unto him, Alas Maister Garret, by this your uncircumspect coming unto me, and speaking so before this young man, you have disclosed your selfe, and utterly undone me. I asked him why he went not unto my brother with my letters accordingly. He said, after that he was gone a daies journey and a halfe, he was so fearefull, that his heart would no other but that he must needs returne againe unto Oxford, and so he came againe on Friday at night, and then was taken, as ye heard before. But now with deepe sighes and plentie of teares he prayed me to help to convey him away, and so he cast off his hood and his gowne, wherein he came unto me, and desired me to give him a coate with sleeves, if I had any, and told me that he would goe into Wales, and thence convey himselfe into Germany, if he might. Then I put on him a sleeved coate of mine. He would also have had another manner of cap of me, but

Garret chaungeth his apparell and flieth.

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but I had none but Priest-like, such as his owne was.

Then kneeled we both downe together upon our knees, and lifting up our hearts and hands to God our heavenly Father, desiring him with plenty of teares so to conduct and prosper him in his journey, that he might well escape the danger of all his enemies, to the glory of his holy name, if his good pleasure and will so were; and then we embraced and kissed the one the other the teares so abundantly flowing out from both our eyes, that we all bewet both our faces, and scarcely for sorrow could we speak one to another, and so he departed from me, apparelled in my coat, being committed unto the tuition of our Almightie and mercifull Father.

When he was gone downe the staires from my chamber, I straightwaies did shut my chamber doore, and went into my studie, and tooke the new Testament in my hands, kneeled downe on my knees, and with many a deep sigh and salt teare I did with much deliberation reade over the tenth Chapter of Saint Matthew his Gospel: and when I had so done, with fervent prayer I did commit unto God that our dearly beloved brother Garret, earnestly beseeching him, in and for Jesus Christs sake his only begotten Son our Lord, that he would vouchsafe not onely safely to conduct and keepe our said deare brother from the hands of all his enemies, but also that he would endue his tender and lately borne little flock in Oxford with heavenly strength by his holy Spirit, that they might be wel able thereby valiantly to withstand to his glory all their fierce enemies, and also might quietly, to their own salvation, with al godly patience bear Christs heavie Crosse, which I now saw was presently to be laid on their young and weake backs, unable to beare so huge a burthen, without the great helpe of his holy spirit.

This done I laid aside my booke safe, folded up Master Garrets gown and hood, and laid them in my presse among mine apparell, and so having put on my short gowne, shut up my studie and chamber doors, and went towards Frideswides, to speak with that worthy Martyr of God M. Clark, and others, and to declare unto them what had happened that afternoone. But of purpose I went by Saint Mary Church, to go first unto Corpus Christi Colledge, to speak with Diet & Udall, my faithfull brethren and fellowes in the Lord there. But by chance I met by the way with a brother of ours, one master Eeden, fellow of Magdalen Colledge, who, as soon as he saw me, came with a pitifull countenance unto me, saying, that we were all undone, for master Garret was returned again to Oxford, taken the last night in the private search, & was in prison with the Commissarie. I said it was not so. He said it was so. I told him it could not be so, for I was sure he was gone. He answered me and said, I know he was gone with your letters, but he came again yesterday in the even, & was taken in his bed at Radleis this night in the privy search; for, quoth he, I heard our proctor master Cole say and declare the same this day in our Colledge to divers of the house. But I told him again, that I was well assured he was now gone, for I spake with him later then either the proctor or commissarie did; and then I declared the whole matter unto him, how and when he came unto me, and how he went his way, willing him to declare the same unto our other brethren whom he should meet withall, & to give God hearty thankes for his wonderfull deliverance, and to pray him also that he would grant him safely to passe away from all his enemies, and told him that I was going unto Master Clarke of Frideswides, to declare unto him this matter; for I knew and thought verily that he and divers others there were in great sorrow for this matter. Then I went straight to Frideswides, and Evensong was begun, and the Deane and the other Canons were there in their gray Amices; they were almost at Magnificat before I came thither, I stood at the Quire doore and heard master Taverner play, and others of the Chappel there sing, with and among whom I my selfe was wont to sing also, but now my singing and musick was turned into sighing and musing. M. Taverner.

As I thus and there stood, in cometh D. Cottisforde the Commissarie as fast as ever he could go, bare headed, as pale as ashes (I knew his griefe well enough) and to the Deane he goeth into the quire, where he was sitting in his stall, and talked with him very sorrowfully: what I know not, but whereof I might and did well and truely ghesse. I went aside from the quire doore, to see and heare more. The Commissarie & Deane came out of the quire wonderfully troubled, as it seemed. About the middle of the church met them D. London puffing, blustring, and blowing, like an hungry and greedy lion seeking his prey. They talkt together a while, but the commissarie was much blamed of them for keeping of his prisoner so negligently, insomuch that he wept for sorrow: and it was known abroad that master Garret was escaped, and gone out of the Commissaries chamber at Evensong time, but whither no man could tell. These Doctors departed, and sent abroad their servants and spies every where. The Pharisies troubled at M. Garrets escape out of prison.

Master Clarke about the middle of Compline came forth of the quire: I followed him to his chamber, and declared what was happened that afternoone, of Master Garrets escape. He was glad, for he knew of his fore-taking. Then he sent for one master Sumner and master Bets, fellows, and Canons there. In the meane while he gave me a very good exhortation, praying God to give me, and all the rest of our brethren, Prudentiam serpentinam & simplicitatem columbinam, for we should have shortly much need thereof, as he verily thought. When master Sumner and master Bets were come unto him, he caused me to declare again the whole matter to them two, and they were very glad that master Garret was so delivered, trusting that he should escape all his enemies. Then desiring them to tell unto our other brethren what was happened, (for there were divers other in that Colledge) I went to Corpus Christi Colledge to comfort our brethren there being in like heavines. There I tarried and supped with them. At which supper we were not very merry, considering our state and perill at hand. M. Clarke. M. Sumner. M. Bets.

When we had ended our supper, and committed our whole cause with fervent sighs & hearty prayers unto God our heavenly Father, I went to Alborn Hall, and there lay that night. In the morning I was up very early, and so soon as I could get out of the doore, I went straight toward Glocester Colledge to my chamber. It had rained that morning, and with my going I had al to be sprinkled my hose and shoes with mire. And when I was come unto Glocester Colledge, which was about six of the clock, I found the gates fast shut. Whereat I did much marvell, for they were wont to be opened daily long before that time. Then did I walk up and down by the wall there, a whole houre before the gates were opened. In the mean while my musing head being full of forecasting cares, and my sorrowfull heart flowing with dolefull sighs, I fully determined in my conscience before God, that if I should chance to be taken and be examined, I would accuse no man nor declare any thing further then I did already perceive was manifestly known before. And so when the gate was opened, thinking to shift my self, and to put on a longer gown, I went in towards my chamber, and going up the staires, would have opened my doore, but I could not in a long season do it. Whereby I perceived that my lock had been medled withall, and therewith was somewhat

altered. Yet at last with much ado I opened the lock and went in. When I came in, I saw my bed all to tossed and tumbled, my clothes in my presse throwne downe, and my studie doore open. Whereat I was much amased, and thought verily that some search was made there that night for Master Garret, and that it was known of his being with me, by the Monks man that brought him to my chamber.

Dalabers chamber searched for Master Garret.

Now was there lying in the next chamber unto me a Monk, who, as soone as he had heard me in the chamber, came to me, & told how master Garret was sought for in my chamber that night, and what ado there was made by the Commissarie and the two Doctors, with bils & swords thrust through my bed straw, and how every corner of my chamber was searched for master Garret. And albeit his gowne and his hood lay there in my presse with my clothes, yet they perceived them not. Then he told me he was commanded to bring me as soone as I came in, unto the Prior of the students named Anthony Dunstan a Monk of Westminster. This so troubled me that I forgot to make cleane my hose and shoes, and to shift me into another gown, and therefore so all to be dirted as I was, and in my short gowne, I went with him to the said Priors chamber, where I found the said Prior standing and looking for my coming. He asked me where I had bene that night. I told him I lay at Alborn Hall with my old bedfellow Fitziames, but he would not beleeve me. He asked me if M. Garret were with me yesterday. I told him yea. Then he would know where he was, and wherefore he came unto me. I told him I knew not where he was except he were at Woodstock. For so, said I, he had shewed me that he would go thither because one of the keepers there his friend had promised him a piece of venison to make merry withall the Shrovetide, and that he would have borrowed a hat and a paire of high shoes of me, but I had none indeed to lend him. This tale I thought meetest, though it were nothing so. Then had he spied on my finger a big ring of silver very well double gilt with two letters A. D. ingraved in it for my name; I suppose he thought it to be gold. He required to see it. I took it unto him. When he had it in his hand, he said it was his ring, for therein was his name: An A. for Anthony, and a D, for Duskane. When I heard him so say, I wished in my heart to be as well delivered from and out of his companie, as I was assured to be delivered from my ring for ever.

Dalaber brought to the Prior of Glocester colledge.

Anthony Dalabers ring taken from him.

Then he called for pen, inke, and paper, and commanded me to write when and how Garret came unto me, and where he was become. I had scarcely written three words, but the chiefe Bedle with two or three of the Commissaries men were come unto master Prior, requiring him straightwaies to bring us away unto Lincolne Colledge to the Commissarie, and to Doctor London. Whither when I was brought into the chappel, there I found D. Cottisford Commissarie, Doctor Higdon then Deane of the Cardinals colledge, and Doctor London Warden of the new Colledge, standing together at the Altar in the Chappell. When I was brought unto them, after salutations given and taken betwen them, they called for chaires and sate down, and called for me to come to them. And first they asked what my name was. I told them that my name was Anthony Dalaber. Then they also asked me how long I had been student in the Universitie, and I told them almost three yeeres. And they asked me what I studied. I told them that I had read Sophistry and Logick in Alborne Hall, and now was removed unto Glocester colledge to studie the civill law, the which the foresaid Prior of the Students affirmed to be true. Then they asked me whether I knew Master Garret, and how long I had knowne him. I told them I knew him well, and had knowne him almost a twelve moneth. They asked me when he was with me. I told them yesterday at afternoone.

Anthony Dalaber apprehended and troubled for M. Garret.

Now by this time whiles they had me in this talke, one came unto them which was sent for, with pen, inke, and Paper; I trow it was the Clarke of the Universitie. As soone as he was come, there was a Bord and Trelles with a forme for him to sit on, set betwen the Doctors and me, and a great Masse book layed before me, and I was commanded to lay my right hand on it, and to sweare that I should truely answer unto such Articles and interrogatories as I should be by them examined upon. I made danger of it awhile at first, but afterward being perswaded by them, partly by faire words, and partly by great threats, I promised to doe as they would have me, but in my heart meant nothing so to do. So I laid my hand on the book, and one of them gave me my Oath, and that done commanded me to kisse the Booke. Then made they great courtesie between them who should examine me, and minister interrogatories unto me. At the last, the rankest papisticall Pharisee of them all, D. London tooke upon him to doe it.

The examination of Anthony Dalaber.

Doct. London warden of new colledge a arch pharisee.

Then he asked me againe by my Oath where Master Garret was, and whither I had conveyed him. I told him I had not conveyed him, nor yet wist where he was, nor whither he was gone, except he were gone to Woodstock (as I had before said) as he shewed me he would. Then he asked me againe when he came to me, how he came to me, what and how long he talked with me, and whither he went from me. I told him he came to me about Evensong time, and that one brought him unto my Chamber doore, whom I knew not, and that he told me he would goe to Woodstocke for some Venison to make merrie withall this Shrovetide, and that he would have borrowed a Hat, and a paire of high shooes of me, but I had none such to lend him, and then he straight went his way from me, but whither I know not. All these my sayings the scribe wrote in a paper booke.

Then they earnestly required me to tell them whither I had conveyed him, for surely they said I brought him going some whither this morning, for that they might well perceive by my foule shooes and dyrtie hosen, that I had travelled with him the most part of this night. I answered plainly that I lay at Alborne Hall with sir Fitziames, and that I had good witnesse thereof there. They asked me where I was at Evensong. I told them at Frideswides, and that I saw first Master Commissarie, and then Master Doctor London come thither at that time unto master Deane of Frideswides, and that I saw them talking together in the Church there. Doctor London and the Deane threatned me, that if I would not tell the truth where I had done him, or whither he was gone, I should surely be sent to the Tower of London, & there be racked, and put into Little ease. But Master commissary prayed me with gentle words, to tell him where he was, that he might have him againe, and he would be my very great friend, and deliver me out of trouble straight way. I told him I could not tell were he was, nor whither he was become. Thus they did occupie and tosse me almost two houres in the Chappell, sometimes with threatnings and fouls words, and then with faire words and faire promises flattering me. Then was he that brought M. Garret unto my chamber brought before me, and caused to declare what M. Garret said unto me at his coming to my chamber; but I said plainly I heard him say no such thing, for I thought my nay to be as good as his yea; seeing

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seeing it was to rid and deliver my godly brother out of trouble and perill of his life.

At the last, when they could get nothing of me whereby to hurt or accuse any man, or to know any thing of the which they sought, they all three together brought me up a long staires into a great chamber over Master Commissaries chamber, wherein stood a great paire of very high Stockes. Then Master Commissarie asked me for my purse and girdle, took away my money and my knives, and then they put both my legges into the stockes, and so locked me fast in them: in which I sate, my feete being almost as high as my head, and so departed they (I think to their abominable Masse) locking fast the chamber doore, and leaving me alone. When they all were gone, then came unto my remembrance the worthy forewarning and godly declaration of that most constant martyr of God, Master John Clarke my Father in Christ, who welnigh two yeares before that, when I did earnestly desire him to grant me to be his scholler, and that I might go with him continually when & whersoeuer he should teach or preach (the which he did daily) said unto me much after this sort, Dalaber, you desire you wot not what, and that you are, I feare me, unable to take upon you: for though now my preaching be sweet and pleasant unto you, because there is yet no persecution laid on you for it, yet the time will come, and that peradventure shortly, if ye continue to live godly therein, that God will lay on you the Crosse of persecution to try you withall, whether you can as pure gold abide the fire, or as stubble and drosse be consumed. For the holy Ghost plainly affirmeth by Saint Paul; Quod omnes qui piè volunt vivere in Christo Iesu persecutionem patientur. Yea, you shall be called and judged an heretike, you shal be abhorred of the world, your own friends and kinsfolke will forsake you, and also hate you, and you shall be cast into prison, and no man shall dare to helpe or comfort you, and you shall be accused and brought before the Bishops to your reproch and shame, to the great sorrow of all your faithfull friends and kinsfolke. Then will ye wish ye had never known this doctrine; then will ye curse Clarke, and wish that ye had never knowne him, because he hath brought you to all these troubles. Therefore rather then that you should do this, leave off from medling with this doctrine, and desire not to be and continue in my company.

At which words I was so grieved, that I fel down on my knees at his feet, & with abundance of teares and sighs, even from the very bottome of my heart, I earnestly besought him, that for the tender mercy of God shewed to us in our Lord Iesus Christ he would not refuse me, but receive me into his company, as I had desired, saying that I trusted verily, that he which had begun this in me would not forsake me, but give me grace to continue therein unto the end. When he heard me say so, he came to me and took me up in his armes, kissed me, the teares tickling down from his eyes, and said unto me; The Lord almighty grant you so to do, and from henceforth for ever take me for your Father, and I will take you for my sonne in Christ. Now were there at this time in Oxford divers Graduates and schollers of sundry Colledges and Halles, whom God had called to the knowledge of his holy Word, which all resorted unto M. Clarks Disputations and Lectures in Divinitie at all times as they might, and when they might not come conveniently, I was by Master Clarke appointed to resort to every one of them weekely, and to know what doubts they had in any place of the Scriptures, that by me from him they might have the true understanding of the same. Which exercise did me much good and profit, to the understanding of the holy Scriptures, which I most desired.

This foresaid forewarning and godly declaration (I say) of this most godly martyr of God master Clarke, coming to my remembrance, caused me with deep sighes to cry unto God from my heart, to assist me with his holy Spirit, that I might be able patiently and quietly to bear and suffer whatsoever it should please him of his fatherly love to lay on me, to his glorie, and the comfort of my dearly beloved Brethren, whom I thought now to be in great feare and anguish, lest I would be an accuser of them all; for unto me they all were well known, and all their doings in that matter. But, God be blessed, I was fully bent never to accuse any of them, whatsoever should happen of me. Before dinner Master Cottisford came up to me, & requested me earnestly to tell him where M. Garret was, and if I would so do, he promised me straight waies to deliver me out of prison. But I told him I could not tell where he was; no more indeede I could. Then he departed to dinner, asking me if I would eate any meate, and I told him, Yea, right gladly. He said he would send me some. When he was gone, his servants asked me divers questions, which I do not now remember, and some of them spake me faire, and some threatned me, calling me heretike, and so departed, locking the doore fast upon me.

Dalaber armed with patience and constancie.

D. Cottisford. persecutor of Dalaber and Garret.

Thus farre Anthonie Dalaber hath prosecuted this storie, who before the finishing departed, the yeere 1562. in the Diocesse of Salisburie: the residue whereof as we could gather it out of ancient and credible persons, so have we added here unto the same.

After this, Garret was apprehended or taken by Master Cole the Proctor, or his men going Westward, at a place called Hinksey, a little beyond Oxford, and so being brought back againe was committed to Ward: that done, he was conuented before the Commissarie, Doctor London, and Doctor Higdon Deane of Frideswides (now called Christs Colledge) into Saint Maries Church, where they sitting in judgement, condicted him according to their Law as an heretike (as they said) and afterward compelled him to carry a fagot in open procession from Saint Maries Church to Frideswides, and Dalaber likewise with him, Garret having his red hood on his shoulders like a maister of Art. After that, they were sent to Osney, there to be kept in prison till further order was taken.

Tho. Garret apprehended and brought to Oxford.

D. London D. Higdon persecutors of Garret.

Garret and Dalaber bare fagots in Oxford.

There were suspected beside a great number to be infected with heresie, as they called it, for having such bookes of Gods truth, as Master Garret sold unto them; as Master Clarke, which died in his chamber, and could not be suffered to receive the Communion, being in prison, and saying these words; Crede, & manducasti; Master Sumner, M. Bets, Taverner the Musitian, Radley, with other of Frideswides Colledge; of Corpus Christi Colledge, as Udall and Diet, with other of Magdalene Colledge, one Eeden, with other of Glocester Colledge, and two black Monks, one of Saint Austines of Canterburie named Langport, the other of Saint Edmunds Bury, Monke, named John Salisburie, two white Monkes of Bernard Colledge, two Canons of Saint Maries Colledge, one of them named Robert Ferrar, afterward Bishop of Saint Davids, and burned in Queene Maries time. These two Canons, because they had no place in the Universitie with the other, they went on the contrary side of the procession bare headed, & a bedle before them to be known from the other. Divers other there were, whose names I cannot remember, which were forced and constrained to forsake their Colledges, and sought their friends. Against the Procession time there was a great fire made upon the top of Carfare, whereinto all such as were in the said Procession,

The names of godly brethren at Oxford.

Robert Ferrar Bishop of S. Davids.

either convict or suspect of heresie, were commanded in token of repentance and renouncing of their errors, every man to cast a book into the fire as they passed by.

After this, Walter Garret flying from place to place escaped their tyrannie, until this present time that he was again apprehended and burned with doctor Barns, with whom also William Hierome sometime vicar of Stepney was likewise drawne into Smithfield, and there together with them constantly endured Martyrdome in the fire.

W. Hierome burned in Smithfield.

Now let us adde also to these the story of Hierome.

The life and Storie of VVilliam Hierome, Vicar of Stepney and Martyr of Christ.

The story of W. Hierome. The sermon of W. Hierome, preached at Pauls Crosse the fourth Sunday in Lent.

THe third companion which suffered with Barns and Garret, was M. Hierome Vicar of Stepney. This Hierome being a diligent preacher of Gods word, for the comfort and edification of the people, had preached divers and sundry sermons, wherein to the intent to plant in the consciences of men the sincere truth of Christian religion, he laboured as much as time then served, to extirpe and weede out the rootes of mens traditions, doctrines, dreames, and fantasies. In so doing it could not otherwise be but he must needs provoke much hatred against him amongst the adversaries of Christs Gospel.

It so happened, that the said Hierome, preaching at Pauls on the fourth Sunday in Lent last past, made there a sermon, wherein he recited and mentioned of Agar and Sara, declaring what these two signified. In procesle whereof he shewed further how that Sara and her childe Isaac, and all they that were Isaacs, and borne of the free woman Sara, were freely justified: contrary, they that were borne of Agar the bondwoman were bound and under the law, and cannot be freely justified. In these words what was here spoken, but that S. Paul himselfe uttereth and expoundeth in his Epistle to the Gal. 4. or what could here be gathered of any reasonable or indifferent hearer, but consonant to sound doctrine, and beine of the Gospel? Now see what rancor and malice armed with craftie and subtile sophistrie can do. This sermon finished, it was not long but he was charged and convented before the King at Westminster, and there accused for erroneous doctrine.

Gal. 4.

Percase thou wilt muse (gentle reader) what erroneous doctrine heere could be picked out. Note therefore for thy learning; and he that listeth to study how to play the Sycophant, let him here take example. The knot found in this rush was this, for that he preached erroneously at Pauls Crosse, teaching the people that all that were borne of Sara were freely justified, speaking there absolutely without any condition either of baptisme or of penance, &c. Who doubteth here but if S. Paul himselfe had bèen at Pauls Crosse, and had preached the same words to the English men, which he wrote to the Galathians in this behalfe, ipso facto, he had bèen apprehended for an heretike for preaching against the sacrament of baptisme and repentance.

Quarrel picked against Hieroms sermons.

Furthermore it was objected against him, touching matter against magistrates, and lawes by them made. Whereto he answered againe and affirmed (as he had before preached) that no magistrate of himselfe could make any law or laws, private or otherwise, to binde the inferior people, unlesse it were by the power, authoritie & commandement of his or their princes to him or them given, but onely the prince. And moreover, to confirme the same he added, saying, that if the prince make lawes consenting to Gods lawes, we are bound to obey them. And if he make lawes repugnant to the lawes of God, and be an evill and wicked prince; yet are we bound humbly to suffer him, and not violently to resist or grudge against him.

W. Hierome accused for preaching against Magistrates.

{KING HEN. 8.}

Also concerning his sermons, one Doctor Wilson entred into disputation with him, and defended that good workes justified before God, and were necessary and availeable to salvation. To whom Hierome answered again, That all workes, whatsoever they were, were nothing worth, nor any part of salvation of themselves, but onely referred to the mercy and love of God, which mercy and love of God directeth thy workers thereof, and yet it is at his mercy and goodnesse to accept them. Which to be true, doctor Wilson neither could nor did deny.

Workes no part of our salvation.

Good workes availe not but onely by imputation.

And thus much concerning the severall stories of these three good men. Now let us see the order of their martyrdome, joyning them altogether; what was the cause of their condemnation; & what were their protestations and words at their suffering.

Ye heard before how Barns, Hierome, and Garret were caused to preach at Easter at the Spittle. the occasion whereof, as I finde it reported by Stephen Gardiner writing against George Joye, I thought good here to discourse more at large.

Out of the preface of Steven Gardiner against George Joy.

Stephen Gardiner hearing that the said Barns Hierome, and Garret should preach the Lent following, Anno, 1541. at Pauls Crosse, to stop the course of their doctrine sent his Chaplein to the bishop of London, the Saturday before the first Sunday in Lent, to have a place for him to preach at Pauls. Which to him was granted, and time appointed that he should preach the Sunday following, which should be on the morrow; which Sunday was appointed before for Barnes to occupy that rowme. Gardiner therefore, determining to declare the Gospel of that Sunday containing the Devils three temptations, began amongst other things to note the abuse of Scripture amongst some, as the Devill abused it to Christ, and so alluding to the temptation of the devill, wherein he alledged the Scripture against Christ, to cast himselfe downeward, and that he should take no hurt, he inferred thereupon, saying:

The effect of St. Gardiner sermon at Pauls Crosse the first sunday in Lent. Anno 1541.

Now adayes, quoth he, the devill tempteth the world, and biddeth them to cast themselves backward. There is no forward in the new teaching, but all backward. Now the devill teacheth, come back from fasting, come back from praying, come back from confession, come back from weeping for thy sinnes, and all is backward; insomuch that men must now learne to say their Pater noster backward. For where we said Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debters, now it is, as thou forgavest our debts, so I will forgive my debters, and so God must forgive first, and all I say is turned backward, &c.

Pardon procured by the Devill quoth St. Gardiner. Gardiner against Friers and pardons.

And amongst other things, moreover he noted the devils craft and shift in deceiving man: who envying his felicitie, and therefore coveting to have man idle, and void of good workes, and to be led in that idlenesse with a vaine hope to live merrily at his pleasure here, and yet to have heaven at the last, hath for that purpose procured out pardons from Rome, wherein heaven was sold for a little money, and to retale that merchandise the Devill used Friers for his Ministers. Now they be gone with all their trumperie, but the devil is not yet gone, &c. And now that the devill perceiveth that it can no longer be borne, to buy and sell heaven by the Friers, he hath excogitate to offer heaven without workes for it, so freely, that men shall not neede for Heaven to worke at all, whatsoever opportunitie they have to worke; marry if they will have any higher place in heaven, God will leave no worke unrewarded; but as to be in heaven needs no workes at all, but onely beliefe, onely, onely, and nothing else, &c.

St. Gardine cannot abide onely, onely.

This

KING HEN. 8.

This sermon of Stephen Winchester finished, Doctor Barns, who was put off from that Sunday, had his day appointed, which was the third Sunday next ensuing, to make his sermon: who taking the same Text of the Gospel which Gardiner had done before, was on the contrary side no lesse vehement in setting forward the true doctrine of Christian religion, then Winchester had bene before in plucking men backward from truth to lies, from sinceritie to hipocrisie, from religion to superstition, from Christ to Antichrist. In the processe of which sermon he proceeding, and calling out Stephen Gardiner by name to answer him, alluding in a pleasant allegorie to a Cockfight; terming the said Gardiner to be a fighting Cock, and himself to be another, but the Garden Cock (he said) lacked good spurs: objecting moreover to the said Gardiner, and opposing him in his Grammar rules; thus saying, That if he had answered him in the schools, so as he had there preached at the Crosse, he would have given him six stripes. Declaring furthermore what evill herbs this Gardiner had set in the garden of Gods Scripture, &c.

Finally, with this Sermon Gardiner was so tickled in the spleen, that he immediately went to the King to complain, shewing how he, being a bishop and a prelate of the realm, was handled and reviled at Pauls Crosse.

Whereupon the King, giving too much eare to Gardiners grief, was earnestly incensed against Barns, and with many high words rebuked his doings in his private closet, having with him the Earl of Southampton which was the Lord Wriesley, and the M. of the horse which was Anthonie Brown, Doctor Cocks, and Doctor Robinson. Unto whom when Barns had submitted himself; Nay, said the King, yeld thee not to me, I am a mortall man, and therewith rising up, and turning to the sacrament and putting off his Bonnet, said, yonder is the Maker of us all, the author of truth, yeld in truth to him, and that truth will I defend, and otherwise yeld thee not unto me. Much ado there was, and great matter laid against Barns. In conclusion this order was taken, that Barns should go apart with Winchester, to confer and commune together of their doctrine, certain witnesses being thereunto appointed, to be as indifferent hearers, of whom the one was doctor Cocks, the other was doctor Robinson, with two other also to them assigned, which should be reporters to the King of the disputation. At the first entrie of which talk, Gardiner, forgiving him (as he saith) all that was past, offered him the choice, whether he would answer or oppose, which was the Friday after that Barns had preached.

The question betweene them propounded, by Gardiners narration was this, Whether a man could do any thing good or acceptable before the grace of justification, or not. Which question rose upon a certain contention which had bene betweene them before. For Barns had affirmed, that albeit God requireth of us to forgive our neighbour, to obtain forgivenesse of him; yet he said that God must forgive us first, before we forgive our neighbour; for else to forgive our neighbour were sin, by the Text which saith, All that is not of faith is sin, &c. Thus the matter being propounded, Gardiner to prove the contrarie, came forth with his Arguments two or three: To the which arguments (saith Gardiner) Barns could not answer, but desired to be spared that night, and the next morning he would answer his Arguments. In the morning Gardiner with the hearers being again assembled, Doctor Barns, according to the appointment, was present, who then went about to assoil his Arguments. To his solutions Gardiner again replied. And thus continued they in this altercation by the space of two houres. In the end of this Cock-fight Winchester thus concludeth this glorious tale, and crowneth up the triumph; declaring how Barns besought him to have pitie on him, to forgive him, and to take him to be his scholer: whom then the said Winchester (as he himself confesseth) receiving, not as his scholer, but as his companion, offered to him a portion out of his living, to the sum of fourty pounds a yeer. Which if it be true (as Stephen Gardiner himself reporteth) why then doth this glorious Cockatrice crow so much against Barns afterward, and call him in the teeth, bearing all the world in hand that Barns was his scholer; whereas he himself here refuseth Barns to be his scholer, and receiveth him as his companion fellowlike? But to the story.

Ste. Gardiner in his Preface to George Joy.

Ste. Gardiner offereth to D. Barns 40. pound a peer.

This done, the King being advertised of the conclusion of this matter betwæn Barns and Winchester, was content that Barns should repaire to the Bishops house at London the Sunday following. Which he did, with a certain other companion joyned unto him. Who he was, Winchester there doth not expresse, onely he saith that it was neither Hierome nor Garret. In this next meeting betwæn Barns and the Bishop, upon the forsaid Sunday, the said Bishop studying to instruct Barns, uttered to him certain Articles or conclusions, to the number of ten, the effect whereof here followeth.

Winchesters Articles against Barns.

Winchesters articles against D. Barns.

1 THe effect of Christs passion hath a Condition. The fulfilling of the Condition diminisheth nothing the effect of Christs passion.

2 They that will injoy the effect of Christs passion must fulfill the Condition.

3 The fulfilling of the Condition requireth first knowledge of the condition, which knowledge we have by faith.

4 Faith cometh of God, and this faith is a good gift. It is good and profitable to me; it is profitable to me to do well, and to exercise this Faith; Ergo by the gift of God I may do well before I am justified.

5 Therefore I may do well by the gift of God before I am justified, towards the attainment of justification.

6 There is ever as much charitie towards God as faith: and as Faith encreaseth, so doth charitie encrease.

7 To the attainment of justification is required faith and charitie.

8 Every thing is to be called freely done, whereof the beginning is free and set at libertie, without any cause of provocation.

9 Faith must be to me the assurance of the promises of God made in Christ (if I fulfill the condition) and love must accomplish the condition: whereupon followeth the attainment of the promise according to Gods truth.

10 A man being in deadly sin, may have grace to do the works of penance, whereby he may attain to his justification.

These Articles forsomuch as they be sufficiently answered and replied unto by George Joy, in his Joynder and Rejoynder against Winchester, I shall not need to comber this Work with any new ado therewith, but onely refer the Reader to the books aforesaid, where he may see matter enough to answer to these Popish articles.

The answer and the Rejoynder of George Joy against Winch.

I told you before how the King was contented that Barns should resort to the house of the Bishop of Winchester, to be trained and directed by the Bishop: which Barns then hearing the talk of the people, and having also conference with certain learned

learned men, within two dayes after his coming to the Bishops house, ward weary thereof, and so coming to the Bishop signified unto him, that if he would take him as one that came to confer, he would come still, but else he would come no more, and so cleane gave over the Bishop.

D. Barns refuseth to come to Gardiner to be instructed of him but onely to confer with him.

This being known unto the King, through sinister complaints of Popish Sycophants; Barns again was sent for, and convented before the King; who being grievously incensed against him, injoyned both him, Hierome, and Garret, at the solemne Easter sermons at Saint Mary Spittle, openly in writing to revoke the doctrine which they before had taught. At which Sermons Stephen Gardiner also himself was present to hear their recantation.

First Doctor Barns, according to his promise made to the King, solemnly and formally began to make his recantation; which done, he with much circumstance and obtestation called upon the bishop (as is above touched) and asking of him forgivenesse, required him in token of a grant to hold up his hand, to the intent that he there openly declaring his charitie before the world, the bishop also would declare his charitie in like manner. Which when the bishop refused to do at the first, as he was required, Barns again called for it, desiring him to shew his charity, and to hold up his hand. Which when he had done with much ado, wagging his finger a little: then Barns entring to his sermon, after his prayer made, beginneth the processe of a matter, preaching contrary to that which before he had recanted. Insomuch that the Maior, when the Sermon was finished, sitting with the Bishop of Winchester, asked him whether he should from the pulpit send him to ward, to be forth coming for that his bold preaching contrary to his recantation. The like also did Hierome, and Garret after him.

D. Barns delivered Winchester at his sermon to hold up his hand.

The Maior of London readie trouble Doctor Barns for his Sermon.

The King had appointed before certain to make report of the sermons. Besides them there was one who writing to a friend of his in the Court, in the favour of these preachers, declared how gaily they had all handled the matter, both to satisfie the recantation, and also in the same sermons to utter out the truth, that it might spread without let of the world. Wherefore partly by these reporters, and partly by the negligent loking to this letter, which came to the Lord Cromwels hands, saith Gardiner, Barns with his other fellows were apprehended, and committed to the tower. Stephen Gardiner, in his foresaid book against George Joy, would néeds clear himself, that he was in no part nor cause of their calling into the Tower, and giveth this reason for him, for that he had then no accesse, ne had after, so long as Cromwels time lasted, to the Kings secret counsell; yet notwithstanding the said Gardiner cannot perswade us to the contrary, but that his privy complaining to the King, and his secret whisperings in his friends eares, and his other workings by his factors about the King, was a great sparkle to set their fagots a fire.

Barns, Garret, and Hierom, committed to the tower.

Ste. Gardiner had no accesse to the Kings Counsell a yeer and more before the Lord Cromwels fall.

Thus then Barns, Hierome, and Garret being committed to the Tower after Easter, there remained till the 30. day of July, which was two dayes after the death of the Lord Cromwell. Then insued processe against them by the Kings counsell in the Parliament, to the which processe Gardiner confesseth himself that he was privy amongst the rest. Whereupon all those three good saints of God, the 30. day of July, not coming to any answer, nor yet knowing any cause of their condemnation, without any publike hearing were brought together from the Tower to Smithfield, where they preparing themselves to the fire had there at the stake divers and sundrie exhortations, among whom D. Barns first began with this protestation following.

Processe against Barns, Hierom, and Garret.

I am come hither to be burned as an heretique, and you shall hear my belief, whereby you shall perceive what erroneous opinions I hold. God I take to record, I never (to my knowledge) taught any erroneous doctrine, but onely those things which Scripture led me unto, and that in my sermons I never maintained any error, neither moved nor gave occasion of any insurrection. Although I have been slandered to preach that our Lady was but a saffron bag, which I utterly protest before God that I never meant it, nor preached it; but all my studie and diligence hath been utterly to confound and confute all men of that doctrine, as are the Anabaptists which deny that our Saviour Christ did take any flesh of the blessed Virgin Marie, which sects I detest and abhor. And in this place there have been burned some of them, whom I never favoured nor maintained, but with all diligence evermore did I studie to set forth the glorie of God, the obedience to our Soveraigne Lord the King, and the true and sincere religion of Christ, and now hearken to my faith.

The protestation of D. Barns at the stake.

D. Barns falsly slandered.

I believe in the holy and blessed Trinitie, three persons and one God, that created and made all the world, and that this blessed Trinitie sent down the second person Jesus Christ into the wombe of the most blessed and purest Virgin Mary. And here bear me record, that I do utterly condemne that abominable and detestable opinion of the Anabaptists, which say that Christ took no flesh of the Virgin. For I believe that without mans will or power he was conceived by the holy Ghost, and took flesh of her, and that he suffered hunger, thirst, cold, and other passions of our body, sin excepted, according to the saying of Saint Peter, He was made in all things like to his brethren, except sin. And I believe that this his death and passion was the sufficient ransome for the sin of all the world. And I believe that through his death he overcame sin, death, and hel, and that there is none other satisfaction unto the Father, but this his death and passion onely, and that no work of man did deserve any thing of God, but onely his passion, as touching our justification. For I know the best work that ever I did is unpure and unperfect. And with this be cast abroad his hands, and desired God to forgive him his trespasses. For although perchance, said he, you know nothing by me, yet do I confesse, that my thoughts and cogitations be innumerable; wherefore I beseech thee, O Lord, not to enter into judgement with me, according to the saying of the Prophet David, Non intres in judicium cum servo tuo Domine. i. Enter not into judgement with thy servant, O Lord. And in another place, Si iniquitates observaveris Domine, quis sustinebit? Lord, if thou straitly mark our iniquities, who is able to abide thy judgement? Wherefore I trust in no good work that ever I did, but onely in the death of Christ. I do not doubt but through him to inherit the kingdome of heaven. Take me not here that I speak against good works, for they are to be done, and verily they that do them not shall never come into the kingdome of God. We must do them, because they are commanded us of God, to shew and set forth our profession, not to deserve or merit; for that is onely the death of Christ.

D. Barns confession.

All mens workes unperfect.

Pſal. 143.

Pſal. 130.

Good workes are to be done.

I believe that there is a holy Church, and a companie of all them that do profesſe Christ; and that all that have suffered and confessed his name, be saints, and that all they do praise and laud God in heaven, more then I, or any mans tongue can expresse, and that alwayes I have spoken reverently, and praised them as much as Scripture willed me to do. And that our Lady, I say, was a Virgin immaculate and undefiled, and that she is the most pure Virgin that ever God created, and a vessell elect of God of whom Christ should be born. Then said maister Sheriffe, you have said well of her before.

KING HEN. 8.

D. Barns obedient to Magistrates.

Pray not to Saints.

fore. And being afraid that maister Sheriffe had ben or should be agrieved with any thing that he should say, he said; Maister Sheriffe, if I speak any thing that you will me not, do no more but becken me with your hand, and I will straightway hold my peace, for I wil not be disobedient in any thing, but will obey.

Then there was one that asked him his opinion of praying to saints. Then said he; Now of saints you shall hear my opinion. I have said before somewhat I think of them, how that I beleeve they are in heaven with God, and that they are worthy of all the honour that Scripture willeth them to have. But I say throughout all Scripture we are not commanded to pray to any saints. Therefore I neither can nor will preach to you that saints ought to be prayed unto; for then should I preach unto you a doctrine of mine own head. Notwithstanding whether they pray for us or no, that I refer to God. And if saints do pray for us, then I trust to pray for you within this half houre maister Sheriffe, and for every Christian man living in the faith of Christ, and dying in the same as a saint. Wherefore if the dead may pray for the quick, I will surely pray for you.

Well, have you any thing more to say? Then spake he to maister Sheriffe and said, have ye any Articles against me for the which I am condemned? And the Sheriffe answered, no. Then said he, is there here any man else that knoweth wherefore I die, or that by my preaching hath taken any errour? Let them now speak and I will make them answer. And no man answered. Then said he, well I am condemned by the law to die, and as I understand, by an Act of Parliament, but wherefore I cannot tell, but belike for heresie, for we are like to burn. But they that have ben the occasion of it, I pray God forgive them, as I would be forgiven my self. And doctor Stephen bishop of Winchester that now is, if he have sought or wrought this my death either by word or deed, I pray God forgive him, as heartily, as freely, as charitably, and without fayning, as ever Christ forgave them that put him to death.

And if any of the Counsell, or any other have sought or wrought it through malice or ignorance, I pray God forgive their ignorance, and illuminate their eyes that they may see, and ask mercie for it. I beseech you all to pray for the Kings grace, as I have done ever since I was in prison, and do now, that God may give him prosperitie, and that he may long reign among you, and after him that godly Prince Edward may so reign, that he may finish those things that his Father hath begun. I have ben reported to be a preacher of sedition and disobedience unto the Kings Majestie; but here I say to you, that you all are bound by the commandement of God to obey your prince with all humility, and with all your heart, yea not so much as in a look to shew your selves disobedient unto him, and that not onely for fear of the sword, but also for conscience sake before God. Yea and I say further, if the King should command you any thing against Gods Law, if it be in your power to resist him, yet may you not do it.

Then spake he to the Sheriffe and said, Maister Sheriffe, I require you on Gods behalf, to have me commended unto the Kings grace, and to shew him that I require of his grace these five requests: First, that where his Grace hath received into his hand all the goods and substance of the Abbies. Then the Sheriffe desired him to stop there. He answered maister Sheriffe, I warrant you I will speak no harm, for I know it is well done that all such superstition be clean taken away, and the Kings Grace hath well done in taking it away. But his Grace is made a whole King, and obeyed in his whole Realm as a King (which neither his Father nor Grandfather, neither his Ancestors that reigned before him ever had) and that through the preaching of us and such other wretches as we are, which alwaies have applied our whole studies, and given our selves for the setting forth of the same, and this is now our reward. Well it maketh no matter. Now he reigneth among you; I pray GOD long may he live and reign among you. Would to God it might please his Grace to bestow the said goods, or some of them, to the comfort of his poore subiects, which surely have great need of them.

The second that I desire his Grace, is, that he will see that matrimony be had in more reverence then it is; and that men for every light cause invented cast not off their wives, and live in adultery and fornication; and that those that be not married should not abominably live in whoredome, following the filthy lusts of the flesh.

The third, that the abominable sweaters may be punished and straightly looked upon; for the vengeance of God will come on them for their mischievous oaths. Then desired he M. Pope to have him commended to M. Edgar, and to desire him for the dear blood of Jesus Christ, that he would leave that abominable swearing which he used; for surely except he did forsake it, he would come to some mischievous end.

The fourth, that his Grace would set forth Christs true Religion, and seeing he hath begun, go forward and make an end, for many things have been done, but much more is to do; and that it would please his Grace to look on Gods word himself, for that it hath been obscured with many traditions invented of our own brains. Now, said he, how many petitions have I spoken of? And the people said foure. Well, said he, even these foure be sufficient, which I desire you, that the Kings Grace may be certified of, and say that I most humbly desire him to look earnestly upon them; and that his Grace take heed that he be not deceived with false preachers and teachers and evill counsell, for Christ saith, that such false prophets shall come in lambes skins.

Then desired he all men to forgive him, and if he had said any evill at any time unadvisedly, whereby he had offended any man, or given any occasion of evill, that they would forgive it him, and amend that evil they took of him, and to bear him witnesse that he detested and abhorred all evill opinions and doctrines against the word of God, and that he died in the faith of Jesus Christ, by whom he doubted not but to be saved. And with those words he desired them all to pray for him, and then he turned him about, and put off his clothes, making him ready to the fire, patiently there to take his death.

The like confession made also Hierom and Garret, professing in like manner their belief, reciting all the articles of the Christian faith, briefly declaring their minds upon every Article, as the time would suffer; whereby the people might understand that there was no cause nor errour in their faith, wherefore justly they ought to be condemned; Protesting moreover that they denied nothing that was either in the old or new Testament, set forth by their soveraign Lord the King, whom they prayed the Lord long to continue amongst them, with his most dear Son Prince Edward. Which done, Hierom added this exhortation in few words following.

I say unto you good brethren, that GOD hath bought us all with no small price, neither with gold nor silver, or other such things of small value, but with his most pretious blood. We not unthankfull therefore to him again, but do as much as to Christian men belongeth, to fulfill his commandements, that is, love your brethren. Love harteth

no

The 2. request of D. Barns to the King.

The 3. request.

D. Barns request to M. Edgar to leave swearing.

The 4. request.

D. Barns clareth himself of all heresie.

The protestation and confession of Hierome and Garret.

The exhortation of Hierome to the people.

D. Barns cause shewn why Doctor Barns died.

D. Barns prayeth for his enemies.

D. Barns prayeth for the King. The requests of D. Barns to the King.

The 1. request. The King of England made a whole King and sooner Preachers.

no man, love fulfilleth all things. If God hath sent thée plenty, help thy neighbour that hath néed. Give him good counsell. If he lack, consider if you were in necessity, thou wouldest gladly be refreshed. And again, bear your crosse with Christ. Consider what reproof, slander, and reproach he suffered of his enemies, and how patiently he suffered all things. Consider that all that Christ did was of his méer goodnesse, and not of our deserving. For if we could merit our own salvation, Christ would not have died for us. But for Adams breaking of Gods precept we had béen all lost, if Christ had not redæmed us again. And like as Adam broke the precepts, and was driven out of Paradise; so we, if we break Gods commandements, shall have damnation, if we do not repent and ask mercie. Now therefore let all Christians put no trust nor confidence in their works, but in the blood of Christ, to whom I commit my soul to guide, beséeching you all to pray to God for me, and for my brethren here present with me, that our souls leading these wretched carkasses may constantly depart in the true faith of Christ.

In much like sort Garret also protesting and exhorting the people, after his Confession made, ended his protestation in manner as followeth.

The Garret cleareth himself.

I also detest, abhor, and refuse all heresies and errours, and if either by negligence or ignorance I have taught or maintained any, I am sorie for it, and ask God mercie. Or if I have béen so vehement or rash in preaching, whereby any person hath taken any offence, errour, or evill opinion, I desire him, and all other persons which I have any way offended, forgivenesse. Notwithstanding to my remembrance I never preached wittingly or willingly any thing against Gods holy word, or contrary to the true faith, to the maintenance of errours, heresies, or vicious living, but have alway, for my little learning and wit, set forth the honour of God, and the right obedience to his laws, and also the Kings accordingly. And if I could have done better, I would. Wherefore, Lord, if I have taken in hand to do that thing which I could not perfectly perform, I desire thée pardon for my bold presumption. And I pray God send the Kings Grace good and godly counsell, to his glory, to the Kings honour, and the increase of vertue in this his realm. And thus now I yéld up my soul unto Almightie God, trusting and beléeving that he of his infinite mercy, for his promise made in the blood of his Son our most mercifull Saviour Jesus Christ, will take it, and pardon me of all my sins, whereby I have most grievously from my youth offended his Majestie; wherefore I ask him mercie, desiring you all to pray with me and for me, that I may patiently suffer this pain, and die stedfastly in true faith, perfect hope, and charitie.

KING HEN. 8.

Garret prayeth for the King.

Anno 1541.

And so after their prayer made, wherein most effectually they desired the Lord Jesus to be their comfort and consolation in this their affliction, and to establish them with perfect faith, constancie, and patience through the holy Ghost, they taking themselves by the hands, and kissing one another, quietly and humbly offered themselves to the hands of

The patient suffering of the three Martyrs

The death and burning of the most constant Martyrs of *Christ, Doctor Robert Barns, Thomas Garret,* and William Hierome, in Smithfield, an. 1541.

KING HEN. 8.

the tormentors, and so took their death both Christianly and constantly, with such patience as might well testifie the goodnesse of their cause, and quiet of their conscience.

Wherein is to be noted how mightily the Lord worketh with his grace and fortitude in the hearts of his servants, especially in such which causelesse suffer with a guiltlesse conscience for religions sake, above other which suffer otherwise for their deserts. For whereas they which suffer as malefactors commonly are wont to go heavy and pensive to their death; so the other with heavenly alacritie and cheerfulnesse do abide whatsoever it pleaseth the Lord to lay upon them. Example whereof we have right well to note not onely in these three godly Martyrs above mentioned, but also in the Lord Cromwell, who suffered but two dayes before, the same no lesse may appear. Who although he was brought to his death, attainted and condemned by the Parliament, yet what a guiltlesse conscience he bare to his death, his Christian patience well deserved.

Who first calling for his breakfast, and cheerfully eating the same, and after that passing out of his prison down the hill within the Tower, and meeting there by the way the Lord Hungerford, going likewise to his execution (who for other matter here not to be spoken of was there also imprisoned) and perceiving him to be all heavy and dolefull, with cheerfull countenance and comfortable words, asking why he was so heavy, he willed him to pluck up his heart, and to be of good comfort; for (said he) there is no cause for you to fear, for if you repent and be heartily sorie for that you have done, there is for you mercie enough with the Lord, who for Christs sake will forgive you, and therefore be not dismayed. And though the breakfast which we are going to be sharp, yet trusting to the mercie of the Lord, we shall have a joyfull dinner. And so went they together to the place of execution, and took their death patiently.

Difference between them that suffer for Gods truth, and other that die for their own deserts.

The cheerfull patience in the Lord Cromwell at his death.

The comfortable words of the Lord Cromwel to the L. Hungerford, they both going to their death.

¶ A note of three Papists executed the same time with *Barnes*, *Hierome*, and *Garret*.

THe same time and day, and in the same place, where and when these three above mentioned did suffer, three other also were executed, though not for the same cause, but rather the contrarie, for denying the Kings supremacie, whose names were Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel. The which spectacle so happening upon one day, in two so contrarie parts or factions brought the people into a marvellous admiration and doubt of their religion, which part to follow and take; as might so well happen amongst ignorant and simple people, seeing two contrary parts so to suffer, the one for Popery, the other against Poperie, both at one time. Insomuch that a certain stranger being there present the same time, and seeing three on the one side, and three on the other side to suffer, said in these words; Deus bone quomodo hic vivunt gentes? hic suspenduntur Papistæi, illic comburuntur Antipapistæ. But to remove and take away all doubt hereafter from the posteritie, whereby they shall the lesse marvell how this so happened, here is to be understood how the cause thereof did rise and proceed. Which happened by reason of a certain division and discord among the Kings Counsell, which were so divided among themselves in equall parts, that the one half seemed to hold with the one Religion, the other half with the contrarie.

The names of whom although it were not necessarie to expresse, yet being compelled for the setting forth of the truth of the story, we have thought good here to annex, as the certaintie thereof came to our hands.

See Papists cruell.

Powel, Fetherstone, & Abel. Anno. 1541.

The words of a stranger seeing the Papists & Protestants to suffer.

Protestants.

The Counsell divided in Religion.

Canterbury,
Suffolke,
Vicount Beawchamp.
Vicount Lisle.
Russel Treasurer.
Paget.
Sadler.
Audley.

Papists.

Winchester.
Duresme.
Northfolk.
Southhampton.
Anthonie Brown.
William Paulet.
Iohn Baker.
Richard, Chancellour of the augmentation.
Wingfield Vice-Chancellor.

This division and separation of the Counsell amongst themselves caused both these parts above mentioned, the one for one religion, the other for another, to suffer together. For as the one part of the Counsell called upon the execution of Barns, Garret, and Hierome, so the other part likewise called upon the execution of the law upon Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel. Which sir being condemned and drawn to the place of execution two upon a hurdle, one being a Papist, the other a Protestant, thus after a strange manner were brought into Smithfield, where all the said sir together for contrarie doctrine suffered death, three by the fire for the Gospel, the other three by hanging, drawing, and quartering for Poperie.

Two together laid upon the hurdle: the one a Papist the other a Protestant.

Allen Cope in his worshipfull Dialogues, making mention of these three aforesaid, Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel, amongst other which died in King Henries dayes in the like Popish quarrell, that is, for the like treason against their Prince, (being in all to the number of twenty foure) extolleth them not onely in words, but with miracles also, up to the height of heaven, among the crowned Martyrs and Saints of God. To the which Cope because in this haste of story I have no leisure at this present to give attendance, I shall wait attendance (the Lord willing) another time, to joyn in this issue with him more at leisure. In the meane time it shall suffice at this present to recite the names onely of those twenty foure rebels, whom he of his Popish devotion so dignified with the pretensed title of Martyrs. The names of which Monkish Rebels be these here following:

Allen Cope.

Traytors made Martyrs.

John Houghton.
Robert Laurence.
Augustine Webster.
Reignold of Syon.
Iohn Hayle.
Iohn Rochester.
Iac. Wannere.
Iohn Stone.
Iohn Traverse.
William Horn.
Powel.
Fetherstone.
Abel.

24. Neither good Martyrs to God, nor good subjects to the King.

Besides these were other nine Carthusian Monks which died in the prison of Newgate. To the which number if you adde M. More and the bishop of

of Rochester, the summa totalis cometh to twentie foure, whom the said Cope unjustly crowned for Martyrs. But of these more shall be said (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Thus having discoursed the order of the six Articles, with other matter likewise following in the next Parliament, concerning the condemnation of the Lord Cromwel, of doctor Barns and his fellows, let us now (proceeding further in this historie) consider what great disturbance and berations ensued after the setting forth of the said Articles, through the whole realm of England, especially among the godly sort. Wherein first were to be mentioned the straight and severe commissions sent forth by the Kings authoritie, to the Bishops, Chancellors, Officials, Justices, Maiors, and Bailiffs in every shire, and other Commissioners by name in the same Commissions expressed; and amongst other, especially to Edmund Boner bishop of London, to the Maior, Sheriffes, and Aldermen of the same, to enquire diligently upon all heretical books, and to burn them. Also to inquire upon such persons whatsoever, culpable or suspected of such felonies, heresies, contempts, or transgressions, or speaking any words contrarie to the foresaid Act set forth of the six Articles. The tenor of which Commissions being sufficiently expressed in ancient Records, and in the Bishops Registers, and also partly touched before, therefore for tediousnesse I here omit, onely shewing forth the Commission directed to Edmund Boner Bishop of London, to take the oath of the Maior of London and of others, for the execution of the Commission aforesaid; the tenor whereof here followeth.

Great disturbance in England after the 6. Articles.

Read before.

¶ *The Commission for taking the Oath of the Maior of London and others, for the execution of the Act aforesaid.*

Commission directed to Edm. Boner bishop of London from the King.

HEnry the eighth by the grace of God, King of England and of France, Defender of the faith, Lord of Ireland, and in earth supreme Head of the Church of England, unto the reverend Father in Christ Edmund Boner Bishop of London, and to his Welbeloved the Bishops Chancellour, health. Know ye that we have given you joyntly and severally power and authoritie to receive the oaths of William Roche Maior of London, John Allen Knight, Ralph Warren Knight, Richard Gresham Knight, Roger Chomley Knight, Sergeant at Law, John Gresham, Michael Dormer Archdeacon of London, the Bishops Commissarie and Official, Robert Chidley, Guy Crayford, Edward Hall, Robert Brook, and John Morgan, and everie of them our Commissioners for heresies and other offences done within our Citie of London and Dioceese of the same, according to the tenour of a certain schedule hereunto annexed. And therefore We command that you receive the oaths aforesaid, and when you have received them, to certifie us into our Chancerie under your seals, returning this our Writ. *Teste me ipso* at Westminster the twentie ninth of Ianuarie, in the 32. yeer of our reign.

What the Oath was of these Commissioners whereunto they were bound, read before.

¶ A Note how Boner sat in the Guildhall in Commission for the six Articles. And of the condemning of Mekins.

The story of Richard Mekins condemned by Boner.

VPon this Commission given unto Edmund Boner, he coming to the Guildhall with other Commissioners, to sit upon the Statute of the six Articles, began eftsoons to put in execution his authoritie after a rigorous sort, as ye shall hear. And first he charged certain Juries to take their oath upon the Statute aforesaid; who being sworn had a day appointed to give their verdict. At the which day they indicted sundrie persons, which shortly after were apprehended and brought to Ward; who, after a while remaining there, were by the King and his Counsell discharged at the Star-Chamber, without any further punishment.

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Not long after this, sir William Roch being Maior, Boner with other Commissioners sat at the Guild hall aforesaid, before whom there were a certain number of Citizens warned to appear, and after the Commission read, the said parties were called to the Book, and when five or six were sworn, one of the said persons being called to the Book, Boner seemed to mislike, and said; Stay a while my maisters (quoth he) I would ye should consider this matter well that we have in hand, which concerneth the glory of God, the honour of the King, and the wealth of the realm, and if there be any here among you that doth not consider the same, it were better that he were hence then here. Then communed the Commissioners with Boner about that man, so that at length he was called to the Book and sworn, not altogether with his good will.

When the two Juries were sworn, Boner taketh upon him to give the charge unto the Juries, and began with a tale of Anacharsis, by which example he admonished the Juries to spare no persons, of what degree soever they were. And at the end of his charge he brought forth to the Barre a Boy, whose name was Mekins, declaring how grievously he had offended by speaking of certain words against the State, and of the death of doctor Barns, and produced into the said Court two witnesses, which were there sworn in the face of the Court. So a day was assigned upon which the Juries aforesaid should give up their verdict; at which day both the Commissioners and the said Juries met at Guildhal aforesaid. Then the Clerk of the Peace called on the Juries by their names, and when their appearance was taken, Boner bad them put in their presentments. Then said the foreman of that Jurie, whose name was William Robins, My Lord (with a low courtesie) we have found nothing. At which words he fared as one in an agony, and said, Nothing? have ye found nothing? What nothing? By the faith I owe to God (quoth he to the foreman) I would trust you upon your Obligation, but by your oath I will trust you nothing. Then said some of the Commissioners; My Lord, give them a longer day. No (quoth he) in London they ever finde nothing. I pray you what say you to Mekins? My Lord, quoth the foreman, we can say nothing to him, for we finde the witnesses to disagree. One affirmeth that he should say the Sacrament was nothing but a ceremonie, and the other nothing but a signification. Why (quoth Boner) did he not say that Barns died holy. Then pausing a while, he bade call the other Jurie. Put in your verdict (quoth he.) My Lord, said one, we have found nothing. Jesus (quoth he) is not this a strange case?

Rich. Mekins presented by Boner.

Willi. Robb. Juror.

Then spake one of the same Jury, whose name was Ralph Forley, and said, My Lord, when you gave us charge, we desired to have the Parsons and Curates of every Parish to give us instructions, and it was denied us. Then stood up the Recorder and said, it was true indeed that he had spoken, and therewithall said, This last yeer were charged two Juries, which did many things naughtily and foolishly, and did as much as in them lay to make an uproar among the Kings people, and therefore it was thought not meet that they should give information to you. Nay, nay, quoth Boner, this

Ralf Forley Juror.

This Record was sir Ro. Chomley.

was

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Against Popish Priests of London.

was the cause; If the Parson or Curate should give information according to his knowledge, then what will they say? I must tell my confession to a knave priest, and he shall go by and by and open it. What, said my Lord Maior, there is no man (I trow) that will say so. Yes by my troth, quoth Boner, knave Priest, knave Priest. Then said the Lord Maior somewhat smiling, there be some of them slippery fellowes, and as men finde them, so will they ofttimes report. Boner not well contented with those words, said to the Jurie; my masters what say you to Pekins? They answered, the witnesses doe not agree, therefore we doe not allow them. Why (quoth Boner) this Court hath allowed them. Then said one of the Jurie to the Recorder, Is it sufficient for our discharge, if this Court do allow them? Yea said the Recorder, it is sufficient, and said, Go you aside together awhile, and bring in your verdict. After the Jurie had talked together a little while, they returned to the bar againe with their inditement, which at Boners hand was friendly received; so both they and the other Jurie were discharged, and bidden take their ease. Thus ended the Court for that day. Shortly after they sat for life and death. Pekins being brought to the barre, and the inditement read, Boner said to him; Pekins confesse the truth, and submit thy selfe unto the Kings law, that thy death may be an example to all other.

Boner calleth upon the condemnation of Pekins.

Pekins brought to the barre.

x Edw. Hall.

This Richard Pekins being a childe, which passed not the age of 15. yeers (as Hall reporteth) as he had heard some other folkes talke, so chanced he to speake against the Sacrament of the Altar. Which coming to Boners eares, he never left him (as afore doth plainly appeare) before he had brought him to the fire. During the time of his imprisonment, neither his poore father nor mother for feare durst aide him with any relefe, whereby he there indured in great miserie. At what time he was brought unto the stake, he was taught to speak much good of the Bishop of London, and of the great charitie he shewed to him, and to detest and detest all heretikes and heresies, but specially Doctor Barnes, unto whom he imputed the learning of that heresie, which was the cause of his death. The poore lad would for safegard of his life have gladly said that the twelve Apostles had taught it him, such was his childish innocency and feare. But for this deed many spake and said, it was great shame for the bishop, whose part and dutie it had been rather to have laboured to save his life, then to procure, that terrible execution, seeing that he was such an ignorant soule, that he knew not what the affirming of heresie was.

nd how could take that arning of D. arns, when . Barnes was ver of that inion.

Richard Spenser, Ramsey, and one Hewet, suffered at Salisburie.

penser, Ramey, and Hewet, artyrs.

About the same time also a certaine Priest was burned at Salisburie, who leaving his Papistrie had married a wife, and became a player in enterludes, with one Ramsey and Hewet, which three were all condemned and burned; against whom, and specially against Spenser, was laid matter concerning the sacrament of the Altar. He suffered at Salisburie.

Although this inquisition above mentioned was meant properly and especially concerning the six articles, yet so it fell out that in short space doubts began to rise, and to be moved by the Duell, whether they might enquire as well of all other opinions, articles, and causes of Lollardie, or for speaking against the holy bread, holy water, or for favouring the cause of Barnes, of Frier, of Ward, Sir Thomas Rose, &c. Whereupon great perturbation followed in all Parishes almost through

x Regist. Lon.

ier, Ward, r Thomas se.

London in the yeer aforesaid which was 1541. as here ensueth in a briefe summarie Table to be seene.

A briefe Table of the Troubles at London in the time of the six Articles.

Persons presented, With the causes.

John Dixe.

THis Dixe was noted never to be confessed in Lent, nor to receive at Easter, and to be a Sacramentarie.

S. Albons Parish in Lombard.

Rich. Chepeman.

Chepeman for eating flesh in Lent, and for working on holy dayes, and not coming to the Church.

Mistresse Cicely Marshall.

Cicely, for not bearing her Palme, and despising holy bread and holy water.

Michael Haukes.

Haukes for not coming to the Church, and receiving young men of the new learning.

Master Iohn Browne.

Browne, for bearing with Barnes.

Annes, Bedikes wife.

Bedikes wife, for despising our Lady, and not praying to Saints.

Andrew Kempe. Will. Paben. Rich. Manerd.

Kempe, Paben, Manerd, for disturbing the service of the Church with brabling of the new Testament.

William Wyders.

Wyders denied two yeers before the Sacrament to be Christs body, and said that it was but onely a signe.

The Parish of Trinitie the little.

William Stokesly.

Stokesly, for rebuking his wife at the church for taking holy water.

Roger Davy.

Davy for speaking against worshipping of Saints.

M. Blage.

M. Blage, for not coming to his Parish Church, not confessing, nor receiving.

William Clinch.

For saying, when he seeth a Priest preparing to the Masse, Ye shall see a Priest now go to masking. Item, for calling the Bishop of Winchester false flattering knave. Item, for burying his wife without Dirige, and causing the Scot of Saint Katharines to preach the next day after the burtall.

Saint Iohn Baptist in Walbrooke.

William Plaine.

Plaine seeing a Priest go to masse, said, now you shall see one in masking. Item, when he came to the church, with loud reading the English Bible he disturbed the Divine service.

Herman Iohnson.	Hierome Akon.
Gyles Hosteman.	Richard Bonfeld.
Thomas Couper.	Humfrey Skinner.
Iohn Sneudnam.	Richard Philips.
Iohn Celos.	

Saint Buttolphs at Billingsgate.

These nine persons were presented, for that they

they were not confessed in Lent, nor had received at Easter.

Iohn Iones. William Wright.
Peter Butcher. Roger Butcher.

S. Nicholas in the flesh shambles. These foure were presented for not keeping the Divine service in the holy dayes.

Brisleys Wife.

Brisleys wife, for busie reasoning on the new learning, and not keeping the Church.

Mistresse Castle.

S. Andrewes in Holborn. M. Castle, For being a medler and a reader of the Scripture in the Church.

M. Galias of Bernards Inne.

M. Galias, for withstanding the Curate censing the Altars on Corpus Christi Even, and saying openly that he did naught.

Master Pates of Davids Inne.

M. Pates and M. Galias, for vexing the Curate in the body of the Church, in declaring the Kings Injunctions, and reading the Bishops book, so that he had much adoe to make an end.

Wil. Beckes and his wife.

S. Mildred in Bredstreet. Beckes and his wife suspected to be Sacramentaries, and for not crèeping to the Crosse on good Friday.

Thomas Langham. Wil. Thomas.
Rich. Beckes. Wil. Beckes.

These foure were presented for interrupting the Divine service.

Ralfe Symonds.

Symonds, for not keeping our Ladies masse, which he was bound to keepe.

Iohn Smith Apprentice.

Smith, for saying that he had rather heare the crying of dogges, then priests singing mattens or Evensong.

Thomas Bele. Iohn Sturgion.
Iohn Wilshire. Thomas Symon.
Ralfe Cleruis, and his Wife.
Iames Banaster. Nicolas Barker.
Iohn Sterky. Christopher Smith.

Thomas Net.

S. Magnus parish. These eleven persons of Saint Magnus parish were presented and accused for maintaining of certain Preachers (as then it was called) of the new learning, as Wisedome, Rose, Frier, Ward, Sir William Smith, alias Wright.

Nicolas Philips.

For maintaining heresies and Scripture books and for using neither fasting nor prayer.

Richard Bigges.

Bigges, for despising holy bread, putting it in the throat of a Witch, and for not looking up to the elevation.

Mistresse Elizabeth Statham.

M. Mary Magdalene in Milkstreet. For maintaining in her house Latimer, Barnes, Garret, Hierome, and divers other.

Iohn Duffet.

Duffet, for marrying a woman which was thought to be a Nunne.

W. Hilliard.

Hilliard and Duffet, for maintaining Barnes, Hierome, and Garret with other moe.

Grafton. Whitchurch.

Grafton and Whitchurch suspected not to have been confessed.

Iohn Greene. Mother Palmer.
Christopher Coots. Will. Selly.
Alexander Frere. Will. Bredi.
Iohn Bush. W. Somerton.
George Durant. M. Davids Prentice.

S. Martins at the Well with tow Buckets. All these being of the Parish of Saint Martins, at the Well with two buckets, were presented for contemning the ceremonies of the Church. Also some for walking in the sacring time with their caps on. Some for turning their heads away, some for sitting at their doores when sermons were in the Church, &c.

Robert Andrew.

S. Michaels in Woodstreet. Andrew, for receiving heretikes into his house, and keeping disputation of heresie there.

Iohn Williamson. Thomas Buge.
Thomas Gilbert. W. Hickson.
Rob. Daniel. Robert Smitton.

These other five were suspected to be sacramentaries and ranke heretikes, and procurers of heretikes to preach, and to be followers of their doctrine.

Iohn Mayler.

S. Buttolph at Billingsga To be a sacramentarie, and a railer against the Masse.

Richard Bilby Draper.

Bilby presented for saying these words, that Christ is not present in the blessed sacrament.

Henry Patinson. Anthony Barber.

S. Giles w out Cripleg These two were detected for maintaining their boyes to sing a song against the sacrament of the Altar. Also Patinson came not to confession.

Robert Norman.

Norman also refused to come to confession, saying that none of his servants should be shriven of a knave priest.

Iohn Humfrey.

Ex Regist. L For speaking against the Sacraments and ceremonies of the Church.

William Smith and his wife.
Iohn Cooke and his wife.

These two couples were presented for not coming to service in their parish church, and for saying it was lawful for priests to have wives.

Wil. Gate or Cote. Will. Aston.
Iohn Humfrey. Iohn Cooke.

To these foure it was laid, for saying that the Masse was made of pieces and patches. Also for depraving of Mattins, Masse, and evensong.

Iohn Miles and his wife. Iohn Millen.
Iohn Robinson. Richard Millar.
Iohn Green and his wife. Arnold Chest.

All these were put up for railing against the Sacraments and Ceremonies.

S Giles w out Cripple gate. Iohn Crosdall. Ioh. Clerke. Io. Owel.

These three labouring men, for not coming to

S. Dwens parish in Newgate market.

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Persons presented, With the causes.

to divine service on holy dayes, and for laboring in the same.

Thomas Granger. Iohn Dictier.
Noted for common singers against the Sacraments and ceremonies.

Iohn Sutton and his wife. Iohn Segar.
These three were noted to be despisers of auricular confession.

Iohn Raulins. Iohn Shiler.
William Chalinger. Iohn Edmonds.
Iohn Richmond and his wife.
For despising holy bread and holy water, and lefting divine service.

Margaret Smith.
For dressing fleshmeat in Lent.

Thomas Trentham.
For reasoning against the sacrament of the Altar, and saying that the sacrament was a good thing, but it was not as men took it, bery God.

Robert Granger. William Petingale.
William May and his wife.
Iohn Harison and his wife.
Robert Welsh. Iohn Bengloſſe.
Iohn Pitley. Henry Foster.
Robert Causy. William Pinchbeck and his wife.
All these thirteene were put up by the inquisition, for giving small reverence at the sacring of the Masse.

Thomas Apostle.

Martin Bishops wife.
She was presented by her Curate for being not shriven in Lent, nor receiving at Easter. Also she did set light by the Curate, when he told her thereof.

Benet ...ch.

Robert Plat and his wife.
These were great reasoners in Scripture, saying, that they had it of the spirit; and that confession availeth nothing; and that he, not able to reade, would use no beads.

Thomas Aduet. Iohn Palmer.
Robert Cooke.
The cause laid to these three persons, was for reasoning of the Scripture, and of the Sacraments.
The register saith, that they denied all the sacraments. But this Popish hyperbole wil finde little credit, where experience, acquainted with popish practises, sitteth to be the judge.

Michael at ...een hythe.

Iohn Cockes.
This man was noted for a great searcher out of new preachers, and maintainer of Barnes opinions.

Iohn Boultes.
For forbidding his wife to use beades.

Thomas Kelde.
He refused to take penance and absolution, and did eat flesh upon a Friday before Lent.

Nicholas Newell.
Newell a Frenchman presented to be a man farre gone in the new Sect, and that he was a great jester at the Saints and at our Lady.

Mary ...l-Church.

Persons presented, With the causes.

Iohn Hawkins and his servant.
Thomas Chamberlaine and his wife.
Iohn Curteys. Master Dissel, his wife and his servant.
These eight were great reasoners and despisers of ceremonies. Ex regist. Lond.

The Curate of Saint Katherine Coleman.
He was noted for calling of suspect persons to his sermons by a Bedle, without ringing of any Bell, and when he preached he left his matters doubtfull.
Item, for preaching without the commandement of his Parson.
Item, for that he was a Scottish frier driven out of his countrey for heresie. S. Katherins Coleman.

Tulle Bustre, his wife and his sonne in law.
These were noted for coming seldome to the Church, and many times were seene to labour upon the holy-dayes.

William Ettis and his wife.
Ettis and his wife were noted for maintaining certaine preachers; and for causing one Taberner, being a priest, to preach against the Kings injunctions. S. Matthews parish.

Merifield and his sonne in law.
Nicholas Russell. The good man of the Saracens head in Friday street. William Callaway.
Thomas Gardiner with three prentises.
Against this company presentation was made for gathering together in the evening, and for bringing ill preachers, that is to say, good preachers, amongst the people.

Thomas Plummer.
This Thomas was presented for saying, that the blessed Sacrament was to him that doth take it, so; and to him that doth not, was not so.

Shermons.
Shermons, keeper of the Carpenters Hall in Chrits parish, was presented for procuring an Enterlude to be openly played, wherein priests were railed on, and called knaves. Shoreditch.

Lewes Morall a servant.
Iames Ogule and his wife.
Noted not to have beene confessed certaine yeares before. S. Benet at Pauls wharfe.

Thomas Babam.
Accused not to have been confessed nor housled in his parish church. S. Marg. in Fishstreet.

The Parson and Curate of Saint Antlins.
For not using the ceremonies in making holy water, nor keeping their processions on Saturdayes. S. Antlins.

Lewys Bromfield.
For not taking his housell, and for absenting himselfe from the Church on holy-dayes.

Iohn Sempel. Iohn Goffe.
For dispraising a certaine Antheme of our Lady, beginning Te matrem, &c. saying that there is heresie in the same. S. Mary hill.

Gilbert Godfrey.
For absenting himselfe from the Church on holy-dayes.

Tho. Cappes.
For saying these words, that the sacrament S. M. Magdalen in old Fishstreet.

Persons presented, with the causes.

of the Altar was but a memorie and a remembrance of the Lords death.

S. Buttolphs at Billingsgate

Ioh. Mailer Grocer.

For calling the sacrament of the Altar the baken God, and for saying that the Masse was called beyond the sea, Misse, for that all is amisse in it.

Martins in Iremonger lane.

Iohn Hardyman Priest.

Hardyman Parson of Saint Martines in Iremonger lane, presented for preaching openly, that Confession is confusion and deformation; and that the butcherly ceremonies of the Church were to be abhorred. Also for saying, What a mischiefe is this to esteeme the sacraments to be of such vertue? for in so doing they take the glory of God from him: and for saying, that faith in Christ is sufficient, without any other sacraments to justifie.

Ex regist. Lon.

S. Bridges in Fleetstreet.

Christopher Dray Plummer.

For saying of the Sacrament of the Altar, that it was not offered up for remission of sins, and that the body of Christ was not there, but onely by representation and signification of the thing.

Robert Ward Shoomaker.

Presented by three witnesses for holding against the Sacrament of the Altar: he died in prison in Bredstreet.

S. Andrewes in Holborne.

Nicholas Otes.

For not coming to the housell at Easter, he was sent to Newgate.

Allhallowes Barking.

Herman Peterson. Iames Gosson.

For not coming to shrift and housell at the time of Easter. These were committed to prison in Bredstreet.

Rich. White Haberdasher.

For saying that he did not think that Christ was in the Sacrament of the Altar within the sepulchre, but in heaven above.

S. Olaves in the old Jurie.

Gyles Harrison.

Harrison being in a place without Aldgate, merrily setting in a certaine company of neighbours, where some of them said, Let us goe to Masse: I say tarry, said he, and so taking a piece of bread in his hands, lift it up over his head: and likewise taking a cup of wine and bowing downe his head, made therewith a crosse over the cup, and so taking the said Cup in both his hands, lift it over his head, saying these words. Have ye not heard Masse now? For the which he was presented to Boner then Bishop of London. Against whom came these witnesses.

S. Buttolph without Algate.

Thomas Castle. Andrew Morice.
William Greene. Iohn Margetson, witnesses against him.

Richard Bostock Priest.

For saying that auricular confession hath killed moe soules, then all the bils, clubs, and halters have done sithence King Henrie was King of England, &c. Also for saying, that the water in Thames hath as much vertue, as the water that the Priests do hallow.

Margaret Ambsworth.

For having no reverence to the Sacrament at sacring time. Item, for instructing of maids, and being a great Doctresse.

Persons presented, with the causes.

Iohn Leicester. W. Raynold.
Christ. Townesend. Th. David Skinner.
Tho. Mabs. Thom. Starckey.
Christ. Holy bread. Martin Donam.

W. Derby.

All these noted and presented for maintaining of Barnes and such other preachers, and many of their wives for not taking holy bread, nor going in procession on Sundayes.

Aldermanbury

Laurence Maxwel Briclayer.

For speaking and reasoning against auricular Confession.

John Coygnes or Livelonde.

For holding against the sacrament of the altar, and not receiving at Easter.

S. Martins the great.

Gerard Frise.

Presented by two witnesses, for affirming that a sermon preached is better then the sacrament of the Altar, and that he had rather go to heare a sermon, then to heare a Masse.

S. Clements without Temple bar.

Dominick Williams a Frenchman.

For not receiving the sacrament of the Altar at Easter.

S. Katherin

Th. Lancaster Priest.

He lay in the Counter in the Poultrie, for compiling and bringing over bookes prohibited.

Gough.

Item Gough the Stationer troubled for resorting unto him.

Frier Ward.

Laid in the Counter in Bredstreet, for marrying one Elizabeth to his wife, after his vow made of chastitie.

Frier Wilcock.

Wilcock a Scottish Frier prisoned in the Fleet, for preaching against Confession, holy water, against praying to saints, and for soules departed, against purgatorie, and holding that Priests might have wives, &c.

Iohn Taylor D. in Divinitie.

D. Taylor presented for preaching at Saint Brides in Fleetstreet, that it is as profitable to a man to heare masse and see the sacrament, as to kisse Judas mouth, which kissed Christ our Saviour, &c.

W. Tolwine Parson of S. Antholines.

Presented and examined before Edmund Boner, for permitting Alexander Seton to preach in his Church, having no licence of his Ordinarie, and also for allowing the sermons of the said Alexander Seton, which he preached against doctor Smith.

To the said Tolwine moreover it was objected, that he used, the space of two yeres, to make holy water, leaving out the generall exorcisme beginning Exorciso te, &c. using these words for the same, Benedicite, Dominus. Ab eo sit benedicta, à cujus latere fluxit sanguis & aqua, Adjoyning thereto, Commixtio salis & aquæ fiat in nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti.

Tolwins making of holy water.

The like usage of making holy water was also used in Aldermary Church, where Doctor Crome was, and in Honey lane.

Against this objection thus Tolwine defended himselfe saying, that he took occasion so to do by the Kings Injunctions, which say, that ceremonies should be used, all ignorance and superstition set apart.

In the end this Tolwine was forced to stand at

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Persons presented, with the causes.

The recantation of M. Tolwin.

at Pauls Crosse to recant his Doctrine and doings.

Robert Wisedom. Thomas Becon preachers.

The same time also Robert Wisedom, parish priest of Saint Margarets in Lothbury, and Thomas Becon were brought to Pauls Crosse, to recant and to revoke their doctrine, and to burne their bookes.

Little Alhallowes.

Sir George Parker, parson of Saint Pancrace.

This priest and parson of Saint Pancrace, and curate of little Alhallowes, was noted, suspected, and convented before the Ordinary for certaine bookes, especially, for having Vnio dissidentium, &c.

Sir Iohn Byrch, Priest.

John Byrch, priest of Saint Botolphs lane was complained of by one Walter Wilson, for being a busie reasoner in certain opinions, which agreed not with the Popes Church.

Alexander Seton a Scottishman, and a worthy preacher.

Alexander Seton was denounced, detected, and presented, by three Priests of whom one was fellow of Whittington College called Richard Taylor; another was John Smyth; the third was John Huntingdon, who after was converted to the same doctrine himselfe.

Alex. Seton appointed to the Duke of Suffolke.

This Seton was Chaplaine to the Duke of Suffolke, and by him was made free Denison. In his sermon preached at Saint Anthonies, his adversaries picked against him matter containing fifténe objections, or rather cavillations, which for example I thought here to exhibite to the Reader, to the intent that men may see, not onely what true Doctrine Seton then preached, consonant to the Scriptures; but also what wrangling cavillers can do, in depraving that is right, or in wresting that is well meant, or in carping that they understand not, or in seeking out faults where none is, as by these their sinister cavillations may appeare.

Certaine places or Articles gathered out of Setons sermons by his adversaries.

Articles gathered of Alex. Setons sermons by his adversaries.

THe sayings and words of Alexander Seton, spoken and preached by him in his sermon, made the thirteenth day of November, at afternoone, in the parish Church of Saint A. in London; Paul saith, of our selves we can do nothing; I pray thée then where is thy will? Art thou any better then Paul, James, Peter, and all the Apostles? Hast thou any more grace then they? Tell me now if thy will be any thing or nothing. If it be any thing, tel me whether it be to do good or ill? If thou say to do ill, I will grant thou hast a greater deale. If thou say to do good, I aske whether is more, somewhat or nothing? For Paul said he could do nothing, and I am sure thou hast no more grace, then Paul and his companions.

Will. Consent. Deed.

Scripture speaketh of three things in man; the first is wil, the other two are consent and déed. The first, that is will, God worketh without us, and besides us. The other two he worketh in us, and with us. And here he alledged Saint Augustine, to prove that we can will nothing that is good. Moreover he said, thou hast not one jot, no not one tittle to doe any good.

God will in men of himselfe the good.

There is nothing in Heaven or earth, creature or other, that can be any mean towards our justification, nor can any man satisfie God the father for our sin, save only Christ, and the shedding of his blood.

Our works merit nothing to salvation.

He that preacheth that workes do merit, or be any mean to our salvation, or any part of our justification, preacheth a doctrine of the Devill.

If any thing else, save onely Christ, be any mean towards our justification, then did not Christ onely justifie us.

I say, that neither thy good workes, nor any thing that thou canst do, can be one jot or tittle towards thy justification. For if they be, then is not Christ a full justifier, and that I will prove by a familiar example. Be it in case I have two servants, the one is called John, and the other Robert, and I promise to send you such a day twenty pound by John my servant, and at my day I send you by John my servant, xix. li. xix. s. xj. d. ob. q. and there lacketh but one farthing, which Robert doth bring thee, and so thou hast thy twenty pound, every penny and farthing. Yet, will I aske if I be true of my promise, or no, and thou maist say nay. And why, because I promised to send thee that whole twenty pound by John and did not, for there lacked a farthing, which Robert brought. Wherefore I say, if thy works do merit or bring one little jot or tittle towards thy justification, then is Christ false of his promise, which said that he would do all together.

One Scripture I will bring you, which they cannot writhe, to prove that Christ was only promised to be our onely justifier, our onely mean, and that is in the two and twentieth of Genesis, where it is written, In thy seed shall all people be blessed, meaning thereby onely Christ, and he said not in thy sædes, nor in the workes of thy sædes. Wherefore all they that preach, that workes be any part or meane toward our justification, do make God false of his promise.

They that preach that works do merit, do make works the træ, which are but the fruits of justice, wrought by him that is already a just man, which cannot chuse but bring forth good fruit.

Good fruits make not a good man, but a good man cannot chuse but make good fruits.

I would ask a question, whether he that worketh be a good man, or bad, for he must be one of them. If he be a good man, he cannot chuse but bring forth good fruits; if he be an ill man, he can bring forth no fruit, but ill fruit; for a good tree cannot bring forth ill fruit.

Mans works made checkmate with Christ.

He that saith that workes doe merit any thing towards our salvation, doth make workes checkmate with Christ and plucketh from Christ that is his, and giveth it to works. Some will ask, wherefore then should I do good works? I answer, good workes are to be done for no cause else, but onely for the glorie of God, and not that they doe merit any thing at all. And he that saith that good workes are to be done for any other cause, then for the glory of God onely, and will have them to merit, or be any mean towards our justification, I say he lieth, and beleeve him not.

He that can shew me in any scripture, that works do merit, or be any mean to our justification, for the first Scripture I will (without any further judgement) lose both mine eares, for the second, my tongue, and for the third my neck. For I dare say he cannot prove in all the whole Scripture one tittle: wherefore beléeve them not.

The papists belie the protestants, as though they deemed good workes.

Men say that we deny good works, and fasting and prayer. They lie on us, we denie nothing but popish works, and popish fasting, and popish prayer; and he that preacheth that works doe merit, or fasting doth merit, or prayer doth merit, doth preach a popish doctrine.

If you ask me when we shall leave preaching of workes? even when they do leave to preach that works do merit, and suffer Christ to be a whole satisfier, and onely meane to our justification; and till then we will not cease in Gods cause to set forth onely Christ to be a full, and perfect, and only satisfaction.

If you ask, if good workes shall be rewarded, I say yes, and with no lesse then eternall glory, but

Good works how they be rewarded.

for no merit that they deserve, for they deserve nothing; but onely because God hath promised, not for the merit of the work, but for his promise sake, and he will not break his promise.

Other Articles gathered out of Setons Sermons.

Other Articles out of Setons sermons.

TOuching reconciliation spoken of by Doctor Smith, preaching in the forenoone at Pauls Crosse, Alexander Seton preaching at afternoone at Saint Anthonies, and reciting his sayings and scriptures, reproved him for alledging this saying, 2 Cor. 5. Reconciliamini Deo, and Englishing the same thus, Reconcile your selves to God; because it is there spoken passively, and not actively, so that there should be nothing in man pertaining to reconciliation, but all in God.

Also reproving the said Doctor Smith, for that the said D. said that man by his good works might merit. Which saying of Doctor Smith the said Alexander Seton reproved in the pulpit at S. Anthonies the 13. day of November, the yere of our Lord 1541. as naughtily spoken.

Moreover the said Alexander Seton said in the same place, that it was a shame that any such preacher should be suffered so openly to preach such erroneous doctrine, as to say that works should merit, adducing, Non sunt condignæ passiones, &c. Et postquam feceritis omnia, &c.

Finally Seton said, peradventure ye will say the Church hath determined this matter touching workes. And I say, quoth he, that it is Ecclesia malignantium, so determining any thing against Scripture.

To these pretensed objections of his adversaries he made his answer againe by writing, first denying many things there presented, taking upon his conscience, that he never spake divers of those words; and againe many things that he never meant to such end or purpose, as in the said Register may appeare. But all this notwithstanding, for all that he could say for himselfe, the Ordinarie proceeded in his consistorie judgement, ministring to him certaine interrogatories (after the popish course) to the number of 10. articles. The greatest matter laid against him, was for preaching free justification by faith in Christ Jesus, against false confidence in good works, and mans free will. Also it was laid unto him, for affirming that private Masses and Diriges and other prayers profited not the soules departed; so that in the end, he with Tolwine aforesaid was caused to recant at Pauls Crosse, Anno 1541.

Seton bearing a fagot at Pauls Crosse.

Adde to these aforesaid, Doctor Taylor, Parson of S. Peters in Cornhill.
South, Parish priest of Alhallowes in Lombard-street.
Some, Priest.
Giles the Kings Beerebrewer, at the red Lion in Saint Katherines.
Thomas Lancaster priest. All which were imprisoned likewise for the six Articles.

To be short, such a number out of all parishes in London and out of Calais, & divers other quarters, were then apprehended through the said Inquisition, that all prisons in London were too little to hold them, in so much that they were faine to lay them in the Halls. At the last by the meanes of good Lord Audley such pardon was obtained of the King, that the said Lord Audley then Lord Chancellor, being content that one should be bound for another, they were all discharged, being bound only to appeare in the Star Chamber the next day after All-soules, there to answer if they were called; but neither was there any person called, neither did any appeare.

All prisons in London too little to hold them that were taken for the six Articles.

The Lord Audley L. Chancellor of England.

The Storie of Iohn Porter, cruelly martyred for reading the Bible in Pauls.

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IN the number of these aforenamed cometh the remembrance of John Porter, who in the same yere, 1541. for reading the bible in Pauls church, was cruelly handled, and that unto death as you shall heare. It was declared in this historie above how Edmund Boner Bishop of London (in the dayes of the Lord Cromwell) being then Embassadour at Paris, was a great doer in setting forward the printing of the Bible in that great volume: promising moreover, that he would for his part have six of those Bibles set up in the church of S. Paul in Lond. Which also at his coming home he no lesse performed, according to the Kings proclamation set forth for the same, wherof read afore.

A story of Iohn Porter, martyr.

The bible commanded by the King to be set up in churches.

The bibles thus standing in Pauls by the Commandement of the King, and the appointment of Boner the Bishop, many well disposed people used much to resort to the hearing thereof, especially when they could get any that had an audible voice to reade unto them, misdoubting therein no danger toward them; & no more there was, so long as the dayes of Cromwell lasted. After he was gone, it happened amongst divers and sundry godly disposed persons, which frequented there the reading of the aforesaid Bible, that one John Porter used sometimes to be occupied in that godly exercise, to the edifying as well of himselfe, as of other. This Porter was a fresh young man, & of a big stature. Who by diligent reading of the Scripture, and by hearing of such sermons as then were preached by them that were the setters forth of Gods truth, became very expert. The Bible then being set up by Boners commandement upon divers pillars in Pauls church, fired unto the same with chaines for all men to reade in them that would, great multitudes would resort thither to heare this Porter, because he could read well and had an audible voyce. Boner and his chaplaines being grieved withall (and the world beginning then to frowne upon the Gospellers) sent for the foresaid Porter, and rebuked him very sharply for his reading. But Porter answered him that he trusted he had done nothing contrary to the law, neither contrary to his advertisements which he had fired in print over every Bible.

Reade afore.

{Anno 1541.}

Io. Porter a great reader in the Bible at Pauls.

Boner and his chapleines greeved with the bibles which he had caused to be set up himselfe.

Boner then laid unto his charge that he had made expositions upon the Text, and gathered great multitudes about him to make tumults. He answered, he trusted that should not be proved by him. But in fine Boner sent him to Newgate, where he was miserably fettered in irons both legges and armes, with a Collar of yron about his necke fastened to the wall in the Dungeon, being there so cruelly handled, that he was compelled to send for a kinsman of his, whose name is also Porter, and yet alive, and can testifie that it is true, and dwelleth yet without Newgate. Who, seeing his kinsman in this miserable case, intreated Jewet, then Keeper of Newgate, that he might be released out of those cruell yrons, and so through friendship and money had him up among other prisoners, which lay there for felony and murder; where Porter being amongst them, hearing and seeing their wickednesse and blasphemy, exhorted them to amendment of life, and gave unto them such instructions as he had learned of the scriptures; for which his doing he was complained on and so carried downe, and laid in the lower dungeon of all, oppressed with bolts and yrons, where within six or eight daies after he was found dead.

John Porter sent to Newgate by Boner.

This Porter was alive at the writing hereof.

The cruel handling of Porter in Newgate.

It is signified to us by credible information, that the same night before he was found dead, they that

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that dwelt nær to the same place of the prison where Porter lay, did hear him pitiously to groan and make a lamentable noise, where some suppose that he was put in certain strait irons which be there in the house, called, The Devil on the neck, being after an horrible sort devised, straining and wrinching the neck of a man with his legs together, in such sort, as the more he stirreth in it the straiter it presseth him, so that within three or foure houres it breaketh and crusheth a mans back and body in pieces. In which divelish torment whether John Porter was slain or no it is not certain. But howsoever it was, this is known, that he was found dead (as is aforesaid) in the dungeon, with such groaning and pitious noise heard the night before in the said Dungeon as is declared.

the death and martyrdome of John Porter.

¶ A note of one Thomas Sommers, imprisoned for the Gospel.

AMongst these Londoners thus troubled by the Clergie, we will adde also (though a little out of place) another note of a Merchant called Thomas Sommers, who died in the Tower of London for confessing of the Gospel. Which Thomas being a very honest Merchant and wealthy, was sent for by the Lord Cardinall, and committed to the Tower, for that he had Luthers bookes (as they termed them) and after a great suite made for him to the said Cardinall, his judgement was, that he should ride from the Tower into Cheap-side, carrying a new book in his hand, and be hanged with bookes round about him, with three or foure other merchants after the same order, which was done. And when master Sommers should be set on a Colliars Nagge, as the rest of his fellow Prisoners were, a friend of his called master Copland brought him a very good gelding, fair dressed with bridle and saddle; and when the Bishops officers came to dresse him with bookes, as they had trimmed the other, and would have made holes in his garment to have thrust the strings of the bookes therein; Nay, said Sommers, I have alwayes loved to go handsomely in my apparell, and taking the bookes and opening them, he bound them together by the strings, and cast them about his neck (the leaves being all open) like a collar, and being on horseback, rode formost thorow the streets, till they came about the standard in Cheapside, where a great fire was made to burn their bookes in, and a pillory set up there for foure persons, in token that they had deserved it.

the penance of Tho. Sommers merchant.

Luthers bookes burnt in Cheapside.

In the mean time, by the way as they should come, it was appointed that one should go before them with a bason, at the noise whereof M. Sommers horse, being a lofty gelding and fierce, was in such a rage, that he which rung the bason, being afraid of himself, was fain to go alone a great space before that any horseman followed after. At length when they came to the fire, everie of them having a book in his hand, they were commanded to cast their bookes into the fire. But when master Sommers saw that his new Testament should be burned, he threw it over the fire: which was seen by some of Gods enemies, and brought to him again, commanding him to cast it into the fire; which he would not do, but cast it through the fire. Which thing was done three times. But at last a stander by took it up, and saved it from burning. But not long after, the said master Sommers was cast again into the tower by the Cardinall, through the cruelty of the Bishops and their adherents, who soon after died in the said prison for the testimonie of his faith.

Baptists burnt the new Testament.

Sommers in the Tower.

What trouble and vexation happened amongst the godly Brethren in London, for the six articles, hitherto we have discoursed. Albeit neither have I comprehended all which were molested thorow all the parishes of London, neither again did this rigorous Inquisition so cease within the precincts of this Citie onely, but also extended further to Salisburie, Northfolk, Lincoln, and through all other Shires and quarters of the Realm; so that whereas any Popish Prelate most bare stroke, there most persecution increased. The Bishop of Lincoln the same time was John Longland, and doctor Dracot his Chancellor. Of whose rigorous doings ye have heard enough and too much before. His readie diligence in all Popish quarrels as it never lacked before, so now in the execution of these six articles it was not far behinde: in whose Diocesse divers good men and women, namely, about Buckingham and Amersham, and quarters thereabouts, were grievously disquieted, appearing yet in the same register; as one

Ex Regist. Lincoln.

Elinore Godfrey.

For laughing and speaking certain words against one Thomas Collerd, who, like a Pope-holy hypocrite in the church of Marlow, used at Masse time to crouch behinde the children, and when the Priest crossed his head with the saucer (as he termed it) he would crosse his head likewise. And for these words she was convented before the Bishop, and miserably vexed.

Of great Marlow.

W. Hart.

For saying these words; Thinkest thou that God almightie will abide over a knave priests head?

Of great Bickhill.

Christopher Erle.

Because he did no reverence unto the Sacrament coming to the Church; and for looking upon his book at the time of elevation; and that he would not come to see the elevation, &c. Item, as he was working upon a piece of Fustian on an holy day, and being asked why he kept not the holy day, he answered, That was no work, and that it was better to do that, then to sit at the alehouse drinking drunk.

Of Risbroughs

W. Fastendich.

For speaking certain words against the sacrament of the Altar, and because he beleeved not that it was the very body of Christ.

Of Woolborn.

W. Garland,

William Garland, talking of extreme unction, said that those things were godly signes, but there were but two sacraments, &c.

Of Wellwycombe.

W. Web.

Because he set the Image of a headlesse Beare in the tabernacle of S. Roke.

¶ Thomas Bernard and Iames Morton, Martyrs.

ABout the same time John Longland bishop of Lincoln, burned two upon one day, the one named Thomas Bernard, and the other James Morton: the one for teaching the Lords prayer in English, and the other for keeping the Epistle of Saint James translated into English.

Tho. Bernards Iames Morton Martyrs.

In Oxford also the same time, or much thereabout, recanted one master Barber, Master of Art of that University, a man excellently learned. Who being called up to Lambeth before the Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, was in his examination so stout in the cause of the sacrament, and so learnedly defended himself therein, that (as it is credibly affirmed of them which yet be alive, and were present thereat) neither Cranmer himself, nor all they could well answer to his allegations brought out of Augustine. Wherein he was so prompt and ripe of himself, that the Archbishop, with the re-

sidue

The recantation of W. Barber in Oxford.

ſtoue of his companie were brought in great admiration of him. Notwithſtanding, by compulſion of the time and danger of the ſix articles, at laſt he relented, and returning again to Oxford was there cauſed to recant. After which the good man long proſpered not, but ware away. Ex teſtimonio Rad. Moris.

A merrie and pleaſant narration, touching a falſe fearfull imagination of fire, raiſed among the Doctors and Maſters of Oxford in Saint Maries Church, at the recantation of Maſter Malary M. of Art of Cambridge.

THis recantation of maſter Barber aforeſaid, in the Univerſitie of Oxford, bringeth me in remembrance of another recantation likewiſe, happening not long before in the ſaid Univerſity, which I thought here not to overpaſſe, and namely, for that the ſame carrieth withall a merry ridiculous ſpectacle, not unworthie to be remembred, and here to be inſerted, ſomewhat to recreate and refreſh by the way the wearie minde of the reader, after ſo many bloodie and lamentable ſtories, executions, recantations, and tragedies above paſſed. The ſtorie is this.

The recantation of maſter Malary Graduate of Cambridge, who recanted at Oxford.

There was one maſter Malarie, maſter of Art of Cambridge, ſcholer of Chriſts Colledge, who for the like opinions to thoſe above rehearſed, holden contrary to the Catholique determination of holy mother Church of Rome, that is, for the right truth of Chriſts Goſpel, was convented before the Biſhops, and in the end ſent to Oxford, there openly to recant, and to bear his fagot, to the terror of the Students of that Univerſitie. The time and place was appointed, that he ſhould be brought ſolemnly into ſaint Maries Church upon a Sunday; where a great number of the head Doctors and Divines, and other of the Univerſitie were together aſſembled; beſide a great multitude of Citizens and town dwellers, which came to behold the ſight. Furthermore, becauſe that ſolemnitie ſhould not paſſe without ſome effectuall ſermon, for the holding up of the mother Church of Rome, Doctor Smith, reader then of the Divinity Lecture, was appointed to make the ſermon at this recantation. Briefly, at the preaching of this ſermon there was aſſembled a mighty audience of all ſorts of degrées, as well of ſtudents as other. Few almoſt were abſent which loved to hear or ſée any news; Inſomuch that there was no place almoſt in the whole church which was not fully repleniſhed with concourſe and throng of people.

Malary brought into S. Maries church with his fagot.

Doctor Smith preached at the recantation of Malary.

All things being thus prepared and ſet in a readineſſe, cometh forth Malarie with his fagot upon his ſhoulder. Not long after alſo proceedeth the doctor into the pulpit, to make his ſermon, the purpoſe and argument whereof was wholly upon the ſacrament. The which doctor, for the more confirmation and credit to his words, had provided the holy Catholique cake, and the ſacrament of the Altar, there to hang by a ſtring before him in the pulpit. Thus the doctor with his god almightie, entring his godly ſermon, had ſcarce proceeded into the midſt thereof, the people giving great ſilence with all reverence unto his doctrine, but ſuddenly was heard into the Church the voice of one crying in the ſtreet, Fire, fire. The partie which thus cried firſt in the ſtreet was called Heuſter. The occaſion was this, for that he coming from Alhallows pariſh ſaw a chimney on fire, and ſo paſſing in the ſtreet by ſaint Maries Church, cried Fire, fire, as the faſhion is, meaning no hurt.

The ſacrament of the altar brought into the pulpit.

A maze among doctor Smiths audience in Oxford.

This ſound of fire being heard in the church, firſt of them which ſtood outermoſt next to the church doore, ſo encreaſed and went from one to another, that at length it came unto the eares of the doctors, and at laſt to the Preacher himſelf. Who as ſoon as they heard the matter, being amazed with ſudden fear, and marvelling what the matter ſhould mean, began to look up into the top of the Church, and to behold the wals. The reſidue, ſéeing them look up, looked up alſo. Then began they in the midſt of the audience to cry out with a loud voice, Fire, fire. Where ſaith one? Where ſaith another. In the Church, ſaith one. The mention of the Church was ſcarcely pronounced, when as in one moment there was a common crie amongſt them, the Church is one fire, the Church is one fire by heretiques, &c. And albeit no man did ſée any fire at all, yet forſomuch as all men cried out ſo, every man thought it true that they heard. Then was there ſuch fear, concourſe and tumult of people, through the whole Church, that it cannot be declared in words as it was indeed.

Saint Maries Church in Oxford falſely ſuppoſed to be ſet on fire by heretiques.

And as in a great fire (where fire is indéed) we ſée many times how one little ſpark giveth matter of a mightie flame, ſetting whole ſtacks and piles on burning: ſo here upon a ſmall occaſion of one mans word kindled firſt a general cry, then a ſtrong opinion running in every mans head within the Church, thinking the Church to be on fire, where no fire was at all. Thus it pleaſed Almightie God to delude theſe deluders, that is, that theſe great Doctors and wiſe men of the ſchools, which think themſelves ſo wiſe in Gods matters as though they could not erre, ſhould ſée by their own ſenſes and judgements, how blinded and infatuated they were in theſe ſo ſmall matters and ſenſible trifles.

Deluders deluded. We ſée great clerks how they are deceived oftentimes in ſmall trifles.

Thus this ſtrong imagination of fire being fired in their heads, as nothing could remove them to think contrary but that the Church was on fire, ſo every thing that they ſaw or heard encreaſed this ſuſpition in them, to make it ſeem moſt true, which was indéed moſt falſe. The firſt and chiefeſt occaſion that augmented this ſuſpition, was the heretique there bearing his fagot, which gave them to imagine that all other heretiques had conſpired with him to ſet the Church on fire.

What ſtrong imagination can do in deluding mans ſenſes.

After this, through the rage of the people, and running to and fro, the duſt was ſo raiſed, that it ſhewed as it had bèen the ſmoke of fire. Which thing, together with the outcry of the people, made all men ſo afraid, that leaving the ſermon, they began all together to run away. But ſuch was the preaſe of the multitude, running in heaps together, that the more they laboured, the leſſe they could get out. For whileſt they ran all headlong unto the doores, everie man ſtriving to get out firſt, they thruſt one another in ſuch ſort, and ſtuck ſo faſt, that they which were without, neither could get into the Church again, neither they that were within could get out by any means. So the one doore being ſtopped, they ran to another little wicket on the North ſide, towards the Colledge called Braſen noſe, thinking ſo to paſſe out. But there again was the like or greater throng. So the people cluſtering and thronging together, it put many in danger, and brought many unto their end, by bruſing of their bones or ſides. There was yet another doore towards the Weſt, which albeit it was ſhut and ſeldome opened; yet now ran they to it with ſuch ſway, that the great bar of iron (which is incredible to be ſpoken) being pulled out and broken by force of mens hands, the doore notwithſtanding could not be opened for the preaſe or multitude of people.

Much hurt done in the throng, whereof ſome died, ſo yet are alive whoſe mother armes were there broken.

At the laſt, when they were there alſo paſt al hope to get out, then they were all exceedingly amazed & ran up & down, crying out upon the heretikes which had conſpired their death. The more they ran about and cried out, the more ſmoke and duſt roſe in the Church, even as though all things had now bèen

on

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on a flaming fire. I think there was neuer such a tumultuous hurly burly rising so of nothing heard of before, nor so great a fear where was no cause to fear, nor perill at all: so that if Democritus the merrie Philosopher sitting in the top of the Church, and seeing all things in such safetie as they were, had looked down upon the multitude, and beholden so great a number, some howling and weeping, running up and down, and playing the mad men, now hither now thither, as being tossed to and fro with waues or tempests, trembling and quaking, raging and faring, without any manifest cause, specially if he had seen those great Rabbines the Doctors laden with so many badges or cognisances of wisdome, so foolishly and ridiculously seeking holes and corners to hide themselues in, gasping, breathing, and sweating, and for very horror being almost beside themselues. I think he would haue satisfied himself with this one laughter for all his life time, or else rather would haue laughed his heart out of his bellie, whilest one said that he plainly heard the noise of the fire, another affirmed that he saw it with his eyes, and another sware that he felt the molten lead dropping down upon his head and shoulders. Such is the force of imagination, when it is once grafted in mens hearts through fear. In all the whole companie, there was none that behaued himself more modestly then the heretique that was there to do penance; who casting his fagot off from his shoulders upon a Monks head that stood by, kept himself quiet, minding to take such part as the other did.

All the other, being carefull for themselues, neuer made an end of running up and down and crying out. None cried out more earnestly then the Doctor that preached (who was, as I said, Doctor Smith) who in a manner first of all cried out in the pulpit, saying, These are the traines and subtilties of the heretiques against me: Lord haue mercy upon me, Lord haue mercy upon me. But might not God, as it had been (to speak with Iob) out of a whirlwinde, haue answered again unto this preacher thus, Thou doest now implore my mercie, but thou thy self shewest no mercy unto thy fellows and brethren. How doth thy flesh tremble now at the mention of fire? But you think it a sport to burn other simple innocents, neither do ye any thing at all regard it. If burning seem so grieuous a matter unto you, and to suffer the torment of fire; then you should also haue the like consideration in other mens perils and dangers, when as you do burn your fellows and brethren.

Or if you think it but a light and trifling matter in them go too now, do you also with like courage contemne, and with like patience suffer now the same torments your selues. And if so be it I should now suffer you with the whole church to be burned to ashes, what other thing should I do unto you, then you do daily unto your fellows and brethren? Wherefore since you so little esteeme the death of others, be now content that other men should also little regard the death of you. With this, I say, or with some other like answer, if that either God, or humane charitie, either the common sense of nature would expostulate with them, yea if there had been a fire indeed (as they were more feared then hurt) who would haue doubted but that it had happened unto them according to their deserts? But now worthie it is the noting, how the vain fear and folly of those Catholiques either was deluded, or how their cruelties was reproued, whereby they, being better taught by their own example, might hereafter learn what it is to put other poore men to the fire, which they themselues here so much abhorred.

But to return again to the description of this Pageant, wherein (as I said before) there was no no danger at all, yet were they all in such fear, as if present death had been ouer their heads.

In all this great maze and garboyle there was nothing more feared then the melting of the lead, which many affirmed that they felt dropping upon their bodies. Now in this sudden terror and fear, which took from them all reason and counsell out of their minds, to behold what practises and sundrie shifts euery man made for himself, it would make not onely Democritus and Heraclitus also to laugh, but rather a horse neigher to break his halter. But none vsed themselues more ridiculously, then such as seemed greatest wise men, saving that in one or two peraduenture somewhat more quietnesse of minde appeared. Among whom was one Claymund president of Corpus Christi Colledge (whom for reuerence and learnings sake I do here name) and a few other aged persons with him, which for their age and weaknesse durst not thrust themselues into the throng amongst the rest, but kneeled down quietly before the high Altar, committing themselues and their liues unto the sacrament. The other, which were younger & stronger, ran up and down through the preasle, marbelling at the uncivility of men, and wart angry with the unmanerly multitude that would giue no room unto the Doctors, Bachelors, Maisters, and other graduates and regent Maisters. But as the terror and fear was common unto all men, so was there no difference made of persons or degrees, euery man scambling for himself. The Violet Cap, or Purple gown did there nothing auail the Doctor, neither the Maisters hood nor the Monks coul was there respected.

Claymundus President of Corpus Christi Colledge.

Yea if the King or Quæn had been there at that present and in that perplexitie, they had been no better then a common man. After they had long striuen and assaied all manner of waies and said no remedie, neither by force, neither authoritie to preuail, they fell to intreating and offering of rewards, one offering twenty pound, another his scarlet gown, so that any man would pull him out, though it were by the ears.

Some stood close unto the pillars, thinking themselues safe under the vaults of stone for the dropping of the lead. Othersome, being without money and unprouided of all shift, knew not which way to turn them. One being a President of a certain Colledge (whose name I néed not here to utter) pulling a boord out from the pues, couered his head and shoulders therewith against the scalding lead, which they feared much more then the fall of the church. Now what a laughter would this haue ministred unto Democritus amongst other things, to behold there a certain grand paunch, who seeing the doores stopped and euery way closed up, thought by another compendious means to get out through a glasse widdow if it might be by any shift. But here the iron grates letted him; notwithstanding his greedy minde would néeds attempt if he could happily bring his purpose to passe. When he had broken the glasse, and was come to the space between the grates where he should creep out, first he thrust in his head with the one shoulder, and it went through well enough. Then he laboured to get the other shoulder after, but there was great labour about that, and long he stuck by the shoulders with much ado. For what doth not importune labour ouercome? Thus far forth he was now gotten. But by what part of his body he did stick fast, I am not certain, neither may I fain, forsomuch as there be yet witnesses which did see these things, which would correct me if I should so do. Notwithstanding this is most certain that he did stick fast betweene the Grates, and could neither get out nor in.

Thus this good man being indeed a Monk, and hauing but short hose, by the which way he supposed

some

soneth to escape, by the same he fell into further inconvenience, making of one danger two. For if the fire or lead had fallen on the outside, those parts which did hang out of the windoow had been in danger; and contrariwise if the flame had raged within the Church, all his other parts had lien open to the fire. And as this man did stick fast in the windows, so did the rest stick as fast in the doores, that sooner they might have been burned, then they could once stir or move one foot. Through the which prease at the last there was a way found, that some going over their heads gat out.

Plenovidet Calphurnius ore. Horat.

Here also happened another pageant in a certain Monk (if I be not misadvised) of Glocester Colledge, whereat Calphurnius might well laugh with an open mouth. So it hapned, that there was a young lad in this tumult, who seeing the doores fast stopped with the prease or multitude, and that he had no way to get out, climbed up upon the doore, and there staying upon the top of the doore was forced to tarry still. For to come down into the church again he durst not for fear of the fire, and to leap down toward the street he could not without danger of falling. When he had tarried there a while, he advised himself what to do; neither did occasion want to serve his purpose. For by chance, amongst them that got out over mens heads, he saw a Monk coming towards him which had a great wide Coule hanging at his back. This the boy thought to be a good occasion for him to escape by. When the Monk came nèer unto him, the boy which was on the top of the doore came down and prettily conveighed himself into the Monks Coule, thinking (as it came to passe indeed) that if the Monk did escape, he should also get out with him. To be brief, at the last the Monk gat out over mens heads, with the boy in his Coule, and for a great while felt no weight or burthen.

A boy got into a Monks coul.

At the last, when he was somewhat more come to himself, and did shake his shoulders, feeling his coul heavier then it was accustomed to be, and also hearing the voice of one speaking behinde in his coul, he was more afraid then he was before when he was in the throng, thinking in very deed, that the evil spirit which had set the Church on fire had flien into his coul. By and by he began to play the Exorcist; In the name of God (said he) and all Saints, I command thee to declare what thou art that art behinde at my back. To whom the boy answered, I am Bertrams boy (said he) for that was his name. But I (said the Monk) adjure thee in the name of the unseparable Trinitie, that thou wicked spirit do tell me who thou art, from whence thou comest, and that thou get thee hence. I am Bertrams boy (said he) good maister let me go: and with that his coul began with the weight to crack upon his shoulders. The Monk when he perceived the matter, took the boy out and discharged his coul. The boy took his legs and ran away as fast as he could.

Among other, one wiser then the rest ran with the church doore key, beating upon the stone walls, thinking therewith to breake an hole thorow to escape out.

In the mean time those that were in the street loking diligently about them, and perceiving all things to be without fear, marvelled at this sudden outrage, and made signes and tokens to them that were in the Church to keep themselves quiet, crying to them that there was no danger.

But forsomuch as no word could be heard by reason of the noise that was within the Church, those signes made them much more afraid then they were before, interpreting the matter as though all had been on fire without the Church, and for the dropping of the lead and falling of other things, they should rather tarry still within the Church, and not to venter out. This trouble continued in this manner by the space of certain houres,

The next day, and also all the week following there was an incredible number of bils set upon the Church doores, to inquire for things that were lost, in such variety and number, as Democritus might here again have just cause to laugh. If any man have found a pair of shoes yesterday in S. Marie church, or knoweth any man that hath found them, &c. Another bill was set up for a gown that was lost. Another intreateth to have his cap restored. One lost his purse and girdle with certain money; another his sword. One inquireth for a ring, and one for one thing, another for another. To be short, there were few in this garboil, but that either through negligence lost, or through oblivion left some thing behinde them.

Thus have you hitherto heard a tragicall storie of a terrible fire which did no hurt. The description whereof although it be not so perfectly expressed according to the worthinesse of the matter, yet because it was not to be passed with silence, we have superficially set forth some shadow thereof, whereby the wise and discreet may sufficiently consider the rest, if any thing else be lacking in setting forth the full narration thereof. As touching the heretique, because he had not done his sufficient penance there by occasion of this hurly burley, therefore the next day following he was reclaimed into the Church of Saint Frideswide, where he supplied the rest that lacked of his plenarie penance.

The fourth and fifth marriage of King Henry the eight.

THe same yeer and moneth next following, after the apprehension of the Lord Cromwell, which was Ann. 1541. the King immediately was divorced from the Lady Anne of Cleve. The cause of which separation being wholly committed to the clergy of the Convocation, it was by them defined, concluded, and granted, that the King being freed from that pretensed matrimony (as they called it) might marry where he would, and so might the likewise; who also consenting to the same divorcement her self, by her own letters, was after that taken no more for Queen, but onely called Lady Anne of Cleve. Which things thus discussed by the Parliament and Convocation house, the King the same moneth was married to his fifth wife, which was the lady Katherine Yaward, niece to the duke of Northfolk, and daughter to the Lord Edmund Yaward the Dukes brother. But this marriage likewise continued not long.

Anno 1541.

Auguſt. The lady Anne of Cleve divorced from the King.

The King permitted to marry after his divorce.

The King married to the Lady Katherine Howard his fifth wife.

In the same moneth of Auguſt, and the same yeer, I finde moreover in some records, beside the foure and twenty chapter house Monks above recited, whom Cope doth sanctifie for holy Martyrs, for suffering in the Popes devotion, against the kings supremacy, other six which were also brought to Tyborn and there executed in the like case of rebellion. Of whom the first was the Prior of Dancaster; the second a Monk of the Charterhouse of London, called Giles Horn, some call him William Horn; the third one Thomas Ipslam a Monk of Westminster, who had his Monks garment pluckt from his back, being the last Monk in King Henries dayes that did weare that Monkish weed; the fourth one Philpot; the fifth one Carew; the sixth was a Frier. See what a difficulty it is to pluck up blinde superstition once rooted in mans heart by a little custome.

Sir Popish Monks for denying the Kings supremacy executed.

Now as touching the late marriage betweèn the King and the Lady Yaward, ye heard how this matrimony indured not long; for in the yeer next following 1542. the said Ladie Katherine was accused to the King of incontinent living, not onely before her marriage with Fr. Dereham, but also of spousebreach, after her marriage, with

Anno 1542.

Thomas

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Thomas Culpeper. For the which both the men aforesaid by Act of Parliament were attainted and executed for high treason, and also the Lady Katherine late Quæn, with the Lady Jane Rochford widow, late wife to George Boleyne Lord Rochford brother to Quæn Anne Boleyne, were beheaded for their deserts within the tower. Ex Hallo & aliis.

After the death and punishment of this Lady his fifth wife, the King calling to remembrance the words of the Lord Cromwell, and missing now more and more his old Counsellour, and partly also smelling somewhat the wayes of Winchester, began a little to set his foot again in the cause of Religion. And although he ever bare a speciall favour to Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterburie (as you shall hear more hereafter, God willing, in the life of Cranmer) yet now the more he missed the Lord Cromwell, the more he inclined to the Archbishop, and also to the right cause of religion. And therefore in the same yeer and in the moneth of October, after the execution of this Quæn, the King understanding some abuses yet to remain unreformed, namely, about pilgrimages and Idolatrie, and other things moe besides to be corrected within his dominions, directed his letters unto the foresaid Archbishop of Canterburie, for the spædie redresse and reformation of the same. The tenour of which letters hereafter fully ensueth, in these words.

The Kings Letters to the Archbishop, for the abolishing of Idolatrie.

RIght reverend father in God, right trustie and welbeloved, we greet you well, letting you to wit, that whereas heretofore upon the zeal and remembrance which we had to our bounden dutie towards Almightie God, perceiving sundrie superstitions and abuses to be used and embraced by our people, whereby they grievously offended him and his word; we did not onely cause the images and bones of such as they resorted and offered unto, with the ornaments of the same, and all such writings and monuments of fained miracles, wherewith they were illuded, to be taken away in all places of the realm, but also by our injunctions commanded that no offering or setting up of lights or candles should be suffered in any Church, but onely to the blessed sacraments of the Altar: it is lately come unto our knowledge, that this our good intent and purpose notwithstanding, the shrines, coverings of shrines, and monuments of those things do yet remain in sundrie places of this realm, much to the slander of our doings, and to the great displeasure of Almightie God, the same being means to allure our subjects to their former hipocrisie and superstition, and also that our injunctions be not kept as appertaineth. For the due and speedy reformation whereof, we have thought meet, by these our letters expresly to will and command you, that incontinent upon the receit hereof, you shall not onely cause due search to be made in the Cathedrall Church for those things, and if any shrine, covering of shrine, Table, Monument of miracles, or other pilgrimages, do there continue, to cause it to be so taken away, as there remain no memorie of it, but also that you shall take order with all the Curates, and other having charge within your Dioceese to do the semblable, and to see that our Injunctions be duely kept, as appertaineth without failing, as we trust you, and as you will answer to the contrary.

Given under our Signet at our town of Hull, the fourth day of October in the 33. yeer of our reign.

Furthermore, the next yeer after this insuing, which was 1543. in the moneth of Februarie, followed another Proclamation given out by the Kings authoritie, wherein the Popes law, forbidding white meats to be eaten in Lent, was repealed, and the eating of such meats set at libertie, for the behoof of the Kings subjects. The copy of which Proclamation I thought here good also to be remembred.

A Proclamation concerning eating of white meats, made the ninth of Februarie, the 34. yeer of the reign of the Kings most royall Maiestie.

FOrasmuch as by divers and sundrie occasions, as well Herings, Lings, Saltfish, Salmond, Stockfish, as other kinds of fish been this yeer scant and also inhaunsed in prices above the old rate and common estimation of their value, so that if the Kings loving subjects should be inforced onely to buy and provide Hering and other salt store of fish for the necessarie and sufficient sustentation and maintenance of their households and families all this holy time of Lent, according as they have been wont in times past to do, and should not be by some other convenient means relieved therein, the same might and should undoubtedly redound to their importable charge and detriment; and forasmuch as his Highnesse considereth how this kinde and manner of fasting, that is to say, to abstain from milk, butter, egges, cheese, and other white meats, is but a meer positive law of the Church, and used by a custome within this realm, and of none other force or necessity, but the same may be upon considerations and grounds altered and dispensed with from time to time, by the publike authoritie of Kings and Princes, whensoever they shall perceive the same to tend to the hurt and damage of their people: The Kings Highnesse therefore, most graciously considering and tendering the wealth and commodity of his people, hath thought good for the considerations above rehearsed, to release and dispence with the said law and custome of abstaining from white meats this holy time of Lent, and of his especiall grace and meer motion giveth and granteth unto all and singular his subjects within this his realm of England, Wales, Cales, Guisnes, and Hammes, and in all other his gratious dominions, free libertie, faculty and licence, to eat all manner of white meats, as milk, egs, butter, cheese, and such like, during the time of this Lent, without any scruple or grudge of conscience, any law, constitution, use, or custome to the contrarie notwithstanding.

Anno 1543. The eating of white meats in Lent set at libertie.

Wherein nevertheless his Highnesse exhorteth, and in the name of God requireth all such his faithfull subjects, as may, will, or shall enjoy this his said grant or facultie, that they be in no wise scrupulous or doubtfull thereof, nor abuse or turn the same into a fleshly or carnall libertie, but rather endeavour themselves to their possible powers, with this liberty of eating of white meats, to observe also that fast which God most specially requireth of them, that is to say, to renounce the world and the devill, with all their pomps and works, and also to subdue and represse their carnall affections and the corrupt works of the flesh, according to their vow and profession made at the font stone, for in these points specially consisteth the very true and perfect abstinence or fasting of a Christian man; thus to indure and continue from yeere to yeere, till the kings highnesse pleasure shall by his Majesties Proclamation be published to the contrary.

The trouble and persecution of foure Windsor men, Robert Testwood, Henry Filmer, Anthony Person, and Iohn Marbeck, persecuted for righteousnesse sake, and for the Gospel.

COming now to the story and time of the foure Windsor men troubled and persecuted for the

the true teſtimony of Gods woꝛd, whereof thꝛée were martyꝛed and ſacrificed in fire, the fourth (which was Marbeck) had his pardon: firſt I have to ſhew the oꝛiginall of their troubles in ſeverall parts, ſecondly the manner and oꝛder of their death as they ſuffered together, which was Anno 1544. Thirdly, to anſwer partly in purgation of my ſelf, againſt certain clatterers which have hitherto taken their pleaſure in railing againſt my foꝛmer edition of Acts and Monuments, foꝛ miſtaking the name of Marbeck, whom in one place I repoꝛted to have bæn burned, albeit in the end of the ſtoꝛie, coꝛrecting my ſelf again, I declared him not to have bæn burned. Wherefoꝛe to ſtop the bꝛawling mouthes of ſuch quarrellers, I thought here to ſet foꝛth the full narration both of the ſaid Marbeck and of his fellows, in truth, as I truſt none of them ſhall have juſt cauſe to quarrell thereat.

Anno. 1544.

The originall of *Teſtwoods* trouble.

Perſecuters.	*Perſons perſecuted.*
	Robert Teſtwood.
	Henry Filmer.
	Anthony Perſon.
M. Ely.	Iohn Marbeck.
	Robert Benet.
	Sir Ph. Hobby and his wife.
	Sir Th. Cardine and his wife.
Simons a Lawyer.	Maſter Edmund Harman.
	Maſter Thomas Weldon.
	Snoball and his wife, of the kings Chamber.
	Doctor Heins Deane of Exceſter.
Doctor London.	At Windſor, Ann. 1544.

The Cauſes.

The firſt beginning of Teſtwoods troubles.

IN the yeꝛ of our Loꝛd 1544. there was one Robert Teſtwood dwelling in the Citie of London, who foꝛ his knowledge in muſick had ſo great a name, that the Muſitians in Windſoꝛ Colledge thought him a woꝛthie man to have a ꝛoome among them. Whereupon they enfoꝛmed doctoꝛ Sampſon (being then their Dean) of him. But foꝛſomuch as ſome of the Canons had at that time heard of Teſtwood, how that he ſmelled of the new learning (as they called it) it would not be conſented unto at the firſt. Notwithſtanding, with often ſute of the foꝛeſaid Muſitians, made to one Doctoꝛ Tate (who, being half a Muſitian himſelf, bare a great ſtroke in ſuch matters) a ꝛoome being void, Teſtwood was ſent foꝛ to be heard. And being there foure oꝛ five dayes among the Quire men, he was ſo well liked both foꝛ his voice and cunning, that he was admitted, and after ſetled in Windſoꝛ, with his houſhold, and had in good eſtimation with the Deane and Canons a great while: but when they had perceived him by his often talk at their tables (foꝛ he could not well diſſemble his religion) that

Steph. Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter.

Wriſley. Southarne treaſurer of Exceſter.

Doctor Bruerwood, Chancellour of Exceſter.

Teſtwood receiveth into Windſoꝛ

M. Knight Wincheſters Gentleman.

D. Oking.

Perſecuters.	*Perſons perſecuted, and the Cauſes.*
	he leaned to Luthers ſect, they began to miſlike him. And ſo paſſing foꝛth among them, it was his chance one day to be at dinner with one of the Canons, named Doctoꝛ Rawſon. At the which dinner, among all other, was one of King Edwards foure Chantrie Pꝛieſts, named Walter Ely, an old Bachelour of Divinitie. Which Ely in his talk at the boꝛd began to rayle againſt Lay-men, which took upon them to meddle with the Scriptures, and to be better learned (knowing no moꝛe but the Engliſh tongue) then they which had bæn Students in the Univerſities of Oxfoꝛd and Cambꝛidge all the dayes of their lives. Then Teſtwood, perceiving he meant that by him, could foꝛbeare his railing no longer, but ſaid, Walter Ely, by your patience, I think it be no hurt foꝛ Lay-men, as I am, to read and to know the Scriptures.
Doctor Capon Biſhop of Sarum.	Which of you (quoth Ely) that be unlearned, knoweth them, oꝛ underſtandeth them? Saint Paul ſaith, If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirſt, give him drink, and in ſo doing thou ſhalt heap coals of fire upon his head. Now ſir, quoth Ely, what meaneth ſaint Paul by thoſe coals of fire? Mary ſir, quoth Teſtwood, he meaneth nothing elſe by them (as I have learned) but burning charitie, that by doing good to our Enemies we ſhould thereby win them. Ah ſirah, quoth he, you are an old ſcholer indeed.
Sir William Eſſex, knight.	After this they fell into further communication of the pope, whoſe ſupꝛemacy was much ſpoken of at that time, but not known to be ſo far in queſtion in the Parliament houſe as it was. And in their talk Ely demanded of Teſtwood, whether the Pope ought to be head of their Church, oꝛ no. Againſt the which Teſtwood durſt not ſay his full minde, but reaſoned within his bounds a great while. But when they were both well ſtricken in an heat, Teſtwood foꝛgetting himſelf, chanced to ſay, that every King, in his own Realm and dominion, ought to be the head of the Church under Chꝛiſt. At the which woꝛds Ely was ſo chafed, that he roſe up from the table in a great fume, calling him heretique, and all that naught was, and ſo went bꝛawling, and chiding away, to the great diſquieting of all the company that were there.
Sir Thomas Bridges, Knight.	Then was Teſtwood very ſoꝛy to ſee the old man take it ſo gꝛievouſly. Whereupon after dinner he went and ſought Walter Ely, and found him walking
Sir Humfrey Foſter, knight.	
M. Franklen Dean of Windſor.	
M. Fachel of Reding.	
Buckler the Kings Atturney.	
Filmers brother.	
Hide, a Iurate dwelling beſide Abington.	
Robert Ockam a Lawyer.	

Walter Ely perſecuter.

Every K his own and Chꝛ head und Chꝛiſt.

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ing in the body of the Church, thinking to haue talked with him charitably, and ſo to haue bene at one again; but euer as Teſtwood preaſed towards him, the other ſhunned him and would not come nigh him, but ſpit at him, ſaying to other that walked by, Beware of this fellow, for he is the greateſt heretike and ſchiſmatike that euer came in Windſor.

Now began the matter to brew. For after that Ely had made his complaint to the Deanes deputie and other of the Canons, they were all againſt Teſtwood, purpoſing ſurely at the Deanes coming home (if all things had chanced euen) to haue put him to his trump. But ſee the fortune, It was not twelue dayes after, ere that the Kings ſupremacy paſſed in the Parliament houſe. Whereupon the Deane (Doctor Sampſon) came home ſuddenly in the night late, and forthwith ſent his Verger about to all the Canons, and Miniſters of the Colledge, from the higheſt to the loweſt, commanding them to be in the Charterhouſe by eight of the clock in the morning. Then Ely conſulted with the Canons ouernight (as late as it was) and thought on the next day to haue put Teſtwood to a great plunge. But he that layeth a ſnare for another man, ſaith Solomon, ſhall be taken in it himſelfe. And ſo was Ely. For when the Deane and euery man were come and placed in the Chapter houſe, and that the Deane had commended the miniſters of the Church for their diligence in tending the quire, exhorting them alſo to continue in the ſame; he began, contrarie to euery mans expectation, to inueigh againſt the Biſhop of Romes ſupremacie and uſurped authority, confounding the ſame by manifeſt Scriptures and probable reaſons, ſo earneſtly, that it was a wonder to heare; and at length declared openly, that by the whole conſent of the Parliament houſe the Popes ſupremacie was vtterly aboliſhed out of this Realme of England for euer, and ſo commanded euery man there, vpon his allegiance, to call him Pope no more, but Biſhop of Rome, and whatſoeuer he were that would not ſo doe, or did from that day forth maintaine or fauour his cauſe by any manner of meanes, he ſhould not onely loſe the benefit of that houſe, but be reputed as an vtter enemie to God, and to the King. The Canons hearing this were all ſtricken in a dump. Yet notwithſtanding Elies heart was ſo great that he would faine haue vttered his cankared ſtomacke againſt Teſtwood: but the Dean (breaking his tale) called him old fole, and tooke him vp ſo ſharpely, that he was faine to hold his peace. Then the Deane commanded all the Popes pardons which hanged about the Church to be brought into the Chapter houſe, and caſt into the chimney, and burnt before all their faces, and ſo departed.

Another cauſe of Teſtwoods trouble.

AS it chanced Teſtwood one day to walke in the Church at after noone, and beheld the pilgrims, ſpecially of Deuonſhire and Cornewall, how they came in by plumps with candles and images of ware in their hands, to offer to good King Henry of Windſor, as they called him, it pitied his heart to ſee ſuch great idolatrie committed, and how vainely the people had ſpent their goods in coming ſo farre to kiſſe a ſpurre, and to haue an old hat ſet vpon their heads; inſomuch that he could not refraine, but (ſeeing a certaine company which had done their offring, ſtand gazing about the Church) went vnto them, and with all gentleneſſe began to exhort them to leaue ſuch falſe worſhipping of dumbe creatures, and to learne to worſhip the true liuing God aright, putting them in remembrance what thoſe things were which they worſhipped, & how God many times had plagued his people for running a whoring to ſuch ſtocks and ſtones, and ſo would plague them and their poſteritie, if they would not leaue it.

Teſtwood dehorteth the people from Idolatrie.

After this ſort he admoniſhed them ſo long, till at laſt his words, as God would, tooke ſuch place in ſome of them, that they ſaid they neuer would go a pilgrimage more. Then he went further, and found another ſort licking & kiſſing a white Lady made of Alablaſter, which image was mortiſt in a wall behinde the high altar, and bordered about with a pretty border, which was made like branches with hanging apples & flowers. And when he ſaw them ſo ſuperſtitiouſly vſe the Image, as to wipe their hands vpon it, and then to ſtroke them ouer their heads and faces, as though there had bin great vertue in touching the picture, he vp with his hand, in the which he had a key, and ſmote a piece of the border about the image, down, and with the glance of the ſtroke chanced to breake off the images noſe. Lo, good people (quoth he) you ſee what it is, nothing but earth and duſt, and cannot helpe it ſelfe, and how then will you haue it to helpe you? For Gods ſake, Brethren, be no more deceiued. And ſo he gat him home to his houſe, for the rumor was ſo great, that many came to ſee the Image how it was defaced. And among all other, came one William Simons a Lawyer, who ſeeing the image ſo berated, and to lack her noſe, tooke the matter grieuouſly, and looking downe vpon the pauement, he ſpied the Images noſe where it lay, which he tooke vp and put in his purſe, ſaying it ſhould be a deare noſe to Teſtwood one day.

Idolatrie in an Image of a white Lady made of Alablaſter in Windſor.

Teſtwood defaceth the Image.

W. Simons a perſecutor.

Now were many offended with Teſtwood, the canons for ſpeaking againſt their profit, the Marſellers for hindering their market, and Simons for the Images noſe. And more then that, there were of the Canons men that threatned to kill him. Whereupon Teſtwood kept his houſe, and durſt not come forth, minding to ſend the whole matter in writing by his wife, to Maſter Cromwell the Kings Secretarie, who was his ſpeciall friend. The Canons hearing that Teſtwood would ſend to Cromwel, they ſent the Verger vnto him, to will him to come to the Church; who ſent them word again that he was in feare of his life, and therefore would not come. Then ſent they two of the eldeſt Petie Canons to entreat him, and to aſſure him that no man ſhould do him harme. He made them a plain anſwer, That he had no ſuch truſt in their promiſes, but would complain to his friends. Then will they not what ſhift to make, for of all men they feared Cromwell, but ſent in poſt haſte for old Maſter Ward, a Iuſtice of peace dwelling three or foure miles off, who being come, and hearing the matter was very loath to meddle in it. But notwithſtanding through their entreatie he went to Teſtwood, and had much ado to perſwade him, but at the laſt he did ſo faithfully promiſe him, by the oath he had made to God and the King, to defend him from all danger and harmes, that Teſtwood was content to goe with him.

The Papiſts of Windſor afraid of Cromwell.

The Canons of Windſor glad to fall in againe with Teſtwood

And when Maſter Ward and Teſtwood were come into the Church, and were going toward the Chapter houſe, where the Canons abode their coming, one of the Canons men drew his dagger at Teſtwood, and would haue been vpon him, but maſter Ward with his man reſiſted, and got Teſtwood into the Chapter houſe, cauſing the Seruingmen to be called in, and ſharply rebuked of their Maſters, who ſtrictly commanded them vpon pain of loſing their ſeruice, and further diſpleaſure, not to touch him, nor to giue him an euill word. Now Teſtwood, being alone in the Chapter houſe with the Canons and Maſter Ward, was gently entreated, and the matter ſo pacified, that Teſtwood might quietly come and goe to the Church, and doe his dutie as he had done before.

Teſtwood in danger of his life.

Another case of Testwoods trouble.

Another cause of Testwoods trouble.

Vpon, a Relique sunday (as they named it) when every Minister after their old custome should have borne a relique in his hand about a procession, one was brought to Testwood. Which relique, as they said, was a Rotchet of Bishop Beckets. And as the Sexton would have put the Rotchet in Testwoods hands, he pushed it from him, saying, if he did give it to him, he would wipe his taile withall, & so the Rotchet was given to another. Then came the verger down from the high altar with S. Georges dagger in his hand, demanding who lacked a relique. Mary quoth Testwood, give it to M. Yake who stood next him, for he is a pretty man of his hands, and so the dagger was given unto him. Now Testwood perceiving the dagger in maister Yakes hand, & being merrily disposed (as he was a merry conceited man) stepped forth out of his place to M. Clifton standing directly before him in the midst of the quire, with a glorious golden cope upon his back, having the Pix in his hand, and said, Sir, M. Yake hath Saint Georges Dagger. Now if he had his horse, and Saint Martins Cloake, and maister John Shorns bootes, with K. Henries spurs, and his hat, he might ride when he would, and so stepped into his place againe. Whereat the other changed colour, and wist not what to say.

Tho. Beckets Rotchet made a Relique.

St. Georges dagger made a Relique.

Another cause of Testwoods trouble.

M. Franklen Dean of Windsor.

Blasphemy and Idolatrie to our Lady.

IN the daies of Maister Franklen, who succeeded Doctor Sampson in the Deanry of Windsor, there was on a time set up at the quire dore a certaine foolish printed paper in meeter, all to the praise and commendation of our Lady, ascribing unto her our justification, our salvation, our redemption, the forgivenesse of sinnes, &c. to the great derogation of Christ. Which paper, one of the Canons called Maister Magnus (as it was reported) caused to be set up in despite of Testwood and his sect. When Testwood saw this paper, he pluckt it down secretly. The next day after was another set up in the same place. Then Testwood coming into the Church and seeing another paper set up, and also the Deane coming a little way off, made haste to be at the quier dore, while the Deane staid to take holy water, and reaching up his hand as he went, pluckt away the paper with him. The Dean, being come to his stall, called Testwood unto him, and said, that he marvelled greatly how he durst be so bold to take downe the paper in his presence: Testwood answered again, that he marvelled much more, that his maistership would suffer such a blasphemous paper to be set up, beseeching him not to be offended with that he had done, for he would stand unto it. So M. Dean being a timorous man made no more adoe with him. After this were no more papers set up, but more Testwood was eaten and drunken amongst them at every meale, and an heretike he was, and would rost a fagot for this geare one day.

Testwood taketh downe the blasphemous paper.

M. Magnus magnus idolatra.

Now Maister Magnus being sore offended with Testwood for plucking down his papers, to be revenged on him, devised with the Dean and the rest of the Canons, to send their letters to M. Chamber, one of their brethren, & the Kings Physician, who lay, for the most part, at the Court, to see what he would doe against Testwood. Which letters being made, were sent with speed. But whatsoever the cause was, whether he durst not meddle for feare of Cromwell, or what else I cannot tell, their suite came to none effect. Then wist they not what to do, but determined to let the matter sleepe, till Saint Georges feast, which was not farre off.

Conspiracy of the priests of Windsor against Testwood.

Now in the meane time there chanced a pretty story, betweene one Robert Philips Gentleman of the Kings Chappell, & Testwood. Which Storie, though it was but a merry pranke of a singing man, yet it grieved his adversary wonderfully. The matter was this. Robert Philips was so notable a singing man (wherein he gloried) that whersoever he came, the best and longest song, with most counterverses in it, should be set up at his coming. And so his chance being now to be at Windsor, against his coming to the Antheme, a long song was set up, called Lauda vivi. In which song there was one counterverse toward the end, that began on this wise, O redemptrix & salvatrix: Which verse of all other, Robert Philips would sing, because he knew that Testwood could not abide that dittie. Now Testwood knowing his minde well enough, joyned with him on the other part: and when he heard Robert Philips begin to fetch his flourish with O redemptrix & salvatrix, repeating the same one in anothers neck, Testwood was as quick on the other side to answer him againe with Non redemptrix, nec salvatrix, and so striving there with O and Non, who should have the maistrie, they made an end of the verse. Whereat was good laughing in sleeves of some, but Robert Philips with other of Testwoods enemies were sore offended.

A blasphemous Antheme, called the Virgin Mary our advocate and redeemer.

A merry contention between Robert Philips of the Kings Chappel & Testwood about O Redemptrix, & redemptrix.

Within fourteene dayes after this, the Lords of the Garter (as their custome is yerely to do) came to Windsor to keepe Saint Georges feast, at which feast the Duke of Norfolke was president: unto whom the Deane and Canons made a grievous complaint on Testwood. Who being called before the Duke, he took him up and all to reviled him, as though he would have sent him to hanging by and by. Yet nevertheless Testwood so behaved himselfe to the Duke, that in the end he let him go without any further molesting of him, to the great discomfort of the Deane and Canons.

Testwood complaine to the old Duke of Norfolk.

Here you have heard the causes which have moved Testwoods enemies to seeke his destruction, and could not attaine their purpose, til that wicked Aman D. London came, as shall be shewed in the processe following.

The originall of Henrie Filmers trouble.

Filmers trouble begun.

ABout the yeare of our Lord, 1541. after all the orders of superstitions & begging Friers were suppressed & put down, there chanced one Syr Tho. Welker, which had been a Frier before, and changed his Friers coat (but not his Friers heart to be Vicar of Windsor. This priest on a time made a Sermon to his Parishioners, in the which he declared so many fond and Frierish tales, as that our Lady should hold out her brests to Saint Bernard, and spout her milke into his eyes, with such like festival tales, that many honest men were offended therewith, and especially this Yemie Filmer then one of the Church Wardens: who was so zealous to Gods word, that he could not abide to heare the glory of Christ so defaced with superstitious fables. Whereupon he took an honest man or two with him & went to the priest, with whom he talked so honestly and so charitably, that in the end the priest gave him hearty thanks, & was content at his gentle admonition to reforme himselfe without any more ado, & so departed friendly the one from the other.

Frier Welker Vicar of Windsor.

Our Lady spouting milke in St. Bernards eyes.

Now there was one in the town, called William Simons a Lawyer (as is aforesaid) who hearing that Filmer had beene with the priest, and reproved him for his Sermon, took pepper in the nose and got him to the Vicar, and did so animate him in his doings, that he slipped quite away from the promise he had made to Filmer, and followed the mind of Simons: who meeting with Filmer afterward, all to reviled him, saying, he would bring him before the Bishop, to teach him to be so malapert,

Simons the Lawyer a Filmer.

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part. Then Filmer hearing the matter renewed, which he had thought had been suppressed, stood against Simons, and said, that the Vicar had preached false and unsound doctrine, and so would he say to the Bishop whensoever he came before him. Then Simons slipt not the matter, but went to the Maior, and procured of him and his brethren a letter, signified with their owne hands in the Priests favor, as much as could be devised, and so departed himselfe with other his friends to go to the Bishop (whose name was Doctor Capon) and to take the Priest with them; which was a painfull journey for the silly poore man, by reason he had a sore legge.

Now Filmer, hearing how Simons went about to put him to a foyle, consulted with his friends what was best to doe; who concluded to draw out certaine notes of the Vicars Sermon, and to prepare themselves to be at Salsbury as soone as Simons or before him, if it might be possible. Thus both the parties being in a readinesse, it chanced them to set forth of Windsor all in one day. But by reason the Priest, being an impotent man could not indure to ride very fast, Filmer and his companie got to the town an hower and more before Simons, went to the Bishop and delivered up their bill unto him; which bill when the Bishop had seen and perused well, he gave them great thankes for their pains, saying, it did behove him to looke upon it, for the Priest had preached heresie, and should be punished.

Then Filmer declared unto the bishop the forme of his talke he had with the priest, & the end thereof; and how the matter, being renued againe by Simons, forced him and his company to trouble his Lordship therewith. Well, said the bishop, ye have done like honest men. Come to me soone againe, and ye shall know more, and so they departed from the bishop to their Inne. And while they were there reposing themselves, Simons with his company came to the towne, and (not knowing the other to be come) got them up to the Bishop in all post-hast, taking the priest with them.

The bishop, hearing of more Windsor men, demanded what they were, and being informed how it was the Vicar of the towne with other moe, he caused the Vicar to be brought in. To whom he said, are you the Vicar of Windsor? yea forsooth, my Lord, quoth he. How chanceth it quoth the Bishop that you are complained on? for there have beene with me certaine honest men of your towne, which have delivered up a bil of erroneous doctrine against you. If it be so, I must needs punish you, and opening the bill he read it unto him. How say you, quoth the bishop, is this true or no? The Vicar could not deny it, but humbly submitted himselfe to the bishops correction. Then was his company called in, and when the Bishop saw Simons he knew him well, and said, Wherefore come ye maister Simons? Pleaseth it your Lordship, quoth he, we are come to speak in our Vicars cause, which is a man of good conversation and honestly, and doth his dutie so well in every point, that no man can finde fault with him, except a lewd fellow we have in our town called Filmer, which is so corrupt with heresie, that he is able to poison a whole countrey: and truly my L. quoth Simons, there is no man that can preach or teach any thing that is good and godly, but he is ready to controll it, and to say it is starke naught. Wherefore we shall beseech you Lordship he may be punished, to the ensample of others, that our Vicar may do his duty quietly, as he hath done before this busie fellow troubled him. And that your Lordship shall the better credit my sayings, I have brought with me these honest men of the towne, and beside all that, a testimoniall from the Maior and his brethren to confirme the same, and so he held out the writing in his hand.

Then said the Bishop, so God helpe me Maister Simons, ye are greatly to blame, and most worthy to be punished of all men, that will so impudently go about to maintaine your Priest in his error, which hath preached heresie and hath confessed it; wherefore I may not nor will not see it unpunished. And as for that honest man Filmer on whom ye have complained, I tell you plainly he hath in this point shewed himselfe a great deale more honester man then you. But in hope you will no more beare out your Vicar in his evill doings, I will remit all things at this time, saving that he shall the next Sunday recant his Sermon openly before all his parishioners in Windsor Church; and so the Bishop called in Filmer & his company which waited without, and delivered the Priests recantation unto them; with a great charge to see it truely observed in all points. Then Simons took his leave of the Bishop and departed with a flea in his eare, disappointed of his purpose, and sore ashamed of the foyle. For this cause Simons could never brooke Filmer, but when he met him at any time after, would hold up his finger (as his manner was where he ought displeasure) and say, I will be even with you one day, trust me.

B. Capons answer to Simons.

Frier Wolsier causes to recant his sermon.

The grudge of Simons against Filmer.

The Originall of Anthony Persons trouble.

THere was a certaine Priest named Anthonie Person, which frequented much to Windsor, about the yeere of our Lord, 1540. and using the talent that God had given him in preaching, was greatly esteemed among the people, who flocked so much to his Sermons which he made both in the town and countrey, that the great priests of the castle, with other papists in the towne, specially Simons, were sore offended: insomuch that Simons at the last began to gather of his sermons, and to marke his auditors; whereof ensued the death of divers, and trouble of many honest men. For about a yeere and more after, a minister of Satan called Doctor London, warden of the new Colledge in Oxford, was admitted one of the Prebendaries of Windsor, who, at his first coming to Windsor, began to utter his stomack and to shew his affection. For at his first residence dinner which he made to the Clerks (which company for the most part at that time favored the Gospel) all his whole talk to two Gentlemen strangers at his board (till the table was taking up) was nothing else but of heretikes, and what a desolation they would bring the realm unto, if they might be so suffered. And by Saint Mary matters (quoth he to the Clerkes at last) I cannot tell, but there goeth a shrewd report abroad of this house. Some made answer, it was undeserved. I pray God it be, quoth he. I am but a stranger and have but small experience amongst you; but I have heard it said before I came hither, that there be some in this house, that will neither have prayer nor fasting.

The Vicar of Windsor troubled of the Bishop.

W. Simons persecutor of Anth. Person and of many other.

D. London warden of new Colledge in Oxford a minister of Satan.

D. Londons words to the Clerkes of Windsor.

Then spake Tellwood, By my troth sir, quoth he, I think that was spoken of malice: for prayer as your maistership knoweth better then I, is one of the first lessons that Christ taught us. Yea marie sir, quoth he, but the heretikes will have no invocation to Saints, which all the old fathers doe allow. What the old fathers doe allow, quoth Tellwood, I cannot tell; but Christ doth appoint us to go to his father, & to ask our petitions of him in Christs name. Then you will have no meane between you and God, quoth Doctor London: yes sir, quoth Tellwood, our meane is Christ, as Saint Paul saith, There is one Mediator between God and man, even Iesus Christ. Give us water, quoth Doctor London. Which being set on the bord, he said Grace and washed, and so falling into other communication with the strangers, the Clerkes took their leave and departed.

Tellwood answereth for the Clerkes.

Gospellers falsly slandered of the papists.

When Doctor London had been at Windsor a while among his catholike brethren, & learned what Testwood was, and also of Simons (who shewed him our Ladies nose, as he called it) what a sort of heretikes were in the town & about the same, and how they increased daily by reason of a naughtie priest called Anth. Person, he was so maliciously bent against them, that he gave himselfe wholly to the devill to do mischiefe. And to bring his wicked purpose about, he conspired with the foresaid Simons, a meet Clerke to serve such a Curate, and other of like sort, how they might compasse the matter, first to have all the arch heretikes as they termed them, in Windsor & thereabout, indicted of heresie, and so to proceed further. They had a good ground to work upon, as they thought, which was the six articles, whereupon they began to build and practise thus. First they drew out certain notes of Anthony Persons sermons, which he had preached against the sacrament of the Altar, and their popish Masse. That done, they put in sir William Hobby with the good Lady his wife, Sir Tho. Cardine, Master Edmond Harman, M. Thomas Weldon, with Snowbal and his wife, as chiefe aiders, helpers, and maintainers of Anth. Person. And also they noted D. Hains, Dean of Exceter, & a prebendary of Windsor, to be a common receiver of all suspected persons. They wrote also the names of all such as commonly haunted Ant. Persons sermons, and of all such as had the Testament, and favoured the Gospel, or did but smell thereof.

D. London a malicious persecutor.

D. London and M. Simons inflamed with malice against the good men of Windsor.

Sir Philip Hobby and his wife.

Sir Thomas Cardine, and his wife.

M. Edmond Harman.

M. Thomas Weldone.

Snowball and his wife.

D. Haines Deane of Exceter.

Then had they privie spies to walke up and downe the Church, to hearken and heare what men said, and to marke who did not reverence the sacrament, at the elevation time, and to bring his name to Doctor London. And of these spies some were Chantry priests, among the which there was one notable spie, whose name was called sir William Bows, such a fleering priest as wold be in every corner of the church pattering to himselfe, with his portuise in his hand, to heare and to note the gesture of men towards the sacrament. Thus when they had gathered as much as they could, and made a perfect book thereof, Doctor London with two of his catholike brethren moe, gave them up to the B. of Winchester, Ste. Gardiner, with a great complaint against the heretikes that were in Windsor, declaring unto him how the towne was sore disquieted through their doctrine and evill example. Wherefore they besought his Lordships helpe, in purging the town & castle of such wicked persons. The bishop hearing their complaint, & seeing their booke, praised their doings, and bade them make friends and go forward, and they should not lacke his helpe. Then they applied the matter with teeth and naile, sparing for no money nor pains taking, as Marbeck saith that he himselfe heard one of them say, who is a greater doer herein, and afterward sory for that he had done, that the sute thereof cost him that yeere, for his part onely, an hundred markes, beside the death of three good Geldings.

Willi. Bowes priest, Doctor Londons spie.

D. Londons complaint to Ste. Gardiner.

Ste. Gardiner a persecutor.

What cost the Papists can be at, to trouble their even Christian.

Now Bishop Gardiner, which had conceived a further fetch in his brain then Doctor London had, made Wrisley and other of the Counsell on his side, and spying a time convenient went to the King, complaining what a sort of heretikes his grace had in his realm, & how they were not onely crept into every corner of his Court, but even into his privy chamber, beseeching therefore his majesty that his lawes might be prosecuted: the King, giving credit to the councels words, was content his laws should be executed on such as were offenders. Then had the bishop that he desired, and forthwith procured a commission for a privie search to be had in Windsor for books and letters that Anth. Person should send abroad, which commission the king granted to take place in the town of Windsor, but not in the castle.

Winch. and Wrisley complaine to the King of the Gospellers.

Win. procures a privie search in Windsor.

At this time the Canons of Exceter (specially Southan, treasurer of the church, and Doct. Bure-wood the Chancellour) had accused Doctor Haynes their deane to the Councel, for preaching against holy bread, and holy water, and that he should say in one of his sermons (having occasion to speak of matrimony) that marriage & hanging were destinie; upon the which they gathered treason against him, because of the kings marriage. The Bish. of Winchester (at the same time) had also informed the Councell of Master Hobby, how he was a bearer of Anthony Person, and a great maintainer of Heretikes. Whereupon both he and Doct. Haines were apprehended and sent to the Fleet. But it was not very long after, ere that by the mediation of friends they were both delivered.

D. Haynes Deane of Exceter accused to the Councell.

M. Hobby and Haines sent to the Fleet.

Now, as touching the commission for searching for books, M. Ward and Fachel of Reading were appointed Commissioners, who came to Windsor the Thursday before Palme Sunday, in the yeere of our Lord, 1543. and began their search about vj. of the clock at night. In the which search were apprehended Robert Benet, Henry Filmer, John Warbeck and Robert Testwood, for certain books and writings found in their houses against the six Articles, and kept in ward till munday after, and then fetcht up to the Councell, all save Testwood, with whom the Baylifs of the town were charged, because he lay sore diseased of the gout. The other three, being examined before the Councell, were committed to prison, Filmer and Benet to the bishop of Londons Goale, and Warbeck to the Marshalse; whose examination is here set out, to declare the great goodnesse of the Councell, and the crueltie of the bishop.

The secret search begunneth. Benet, Filmer, Testwood & Warbeck, apprehended for books against the six Articles.

The first examination of Iohn Marbeck, before the Councell, on the Munday after Palme Sunday, 1544.

THis Warbeck had begun a great work in English called The Concordance of the Bible. Which book, being not halfe finished, was among his other books taken in the search, and had up to the Councell. And when he came before them to be examined, the whole work lay before the bishop of Winchester Ste. Gardiner, at the upper end of the board. Who beholding the poore man awhile, said, Warbeck, doest thou know wherefore thou art sent for? No my Lord, quoth he. No, quoth the bishop? that is a marvellous thing. Forsooth my L. quoth he, unlesse it be for a certain search made of late in Winsor, I cannot tell wherefore it should be. Then thou knowest the matter well enough, quoth the bishop, and taking up a quire of the Concordance in his hand, said, understandest thou the Latine Tongue? No, my L. quoth he, but simply. No, quoth the B. And with that spake M. Wrisley (then secretarie to the king) he saith but simply. I cannot tell, quoth the bishop, but the booke is translated word for word out of the latin Concordance, and so began to declare to the rest of the Councell the nature of a Concordance, and how it was first compiled in latin by the great diligence of the learned men for the ease of preachers, concluding with this reason, that if such a book should go forth in English, it would destroy the Latin tongue. And so calling down the quire again, he reached another book, which was the book of Esay the Prophet, and turning to the last chap. gave the book to Marb. and asked him who had written the note in the margent. The other looking upon it, said, forsooth my L. I wrote it. Read it, quoth the B. Then he read it thus, Heaven is my seat, and the earth is my foot-stoole. Nay, quoth the B. read it as thou hast written it. Then shall I read it wrong, quoth he, for I had written it false. How hadst thou written it, quoth the B. I had written it, quoth he, thus; Heaven is my seat, and the earth is not my footstoole. Yea mary,

The first examination of Warbeck.

The Concordance of the Bible in English by Warbeck.

Wrisley, secretarie to the K. and after Lord Chancellor.

Winch. readeth the Concordance in English would destroy the Latin tongue.

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mary, quoth the bishop, that was thy meaning. No, my L. (quoth he) it was but an ouerslight in writting; for, (as your Lordship saeth) this word (Not) is blotted out. At this time came other matters in to the Councell, so that Marbeck was had out to the next chamber. And when he had stood there a while, one of the Councell, named sir Anthonie Wingfield, Captain of the Guard, came forth, and calling for Marbeck, committed him to one Welson of the Guard, saying unto him on this wise; Take this man and have him to the Marshalsee, and tell the Keeper that it is the Councels pleasure that he shall intreat him gently, and if he have any money in his purse, as I think he hath not much, take you it from him, lest the prisoners do take it, and minister it unto him as he shall have need. And so the messenger departed with Marbeck to the Marshalsee, and did his Commission both faithfully and truly, both to the Keeper and to the prisoner, as he was commanded.

Marbeck sent to the Marshalsee.

The second examination of Marbeck, before the Bishops Gentleman in the Marshalsey.

The second examination of Marbeck.

ON the next day, which was Tuesday, by eight of the Clock in the morning, there came one of the Bishop of Winchesters Gentlemen into the Marshalsey, whose man brought after him two great bookes under his arme, and finding Marbeck walking up and downe in the Chappell, demanded of the Keeper why he was not in irons. I had no such commandement, quoth he, for the messenger which brought him yesternight from the Councell, said, It was their pleasure he should be gently used. My Lord (quoth the Gentleman) will not be content with you; and so taking the books of his man, he called for a Chamber, up to the which he carried the prisoner, & calling the bookes from him upon a bed, sate him downe and said, Marbeck, My Lord doth favor thee well for certain good qualities that thou hast, and hath sent me hither to admonish thee to beware and take heed lest thou cast away thy selfe wilfully. If thou wilt be plaine, thou shalt doe thy selfe much good; if not, thou shalt do thy selfe much harme. I assure thee, my Lord lamenteth thy case, for as much as he hath alwaies heard good report of thee; wherefore now see to thy selfe, and play the wise man. Thou art acquainted with a great sort of heretikes, as Hobby and Haines, with other moe, and knowest much of their secrets; if thou wilt now open them at my Lords request, he will procure thy deliverance out of hand, and preferre thee to better living.

Like between Winchesters Gentleman and Marbeck in prison.

The name of the Gentleman is master Hobby.

Alas sir, quoth he, what secrets do I know? I am but a poore man, and was never worthy to be so conversant either with master Hobby or Master Haines, to know any part of their mindes. Well (quoth the Gentleman) make it not so strange, for my Lord doth know well enough in what estimation they had both thee and Anthonie Person, for your religion. Of Anthonie Person, quoth he, I can say nothing, for I never saw him with them in all my life. And as for my selfe, I cannot deny but that they have alwaies, I thank them, taken me for an honest poore man, and shewed me much kindnesse; but as for their secrets, they were too wise to commit them to any such as I am.

Marbeck cannot perswade to detect any.

Peradventure (quoth the Gentleman) thou fearest to utter any thing of them because they were thy friends, lest they hearing thereof might hereafter withdraw their friendship from thee: which thou needest not to feare, I warrant thee, for they are sure enough, and never like to pleasure thee more, nor any man else.

With that the water stood in Marbecks eyes. Why weepest thou, quoth the Gentleman? Oh sir, quoth he, I pray you pardon me; these men have done me good, wherefore I beseech the living God to comfort them as I would be comforted my selfe.

Well (quoth the Gentleman) I perceive thou wilt play the fole; and then he opened one of the bookes, and asked him if he understood any Latine. But a little, sir, quoth he. How is it then (quoth the Gentleman) that thou hast translated thy book out of the Latine Concordance, and yet understandest not the Tongue? I will tell you (quoth he) In my youth I learned the principles of my Grammar, whereby I have some understanding therein, though it be very small. Then the Gentleman began to trie him in the Latine Concordance and English Bible which he had brought: and when he had so done, and was satisfied, he called up his man to fetch away the bookes, and so departed, leaving Marbeck alone in the Chamber, the doore fast shut unto him.

About two houres after the Gentleman came againe, with a sheete of paper folded in his hand, and set him downe upon the beds side, (as before) and said; by my troth Marbeck, my Lord saeth so much wilfulnesse in thee, that he saith it is pitie to do thee good. When walk thou last with Haines? Forsooth, quoth he, about 3. weekes ago, I was at dinner with him. And what talk, quoth the Gentleman, had he at his board? I cannot tell now, quoth he. No, quoth the Gentleman, thou art not so dull witted, to forget a thing in so short a space. Yes sir, quoth he, such familiar talke as men do use at their boards, is most commonly by the next day forgotten, and so it was with me. Dost thou never, quoth the Gentleman, talke with him, nor with any of thy fellows of the masse, or of the blessed sacrament? no, forsooth, quoth he. Now forsooth, quoth the gentleman, thou lest; for thou hast been seen to walk with Tellwood, and other of thy fellowes, an houre together in the Church, when honest men have walked up and downe beside you, and ever as they have drawne neere you, ye have staied your talke till they have been past you, because they should not heare whereof you talked. I deny not, quoth he, but I have talked with Tellwood and other of my fellows, I cannot tell how oft, which maketh not that we talked either of the masse, or of the Sacrament: for men may commune and talke of many matters, that they would not that every Man should heare, and yet farre from any such thing; therefore it is good to judge the best. Well, quoth the Gentleman, thou must be plainer with my Lord then this, or else it will be wrong with thee, and that sooner then thou wenest. How plaine will his Lordship have me to be sir, quoth he? There is nothing that I can do and say with a safe conscience, but I am ready to do it at his Lordships pleasure. What tellest thou me, quoth the Gentleman, of thy conscience? Thou maist with a safe conscience utter those that be heretikes, and so doing, thou canst do God and the King no greater service. If I knew sir, quoth he, who were an heretike indeed, it were a thing; but if I should accuse him to be an heretike that is none, what a worme would that be in my conscience so long as I lived? yea it were a great deale better for me to be out of this life, then to live in such torment. In faith, quoth the gentleman, thou knowest as well who be heretikes of thy fellowes at home, and who be none, as I doe know this paper to be in my hand; but it maketh no matter, for they shall all be sent for and examined: and thinkest thou that they will not utter and tell of thee all that they can? Yes I warrant thee. And what a foolish dolt art thou, that wilt not utter aforehand what they be, seeing it standeth upon thy deliberance to tell the truth? Whatsoever quoth he, they shall say of me, let them doe it in the name of God, for I will say no more of them, nor of any man else, then I know.

Another talke betweene Winchesters Gentleman and Marbeck. How Winchester hunteth for D. Haynes.

Conscience little passed of among these papists.

Marke here the wiles of Winchester.

Marie, quoth the Gentleman, if thou wilt do ſo, my Lord requireth no more. And forasmuch as now peradventure thy wits are troubled, ſo that thou canſt not call things even by and by to remembrance, I have brought thee inke and paper, that thou maieſt excogitate with thy ſelf, and write ſuch things as ſhall come to thy minde. O Lord, quoth Marbeck, what will my Lord do? Will his Lordſhip compell me to accuſe men I wot not whereof? No, quoth the gentleman, my Lord compelleth thee not, but gently intreateth thee to ſay the truth; therefore make no more ado, but write, for my Lord will have it ſo, and ſo laid down the ink and paper, and went his way.

Marbeck urged to accuſe his brethren.

Marbeck brought to great diſtreſſe.

Now was Marbeck ſo full of heavineſſe and woe, that he will not what to doe, nor how to ſet the pen to the booke to ſatisfie the biſhops mind, unleſſe he did accuſe men to the wounding of his own ſoule. And thus being compaſſed about with nothing but ſorrow and care, he cried out to God in his heart, falling downe with weeping teares and ſaid,

Marbecks prayer to God.

O moſt mercifull Father of Heaven, thou that knoweſt the ſecret doings of all men, have mercy upon thy poore priſoner which is deſtitute of all help and comfort. Aſſiſt me, O Lord, with thy ſpeciall grace, that to ſave this fraile and vile body, which ſhall turne to corruption at his time, I have no power to ſay or to write any thing that may be to the caſting away of my Chriſtian brother; but rather O Lord, let this vile fleſh ſuffer at thy will and pleaſure; grant this, O moſt mercifull Father, for thy deare Son Ieſus Chriſts ſake.

Marbecks words written in Winchesters paper.

Then he roſe up and began to ſearch his conſcience what he might write, and at laſt framed out theſe words: Whereas your Lordſhip will have me to write ſuch things as I know of my fellowes at home; pleaſeth it your Lordſhip to underſtand, that I cannot call to remembrance any manner of thing whereby I might juſtly accuſe any one of them, unleſſe it be that the reading of the new Teſtament, which is common to all men, be an offence; more then this I know not.

Winchesters Gentleman returneth the third time to Marbeck.

Now the Gentleman, about his houre appointed, came againe, and found Marbeck walking up and down the chamber. How now, quoth he, haſt thou written nothing? Yes ſir, quoth he, as much as I know. Well ſaid, quoth the Gentleman, and tooke up the paper. Which when he had read, he caſt it from him in a great fume, ſwearing by our Ladies body, that he would not for twenty pound carry it to his Lord and Maſter. Therefore, quoth he, go to it againe, and adviſe thy ſelfe better, or elſe thou wilt ſet my Lord againſt thee, and then art thou utterly undone.

Well ſworne and like a right papiſt.

By my troth ſir, quoth Marbeck, if his Lordſhip ſhall keep me here theſe ſeven yeares, I can ſay no more then I have ſaid. Then wilt thou repent it, quoth the gentleman, and ſo putting up his penner, and inkhorne, departed with the paper in his hand.

The third examination of Marbeck before the Biſhop of Wincheſter himſelfe in his owne houſe.

The third examination of Marbeck.

THe next day which was wedneſday, by eight of the clocke in the morning, the Biſhop ſent for Marbeck to his houſe at Saint Marie Overies, and as he was entring into the Biſhops Hall, he ſaw the biſhop himſelfe coming out at a doore in the upper end therof, with a roll in his hand, and going toward the great window, he called the poore man unto him and ſaid, Marbeck wilt thou caſt away thy ſelfe? No my Lord, quoth he, I truſt. Yes, quoth the Biſhop, thou goeſt about it, for thou wilt utter nothing. What a Devill made thee to meddle with the Scriptures? Thy vocation was another way, wherein thou haſt a goodly gift, if thou diddeſt eſteeme it. Yes my Lord, quoth he, I do eſteeme it, and have done my part therein, according to that little knowledge that God hath given me. And why the devil, quoth the Biſhop, diddeſt thou not hold thee there? And with that he flang away from the window out of the hall, the poore man following him from place to place, till he had brought him into a long gallerie, and being there the biſhop began on this wiſe: Ah ſirha, quoth he, the neſt of you is broken I trow. And unfolding his roll (which was about at elle long) he ſaid, Behold, here be your captaines both Hobby and Haynes, with all the whole pack of thy ſect about Windſor, and yet wilt thou utter none of them. Alas my Lord, quoth he, how ſhould I accuſe them, by whom I know nothing? Well, quoth the biſhop, if thou wilt néds caſt away thy ſelfe, who can let thee? what helpers haddeſt thou in ſetting forth thy booke? Forſooth my Lord, quoth he, none. None, quoth the Biſhop, how can that be? It is not poſſible that thou ſhouldeſt do it without helpe. Truely my Lord, quoth he, I cannot tell in what part your Lordſhip doth take it, but howſoever it be, I will not deny but I did it without the help of any man ſave God alone. Nay, quoth the biſhop, I do not diſcommend thy diligence, but what ſhouldeſt thou meddle with that thing which pertaineth not to thee?

Christ ſaith, Scrutamini Scripturas: and Winchester ſaith the devill makes men to meddle with the Scriptures.

Marbeck charged for ſetting forth the Concordance.

And in ſpeaking of theſe words one of his Chapleins (called Maſter Medow) came up and ſtayed himſelfe at a Window, to whom the Biſhop ſaid, here is a marvellous thing. This fellow hath taken upon him to ſet out the Concordance in Engliſh, which booke when it was ſet out in Latine was not done without the helpe and diligence of a dozen learned men at the leaſt, and yet will he beare me in hand that he hath done it alone. But ſay what thou wilt, quoth the Biſhop, except God himſelfe would come down from heaven and tell me ſo, I will not beléeve it. And ſo going forth to a window where two great bibles lay upon a cuſhion, the one in Latine, and the other in Engliſh, he called Marbeck unto him, and pointing his finger to a place in the Latine bible, ſaid, Canſt thou Engliſh this ſentence? Nay my Lord, quoth he, I trow I be not ſo cunning to give it a perfect Engliſh, but I can fetch out the Engliſh thereof in an Engliſh Bible. Lets ſée, quoth the biſhop. Then Marbeck turning the Engliſh bible, found out the place by & by, and read it to the biſhop. So he tried him three or foure times, till one of his men came up and told him the prieſt was ready to go to Maſſe.

W. Clawbac cometh again to Marbeck.

And as the Biſhop was going, ſaid the Gentleman which had examined Marbeck in the Marhalſey the day before; Shall this fellow write nothing while your Lordſhip is at Maſſe, for he paſſeth not of it? It maketh no matter, quoth the Biſhop, for he will tell nothing, and ſo went down to heare Maſſe, leaving Marbeck alone in the Gallerie. The Biſhop was no ſooner down, but the Gentleman came up againe with inke and paper. Come ſirha, quoth he, my Lord will have you occupied till Maſſe be done, perſwading him with faire words, that he ſhould ſoone be diſpatched out of trouble, if he would uſe truth and plainneſſe. Alas ſir, quoth he, what would my Lord have me to do? For more then I wrote to his Lordſhip yeſterday, I cannot. Well, well, go to, quoth the gentleman, & make ſpéed, and ſo went his way. There was no remedie but Marbeck muſt now write ſomething; wherefore he, calling to God again in his minde, wrote a few words as nigh as he could frame them, to thoſe he had written the day before. When the biſh. was come from Maſſe, and had looked on the writing, he pulht it from him, ſaying, what ſhall this do? It hath neither head nor foot. There is a marvellous ſect of them, quoth the Biſhop to his men, for the devill

Marbeck ſtayed again for his fellow

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bill cannot make one of them to betray another. Then was there nothing among the Bishops gentlemen, as they were making him ready to go to the Court, but Crucifige upon the poore man. And when the bishops white rochet was on him and all, Well Marbeck (quoth he) I am now going to the Court, and was purposed, if I had found thee tractable, to have spoken to the Kings Maiestie for thee, and to have given thee thy meat, drink, and lodging here in mine house; but seeing thou art so wilfull and so stubborn, thou shalt go to the devill for me.

Then was he carried down by the bishops men with many railing words. And coming through the great Chamber, there stood Doctor London, with two moe of his fellows, waiting the Bishops coming, and passing by them into the Hall, he was there received of his Keeper, and carried to prison again. It was not half an houre after, ere that the Bishop sent one of his Gentlemen to the under Keeper called Stokes, commanding him to put irons upon Marbeck, and to keep him fast shut in a chamber alone, and when he should bring him down to dinner or supper, to see that he spake to no man, and no man to him. And furthermore, that he should suffer no manner of person (not his own wife) to come and see him or minister any thing unto him. When the Porter (who was the cruellest man that might be to all such as were laid in for any matter of religion, and yet, as GOD would, favourable to this poore man) had received this commandement from the Bishop, he clapped irons upon him, and shut him up, giving warning to all the house, that no man should speak or talk to Marbeck, whensoever he was brought down, and so he continued the space of three weeks and more, till his wife was suffered to come unto him.

Marbeck brought again from Winchesters house to the Marshalsey.

I smell Porter the Marshall but yet good to Marbeck.

The sute of Marbecks wife to the Bishop of Winchester.

Marbecks wife lay to Winchester husband.

MArbecks wife at the time of her husbands apprehension had a young childe of a quarter old sucking upon her brest; and when her husband was taken from her, and had away to the Counsell, not knowing what should become of him, she left the childe and all, and gat her up to London, and hearing her husband to be in the Marshalsey, goeth thither. But when she came there, she could in no wise be suffered to see him, which greatly augmented her sorrow. Then, by counsell of friends, she gat her to the bishop of Winchester for other help was there none to be had at that time) making great sute to have his licence to go and see her husband, and to help him with such things as he lacked. Nay, quoth the Bishop, thy husband is acquainted with all the heretiques that be in the Realm, both on this side the sea and beyond, and yet will he utter none of them. Alas my Lord (quoth she) my husband was never beyond the seas, nor any great traveller in the realm to be so acquainted, and therefore good my Lord let me go see him. But all her earnest sute from day to day would not help, but still he put her off, harping alwayes upon this string, Thy husband will utter nothing. At the last, she finding him in the Court at Saint James, going toward his chamber, was so bold to take him by the Rochet and say, Oh my Lord, these eighteen dayes I have troubled your Lordship; now for the love of God, and as ever ye came of a woman, put me off no longer, but let me go to my husband. And as she was standing with the Bishop and his men, in a blinde corner going to his chamber, one of the Kings servants called Henry Carrike, and her nert neighbour, chanced to be by; and, hearing the talk betweén the Bishop and her, desired his Lordship to be good unto the poore woman, which had her own mother lying bedrid upon her hands, beside five or six children. I promise you (quoth the Bishop) her husband is a great heretique, and hath read more Scripture then any man in the Realm hath done. I cannot tell, my Lord (quoth Carrike) what he is inwardly, but outwardly he is as honest a quiet neighbour as ever I dwelt by. He will tell nothing, quoth the bishop; he knoweth a great sort of false harlots, and will not utter them. Yes my Lord, quoth Carrike, he will tell, I dare say, for he is an honest man. Well, quoth the Bishop (speaking to the wife) thou seemest to be an honest woman, and if thou love thy husband well, go to him, and give him good counsell, to utter such naughtie fellows as he knoweth, and I promise thee he shall have what I can do for him; for I do fancie him well for his art, wherein he hath pleased me as well as any man; and so, stepping into his chamber, he said she should have his Letter to the Keeper. But his minde being changed, he sent out his ring by his Gentleman, which Gentleman delivered the ring to his man, charging him with the bishops message. And so his man went with the woman to the water side, and took boat, who never ceased railing on her husband all the way, till they came to the prison; which was no small crosse to the poore woman.

Winchesters argument. He hath read much scripture: Ergo, he is an heretique.

Marbecks wife permitted at last to go to her husband.

And when they were come to the Marshalsey, the messenger shewed the Bishops ring to the Porter, saying, M. Stokes, my Lord willeth you by this token, that ye suffer this woman to have recourse to her husband; but he straitly chargeth you, that ye search her both coming and going, lest she bring or carrie any letters to or fro, and that she bring no bodie unto him, nor any word from any man. Gods blood quoth the Porter (who was a foule swearer) what will my Lord have me to do? Can I let her to bring word from any man? Either let her go to her husband, or let her not go; for I see nothing by him but an honest man. The poore woman, fearing to be repulsed, spake the Porter fair, saying, God master be content, for I have found my Lord a very good Lord unto me. This young man is but the Gentlemans servant which brought the ring from my Lord, and I think doth his message a great deal more straiter then my Lord commanded the Gentleman, or then the Gentleman his master commanded him: but nevertheless, good master (quoth she) I shall be contented to strip my self before you both coming and going, so far as an honest woman may do with honestie; for I do intend no such thing, but onely to comfort and help my husband. Then the messenger said no more, but went his way, leaving the woman there, who from that time forth was suffered to come and go at her pleasure.

Like master like man.

The part of a good wife and an honest matron.

The fourth examination of Marbeck, before the Commissioners in the Bishop of Londons house.

ABout three weeks before Whitsunday was Marbeck sent for to the Bishop of Londons house, where sat in Commission Doctor Capon Bishop of Salisbury, Doctor Skip Bishop of Hereford, Doctor Goodrick Bishop of Ely, Doctor Oking, Doctor May, and the Bishop of Londons Scribe, having before them all Marbecks books. Then said the Bishop of Salisburie, Marbeck, we are here in Commission, sent from the Kings Maiestie to examine thee of certain things whereof thou must be sworn to answer us faithfully and truly. I am content, my Lord, quoth he, to tell you the truth so farre as I can, and so took his Oath. Then the Bishop of Salisburie laid forth before him his three Books of notes, demanding whose hand they were. He answered they were

The fourth examination of Marbeck. Commissioners for the six Articles. D. Capon B. of Salisbury. D. Skip bishop of Hereford. D. Goodrick bishop of Ely. D. Oking. D. May.

Harry Carrike doth the part of a good neighbour.

were his own hand, and notes which he had gathered out of other mens workes, fifteene yeers ago. For what cauſe, quoth the Biſhop of Saliſburie, didſt thou gather them? For none other cauſe my Lord, but to come by knowledge. For I being unlearned and deſirous to underſtand ſome part of Scripture, thought by reading of learned mens workes to come the ſooner thereby: and whereas I found any place of Scripture opened and expounded by them, that I noted as ye ſee, with a letter of his name in the margent, that had ſet out the worke. So me think, quoth the biſhop of Ely, (who had one of the books of notes in his hand all the time of their ſitting) thou haſt read of all ſorts of books both good and bad, as ſeemeth by the notes. So I have my Lord, quoth he. And to what purpoſe, quoth the biſhop of Saliſburie? By my truth, quoth he, for no other purpoſe but to ſee every mans mind. Then the Biſhop of Saliſburie drew out a quire of the Concordance, and laid it before the Biſhop of Hereford, who looking upon it a while lifted up his eyes to Doctor Oking, ſtanding next him, and ſaid, This man hath been better occupied, then a great ſort of our prieſts. To the which he made no anſwer.

Then ſaid the Biſhop of Saliſburie, whoſe help hadſt thou in ſetting forth this booke? Truly my lord, quoth he, no help at all. How couldeſt thou, quoth the biſhop, invent ſuch a booke, or know what a Concordance meant, without an inſtructer? I will tell your lordſhip, quoth he, what inſtructer I had to begin it. When Thomas Matthews Bible came firſt out in print, I was much deſirous to have one of them: and being a poore man not able to buy one of them, determined with my ſelf to borrow one amongſt my friends, and to write it forth. And when I had written out the five books of Moſes in fair great paper, and was entred into the booke of Joſhua, my friend maiſter Turner chanced to ſteal upon me unawares, and ſeeing me writing out the Bible, aſked me what I meant thereby. And when I had told him the cauſe: Tuſh, quoth he, thou goeſt about a vain and tedious labour. But this were a profitable worke for thee, to ſet out a Concordance in Engliſh. A Concordance, ſaid I, what is that? Then he told me it was a booke to finde out any word in the whole Bible by the Letter, and that there was ſuch a one in Latine alreadie. Then I told him I had no learning to go about ſuch a thing. Enough, quoth he, for that matter, for it requireth not ſo much learning as diligence. And ſeeing thou art ſo painfull a man, and one that cannot be unoccupied, it were a good exerciſe for thee. And this my lord is all the inſtruction that ever I had before or after, of any man. What is that Turner, quoth the Biſhop of Saliſbury? Marie, quoth doctor May, an honeſt learned man, and a Batcheler of Divinitie, and ſometime a Fellow in Magdalen Colledge in Oxford. How couldeſt thou, quoth the Biſhop of Saliſburie, with this inſtruction bring it to this order and forme, as it is? I borrowed a Latin Concordance, quoth he, and began to practice my wit, and at laſt with great labour and diligence brought it into this order, as your Lordſhip doth ſee. A good wit with diligence, quoth the B. of Hereford, may bring hard things to paſſe. It is great pitie, quoth the biſhop of Elie, he had not the Latine tongue. So it is, quoth doctor Maie. Yet cannot I believe, quoth the biſhop of Saliſbury, that he hath done any more in this worke, then written it out after ſome other that is learned.

My Lords, quoth Marbeck, I ſhall beſeech you all to pardon me what I ſhall ſay, and grant to my requeſt if it ſhall ſeem good unto you. Say what thou wilt, quoth the biſhops, I do marvel greatly wherefore I ſhould be ſo much examined for this booke, and whether I have committed any offence in doing of it or no? If I have, then were I loth any other to be moleſted or puniſhed for my fault. Therefore to cleer all men in this matter, this is my requeſt, that ye will trie me in the reſt of the booke that is undone. Ye ſee that I am yet but at the letter L. beginning now at M. and take out what word ye will of that letter, and ſo in every letter following, and give me the words in a piece of paper, and ſet me in a place alone where it ſhall pleaſe you, with ink and paper, the Engliſh Bible, and the Latine Concordance: and if I bring you not theſe words written in the ſame order and forme that the reſt before is, then was it not I that did it, but ſome other.

By my truth Marbeck, quoth the biſhop of Elie, that is honeſtly ſpoken, and then ſhalt thou bring many out of ſuſpition. That he ſhall, quoth they all. Then they bade doctor Oking draw out ſuch words as he thought beſt in a piece of paper, and ſo roſe up; and in the mean time fell into other familiar talk with Marbeck (as the biſhop of Ely and Hereford were both acquainted with him afore, and his friends, ſo far as they durſt) who perceiving the biſhops ſo pleaſantly diſpoſed, beſought them to tell him in what danger he ſtood. Shall I tell thee Marbeck, quoth the biſhop of Sarum? Thou art in a better caſe then any of thy fellows, of whom there be ſome would give fourty pound to be in no worſe caſe then thou art, whoſe ſayings the other affirmed. Then came doctor Oking with the words he had written, and while the biſhops were peruſing them over, doctor Oking ſaid to Marbeck, verie friendly, on this wiſe: Good maiſter Marbeck make haſte, for the ſooner ye have done, the ſooner ye ſhall be delivered. And as the biſhops were going away, the biſhop of Hereford took Marbeck a little aſide, and informed him of a word which doctor Oking had written falſe, and alſo to comfort him, ſaid, Fear not, there can no law condemne you for any thing that ye have done, for if you had written a thouſand hereſies, ſo long as they be not your ſayings nor your opinions, the law cannot hurt you. And ſo went they all with the biſhop of Sarum to dinner, taking the poore man with them, who dined in the Hall at the Stewards board; and beſides that had wine and meat ſent down from the biſhops table.

When dinner was done, the Biſhop of Sarum came down into the Hall, commanding ink and paper to be given to Marbeck, and the two books to one of his men to go with him; at whoſe going he demanded of the Biſhop, what time his Lordſhip would appoint him to do it in? Againſt to morrow this time, quoth the Biſhop, which was about two of the clock, and ſo departed.

Marbeck, now being in his priſon chamber, fell to his buſineſſe, and ſo applied the thing, that by the next day when the Biſhop ſent for him again, he had written ſo much, in the ſame order and forme he had done the reſt before, as contained three ſheets of paper and more. The which when he had delivered to the biſhop of Sarum, doctor Oking ſtanding by, he marvelled and ſaid, Well Marbeck, thou haſt now put me out of all doubt. I aſſure thee, quoth he, (putting up the paper into his boſome) the King ſhall ſee this ere be 24. houres elder; but he diſſembled every word, and thought nothing leſſe then ſo. For afterward, the matter being come to light, and known to his Grace what a booke the poore man had begun, which the biſhops would not ſuffer him to finiſh; the King ſaid he was better occupied then they that took it from him. So Marbeck departed from the Biſhop of Sarum to priſon again, and heard no more of his booke.

The occaſion why Marbeck began the Concordance in Engliſh.

M. Richard Turner of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford, and after of Windſor, a godly learned man and a good Preacher: who in D. Maries time fled into Germanie and there died.

Marbecks words to the Biſhops.

A falſe diſſembling biſhop.

The fifth examination of Marbeck, before Doctor Oking and maſter Knight, Secretary to the Biſhop of Wincheſter in S. Marie Overies Church.

The fifth examination of Marbeck.

UPon Whitſonday following at afternoon, was Marbeck ſent for once again to ſaint Marie Overies,

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Dyerles, where he found Doctor Oking with an Other Gentleman in a gown of Damask, with a chain of gold about his neck (no moe in all the Church but they two) sitting together in one of the Stalls, their backs towards the Church doore, looking upon an Epistle of M. John Calvins, which Marbeck had written out; and when they saw the prisoner come, they rose and had him up to a side Altar, leaving his Keeper in the body of the Church alone. Now as soon as Marbeck saw the face of a Gentleman (which before he knew not by reason of his apparell) he saw it was the same person that first examined him in the Marshalsey, and did also cause him to write in the Bishops gallerie, but never knew his name, till now he heard Doctor Oking call him maister Knight. This maister Knight held forth the paper to Marbeck, and said, Look upon this, and tel me whose hand it is. When Marbeck had taken the paper and seen what it was, he confessed it to be all his hand, saving the first leafe and the notes in the margent. Then I perceive, quoth Knight, thou wilt not go from thine own hand. No sir, quoth he, I will deny nothing that I have done. Thou doest well in that, quoth Knight, for if thou shouldest, we have testimonies enough besides to try out thy hand by: but I pray thee tell me, whose hand is the first leafe? That I cannot tell you, quoth Marbeck. Then how camest thou by it, quoth Knight? Forsooth I will tell you, quoth he.

There was a Priest dwelling with us upon five or six yeers ago, called Marshal, who sent it unto me with the first leaf written, desiring me to write it out with speed, because the copy could not be spared past an houre or twain, and so I wrote it out, and sent him both the copy and it again.

And how came this hand in the margent, quoth he, which is a contrarie hand to both the other? That I will tell you, quoth Marbeck: When I wrote it out at the first, I made so much haste of it, that I understood not the matter, wherefore I was desirous to see it again, and to read it with more deliberation, and being sent to me the second time, it was thus quoted in the margent as ye see. And shortly after this it was his chance to go beyond the seas, (where he lived not long) by reason whereof the Epistle remaineth with me; but whether the first leaf, or the notes in the margent were his hand, or whose hand else, that I cannot tell. Tush, quoth Doctor Oking to maister Knight, he knoweth well enough that the notes be Peynes own hand. If you know so much, quoth Marbeck, ye know more then I do, for I tell you truly I know it not. By my faith Marbeck, quoth Knight, if thou wilt not tell by fair means, those fingers of thine shall be made to tell. By my truth sir, quoth Marbeck, if ye do teare the whole body in pieces (I trust in God) you shall never make me accuse any man wrongfully. If thou be so stubborn, quoth Doctor Oking, thou wilt die for it. Die, maister Oking, quoth he? Wherefore should I die? You told me the last day before the Bishops, That as soon as I had made an end of the piece of Concordance they took me, I should be delivered, and shall I now die? this is a sudden mutation. You seemed then to be my friend, but I know the cause, ye have read the ballad I made of Moses Chair, and that hath set you against me; but whensoever ye shall put me to death, I doubt not but I shall die Gods true man and the Kings. How so, quoth Knight? How canst thou die a true man unto the King, when thou hast offended his Laws? Is not this Epistle, and most of thy notes thou hast written, directly against the six Articles? No sir, quoth Marbeck, I have not offended the Kings Laws therein; for since the first time I began with the Concordance (which is almost six yeers ago) I have been occupied in nothing else. So that both this Epistle, and all the notes I have gathered, were written a great while before the six Articles came forth, and are clerely remitted by the Kings generall pardon. Trust not to that, quoth Knight, for it will not help thee. No I warrant him, quoth Doctor Oking; and so going down to the body of the Church, they committed him to his keeper, who had him away to prison again.

The Kings generall pardon claimed.

¶ The sute of Filmers wife to the Bishops which sat in commission, for her husband.

IN like manner the wife of Filmer, knowing her husbands trouble to be onely procured of malice by Simons his old enemie, made great sute and labour unto the Bishops which were commissioners, desiring no more of them, but that it would please their goodnesse to examine her husband before them, and to hear him make his purgation. This was her onely request to everie of the Bishops from day to day, wheresoever she could finde them. Insomuch that two of the Bishops (Ely and Hereford) were very sorie (considering the importune and reasonable sute of the woman) that it lay not in them to help her. Thus travelling long up and down from one to another, to have her husband examined, it was her chance at the last to finde the Bishops all three together in the Bishop of Ely his place: unto whom she said, O good my Lords, for the love of God, let now my poore husband be brought forth before you, while you be here all together. For truly my Lords, there can nothing be justly laid against him, but that of malicious envie and spite Simons hath wrought him this trouble. And you my Lord of Salisburie, quoth the poore woman, can testifie, (if it will please your Lordship to say the truth) what malice Simons bare to my husband when they were both before you at Salisburie (little more then a yeer ago) for the Vicar of Windsors matter. For as your Lordship knoweth, when my husband had certified you of the Priests sermon, which you said was plain heresie, then came Simons (after the Priest himself had confessed it) and would have defended the Priests error before your Lordship, and have had my husband punished. At what time it pleased your Lordship to commend and praise my husband for his honestie, and to rebuke Simons for maintaining the Priest in his error, and thereupon commanded the Priest to recant his heresie, at his coming home to Windsor. This (my Lord) you know to be true. And now my Lord, quoth the woman, it is most certain, that for this cause onely did Simons evermore afterward threaten my husband to be even with him. Therefore good my Lords, call my husband before you, and hear him speak; and if you finde any other matter against him then this that I have told you, let me suffer death. Is this so my Lord, quoth the Bishops of Ely and Hereford? And the other could not deny it. Then they spake Latine to the Bishop of Salisburie, and he to them, and so departed. For the matter was so wrought betweene Doctor London and Simons, that Filmer could never be suffered to come before the Commissioners to be examined.

Filmers wife laboureth for her husband.

The words of Filmers wife to the Bishops.

Filmer could not come to his answer.

¶ The manner of their condemnations, and how they died.

WHen the time drew nigh that the kings majestie (who was newly married to that good and vertuous Lady Katherine Parre) should make his progresse abroad, the foresaid Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester had so compassed his matters, that no man bare so great a swinge about the King as he did. Wherewith the Gospellers were so quailed, that the best of them all looked everie

{Anno 1544.}

The King married to the Lady Katherine Parr.

Ste. Gardiner great about the King.

euerie houre to be clapt in the neck. For the saying went abroad, that the Bishop had bent his bowe to shoot at some of the head Deere. But in the mean time three or foure of the poore rascals were caught, that is to say, Anthonie Person, Henrie Filmer, and John Marbeck, and sent to Windsor by the Sheriffes men, the Saturday before Saint James day, and laid fast in the towns Jayle; and Testwood (who had kept his bed) brought out of his house upon crutches, and laid with him. But as for Benet (which should have been the fifth man) his chance was to be sick of the pestilence, and having a great sore upon him, he was left behinde in the Bishop of Londons Jayle, whereby he escaped the fire.

Ste. Gardiners bowe bent to shoot at the head Deer.

Person, Filmer and Marbeck sent to Windsor.

Testwood brought out of his bed upon crutches into prison.

Benet sick of the pestilence at London.

Now these men being brought to Windsor, there was a Sessions specially procured to be holden the Thursday following, which was Saint Annes day. Against the which Sessions (by the counsell of Doctor London and Simons) were all the farmers belonging to the Colledge of Windsor, warned to appear, because they could not pick out Papists enow in the town to go upon the jury. The Judges that day were these:

A speciall sessions procured.

The Judges.

Doctor Capon, Bishop of Salisburie.
Sir William Essex, Knight.
Sir Thomas Bridges, Knight.
Sir Humfrey Foster, Knight.
M. Franklin, Dean of Windsor.
And Fachel of Reding.

When these had taken their places and the prisoners brought forth before them, then Robert Deckam, occupying for that day the Clerk of the Peace his roome, called Anthonie Person, according to the manner of the Court, and read his Indictment, which was this:

Robert Deckam clark of the peace.

The inditement against Anthony Person.

First, That he should preach two yeers before in a place called Wingfield, and there should say, That like as Christ was hanged betweene two theeves, even so when the Priest is at Masse, and hath consecrated and lifted him up over his head, there he hangeth betweene two theeves, except he preach the Word of God truly, as he hath taken upon him to do.

Also that he said to the people in the Pulpit, Ye shall not eat the body of Christ, as it did hang upon the Crosse, gnawing it with your teeth, that the blood run about your lips; but you shall eat him this day as ye eat him to morrow, the next day, and everie day; for it refresheth not the bodie but the soul.

Also, after he had preached and commended the Scripture, calling it the Word of God, he said as followeth. This is the word, this is the bread, this is the body of Christ.

Also he said, that Christ sitting with his disciples, took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take and eat, this is my bodie. What is this to us, but to take the Scripture of God, and to break it to the people?

Antho. Person answered to his inditement.

To this Anthonie answered and said, I will be tried by God and his holy Word, and by the true Church of Christ, whether this be heresie or no, whereof ye have indicted me this day. So long as I preached the Bishop of Rome and his filthy traditions, I was never troubled; but since I have taken upon me to preach Christ and his Gospel, ye have alwayes sought my life. But it maketh no matter, for when you have taken your pleasure of my body, I trust it shall not lie in your powers to hurt my soul. Thou callest us theeves, quoth the Bishop. I say, quoth Anthonie, ye are not onely theeves, but murtherers, except ye preach and teach the Word of God purely and sincerely to the people, which ye do not, nor ever did, but have allured them to all idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisie, for your own lucre and glories sake, through the which ye are become rather Bite-sheeps, then true Bishops, biting and devouring the poore sheep of Christ, like ravening wolves, never satisfied with blood; which God will require at your hands one day, doubt it not. Then spake Simons his accuser, standing within the bar, saying; It is pitie this fellow had not been burnt long ago, as he deserved. In faith, quoth Anthonie, if you had as you deserved, you were more worthie to stand in this place then I: but I trust, in the last day when we shall both appear before the tribunall seat of Christ, that then it will be known which of us two hath best deserved this place. Shall I have so long a day, quoth Simons, holding up his finger? Nay then I care not; and so the matter was jested out.

Parrhesia. Perſonæa.

Willi. Simons replieth against Person.

The Papists jest at Gods judgement.

Robert Testwood.

Then was Testwood called, and his inditement read, which was that he should say in the time that the priest was lifting up the sacrament; What wilt thou lift up so high? what yet higher? take heed, let him not fall.

Testwoods inditement.

To this Testwood answered, saying, it was but a thing maliciously forged of his enemies to bring him to his death. Yes (quoth the bishop) thou hast been seen, that when the Priest should lift up the sacrament over his head, then wouldest thou look down upon thy book or some other way, because thou wouldest not abide to look upon the blessed sacrament. I beseech you my Lord, quoth Testwood, whereon did he look that marked me so well? Marie, quoth Bucklayer the Kings Atturney, he could not be better occupied, then to mark such heretikes that so despised the blessed sacrament.

Testwood answereth to his inditement.

Henry Filmer.

Then Filmer was called, and his Inditement read, that he should say that the sacrament of the altar is nothing else but a similitude and a ceremonie; and also if God be in the sacrament of the altar, I have eaten twenty Gods in my dayes.

Filmers inditement.

Here you must understand, that these words were gathered of certain communication which should be betweene Filmer, and his brother. The tale went thus.

This Henry Filmer coming upon a Sunday from Clewer his parish Church, in the company of one or two of his neighbours, chanced in the way to meet his brother (which was a very poore labouring man) and asked him whither he went. To the Church, said he. And what to do, quoth Filmer? To do, quoth he, as other men do. Nay, quoth Filmer, you go to hear Masse, and to see your God. What if I do so, quoth he. If that be God (should Filmer say) I have eaten twenty gods in my daies. Turn again, fool, and go home with me, and I will read thee a Chapter out of the Bible, that shall be better then all that thou shalt see or hear there.

This tale was no sooner brought to doctor London (by William Simons, Filmers utter enemy) but he sent for the poore man home to his house, where he cherished him with meat and money, telling him he should never lack so long as he lived; that the silly poore man, thinking to have had a daily friend of Doctor London, was content to do and say whatsoever he and Symons would have him say or do against his own brother. And when doctor London had thus won the poore man, he retained him as one of his houshold men, untill the Court day was come, and then sent him up to witnesse this foresaid tale against his brother. Which tale Filmer denied utterly, saying, That Doctor London, for a little meat and drink sake, had set him

D. London setteth brother against brother.

Filmers own brother witnesseth against him.

{KING HEN. 8.}

him on and made him say what his pleasure was: wherefore my Lord (quoth Filmer to the Bishop) I beseech your Lordship weigh the matter indifferently, forasmuch as there is no man in all this town, that can or will testifie with him, that ever he heard any such talk betwæn him and me; and if he can bring forth any that will witnesse the same with him, I refuse not to die. But say what he could it would not prevail.

One witnesse to stand is against the Law.

Then Filmer seeing no remedie but that his brothers accusement should take his place, he said, Ah brother, what cause hast thou to shew me this unkindnesse? I have alwayes bæn a naturall brother unto thee and thine, and helped you all, to my power, from time to time as thou thy self knowest; and is this a brotherly part, thus to reward me now for my kindnesse? God forgive it thee my brother, and give thee grace to repent. Then Filmer looked over his shoulder, desired some good bodie to let him see the book of Statutes. His wife being at the end of the Hall, and hearing her husband call for the book of Statutes, ran down to the keeper, and brought up the book, and gat it conveighed to her husband.

Filmer cast away by his own brother.

The Bishop, seeing the book in his hand, start him up from the bench in a great fume, demanding who had given the prisoner that book, commanded it to be taken from him, and to make search who had brought it, swearing by the faith of his body, he should go to prison. Some said it was his wife, some said the Keeper; like enough (my Lord) quoth Simons, for he is one of the same sort, and as worthie to be here as the best, if he were rightly served. But whosoever it was the truth would not be known, and so the Bishop sat him down again.

The Bishops mdeanne mor or onely with- at all Law, but so stop the law at it should not known.

Then said Filmer, O my Lord, I am this day judged by a law, and why should I not see the law that I am judged by? The law is, I should have two lawfull witnesses, and here is but one, which would not do as he doth, but that he is forced thereunto by the suggestion of mine enemies. Nay, quoth Buckler the Kings Atturney, thine heresie is so hainous, and abhorreth thine own brother so much, that it forceth him to witnesse against thee, which is more then two other witnesses.

Imer con- mned by one witnesse a- inst the Law, d how do the Bishops then that they do thing but by Law?

Thus (as you see) was Filmer brought unjustly to his death by the malice of Simons and Doctor London, who had incited that wretched caitife his brother, to be their minister to work his confusion. But God, which is a just revenger of all falshood and wrongs, would not suffer that wretch long to live upon earth, but the next yeer following, he being taken up for a labourer to go to Bullein, had not been there three dayes, ere that (in eronerating of nature) a Gun took him and tore him all to pieces. And so were these words of Solomon fulfilled; A false witnesse shall not remain unpunished.

ample of ds just pu- ment upon Popish accu- accusing his n brother.

Iohn Marbeck.

The inditement Marbeck.

THen was Marbeck called, and his Inditement read, which was that he should say; that the holy Masse, when the Priest doth consecrate the body of our Lord, is polluted, deformed, sinfull, and open robberie of the glory of God, from the which a Christian heart ought both to abhor and flee. And the elevation of the sacrament is the similitude of the setting up of images of the calves in the Temple builded by Ieroboam; and that it is more abomination then the sacrifices done by the Iews in Ieroboams temple to those Calves. And that certain and sure it is, that Christ himself is made in the Masse mans laughing stock.

Marbeck answereth to his Inditement.

To this he answered and said, That these words whereof they had indited him were not his, but the words of a learned man called Iohn Calvine, and drawn out of a certain Epistle which the said Calvine had made, which Epistle he had but onely written out, and that long before the six Articles came forth; so that now he was discharged of that offence by the Kings generall pardon, desiring that he might enjoy the benefit thereof.

Then was the Jury called, which were all Farmers belonging to the colledge of Windsor, whereof few or none had ever seen those men before, upon whose life and death they went. Wherefore the prisoners (counting the Farmers as partiall) desired to have the townsmen, or such as did know them, and had seen their daily conversations, in the place of the Farmers, or else to be equally joyned with them: but that would not be, for the matter was otherwise foreseen and determined.

Partial dealing in calling the Jury.

Now when the Jurie had taken their Oath and all, Bucklayer the Kings Atturney began to speak; and first he alledged many reasons against Anthonie Person, to prove him an heretique. Which when Anthonie would have disproved, the Bishop said; Let him alone sir, he speaketh for the King: and so went Bucklayer forth with his matter, making every mans cause as hainous to the hearers as he could devise. And when he had done, and said what he would, then sir Humfrey Fokker spake to the Quest in the favour of Marbeck on this wise: Maisters, quoth he, you see there is no man here that accuseth or layeth any thing to the charge of this poore man Marbeck, saving he hath written certain things of other mens sayings, with his own hand, whereof he is discharged by the Kings generall Pardon; therefore ye ought to have a conscience therein. Then start up Fachel at the lower end of bench, and said, What can we tell whether they were written before the pardon or after? They may as well be written since as afore, for any thing that we know. These words of Fachel (as every man said) were the cause of Marbecks calling that day.

Bucklayer the Kings Atturney a persecutor.

Sir Humfrey Fokker speaketh for Marbeck.

Fachel a persecutor.

Marbeck call by the Jury.

Then went the Jurie up to the chamber over the place where the Judges sat, and in the mean time went all the Knights and Gentlemen abroad, saving the Bishop, sir William Eller, and Fachel, which three sat still upon the Bench till all was done. And when the Jury had bæn together above in the chamber about the space of a quarter of an houre, up goeth Simons (of his own brain) unto them, and tarried there a pretty while, and came down again. After that came one of the Jury down to the Bishop, and talked with him and the other twain a good while: Whereby many conjectured that the Jury could not agree of Marbeck. But whether it was so or no, it was not long after his going up again, ere that they came down to give their verdict; and being required according to the form of the law to say their mindes, one called Hide dwelling beside Abington in a Lordship belonging to the Colledge of Windsor, speaking as the mouth of the rest, said they were all guiltie.

The Knights and Gentlemen refuse to be at their condemnation.

Hide a Farmer of Windsor colledge a persecutor.

Then the Judges beholding the prisoners a good while (some with waterie eyes) made courtesie who should give judgement. Fachel requiring the Bishop to do it, he said he might not. The other also being required, said they would not. Then said Fachel, It must be done, one must do it, and if no man will, then will I. And so Fachel, being lowest of all the bench, gave judgement. Then Marbeck, being the last upon whom sentence was given, cried unto the Bishop, saying, Ah my Lord, you told me otherwise when I was before you and the other two Bishops. You said then, that I was in better case then any of my fellows, and is your saying come to this? Ah my Lord you have deceived me. Then the Bishop, casting up his hand, said he could not do withall.

Fachel giveth judgement against them.

Now the prisoners being condemned and had away, prepared themselves to die on the morrow, comforting one another in the death and passion of their

Person, Testwood, Filmer, and Marbeck condemned for heretiques.

their maker Christ, who had led the way before them, trusting that the same Lord, which had made them worthy to suffer so far for his sake, would not now withdraw his strength from them, but give them stedfast faith and power to overcome those fiery torments, and of his free mercy and goodnesse (without their deserts) for his promise sake, receive their souls. Thus lay they all the night long till very dead sleep took them, calling to God for his aid and strength, and praying for their persecuters, which of blinde zeal and ignorance had done they wist not what, that God of his mercifull goodnesse would forgive them, and turn their hearts to the love and knowledge of his blessed and holy word: yea such heavenly talk was amongst them that night, that the hearers watching the prison without, whereof the Sheriffe himself was one, with divers Gentlemen moe, were constrained to shed out plentie of tears, as they themselves confessed.

The godly prayers of the condemned Martyrs almost all night.

On the next morrow, which was Friday, as the prisoners were all preparing themselves to go to suffer, word was brought them that they should not die that day. The cause was this, the Bishop of Sarum, and they among them had sent a Letter by one of the Sheriffes Gentlemen, called Master Frost, to the bishop of Winchester (the court being then at Okings) in the favour of Warbeck. At the sight of which letter the Bishop straightway went to the King and obtained his pardon.

A letter sent by certain of the Commissioners to Gardiner for Warbeck.

Warbecks pardon obtained.

Which being granted, he caused a warrant to be made out of hand for the Sheriffes discharge, delivering the same to the messenger, who with speed returned with great joy (for the love he bare to the party) bringing good news to the town, of Warbecks pardon; whereat many rejoyced. Of this pardon were divers conjectures made. Some said, it was by the sute of the good sheriffe sir William Warrington, and sir Humfrey Foster, with other Gentlemen moe that favoured Warbeck, to the bishop of Sarum and the other Commissioners, that the letter was sent.

Divers judgements why Warbeck was pardoned.

Some said again, that it came of the bishop of Sarum and Fachels first motion, being pricked in conscience for that they had so slenderly cast him away. Other thought again that it was a policy purposed afore, by the B. of Winch. of Sarum, and of Doctor London, because they should seem to be mercifull. Which conjecture rose upon this occasion. There was one Sadock dwelling in the town which was great with Doct. London and Simons; and he should say foure dayes before the Sessions began, that the prisoners should be all cast and condemned, but Warbeck should have his pardon.

Other there were that thought the foresaid Bishops, with Doct. London, had done it for this purpose: that he now, having his life, would rather after such men as they would have him to do, then to come in like danger again. Which conjecture rose upon this; Simons meeting with Warbecks wife said thus unto her; your husband may thank God and good friends: my Lord of Winchester is good Lord to him, which hath got his pardon. But shall I tell you, quoth he? his pardon will be to none effect, except he tell the truth of things to my Lord, and other of the Counsel, when he shall be demanded; for unto that purpose onely is he reserved. Alas sir, quoth she, what can he tell? Well woman, quoth Simons, I tell thee plain, if he do not so, never look to have thy husband out of prison, and so departed from her.

Warbeck reserved to utter others.

The like meaning did master Arch make to Warbeck himself on the Saturday in the morning, that the men should be burnt, when he came to confesse them. I have nothing, quoth he, to say unto you Warbeck at this time, but hereafter you must be content to do as shall be enjoyned you; meaning he should be forced to do some unlawfull thing, or else to lie in perpetuall prison. And this was most likely to have been attempted, if they had proceeded in their purpose; whose intent was to have gone through the whole realm, in like sort as they had begun at Windsore, as the bishop of Sarum confessed openly and said, That he trusted ere Christmas day following to visit and cleanse a good part thereof. But most commonly God sendeth a shrewd cow short horns, or else many a thousand in England had smarted.

The pestilent intent of the Bishops.

The Saturday in the morning that the prisoners should go to execution, came into the prison two of the Canons of the College, the one called Doctor Blithe, and the other master Arch, which two were sent to be their confessors: M. Arch asked them if they would be confest, and they said, yea. Then he demanded if they would receive the sacrament. Yea said they, with all our hearts. I am glad, quoth Arch, to hear you say so, but the Law is, quoth he, that it may not be ministred to any that are condemned of heresie. But it is enough for you that ye do desire it. And so he had them up to the Hall to hear their confessions, because the prison was full of people. Doctor Blith took Anthonie Person to him to confesse, and M. Arch the other two. But howsoever the matter went betwæn the doctor and Anthonie, he tarried not long with him, but came down again, saying, He would no more of his doctrine. Do you cal him doctor Blith, quoth Anthony? He may be called doctor Blind for his learning, as far as I see. And soon after the other two came down also. Then Anthony, seeing much people in the prison, began to say the Lords prayer, whereof he made a marvellous godly declaration, wherein he continued till the officers came to fetch them away, and so made an end. And taking their leave of Warbeck (their prison fellow) they praised God for his deliverance, wishing to him the increase of godlinesse and vertue, and last of all besought him heartily to help them with his prayer unto God, to make them strong in their afflictions, and so kissing him one after another, they departed.

The Popes law is, that they that be condemned of heresie must not receive the sacrament.

D. Blith or other D. Blin.

Now as the prisoners passed through the people in the streets, they desired all the faithfull people to pray for them, and to stand fast in the truth of the Gospel, and not to be moved at their afflictions, for it was the happiest thing that ever came to them. And ever as doctor Blith and Arch (who rode on each side the prisoners) would perswade them to turn to their mother holy Church; away would Anthony cry, away with your Romish doctrine and all your trumpery, for we will no more of it. When Filmer was come to his brothers doore, he stayed and called for his brother, but he could not be seen, for doctor London had kept him out of sight the same day, for the nonce.

The prisoners led towards their death.

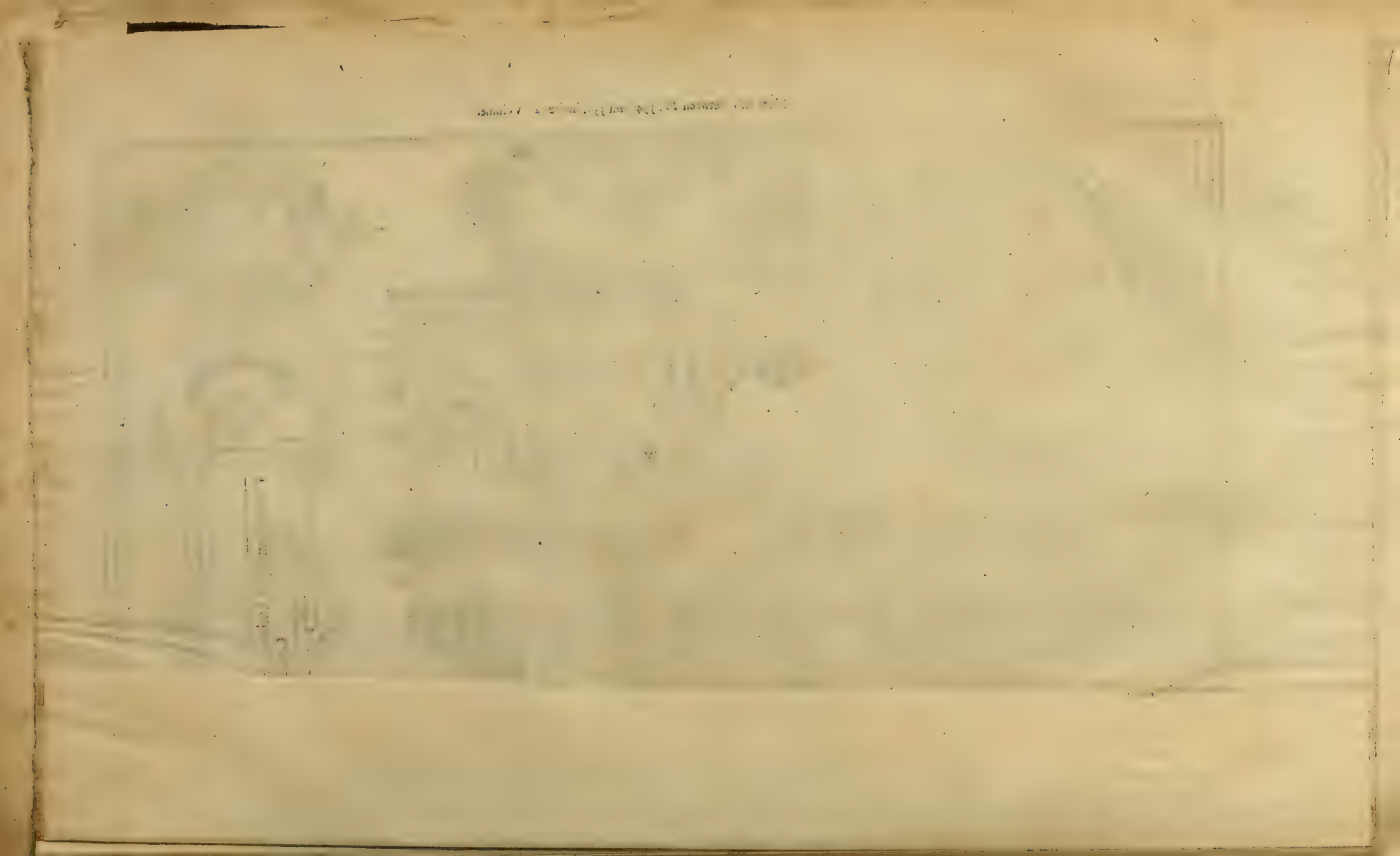
And when he had called for him three or foure times, and saw he came not, he said, and will he not come? Then God forgive him and make him a good man. And so going forth they came to the place of execution, where Anthonie Person with a cheerfull countenance embraced the poste in his armes, and kissing it, said, Now welcome mine own sweet wife; for this day shall thou and I be married together in the love and peace of God.

The words of Anth. Person at the stake.

And being all three bound to the poste, a certain young man of Filmers acquaintance brought him a pot of drink, asking if he would drink. Yea, quoth Filmer, I thank you. And now my brother, quoth he, I shall desire you in the name of the living Lord to stand fast in the truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which you have received; and so taking the pot at his hand asked his brother Anthonie, if he would drink. Yea brother Filmer, quoth he, I pledge you in the Lord.

The words of Henry Filmer at his death.

And when he had drunk, he gave the pot to Ant. & Ant. likewise gave it to Testwood. Of which drinking their adversaries made a jesting tock, reporting



Place this between 554. and 555. in the 2d Volume.

The deſcription of Windſor Caſtle.

The condemning of Anthony Perſon, Marbecke, Teſtwood, and Filmer, with the burning of the ſaid Perſon, Teſtwood, and Filmer, under the Caſtle of Windſor, here lively deſcribed. Marbecke ſaved by the Kings pardon.

Anthony Perſon, Marbecke, Teſtwood and Filmer, condemned by Doctor Capon Biſhop of Sarum: Fachel giving judgement. Pag. 553.

D. London and Simons riding about the Market place with papers on their heads, for perjury, and ſecret practiſing againſt certaine of the privy Chamber.

Robert Ockam ſtanding on the Pillory in the Towne of Newberry, where he was borne, for the like offence. Pag. 556.

ting abroad that they were all drunke, and wist not what they said; when as they were none otherwise drunke then as the Apostles were, when the people said they were full of new wine, as their deeds declared; for when Anthonie and Tesk wood had both drunken, and giuen the pot from them, Filmer reioycing in the Lord, said, Be merry, my brethren, and lift up your hands vnto God, for after this sharpe breakfast, I trust we shall haue a good dinner in the kingdome of Christ our Lord and redéemer. At the which words Tesk wood, lifting up his hands and eyes to heauen, desired the Lord aboue to receiue his spirit. And Anthony Person, pulling the straw vnto him, laid a good deale thereof vpon the top of his head, saying, This is Gods hat; now am I dressed like a true souldier of Christ, by whose merits onely I trust this day to enter into his ioy. And so yeelded they vp their soules to the Father of heauen, in the faith of his deare son Iesus Christ, with such humilitie and stedfastnesse, that many which saw their patient suffering, confessed that they could haue found in their hearts (at that present) to haue died with them.

How all their conspiracies were knowne.

YE haue heard before of one Robert Bennet, how he was at the first apprehended with the other foure persons aforesaid, and committed to the Bishop of Londons prison, and about the time he should haue gone to Windsor, he fell sicke of the Pestilence, by meanes whereof he remained still in prison.

This Bennet and Symons (ye shall vnderstand) were the greatest familiars and company kéepers that were in all Windsor, and neuer lightly swarued the one from the other, saue in matters of religion, wherin they could neuer agrée. For Bennet the one Lawyer was an earnest Gospeller, and Symons the other Lawyer a cankered Papist, but in all other worldly matters they cleaued together like burres.

This Bennet had spoken certain words against their little round God, for the which he was as far in as the best, and had suffered death with the other if he had gone to Windsor when they went. And now that the matter was all done and finished, it was determined by the Bishop of Salisburie, that Robert Dckam, on the Monday after the men were burnt, should goe to the Bishop of Winchester, with the whole processe done at the sessions the Thursday before.

Then Symons, at Bennets wiues request, procured the Bishop of Salisbury his fauourable Letter to the Bishop of Winchester, for Bennets deliuerance. Which letter Bennets wife (forsomuch as her owne man was not at home which should haue gone with the letter) desired Robert Dckam to deliuer to the Bishop, and to bring her word againe; who said he would. So forth went Dckam toward the Bishop of Winchester, with his budget full of writings, to declare and open all things vnto him that were done at Windsor Sessions. But all their wicked intents, as God would haue it, were soon cut off, and their doings disclosed. For one of the Quéenes men (named Fulk) which had lien at Winsor all the time of the businesse, and had got knowledge what a number were priuily indicted, & of Dckams going to the bishop of Winchester, gat to the Court before Dckam, and told Sir Thomas Cardine & other of the priuy chamber, how all the matter stood. Whereupon Dckam was laid for, and had by the back as soone as he came to Dking, and so kept from the Bishop.

On the next morrow very early, Bennets wife sent her man to the Court after Dckam, to see how he sped with her husbands letter. And when he came there, he found sir Thomas Cardine walking with Dckam vp and downe the greene before the Court gate. Whereat he marbelled to see Dckam with him so early, mistrusting the matter; whereupon he kept himselfe out of sight till they had broken of their communication.

And as soone as he saw Walker Cardine gone (leauing Dckam behinde) he went to Dckam and asked him if he had delibered his maisters letter to the Bishop. No, said Dckam, the King remoueth this day to Gilford, and I must go thither, and will deliuer it there. Harry, quoth he, & I will goe with you, to see what answer you shall haue, and to carry word to my mistresse, and so they rode to Gilford together: where Bennets man (being better acquainted in the town then Dckam was) got a lodging for them both in a kinsmans house of his.

That done, he asked Dckam, if he would goe and deliuer his mistresse letter to the bishop. Nay (said Dckam) you shall goe and deliuer it your selfe, and took him the letter. And as they were going in the street together, and coming by the Earle of Bedfords lodging (then Lord priuie Seale) Dckam was pulled in by the sleeue, and no more séene of Bennets man, till he saw him in the Marshalsey. Then went Bennets man to the Bishops lodging and delibered his letter. And when the Bishop had read the contents thereof, he called for the man that brought it. Come hither sirrha, quoth he, you can tell me more by mouth then the letter specifieth, and had him into a little garden. Now, quoth the Bishop, what say you to me? Forsooth my Lord, quoth he, I haue nothing to say vnto your Lordship, for I did not bring the letter to the town. No, quoth the Bishop, where is he that brought it? Forsooth my Lord, quoth he, I left him busie at his lodging. Then he will come, quoth the Bishop, bid him be with me betimes in the morning. I will, quoth he, doe your Lordships commandement, and so he departed home to his lodging. And when his kinsfolkes saw him come in, Alas cousin, quoth they, we are all vndone. Why so, quoth he, what is the matter? O, said they, here hath béene since you went, Walker Pagit the Kings secretarie, with sir Thomas Cardine of the Priuy chamber, & searched all our house for one that should come to the towne with Dckam; therefore make shift for your selfe as soone as you can. Is that all the matter, quoth he? then content your selues, for I will neuer flée one foot, hap what hap will. And as they were thus reasoning together, in came the foresaid searchers againe; and when Walker Cardine saw Bennets man, he knew him very well, and said, Was it thou that came to the town with Dckam? Yea sir, quoth he. Now who the diuell (quoth Walker Cardine) brought thee in company with that false knaue? Then he told them his businesse, and the cause of his coming: which being knowne, they were satisfied, and so departed. The next day had Bennets man a discharge for his Walker (procured by certaine of the Priuy Chamber) and so went home.

Bennets man goeth with his mistris letter to the Bishop of Winchester.

Bennets man searched for at Dking.

Bennet discharged out of prison by good men of the priuie chamber.

Now was Dckam all this while at my Lord Priuy Seales, where he was kept secret, till certain of the priuy Counsel had perused all his writings; among the which they found certaine of the priuy Chamber indicted, with other the Kings officers, with their wiues; that is to say, sir Thomas Cardine, sir Phillip Hobby, with both their Ladies, Walker Edmund Harman, Walker Thomas Weldon, with Snowball and his wife. All these they had indicted by the force of the sir Articles, as aiders, helpers, and maintainers of Anthonie Person. And beside them, they had indicted of heresie (some for one thing, and some for another) a great number moe of the Kings true and faithfull subiects. Whereof the kings majestie being certified, his grace of his speciall goodnesse (without the suit of any man) gaue to the foresaid Gentlemen of

Certaine of the priuie chamber indicted.
Sir Thomas Cardine, and his wife.
Sir Phillip Hobby and his wife.
M. Edmund Harman.
M. Thomas Weldone.
Snowball and his wife.
All these were indicted for the fiue Articles, with a great number moe.

The K. gave his pardon to his gentlemen of his privy Chamber.

The K. certified of the pitifull death of these godly martyrs at Windsor.

his Privie Chamber, and other his servants with their wives, his gracious pardon. And as God would have the matter further knowne unto his Majestie, as he rode one day a hunting in Gilford park, and saw the sherife with Sir Humfrey Foster sitting on their horsebacks together, he called them unto him, and asked of them, how his lawes were executed at Windsor. Then they beseeching his grace of pardon, told him plainely that in all their lives they never sat on matter under his grates authoritie, that went so much against their consciences, as the death of these men did, and up and told his grace so pittifull a tale of the calking away of these poore men, that the King turning his horse head to depart from them, said, Alas poore Innocents.

The kings testimony of the martyrs of Windsor.

The Bishop of Winchester out of the kings favour.

After this the King withdrew his favor from the bishop of Winchester, and being more and more informed of the conspiracie of Doctor London and Simons, he commanded certaine of his Counsell to search out the ground thereof.

D. London, W. Simons, and R. Dckam apprehended and condemned of perjurie.

Whereupon Doctor London and Simons were apprehended and brought before the Counsell, and examined upon their Oath of allegiance: And for denying their mischievous and traiterous purpose, which was manifestly proved to their faces, they were both perjured, and in fine adjudged, as perjured persons, to weare papers in Windsor; and Dckam to stand upon the pillery in the town of Newbery where he was borne.

The punishment of D. London, W. Simons, and of R. Dckam, for false accusation and perjury.

The judgement of all these three was to ride about Windsore, Reading, and Newberry, with papers on their heads, and their faces turned to the horse tailes, and so to stand upon the pillerie in every of these townes, for false accusation of the forenamed Martyrs, and for Perjurie.

Ex testimonio Ioan Marb.

And thus much touching the persecution of these good Saints of Windsore, according to the Copie of their owne Acts, received and written by John Marbeck, who is yet alive both a present witnesse, and also was then a party of the said doings, and can testifie the truth thereof.

An answer to the cavilling adversaries touching Iohn Marbeck.

The story doth purge it selfe if it had pleased these men to take one place with another. Marke you wranglers and be satisfied.

WHerefore against these crooked cavillers, which make so much ado against my former book, because in acertain place I chanced to say that Bennet & Filmer had their pardon (when indeed it was Bennet and Marbeck) be it therefore known, protested, denounced, and notified to all and singular such carpers, wranglers, exclamers, depravers, with the whol brood of all such whisperers, railers, quarrel-pickers, corner-creepers, fault-finders, and spider-catchers, or by what name else soever they are to be titled, that here I openly say and affirme, professe, hold, maintaine, and write the same as I said and wrote before in the latter castigations of my book: that is, That John Marbeck was with the other condemned, but not burned; cast by the Law, but by pardon saved: appointed with the rest to die, and yet not dead, but liveth, God be praised, and yet to this present singeth merrily, and playeth on the Organs, not as a dead man, amongst Fores Martyrs (as it hath pleased some in the Court to encounter against me) but as one witnessed and testified truely in the booke Fores Martyrs to be alive. And therefore such manner of persons, if the disposition of their nature be such that they must needs finde faults, then let them finde them where they are, and where those faults by their finding may be corrected. But whereas they be corrected already and found to their hands, and also amended before, let then these legend liers look on their own legends, and there cry out of lies, where they may finde enow, and cease their biting there where they have no just cause to barke.

And admit that I had not foreseen and corrected this escape before, touching the matter of John Marbeck, but that the place still had remained in the booke as it was, that is, that the said John Marbeck, which is yet alive, had then died and suffered with the other three, the same time at Windsor: yet what gentle or courteous reader could have therein any just matter to triumph and insult against me, seeing the judiciall acts, the records and registers, yea and the bishops certificate, and also the writ of execution remaining yet on record, sent to the king, did lead me so to say and thinke? For what man writing histories, who cannot be in all places to see all things, but following his records and registers, wherein he seeth the said Marbecke to be judged and condemned with the rest, would otherwise write or think, but that he also was executed and burned in the same company?

{King. Hen. 8.

But now I correct and reform the same again, and first of all other, I finde the fault, and yet I am found fault withall. I correct my self, and yet am I corrected of other. I warn the reader of the truth, and yet am a lyar. The book it self sheweth the escape, I biddeth in stead of foure, to read three burned, and yet is the booke made a legend of lies.

The death of Io. Marbec in the former book amend.

Briefely, where I prevent all occasion of cavilling, to the uttermost of my diligence, yet cannot I have that law whichall other books have, that is, to recognise and reform mine own Errata.

Wherefore to conclude, these men whosoever they are, if they will be satisfied, I have said enough; if they will not, whatsoever I can say, it will not serve, and so I leave them: I would I could better satisfie them. God himself amend them.

The persecution in Calice, with the martyrdome of George Bucker, otherwise called Adam Damlip and others.

{Anno 1544.

George Bucker, alias Damlip n

AT what time Iohn Marbeck was in the Marshalsey, which was about the yeare of our Lord, 1544. there was in the said prison with him one George Bucker, named otherwise Adam Damlip, who having continued in the said prison three or foure yeares, at the last, by the commandement of Winchester, was had to Calice by John Hallie, the keeper of the Marshalsey, and there hanged, drawne, and quartered for treason pretensed, which was a little before the condemnation of the Windsor men aforesaid, as is by the letters of the said John Marbeck to me signified.

Ex literis Ioan. Mar

Touching which story of Adam Damlip, forsomuch as it includeth matter of much trouble and persecution that happened in Calice, to digest therfore and comprise the whole narration therof in order, first I will enter (the Lord willing) the Storie of Damlip, and so proceed in order to such as by the said occasion were afflicted and persecuted in the towne of Calice.

Persecution in the towne of Calice.

Persecutors.	*Persons Persecuted.*
John Dove prior of the gray Friers in Calice.	George Bucker, or else called Adam Damlip.
	A poore labouring man.
	W. Stevens. Thomas Lancaster.
	John Butler Commissarie.
	W. Smith Priest. Ralfe Hare.
	Iacob a Chirurgeon. A Fleming.
	Clement Philpot servant.
	Ieffery Loveday.
Sir Gregorie Buttol, priest	Dodde.
	Sir Edmund priest.
	William Touchet, Postmaster.

Peter

KING HEN. 8.

Persecutors.	*Persons Persecuted.*
	Peter Becket. Anthony Pickering Gentleman.
	Henry Tourney Gentleman.
	George Darby Priest.
Steven Gardiner bishop of Wincheſt.	Io. Shepard. W. Pellam.
	W. Keverdall.
	John Whitewood.
	Io. Boote. Ro. Cloddet.
	Coppen de Hane, alias Iames Cocke.
D. Sampſon. Biſhop of Chicheſter.	Matthew Hownd.
	W. Croſſebowmaker.

Their Cauſes.

IN the yeare of our Lord, 1539. the Lord Cromwell being yet alive, there came to Calice one George Bucker, alias Adam Damlip, who had beene in time paſt a great Papiſt and Chaplein to Fiſher Biſhop of Rochester, and after the death of the Biſhop his maſter had travelled through France, Dutchland, and Italie, and as he went, conferred with learned men concerning matters of controverſie in religion, and ſo proceeding in his journey to Rome, whereas he thought to have found all godlineſſe and ſincere religion, in the end, hee found there (as he confeſſed) ſuch blaſphemie of God, contempt of Chriſts true religion, loſeneſſe of life, and abundance of all abominations and filthineſſe, that it abhorred his heart and conſcience any longer there to remaine; although he was greatly requeſted by Cardinall Poole, there to continue, and to reade three lectures in the weeke in his houſe, for the which he offred him great entertainment, which he refuſed, & ſo returning homeward, having a piece of money given him of the Cardinall at his departure, to the value of a French crowne towards his charges, came to Calice, as is aforeſaid. Who as he was there waiting without the gate for paſſage into England, and being there perceived by certaine Calice men, namely William Stevens, and Thomas Lancaſter, through conference of talke, to be a learned man and alſo well affected; and moreover how that he being of late a zealous papiſt, was now returned to a more perfect knowledge of true religion, was by them heartily intreated to ſtay at Calice a certaine ſpace, and to reade there a day or two, to the intent he might doe ſome good there, after his painfull travell, unto the people. To this requeſt Adam gladly conſented, ſo as he might be licenſed by ſuch as were in authoritie ſo to do.

Whereupon the ſaid Stevens, at the opening of the gates,

Perſecutors.	Perſons perſecuted and their cauſes.
	brought him unto the Lord Liſle the Kings deputie of the towne & marches of Calice, unto whom he declared throughly what conference and talke had beene between Adam Damlip and him. Which knowne, the ſaid Lord deputie inſtantly deſired the ſaid Damlip to ſtay there, and to preach three or foure dayes or more at his pleaſure, ſaying, that he ſhould have both his licence and the commiſſaries alſo, which then was Sir John Butler, ſo to do. Where after he had preached three or foure times, he was ſo wel liked both for his learning his utterance and the truth of his doctrine, that not onely the ſouldiers and commoners, but alſo the Lord deputie and a great part of the Counſell, gave him marvellous great praiſe and thankes for it, and the ſaid Lord deputy offered unto him a chamber in his owne houſe, and to dine and ſup every meale at his owne meſſe, to have a man or two of his to waite upon him, and to have whatſoever it were that he lacked, if it were to be had for money, yea; and what he would in his purſe to buy bookes or otherwiſe; ſo as hee would tarry there among them, and preach onely ſo long as it ſhould ſeeme good to himſelfe. Who, refuſing his Lordſhips great offer, moſt heartily thanked him for the ſame, and beſought him to be onely ſo good unto him, as to appoint him ſome quiet and honeſt place in the towne where hee might not be diſturbed or moleſted, but have opportunitie to give himſelfe to his book, and he would daily once in the forenoone, and
Francis Haſtings ſouldier.	
Hugh Counſell ſervant.	
Sir Ralfe Ellerker Knight.	
Sir Iohn Gage.	

againe by one a clock in the afternoone, by the grace of God, preach among them according unto that talent that God had lent him. At which answer the lord deputy greatly rejoyced, and thereupon ſent for the foreſaid William Stevens, whom he earneſtly required to receiue & lodge the ſaid Damlip in his houſe, promiſing whatſoever he ſhould demand, to ſee it paid with the moſt; and moreover would ſend every meale from his owne meſſe a diſh of the beſt unto them; and indeed ſo did, albeit the ſaid Damlip refuſed that offer, ſhewing his Lordſhip that thin diet was moſt convenient for ſtudents. Yet could not that reſtraine him, but that every meale he ſent it.

This godly man by the ſpace of twenty dayes or more, once every day at ſeven of the clock, preached very godly, learnedly, and plainly, the truth of the bleſſed Sacrament of Chriſts body and bloud, mightily inveighing againſt all papiſtrie, and confuting the ſame, but eſpecially thoſe two moſt pernicious errours or hereſies, trifling Tranſubſtantiation, and the peſtilent propitiatorie ſacrifice of the Romiſh maſſe, by true conference of the Scriptures, and applying of the ancient doctors, earneſtly therewith oftentimes exhorting the people to returne from their poperie, declaring how popiſh he himſelfe had been, and how by the deteſtable wic-

Adam brought to the L. Deputie of Calice.

Adam well liked of the Deputie and Counſell of Calice.

Adam received of M. Stevens by the L. Deputies requeſt.

Adam Damlip preacheth againſt tranſubſtantiation and the Romiſh Church.

kednesse that he did see universally in Rome, he was returned so farre homeward, and now became an enemie, through Gods grace, to all Papistrie, shewing therewith that if gaine or ambition could have moved him to the contrarie, he might have been entertained of Cardinall Poole (as you have heard before) but for very conscience sake joyned with true knowledge, grounded on Gods most holy word, he now utterly abhorred all Papistrie, and willed them most earnestly to doe the same.

And thus he continued a while reading in the chapter house of the white friers; but the place being not big enough, he was desired to reade in the pulpit, and so proceeding in his lectures (wherein he declared how the world was deceived by the Romane Bishops, which had set forth the damnable doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the reall presence in the Sacrament, as is aforesaid) he came at length to speake against the pageant or picture set forth of the resurrection which was in S. Nicholas Church, declaring the same to be but meere Idolatrie, and an illusion of the Frenchmen before Calice was English.

The Idolatrous pageant of the resurrection most sumptuously pictured out in Calice.

Commission sent from the King to search out the falle jugling of this Idolatry at Calice.

Upon which sermon or lecture there came a commission from the King to the Lord Deputie, Master Greenfield, Sir John Butler Commissarie, the Kings Mason and Smith, with others, that they should search whether there were (as was put in writing and under Bull and Pardon) three hostes lying upon a marble stone besprinkled with bloud; and if they found it not so, that immediately it should be plucked downe, and so it was. For in searching thereof, as they brake up a stone in a corner of the Tombe, they, in stead of three hostes, found souldered, in the Crosse of Marble lying under the Sepulchre, three plaine white Counters, which they had painted like unto Hostes, and a bone that is in the tip of a sheepes taile. All which trumpery Damlip shewed unto the people the next day following, which was Sunday, out of the pulpit, and after that they were sent by the Lord Deputie to the King.

The falle jugling of the Papists espied.

Three painted counters in stead of three hostes.

Notwithstanding, the Devill stirred up a Dove (he might well be called a Cormorant) the Prior of the white Friers; Who with Sir George Buttoll, Chaplaine to the Lord Lisle, beganne to barke against him. Yet after the said Adam had in three or foure Sermons confuted the said Friers erroneous Doctrine of Transubstantiation, and of the propitiatorie sacrifice of the Masse; the said Frier outwardly seemed to give place, ceasing openly to inveigh, & secretly practised to peach him by letters sent unto the Clergie here in England: so that, within eight or ten daies after, the said Damlip was sent for to appeare before the Bishop of Canterburie, with whom was assistant Steven Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, D. Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, and divers others, before whom he most constantly affirmed and defended the doctrine which he had taught, in such sort answering, confuting, and soluting the objections, as his adversaries, yea even among the other, the learned, godly and blessed Martyr Cranmer, then yet but a Lutherane, marvelled at it, and said plainly, that the Scripture knew no such terme of Transubstantiation. Then beganne the other Bishops to threaten him, shortly to confute him with their accustomed argument, I meane fire and Fagot, if he would still stand to the defence of that he had spoken. Whereunto he constantly answered, that he would; the next day deliver unto them fully so much in writing as he had said, whereunto also he would stand, and so was dismissed.

John Dove Frier, preacher of Damlip.

Damlip sent for to appeare before the councel in England.

Damlip threatned by the Bishops.

Damlip secretly warned to void.

The next day at the houre appointed to appeare, when they looked surely to have apprehended him, in the meane season he had secret intimation from the Bishop of Canterbury, that if he did any more personally appeare, he should be committed unto Ward, not like to escape cruel death. Whereupon he (playing indeed then somewhat old Adams part, for such is man, left in his owne hands) had him commended unto them, and sent them foure sheetes of paper learnedly written in the Latine tongue, containing his faith with his Arguments, conferences of the Scriptures, and allegations of the Doctors, by a messenger or friend of his. Which done, he, having a little money given him in his purse by his friends, stepped aside, and went into the West Countrey, and there kept all the time, while great trouble kindled against Gods people in Calice upon the same, as ye shall heare, the Lord permitting.

After his departure, the kings majestie was advertised, that there was great dissension and diversitie of pernicious opinions in his said towne of Calice, greatly tending to the danger of the same. Whereupon, during yet the dayes of the L. Cromwell, were sent over Doctor Champion, Doctor of Divinitie, and M. Garret, who after was burned, two godly and learned men, to preach and instruct the people, and to confute all pernicious errours, who in effect preached and maintained the same true doctrine which Adam Damlip had before set forth, and by reason thereof they left the towne at their departure very quiet, and greatly purged of the slander that had run on it.

D. Champion and M. Garret to preach at Calice.

After the departure of the said Champion and Garret, one Sir William Smith Curate of our ladies parish in Calice (a man very zealous, though but meanly learned) did begin to preach, and earnestly to inveigh against Papistrie and wilfull ignorance, exhorting men obediently to receive the word, and no longer to contemne the same, lest Gods heavie plagues and wrath should fall upon them, which alwaies followeth the contempt of his holy word. Which Sir William Smith, for that sometime he would be very fervent and zealous, sharpely inveighing against the despisers of the Word, was moved by some of the Councell there, who would seeme to favour Gods Word, that he should not be so earnest against them that yet could not away with the same, willing him to beare with such, for by bearing with them they might hap to be won.

Sir William Smith Curate and a zealous preacher at Calice.

Well, well, said the same Smith (openly in the pulpit one day as he preached) some say I am too earnest, and will me to beare with such as continue open enemies against Christs holy Gospel, and refuse, nay forbid that one should reade the Bible or holy Scripture within their house; but let all such take heede, for before God, I feare that God for their contemning of his word will not long beare with them, but make them in such case as some of them shall not have a head left them upon their shoulders to beare up their cap withall, which also after came to passe.

This Smith continued in the diligent bestowing of his talent there, till shortly after the devil got such hold in the hearts of a number of Gods enemies, that he with divers other godly men were called over into England, and charged with erroneous opinions worthy of great punishment, as hereafter more at large shall appeare.

First the L. Lisle the Kings deputie there, whom we shewed to be the maintainer of Damlip (albeit he were himselfe of a most gentle nature, and of a right noble bloud, the base son of that noble prince K. Ed. 4.) being fiercely set on & incessantly intised by the wicked Lady Honor his wife, who was an utter enemy to Gods honor, & in idolatry, hypocrisie, and pride incomparably evill, she being daily and hourely thereunto incited and provoked by sir Tho. Palmer knight, & Jo. Rookwood Esquire, two enemies to Gods word, beginning now to flourish at Calice: these I say, with certaine other of the councell of the said towne of Calice, to the number of 7. more

The Lord Lisle base sonne to King Edward the fourth.

Sir Thomas Palmer. & Rookewood.

KING. HEN. 8. The Counsell of Calice letters against the protestants.

more besides themselves, seeking occasion or rather a quarrell where no just cause was given, began to write very heinous letters and grievous complaints unto the Lords of the privy Counsell, against divers of the towne of Calice, affirming that they were horribly infected with heresies and pernicious opinions: As first the foresaid Adam Damlip, who, though hee were for a time escaped their hands, yet stuck still in their remembrance from time to time, untill at last the innocent man was cruelly put to death as a Traitour, as hereafter shall appeare.

Also besides this Damlip, they complained of Thomas Brooke, Ralfe Hare, likewise of sir John Butler, then Commissarie, sir William Smith, James Corke, alias Coppen de Hane, James Barber, and other, and the names of them all sent over. Of the which persons, first the said Thomas Brooke, and Ralfe Hare, Coppen de Hane and James Barber, were apprehended and sent over, and committed to prison in Westminster gate, and then commanded to appeare before the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Winchester, the Bishop of Chichester, and ten other appointed by the Kings Maiesties Commission for the examination of them: their accusers were sent over with letters from the Counsell there unto his Privy Counsell here, in the furtherance of their malicious sutes against those honest men, with certain speciall Letters directed unto the lord Fitzwilliams then Earle of Southhampton, great Admirall of England, to the Lord Sands, Lord Chamberlaine of the houshold, likewise also to Sir William Kingstone Knight, Controller of the houshold, and to Doctor Sampson then Bishop of Chichester, and other tending all to one effect, that is to say, the utter destruction of these godly men, if God, after his wonted manner, had not mightily preserved them, and as it were overshadowed them with the wings of his mercie.

The trouble of Ralfe Hare soldier of Calice.

That the same may the better appeare, you shall understand, that first Ralfe Hare, a man rude and so unlearned that he could scarce reade, yet through Gods grace was very zealous, and therewith lead so godly and temperate a life, as not one of his Enemies could accuse or blame the same his sober life and conversation. This Ralfe Hare was charged to be one that had spoken against auricular confession, against holy bread, and holy water: yea, and beside that, he was one which would not lightly sweare an Oath, nor use almost any manner of pastime, nor good fellowship, as they terme it, but was alwaies in a corner by himselfe, looking on his booke. This poore simple man being charged by the Commissioners that he was a naughty man and erroneous, and that he could not be otherwise, coming out of a towne so infected with pernicious errours and sects, as that was, was willed by them to take good heed to himselfe, lest through obstinacie he turned his erroneous opinions into plain heresie: for an errour defended is heresie.

Ralfe Hare charged.

The answer of Ralfe Hare.

My good Lords, said the poore man, I take God to record, I would not willingly maintaine any errour or heresie. Wherefore I beseech you let my accusers come face to face before me. For if they charge me with that which I have spoken, I will never deny it. Moreover, if it be truth, I will stand unto it, and otherwise, if it be an errour, I will with all my heart utterly forsake it, I meane if it be against Gods holy Word: for the Lord is my witnesse, I seek and daily pray to God, that I may know the truth, and flee from all errors, and I trust the Lord will save me and preserve me from them.

Aha, quoth the Bishop of Winchester, doe you not heare what he saith my Lord? I perceive now thou art a naughty fellow. Alas my Lord, said Ralfe Hare, what evill said I? Marry sir, you said the Lord, the Lord, and that is Symbolum Hæreticorum said Winchester. What is that my Lord, for Gods sake tell me, said Hare? Thou art naught, thou art naught, said he. At which words the simple man began to tremble, and seemed much dismaied and driven into a great agony and feare. Which thing Winchester well perceiving, said unto him: Ralfe Hare, Ralfe Hare, by my troth I pittie thee much. For in good faith, I thinke thee to be a good simple man, and of thy selfe wouldest meane well enough, but that thou hast had shrewd and subtill schoolemasters, that have seduced thee good poore simple soule, and therefore I pitty thee, and it were indeed pittie that thou shouldest bee burnt, for thou art a good fellow, a tall man, and hast served the King right well in his warres. I have heard thee well commended, and thou art yet able to doe the King as good service as ever thou wast, and we all will be a meane to his Grace to be good gracious Lord unto thee, if thou wilt take pittie of thy selfe, and leave thy errours. For I dare say for us all that be commissioners, that wee would bee loth that thou shouldest bee cast away. For alas poore simple man, we perceive thou hast beene seduced, I say, by others.

Winchesters cavillation about the Lord and our Lord.

How sayest thou therefore, thou knowest my Lord of Canterburies Grace here is a good gentle Lord, and would be loth thou shouldest be cast away. Tell me, canst thou be content to submit thy selfe unto him, and to stand unto such order, as hee and wee shall take in this matter? how saist thou man? speake. The poore man therewith falling upon his knees, and shedding teares, answered, speaking to the Archbishop of Canterburie in this wise: My good Lord, for Christs sake bee good unto me, and I refer my selfe unto your Graces order, to doe with me what you please.

The words of the Archbishop of Canterbury to Ralfe Hare.

The Bishop of Canterburie, considering what danger he was ready to fall in, and pitying the same (though the simplicitie of the man was so great that hee perceived it not) said, nay Ralfe Hare, stand up and advise thy selfe, and commit not thy selfe to mee, for I am but one man, and in commission but as the other are, so that it lieth in me to doe nothing. But if thou doe commit thy selfe unto all, then thou committest thy selfe unto the law, and the law is ordained to doe every man right. Goe to Ralfe Hare, said Winchester, submit thy selfe to my Lord and us: it is best for thee to doe so. Whereupon hee fell upon his knees againe, and said, my Lords and maisters all, I submit my selfe wholly unto you. And therewith a booke was holden him, and an oath given him to be obedient unto them and to all Ecclesiasticall lawes, and straightway he was enjoyned to abjure, and to beare a fagot three severall dayes, and moreover the poore man lost his whole living that hee had at Calice.

Penance injoyned to Ralfe Hare.

This simple man hearing his penance, pittifully lamented, and earnestly at the first denied to stand thereunto, with pittious exclamation, saying, O my Lord of Winchester, my Lord of Winchester, have you made me a logge ready to bee laid upon the fire, whensoever any wicked man falsely of malice, by provocation of the divell, shall lay any small trifle to my charge? Or shall I be thus handled, nothing proved to my face against me? Alas I have alwaies hated errours and heresies. Content thy selfe Hare: there is now no remedie, thou must either doe thy penance, or be burnt, said the commissioners. Thus have you heard how Ralfe Hare did speed.

The examination and trouble of Thomas Brooke. Accusers of Tho. Brooke. False accusation.

Then was Thomas Brook called for, against whom it was objected by some of the Counsels letters of Calice, that he was a seditious fellow. Among these accusers besides the rest was one Richard Long, another Francis Hallings, men of armes, who charged the forenamed Thomas Brooke, and one Geffery Lobeday Esquire, for staying

ſtaying and maintaining the foreſaid Adam Damlip at Calice, as who had promiſed unto him a ſtipend to preach ſuch hereſies & pernicious opinions as afterward he taught there: and that theſe two daily gathered many ſeverall ſummes of money for the entertainment of the ſaid Adam. Howbeit the foreſaid Hallings failed in the proofe thereof. For Loveday proved that he was eight dayes before Damlips coming to Calice, and during fourteene dayes continually after he began to preach, abiding at Paris, there occupied about neceſſarie affaires of Charles Duke of Suffolke. And Brook during the ſaid time was at London, daily attendant in the Parliament houſe, whereof he had enow to beare witneſſe, againſt that untrue ſurmiſe.

Three other accuſers againſt Thomas Brooke, and Geffery Loveday.

After that, came three at once againſt the ſaid Brook, well armed as they thought, who had not onely conſulted together before of the matter, and put it in writing at Calice, beſide their conference and talke by the way keeping company from thence hither, but alſo had obtained from the Lord Deputy, and others of the Counſell, ſpeciall Letters as is aforeſaid, and among other, one Letter unto the Biſhop of Chicheſter, for the earneſt and ſpeedy furtherance of the advancement of their acculſations againſt Brook.

Payton the firſt accuſer.

The firſt of theſe three was a young Gentleman lately brought up under the ſaid Brooke in the Office of Cullome, whoſe name was Edmund Payton. The other was one Robert Poole, a man (as it was commonly reported) both baſe borne, and alſo ſuch a one, as in his youth for murthering a man with a club, in bow Lane in London, was faine by obtaining the Kings pardon to ſave his necke.

R. Poole, the ſecond accuſer.

Tho. Boyſe, the third accuſer.

The third was one Thomas Boyſe, who, ſhewing more honeſty then the reſt, affirmed not that he himſelfe heard the ſaid Brook ſpeake any thing of that which was objected againſt him, but juſtified that each of the other two had ſtedfaſtly affirmed to him, that Brook had ſpoken unto them thoſe things here under objected againſt him.

The depoſition of the firſt witneſſe againſt Tho. Brook.

The firſt young man objected againſt the ſaid Brooke, that he ſhould ſay that the thing which the prieſt uſeth to hold up over his head at maſſe, is not the naturall body of Jeſus Chriſt: for if that were ſo, who ſo would might have their belly full of gods, their guts full of gods, and he that had lately received the Sacrament before he went to the Sea, might happily vomit God up againe on Shipboord.

And thus much he brought over in writing with him from Calice, and added thereto, as it ſhould ſeeme, to exaſperate the Commiſſioners and the reſt of the Clergie againſt him, certaine other hainous words ſpoken againſt biſhops and prieſts. Which words and ſaid Brook there denied, confeſſing nevertheleſſe that certaine private talke he had with him touching the ſacrament, wherein he ſhewed to the young man the right uſe of the ſame: concluding, that albeit with our mouthes we received very materiall bread and wine, yet by faith all Chriſtian men do receive, eat and drinke, to their great comfort and benefit, the naturall body and blood of Chriſt, which was both borne of the Virgin Mary, & ſuffered death on the croſſe for the remiſſion of their ſinnes: which moſt holy ſacrament who ſo cometh unworthily unto, the ſame was ſo farre from eating of Chriſts body and blood, that all ſuch, without hearty repentance, doe eate their owne damnation: And to conclude with him, in that private talk he told him, that if the groſſe and unlearned errour of Tranſubſtantiation were indeed matter of truth and ſincere doctrine, then not onely this ſhould follow of it, that every man who would might have everlaſting life (for they might when they would receive the outward Sacrament, ſeene with our eyes, which the prieſts call Chriſts naturall body, and who ſo eateth Chriſts naturall body hath everlaſting life, ſaith Chriſt) but alſo there ſhould great abſurdities follow thereby, as when a man hapneth to goe to ſea, having lately received the ſacrament, he ſhould put it over-board, or doe it on the hatches, and therefore exhorted the ſaid Paiton to leave that groſſe errour.

The private talke of Tho. Brook and Paiton touching the ſacrament.

Pooles accuſation againſt Brooke.

The ſecond accuſer was Poole, who objected againſt him, that about two yeares paſt, he himſelfe dining with the ſaid Brooke, with fifteene or ſixteene other honeſt men, heard him to ſay thus at the table, that the thing which the prieſts uſe to hold up over their heads, was not the very body and bloud of Chriſt, but a Sacrament to put us in remembrance thereof. Unto whoſe objections the ſaid Brooke anſwered, That a man in mirth might well enough in charitie beſtrew ſuch a gueſt, as when he had dined with a man could ſo long after remember to ſay him ſuch a grace: and required of Poole, of whence the reſt of the gueſts were. He anſwered, they were of the towne all. Then inferred he, that he was ſure Poole could as well remember ſome of their names which then were preſent, as freſhly to keepe in minde (for ſo by oath upon a booke he had affirmed) every word of the whole matter which he objected; but that the matter was utterly untrue. Whereupon the ſaid Brooke deſired their honours to conſider the ſlenderneſſe of his tale.

To be ſhort, he with the reſt of his fellowes, to wit, Ralfe Yare, Coppen, and James the Barber, were for that time diſmiſſed.

The trouble and examination of ſir Will. Smith and John Butler Commiſſarie.

The acculers of John Butler.

During the time while theſe foure were thus in examination at London, the other two, to wit, ſir William Smith preacher, and John Butler, by commandement were apprehended in Calice, and bound by ſuretie not to paſſe the gates of the towne of Calice. In the which towne, the ſaid John Butler Commiſſarie was accuſed by Richard Thorpe and John Ford ſouldiers of Calice, ſaying, That he ſhould ſay, that if the Sacrament of the Altar be fleſh, bloud, and bone, then there is good Aquavitæ at John Spilsers. Upon which accuſation the ſaid Thorpe and Ford brought for records before the Counſell of Calice, Warraunt, Haynes, John Luckes, Henry Hutton and Henry Troſt, all of the parith of Dye beſide Calice. Whereupon ſhortly after, the ſaid John Butler and ſir William Smith were ſent for, and by one Swallow a Purſevant, which fetcht up the other aforeſaid, brought into England, unto the houſe of the ſaid Swallow dwelling by Saint James, where the Kings Majeſtie lay at that time, & they next day being Thurſday after dinner, Butler & Smith were brought to the Star Chamber before the priby Counſel, where both ſedition and hereſie was objected againſt them. And after much talke it was ſaid unto them by the Lord Cromwell, that they ſhould make their purgation by the Law: and from thence by the foreſaid Swallow they were ſent to the Fleet.

Aquavitæ, to digeſt the bloud and bones of the ſacrament.

The examination of John Butler.

The next day being Friday after dinner, Butler and Smith were ſent for to come to Bath place, where they were brought into the Chappell, there ſitting Doctor Clarke, Biſhop of Bathe, Doctor Sampſon, then Biſhop of Chicheſter, Doctor Repley, the Biſhop of Norwich, who was a Monk, being faſt aſleepe. Then was objected unto Butler with great reverence the opprobrious words ſpoken againſt the bleſſed Sacrament (rehearſing as is aforeſaid) the articles. Butler required to have them in writing, and ſo he would make anſwer in writing. The which they would not grant him; and upon that anſwer he ſtood. Then choler gathered in the biſhop of Chicheſter. The ſtory were too long to write, yet part ye ſhall underſtand.

Chicheſter found great fault that Butler made not low curteſie, being ſtubborn and arrogant, as he ſaid,

KING. HEN. 8. } said, and in fine, found fault with his shirt. Then turning him about he called to his brother Banester being present (that time dwelling in Paternoster rowe) to make answer for the shirt. Hee said, I can make answer for the shirt. No good answer, said Chichester. Forsooth, said he, the shirt is mine, I lent it him, because he brought none with him, for he was not permitted to have any servant. A good answer, said the Bishop of Bathe. Then Butler made low courtesie, and said, The shirt is answered. Then Chichester said, Thou mockest us. But he said no. And thus much concerning that time.

The story of William Smith.

The trouble and examination of Sir William Smith Curate.

THen after Butler was sir William Smith, curate of our Ladie parish in Calice, called before them, and charged in a manner with the same hainous errors and pernicious opinions that were objected against the said Ralfe Yare; and thereto was added, that he had spoken and preached against our blessed Lady, against praying to Saints, against doing of good workes, and many other such like things: and therewithall one Richard Long, a man at armes at Calice, proved against the said Sir Smith, and the foresaid Brooke, by an oath taken upon a booke, that the said Smith and Brooke did eate flesh together in Lent in the said Brookes house. For a Millers boy, said he, came into Brooks Kitchen, and saw halfe a lambe lie rolling at the fire. Whereas the truth is, that the said sir William Smith, during all the Lent, came never once within the said Brookes house. And it is as true also, that the said Richard Long, upon a displeasure taken with his wife, went shortly after out of his owne house, to the Juttie end of the haven at Calice, where desperately he drowned himselfe, not one boy, but many men, women, girles and boyes seeing him miserably taken up againe starke dead; all which lamented his pittifull ruine. A terrible example unto all such as are ready to forsweare themselves on a booke upon malice, or whatsoever other cause it be, a thing in these dayes over rife every where, and almost no where regarded as it ought to be.

False accusation and perjurie punished of God

The trouble of Iohn Butler.

The trouble of Iohn Butler Commissarie.

THere was also called before them Sir John Butler, then Commissarie at Calice, whom they would have burdened with the maintenance or (at the least wise) sufferance of the foresaid Adam Damlip, which preached so long time there, and was not by him punished. Who for his defence answered, that the Lord Deputy and the whole Counsell there so highly entertained, and so friendly used the said Damlip, and with their owne presence and high commendations outwardly so allowed and commended his doctrine, that it lay not in him to doe otherwise then he did; and therefore humbly besought their Lordships and other the commissioners to be good unto him. At whose hands, after long attendance given, he was discharged, and so returned home againe, being also dismissed of his Commissarishp.

The recantation of certaine Calice men.

The recantation and penance of sir William Smith, Ralfe Yare, James Cocke, and James Barber of Calice.

NOw to declare what order was taken with these foresaid Calice men, it was appointed that Sir William Smith, Ralfe Yare, James Cocke, and James Barber, should be sent to Calice, there to abjure and to doe penance. Where sir William Smith was injoyned to make the sermon, Ralfe Yare, James Cocke, and James Barber standing with fagots upon their shoulders. The sermon was made in the market of Calice. Which being done, they went with their fagots about the market place, the Drumme and Fife going before them, and then returning to the Commissioners with the testimoniall of the same, they departed. Albeit in this recantation, the said M. Smith Curat of our Ladies church handled his sermon after that sort, as in effect he denied nothing at all that he had before preached or taught, yet it satisfied somewhat his adversaries malicious hearts, in that it bare the name of a recantation, according to the commissioners order, appointing him thus openly to preach, and so to depart the towne and marches.

James Barber.

As touching James Barber aforesaid, forsomuch as his dwelling was not at Calice, but foure miles off from the towne, it was therefore enjoyned him to beare his fagot, not at Calice, but on the Saturday next following to stand in the market there, where he dwelled, with his fagot upon his shoulder, and the said sir William Smith likewise there preached as before.

And thus much concerning the first commission sent over to Calice to enquire upon the heretiques there.

Another Commission sent over to Calice.

A new Commission sent downe to Calice.

AFter all these things done and past, the grudging mindes of the Adversaries yet were not satisfied, but still suggested new complaints to the Kings eares against the towne of Calice, making the King beleeve, that through new opinions the towne was so divided, that it was in great danger of the Adversarie to be overcome.

False accusation against the Towne of Calice.

Whereupon shortly after, the weeke before Easter next following, other new Commissioners were sent over by the King to Calice, to wit, the Earle of Sussex, Lord great Chamberlaine, the Lord Saint John, sir John Gage knight, sir John Baker knight, Walter Layton Clerke of the closet, and Doctor Currin, with speciall instructions besides signed by the Kings Majesties own hand: for his highnesse had beene incensed once againe from the Counsell of Calice, that the towne was in perill through dissension and diversitie of opinions. Upon their arrivall, Walter Doctor Currin preached a notable sermon, exhorting all men to charitie, having nothing in his mouth but charitie, charitie. But as it seemed afterward, such a burning charitie was in him and the rest of the Commissioners, that had not God pitied the innocencie of mens causes, there had an hundred been burnt or hanged shortly after.

The Commissioners appointed.

But it hapned far otherwise, for of the number of those accusers, foure were by those Commissioners sent over into England, to wit, Clement Philpot, servant to the Lord Lisle, Sir Edmund, Curate of our Ladies Church, M. Vouchet a poke maker, Peter Bequet. Of the which foure, Vouchet and Bequet were sent to their places againe; the other two were drawne, hanged, and quartered at London. But contrarie, of all them that were accused, there was not one that lost one haire of his head.

Example of Gods punishment upon false accusers.

After the sermon was done, on the morrow, to wit, on Shere Thursday, all the Commissioners solemnely received the sacrament: and at afternoon the Counsell were with the Commissioners; and after their consultation, tipped staves warned above the number of fourescore, so perverse persons, as the like was not in the towne or marches, to appeare on the morrow at eight of the clocke before the Counsell at the Staple Inne: who at their appearance were commanded upon their alleagiance, to present all such heretiques, schismatiques, and seditious persons, as they did know, and in no wise to doubt or dread so to doe, for they should have great advantage thereby, yea, they should either have their livings or their goods; and besides that,

that, they ſhould have great thankes at the Kings majeſties hand, and his honourable Counſell, and what friendſhip they of the Kings Counſell there could ſhew them. All that good Friday, even till ten of the clock at night, thoſe wicked and malicious perſons occupied their time in anſwering to divers and ſundry queſtions.

L. Lille deputy of Calice committed to the Tower.

Great perturbation at Calice.

These things were not ſo ſecretly done, but they were bewrayed and came to honeſt mens knowledge. Whereupon ſuch feare and diſtruſt aſſaulted all men, that neighbour miſtruſted neighbour, the maſter the ſervant, the ſervant the maſter, the huſband the wife, the wife the husband, and almoſt every one the other, that lamentable it was to ſee how mourningly men and women went in the ſtreetes, hanging downe their heads, ſhewing evident tokens of the anguiſh of their hearts.

Example of Gods puniſhment upon his perſecutors.

The ſecond trouble of Thomas Brooke.

Vpon Eaſter Munday, one Hugh Councell an honeſt man, ſervant to the ſaid Brooke, was convented before them, and by the ſpace of fourteene dayes not ſuffered to returne to his maſters houſe, but kept in cuſtodie, and many times examined upon Articles and interrogatories, in hope to have found worthy matter, either of hereſie or treaſon againſt the ſaid Brook, and the ſame day that Brook was committed to Ward, the ſaid Hugh Councell was diſcharged.

The Wedneſday in the Eaſter weeke, ſundry Queſts were charged by their Othes to make inquiſition for all manner of hereſies, erroneous opinions and ſeditions: as a Queſt of Aldermen, another of men at Armes, and another of Conſtables and Wintners, another of common ſouldiers, and another of Commoners.

Thirteene Calice men impriſoned for their faith.

And ſhortly after their preſentments, on good Friday, there were convented before the Commiſſioners, and ſtraight were ſent to cloſe priſon, Anthonie Pickering Gentleman, Henry Turney Gentleman, Sir George Darby prieſt, John Shepheard, William Pellam, William Leverdale, Jo. Whitwood, Jo. Boote, Robert Clodder, Coppen de Yane, and Matthew de Hound. Upon whom ran ſundry brutes: ſome ſaid they ſhould be hanged, ſome ſaid burnt, ſome ſaid hanged drawne and quartered, ſome ſaid nayled to the Pillorie: ſo that pittifull it was to ſee the lamentation that their wives, their children, ſervants, and friends, made ſecretly where they durſt, for that they found every where words of diſcomfort, and no where of comfort, but ſtill inquiſition was made.

The ſecond trouble of William Stevens.

False crimes forged againſt W. Stevens.

The foreſaid William Stevens after his return from London above mentioned, beſides many other articles laid to him for religion to the number of fourtie or welnie, was by the Lord deputie charged that he had ſtayd the foreſaid Adam Damlip, hired him to preach, and gave him meate, drink, and lodging, coming from the arrant traitor Cardinall Poole, and ſuborned by him, and that he had received money of him, to the intent he ſhould preach in Calice falſe and erroneous doctrine, whereby the towne being divided and at contention within it ſelfe might eaſily be overcome and wonne by the Frenchmen. Whereunto the ſaid Stevens anſwered, that whatſoever he had done unto the ſaid Adam Damlip, hee had done it at the earneſt requeſt and commandement of the ſaid Lord deputie. Whereupon, if it had beene treaſon indeed, he muſt have beene more faulty.

W. Stevens committed to the Tower.

Then the ſaid William Stevens was again the ſecond time by the ſaid Commiſſioners ſent over into England, and clapt in the Tower, and afterward, to wit, immediately after the ſaid commiſſioners repaire unto the Kings highneſſe, the ſaid Lord deputie was ſent for over, and likewiſe put into the Tower, where he continued a long time. And when the Kings majeſtie minded to have beene gracious unto him, and to have let him come forth, God tooke him out of this world, whoſe body reſteth in the Tower, and his ſoule with God, I truſt, in heaven, for he died very repentant. But the wicked Ladie his wife, immediately upon his apprehenſion, fell diſtraught of minde, and ſo continued many yeers after. God for his mercy, if ſhe yet live, give her his grace to repent.

The ſecond Munday after Eaſter, the foreſaid Brooke was convented before the Commiſſioners, and committed to cloſe priſon in the Maiors Gaole.

Then the Counſell of Calice, doubting leſt there ſhould not be any ſedition or hereſie proved againſt him, did call one George Bradway before them, who occupied the Controllers office in the cuſtome houſe. This man was kept in cloſe priſon, ſo as neither his wife then great with childe, nor any other his friends might repaire unto him. Where, after that he had oftentimes bin borne in hand, that there were divers concealments come to light that were made by Brooke in the Office of Cuſtome, and that the ſaid Bradway ſhould be grievouſly puniſhed if he would acknowledge none of them, nor burden the ſaid Brooke with ſome kinde of concealment: the poore ſimple man, hoping thereby to get releaſe of his impriſonment, accuſed the ſaid Brooke, that he had for a long time concealed foure groats every day for his Clerkes wages, and to that accuſation they cauſed the ſimple man to ſet his owne hand before witneſſes.

False accuſation puniſhed by Gods hand.

Whereupon, after a day or two, the ſaid Bradway, grieved in his conſcience for the ſame his moſt untrue accuſation, did with a knife enterpriſe to cut his owne throat: but God of his mercy ſo directed his wicked purpoſe, that the backe of his knife was toward his weſande. Whereby though the wound were broad, yet he eſcaped with life. And as he gave a grone with the ſudden paine that he felt, the Jayler came up, and bereft him of the knife. But through the guiltineſſe of the falſe accuſation, and ſhame of the World, the man loſt his wits, who then ſtaring and diſmayed was diſmiſſed out of priſon, and a long time after went in pittious caſe ſo diſmaied about the ſtreet, to the great impoveriſhing of him, his poore wife and family.

Gods mercy in puniſhing.

This kinde of handling of the ſaid Brooke made all his friends, but eſpecially his wife, to be greatly afraid of the malice of his enemies: the rather alſo, for that all his goods and lands were ſeiſed, and his wife thruſt into the meaneſt place of all his houſe, with her children and family, the keyes of all the doores and cheſts beſide taken from her. Who for that ſhe was rigorouſly intreated at Sir Edw. Kingleis hand, Controller of the Towne (an Office of no ſmall charge, though he knew not a B. from a Battle-dore, nor ever a letter of the booke) ſaying unto her, that if ſhe liked not the roome, hee would thruſt her quite out of the doores: well ſir, ſaid ſhe, well, the Kings ſlaughterhouſe had wrong when you were made a Gentleman; and with all ſpeed ſhe wrote a letter to the Lord Cromwell, therein diſcourſing how hardly and ſore thoſe poore men were handled, that were committed to warde and cloſe priſon, and that all men feared (what through the malice of the papiſticall enemies, and the great rigor and ignorant zeale of thoſe that were in authority) they ſhould ſhortly for their faith and conſciences, being true men, and ſuch as reverently feared God, be put to death, but chiefly her huſband who was yet more extreamely handled then any other: So that unleſſe his honour vouchſafed to be a meane to the Kings majeſtie, that they with their cauſes might be ſent over into England, they were but dead men.

Letters ſent to the Lord Cromwell from Calice.

Whereupon

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The Lord Cromwels letter to the Commissioners at Calice.

Whereupon the said L. Cromwell wrote speedily his letters unto the Commissioners, declaring, that the Kings Majesties pleasure and commandement was, that the errant traitor and Heretique Brooke, with a dosen or twenty complices, should with their accusers be immediately sent over, that here in England they might receive their judgement, and there at Calice, to the great terrour of like offenders hereafter, suffer according to their demerits.

Now by the time that the said Commissioners had received these Letters, they had made out precepts for eight or nine score honest men more to be cast in prison. But these letters so appalled them, that they stayed, and afterward sent no more to ward. But making then as diligent inquisition as was possible, to have found some worthy matter against those before named, whereby there might have bèn some colour both of the Counsels grieuous complaints, and of the Commissioners rigorous dealing; when no such thing could fall out, because they would be assured that they should not go unpunished, they first banished them the towne and marches of Calice with a trumpet blowne, under pain of death, for an hundred yèrs and a day (if that one day had beene left out, all had beene marred) and then sent them backe to prison, staying them there upon hope that the Lord Cromwell should come into captivitie sooner then he did. But at last, to wit on May day, they sent the thirtène prisoners through the market, the said Brooke going before with irons on his legges, as the chiefe Captaine, the rest following him two and two without irons, unto shipboord, and then were they all coupled in irons, two and two together. Where because they were loath to go under the hatches, sir John Gage with a staffe smote some of them cruelly. Whereupon Anth. Pickering said unto him, sir, I beseech you yet be as good to us as ye would be to your horses or dogs, let us have a little ayre that we be not smothered. Yet that request could not be obtained, but the hatches were put downe close, and they garded and kept with a great couparie of men; and so sailing forward, by Gods mercifull providence, were within foure and twentie houres at anchor before the Tower of London.

Fifteen prisoners of Calice sent to London.

The crueltie of Popish persecutors.

And when the Lord Cromwell understood they were come, he commanded their irons to be smit off at the Tower wharfe, and the prisoners to be brought unto him.

The 13. prisoners put in the Fleet.

When he saw them he smiled upon them, stedfastly beholding each of them, and then said, Sirs, you must take pains for a time, go your way to the Fleet, and submit your selves prisoners there, and shortly you shall know more. So indèd they did; and that evening he sent them word they should be of good cheer, for if God sent him life, they should shortly go home with as much honestie as they came with shame.

Whilest these thirtèn persecuted men lay in the Fleet, and William Stevens in the Tower, to wit, the nineteenth day of July, Anno 1541. the foresaid Lord Cromwell, for treason laid against him, was at Tower hill beheaded, as is before specified in his story, who made there a very Christian end. Then had the poore Calice men great cause to feare, if they had not altogether depended on the merciful providence of their heavenly father, whose blessed will they knew directed all things. But he in the midst of their deepe troubles and miseries so comforted them, that even as their dangers and troubles increased, so likewise did their consolation and joy in him; so farre forth as Matthew de Pound, one of those thirtène, who was in trouble onely for that he heard Copen de Hall read a chapter of the new Testament, and was as deep in punishment, and in banishment from his wife, children, and countrey, as the rest, got in short time such instruction, that having therewith a soule and conscience fraughted full of godly zeale unto Gods glory, and the true doctrine of Christ, within a few moneths after his deliverance out of the Fleet, for inveying constantly against the wicked honouring of Images, and praying to saints departed, he was cruelly, in a most constant faith and patience, burned in Flanders.

Matthew de Pound a blessed martyr of God burned in Flaunders.

Now therefore when all hope in man was past, the right honorable Lord Audley, Lord Chancellor of England, without further examination, discharged first the said thirtèn that were in the Fleet, and at length two yèrs after he delivered William Stevens also, by the Kings own motion, out of the Tower, saying at the discharging of those thirtèene; Sirs, pray for the Kings Majestie, his pleasure is that you shall all be presently discharged. And though your Livings be taken from you, yet despair not, God will not see you lack. But for Gods sake sirs beware how you deal with Popish Priests; for, so God save my soul, some of them be knaves all. Sirs, said he, I am commanded by the Counsell to tell you, that you are discharged by vertue of the Kings generall pardon, but that Pardon excepteth and forbiddeth all Sacramentaries, and the most part, or all of you are called Sacramentaries: therefore I cannot see how that pardon doth you any pleasure. But pray for the Kings Highnesse, for his Graces pleasure is, that I should dismisse you, and so I do, and pity you all. Fareweli sirs.

The Lord Audley good to the persecuted members of Christ.

The common saying of the Lord Audley concerning popish priests.

Calice men dismissed.

So giving God most hearty thanks for his mightie and mercifull delivering of them, they departed dismissed, as you have heard, being indèd in verie poore estate; but not in so miserable estate as all those eight Counsellors of Calice were within one yèr and a halfe after. For whereas the other three Counsellors which seemed more favourable unto them (to wit, the Lord Gray, sir George Carew, and sir Richard Grenfield) which purged the town of those slanders that untruly were raised upon it, were therefore for a time in their Princes high displeasure; within that yèr they were all three in greater favour with his Majestie then ever they were before, and that not without the reward of twenty pounds by yèr to him and to his heirs, who had least. The other eight Counsellours, unjustly charging them and the Towne of sedition and heresie, (that is to say, the Lord Lisle, the Lord Sands, sir John Wallop, sir Edward Rinsle, Robert Fowler Esquire, Vice-Treasurer, sir Thomas Palmer Knight, called long Palmer, William Simpson Esquire, undermarshall, and John Rockwood) were either greatly out of their Princes favour, and in the tower, or else were prisoners, or else by very desperate deaths, in outward appearance, taken out of this world. For tediousnesse I will rehearse but onely the horrible end of the said Rockwood, the chief stirrer up of all the afflictions afore spoken of: who even to his last breath, staring and raging, cried, he was utterly damned. And being willed to aske God mercy, who was readie to forgive all that asked mercy of him, he prayed and cried out, All too late, for I have sought maliciously the deaths of a number of the honestest men in the town; and though I so thought them in my heart, yet I did that lay in me to bring them to an evill death: all too late therefore, all too late. Which same words he answered to one that at the departure of the thirtèn in irons towards England, said, sir, I never saw men of such honestie so sharply corrected, and taking it so patiently and joyfully. Rockwood then fetching a fricke or two, scoffingly answered, All too late. The undermarshall suddenly fell down in the Councell Chamber, and never spake word after, nor shewed any token of repentance. The plagues of the other also, as I am credibly informed, were little better.

Example how God prospereth the favourers and friends to his Gospel.

Example how God turneth the malice of their enemies upon their own heads.

The example of Gods judgement upon a cruel persecutor.

The

The second apprehension and martyrdome of Adam Damlip.

Adam Damlip again apprehended.

COncerning Adam Damlip, otherwise called George Bucker, ye heard before declared, how he being convented before the Bishops at Lambeth, and afterward secretly admonished, and having money given him by his friends to avoid, and not to appeare again before the Bishops; after he had sent his allegations in writing unto them, departed into the west countrey, and there continued teaching a Schoole a certain space, about a yeer or two. After that, the good man was again apprehended by the miserable inquisition of the six articles, and brought up to London, where he was by Steven Gardiner commanded into the Marshalsey, and there lay the space of other two yeers or thereabout.

George Bucker confessor to the prisoners in the Marshalsey.

During the imprisonment of this George in the Marshalsey, John Marbecke (as partly ye heard before) also was committed unto the same prison, which was the morrow after Palm sunday. The manner of that time so required, that at Easter everie person must needs come to confession. Whereupon Marbeck, with the rest of the prisoners there, was enforced to come upon Easter day to sir George aforesaid, to be confessed, who was then confessor to the whole house. By this occasion John Marbeck, which had never seen him before, entring into conference with him, perceived what he was, what he had been, what troubles he sustained, how long he had lien there in prison, by whom and wherefore, who declared moreover his minde to Marbeck, to the effect as followeth: And now because, said he, I think they have forgotten me, I am fully minded to make my humble suit to the Bishop of Winchester, in an Epistle, declaring therein mine obedience, humble submission, and earnest desire to come to examination. I know the worst: I can but lose my life present, which I had lever do, then here to remain, and not to be suffered to use my talent to Gods glory. Wherefore (God willing) I will surely put it in proofe.

Acquaintance between John Marbeck and George Bucker otherwise called Adam Damlip.

Adam Damlip well beloved among the prisoners, specially of the keeper.

Wally keeper of the Marshalsey.

This Damlip for honest and godly behaviour was beloved of all the whole house, but especially of the keeper himself, whose name was Wally, whom he alwaies called maister, and being suffered to go at liberty within the house whither he would, he did much good among the common and rascall sort of prisoners, in rebuking vice and sin, and kept them in such good order and aw, that the keeper thought himself, to have a great treasure of him. And no lesse also Marbeck himself confesseth, to have found great comfort by him. For notwithstanding the straight precept given by the Bishop of Winchester, that no man should come to him, nor he to speak with any man; yet the said Adam many times would finde the means to come and comfort him.

Adam Damlip writeth to the Bishop of Winchester.

Now when he had made and drawn out his Epistle, he delivered the same to his Maister the keeper, upon saturday in the morning, which was about the second week before Whitsunday following, desiring him to deliver it at the Court to the Bishop of Winchester. The keeper said, he would, and so did. The Bishop what quick speed he made for his dispatch I know not, but thus it fell out as ye shall hear.

St. Gardiner sendeth out a precept for the execution of Adam Damlip.

The keeper came home at night very late, and when the prisoners (which had tarried supper for his coming) saw him so sad and heavie, they deemed something to be amisse. At last the keeper casting up his eyes upon sir George, said, O George I can tell thee tidings. What is that maister, quoth he? Upon Mundday next thou and I must go to Calice. To Calice maister? What to do? I know not quoth the keeper, and pulled out of his purse a peece of war with a little label of parchment hanging out thereat, which seemed to be a precept. And when sir George saw it, he said, well, well, maister, now I know what the matter is. What, quoth the keeper? Truly maister I shall die in Calice. Nay, quoth the keeper, I trust it be not so. Yes, yes, Maister, it is most true, and I praise God for his goodnesse therein. And so the keeper and they went together to supper, with heavy cheer for sir George, as they there called him. Who notwithstanding was merrie himself, and did eat his meat as well as ever he did in all his life: insomuch that some at the bord said unto him, that they marvelled how he could eat his meat so well, knowing he was so neer his death. Ah maisters, quoth he, do you think that I have been Gods prisoner so long in the Marshalsey, and have not yet learned to die? Yes, yes, and I doubt not but God will strengthen me therein. Ex Literis Iohann. Marbecki.

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The cheerful constancy of Adam Daml

And so upon Mundday early in the morning before day, the keeper with three other of the Knight Marshals servants, setting out of London, conveyed the said Adam Damlip to Calice upon the Ascension Even, and there committed him to the Maiors prison. Upon which day John Butler the Commissarie aforesaid, and sir Daniel his Curate of S. Peters were also committed to the same prison, and commandement given no man to speake with Butler.

Adam Dam brought to lice to suffer.

Upon Saturday next was the day of execution for Damlip. The cause which first they layed to his charge, was for heresie. But because by an Act of Parliament all such offences, done before a certain day, were pardoned (through which Act he could not be burthened with any thing that he had preached or taught before) yet for the receiving of the foresaid French Crown of Cardinall Poole (as you heard before) he was condemned of treason, and in Calice cruelly put to death, being drawn, hanged, and quartered.

The death and martyrdome of Damlip.

The day before his execution came unto him one maister Mote, then Parson of our Lady Church in Calice

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Calice, saying, Your foure quarters shall be hanged at foure parts of the town. And where shall my head be, said Damlip? Upon the Lanterne gate, said Note. Then Damlip answered, Then shall I not need to provide for my buriall. At his death, sir R. Ellerker knight, then Knight Marshall there, would not suffer the innocent and godly man to declare either his faith, or the cause he died for, but said to the executioner, dispatch the knave, have done. For sir W. Note, appointed there to preach, declared to the people, how he had been a sower of seditious doctrine; and albeit he was for that pardoned by the generall pardon, yet he was condemned for being a traitor against the King. To the which when Adam Damlip would have replied and purged himself, the foresaid sir Ralfe Ellerker would not suffer him to speak a word, but commanded him to be had away: And so most meekly, patiently, and joyfully, the blessed and innocent martyr took his death, sir Ralfe Ellerker saying, that he would not away before he saw the Traitors heart out. But shortly after, the said sir Ralfe Ellerker, in a skirmish or road betweene the French men and us at Bulleine, was among other slain. Whose onely death sufficed not his enemies, but after they had stripped him starke naked, they cut off his privie members, and cut the heart out of his body, and so left him a terrible example to all bloody and mercilesse men. For no cause was knowne why they shewed such indignation against the said sir Ralfe Ellerker, more then against the rest, but that it is written, Faciens Iustitias Dominus & judicia omnibus injuria pressis.

Damlip falsely accused of Calon, and instantly put to death.

Example of Gods just Iudgement.

As touching John Butler and sir Daniel his curate, imprisoned (as ye heard) the same day with Damlip, upon Sunday next following they were committed to John Mally aforesaid, Keeper of the Marshalsey, and his companie, and brought to the Marshalsey, where he and his Curate continued nine moneths and more. At last, being sore layed unto by sir George Gage, sir John Baker, and sir Thomas Arundel knights, but especially by Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, for the retaining of Adam Damlip, yet by friends soliciting the Kings Highnesse for him (namely sir Leonard Musgrave, and his brother Baunker, who were bound for his appearance in a thousand pounds) he at length by great labour and long time was discharged, and at last by licence permitted to returne to Calice againe. Ex scripto testimonio Caletiensium.

Other trouble of John Butler, and sir Daniel his Curate.

Ex scripto testimonio Caletiensium.

Furthermore, as touching William Stevens abovementioned, who remained all this while prisoner in the tower, the same was also condemned with Adam Damlip of treason, which was for note and crime of poperie, in lodging Adam Damlip, which came from Cardinall Poole the Traitor, in his house, at the Lord Deputies commandment. Notwithstanding the King afterward understanding more of the said William Stevens, how innocent he was from that crime, being knowne to all men to be an earnest and zealous Protestant, gave him his pardon, and sent him home againe to Calice, and so likewise all the other thirteene abovementioned.

W. Stevens an earnest Protestant falsly condemned for poperie.

W. Stevens with the rest pardoned by the King.

The story of a poore labouring man in Calice.

By the credible information and writing of the said Calice men, which were then in trouble, it is reported of a certaine poore labouring man of Calice, that after the preaching of Adam Damlip, being in a certain companie, he said that he would never beleeve that a Priest could make the Lords body at his pleasure. Whereupon he was then accused, and also condemned by one Harvy Commissarie there. Which Harvy in time of his judgement inveying against him with opprobrious words, said that he was an heretike, and should die a vile death. The poore man (whose name yet I have not certainly learned) answering for himself again, said that he was no heretique, but was in the faith of Christ. And whereas thou saiest (said he) that I shall die a vile death, thou thy self shalt die a viler death, and that shortly; and so it came to passe, for within half a yeer after, the said Harvey was hanged, drawn, and quartered for Treason in the said town of Calice.

Poore man burned at Calice for the right faith of the Sacrament.

A notable example of Gods judgement upon a bloody persecutour.

Another historie of one Dod a Scottish man, burned in Calice.

After the burning of this poore man, there was also another certain scholler, counted to be a Scottish man, named Dod, who coming out of Germany, was there taken with certain Germain books about him, and being examined thereupon, and standing constantly to the truth that he had learned, was therefore condemned to death, and there burned in the said town of Calice, within the space of a yeer or thereabout after the other godly martyr above mentioned.

One Dod burned in Calice.

And forsomuch as I am presently in hand with matters of Calice, I cannot passe from thence without the memorie of another certain honest man of the same township, named William Button, alias Crosbowmaker, although the time of this story is a little more ancient in yeers; which story is this.

The story of W. Crosbowmaker bearing a billet in Calice.

William Crosbowmaker, a souldier of Calice, and the Kings servant, being a man (as some natures be) somewhat pleasantly disposed, used when he met with Priests, to demand of them certain merrie questions of passtime, as these: Whether if a man were suddenly taken, and wanted another thing, he might not without offence occupie one of the Popes pardons in stead of a broken paper.

W. Crosbowmakers question

Another question was, Whether in the world might better be wanting, Dogs or Priests. And if it were answered that dogs might rather be spared; to that he should reply again and infer, that if there were no dogs, we could make no mo, but if there lacked ignorant Priests, we might soon and too soon make too many of them.

It happened that in the time of Doctor Darly, Parson of our Ladies Church in Calice, being Commissarie there for Archbishop Warham, there came a black Frier to Calice with the Popes pardons, who for foure pence would deliver a soul out of Purgatorie. The Frier was full of Romish vertues, for what money came for pardons by day, he bought no land with it at night. This foresaid William Button, alias Crosbowmaker, coming to the pardoner, and pretending that he would deliver his father and friends souls, asked if the holy Father the Pope could deliver souls out of purgatorie? The Frier said, There is no doubt of that. Why then, quoth Button, doth not he of charitie deliver all the souls thereout? Of which words he was accused to the Commissarie: who at his appearing before the said Commissarie, confessed to have asked such questions. The Commissary being angry thereat, said, Doubtest thou thereof thou heretique? There was standing by a Black Frier named Capel, an English man, who said to the commissarie, There be ten thousand of these Heretiques betweene Gravelinge and Trere. Button answered, Maister Frier, of all men you may keep silence: for your coat hath been twice cut off from the faith, the first time your Order was enjoyned to have your black coat shorter then your white, and for the second time your Order must go to the furthest part of their church, and there sing an Antheme of our Lady. The Commissarie chafed at these words, calling Button heretique, with many other

Heresie to doubt of the Popes charity.

This Anthem the black Friers were injoyned to sing every night to our Lady in praise of her conception.

other opprobrious words. Then said Button to the Cõmissary; If your holy father the Pope may deliver souls out of Purgatory, & wil not of charity deliver thẽ, then I would to God the king would make me Pope, and I would surely deliver all out without money. At these words the Commissarie raged, and reviled Button exceedingly, causing him to bear a billet, and procured his wages (which was fiue pence a day) to be taken from him. Then went Button to the Kings Majestie, declaring all the whole matter to his Grace: Who sent him to Calice againe, and gaue him after that eight pence a day.

M. Crosbow maker pardoned of the King.

A notable example wherein may appeare as well the despight of Doctor London and other Papists against the Gospellers, as also the fidelitie of a Matron towards her husband.

FOrsomuch as mention was made a little before of Doctor London, we will somewhat more adde of him, because the matter seemeth neither impertinent nor unfruitfull, to the intent it may more evidently appeare, what truth and trust is to be looked for of this cruell kinde of Papists. This Doctor London was Warden of the new Colledge in Oxford, where it happened that certaine Plate was stollen, and conveyed and brought up to London, and sold to a Goldsmith named William Callaway. This Callaway was a man of good and honest name and reputation among his neighbours, but especially earnest and zealous towards the Gospell, and a great maintainer thereof. He had oftentimes before bought much plate of the same man without any perill or danger, wherefore he doubted the lesse of his fidelity.

The cruel malice of D. London against the Gospel. Ex Ed. Hallo.

Wil. Callaway. Goldsmith of London.

At the last the principall of the theft being taken, and the Goldsmith also that was the buyer being knowne, Doctor London, when he understood him to be a fauourer of the Gospell (whereof he was an extreame aduersarie) began straightwaies to be in a rage, and to sweare great and deepe Oathes, that he would spare neither labour nor cost, but would bring the Goldsmith to the gallowes, although it should cost him fiue hundred pounds. To be short, this good Goldsmith was arraigned as accessarie, and an action of Felonie brought against him. He contrariwise alledged, That they ought not to proceede against him, the principall being alive. Doctor London on the contrary part affirmed that the Principall was hanged; which was most false, for he was one of the same Colledge, and was alive, and but lately set at liberty. To be briefe, he being found guilty, the Judge asked him what he could alledge why he should not die: He required to haue the priuiledge of his booke, according to the ancient custome and manner. But here it was obiected against him that he was Bigamus, and therefore he might not haue his booke by the Law; notwithstanding that he neuer had two wiues, but because his wife had two husbands, it was imputed to him for Bigamia.

This principall was a Chaplein of the said Colledge.

Callaway claimeth the priuiledge of his booke.

Bigamus, that is, a man that hath had two wiues.

Thus this good Goldsmith being secluded from all hope of life, by the crafty spight of his malignant aduersarie; his wife, being a woman of proued honestly and good fame, came in before the Iudges, and perceiuing her former mariage to be hurtfull unto her husband, to saue her husbands life, she tooke an oath before the Iudges that she was not Bigama, and that she was neuer maried to moe men then to the said Goldsmith; and although she had children by her other husband, and continued diuers yeares with him, yet she sware that she was neuer married unto him. Thus this woman by defaming of her selfe, to her great praise and singular example of loue, deliuered her innocent husband; thinking it better for her to liue with ignominy and reproch, then for her husband to die, lesse esteeming the losse of her good name, then of his life. Ex Ed. Hallo.

A singular example of a faithfull wife toward her husband.

True loue between man and wife.

As touching the qualitie of this fact or periurie I intermeddle not here to discusse, but leaue it at large to the iudgement of Lawyers to define upon. Truth it is, that periurie neither in man nor woman is to be commended, neither ought it to be defended. But yet the true heart and faithfull loue betweene this man and his wife, counterpealing againe as much or more on the other side, the more rare and strange I see it in many couples now adayes, the more I thinke it worthy, not onely to be praised, but also for examples sake to be notified. But in the meane time, what shall we say to these Priests and aduersaries, who in such sort violently do presse, and force the poore sheep of Christ with perill of their conscience unto such periurie, and that in such cases, where no such truth is sought, but innocency oppressed, true religion persecuted, and onely their spite and wrath against Gods word wreaked?

During the time of these six articles aforesaid, which brought many good men unto death; yet so it hapned by another contrary Act set forth before for the Kings supremacy (as ye haue heard) that the contrary sect also of the Papists was not all in quiet. For besides the death of More, and the Bishop of Rochester, and the other Charterhouse Monkes, Friers and Priests aboue specified, about this yeare were also condemned and executed by the same law two other, of whom one was a priest of Chelsey, named Larke, which was put to death at London for defending the Bishop of Romes supremacy, aboue the Kings authoritie: The other was Germaine Gardiner (neere kinsman to Steuen Gardiner, and yet more neere to his secret counsell, as it is supposed) who likewise in practising for the Pope against the Kings iurisdiction, was taken with the manner, and so brought unto the gibbet.

Larke priest of Chelley, Germaine Gardiner traitors against the kinges supremacie.

Upon the detection of that Germaine Gardiner, being secretarie to Gardiner Bishop of Winchester his kinsman, it seemed to some, and so was also insinuated unto the King not to be unlike, but that the said Germane neither would nor durst euer attempt any such matter of poperie, without some setting on, or consent of the Bishop, he being so neere unto him, and to all secrets as he was. Whereby the King began somewhat more to smell and misdoubt the doings of the Bishop; but yet he so couertly and cleanly conueied his matters, playing under the bord, after his wonted fetches, in such sort as (I can not tell how) still he kept in with the King, to the great inquietation of the publike state of the realme, and especially of Christs Church.

Suspition against Steven Gardiner.

In declaring the dreadfull law before set forth of the five articles, which was, an. 1540. yee heard what penaltie was appointed for the breach of the same, in like case as in treason and felony, so that no remedie of any recantation would serue. This severity was a little mitigated by an other Parliament, holden afterward, an. 1544. by the which parliament it was decreed, that such offenders, which were convict in the said articles, for the first time should be admitted to recant & renounce their opinions. And if the party refused to recant in such forme as should be laid unto him by his ordinarie, or after his recantation if he eftsoones offended againe, then for the second time he should be admitted to abiure, & bear a fagot. Which if he denied to doe, or else being abiured if he the third time offended, then he to sustaine punishment according to the law, &c. Although the straightnesse and rigor of the former act was thus somewhat tempered, as yee see, and reformed by this present Parliament: yet notwithstanding the benome and poison of the

Stat. anno. 35. Reg. Hen. 8.

The rigour of the five articles a little allayed.

errours

King Hen. 8.

errors and mischiefe of those articles remained still behinde not removed, but rather confirmed by this Parliament aforesaid. By the which Parliament moreover many things were provided for the advancement of poperie, under the colour of religion; so that all manner of books of the old and new Testament, bearing the name of William Tindall, or any other having prologues, or containing any matters, annotations, preambles, words or sentences contrary to the six articles, were debarred. In like manner all songs, playes and interludes, with all other books in English, containing matter of religion, tending any way against the said articles, were abolished.

In the which parliament furthermore it was provided, that the text of the new Testament or of the Bible, being prohibited to all women, artificers, prentises, journeymen, serving men, yeomen, husbandmen, and labourers; yet was permitted notwithstanding to Noble men, and Gentlemen and Gentlewomen to read and peruse, to their edifying, so that they did it quietly without arguing, disclosing, or expounding upon the Scripture.

Qualification of the Act of the 6 Articles.

Over and besides, whereas before the offender or defendant might not be suffered to bring in any witnesses to purge and trie himselfe: in this Parliament it was permitted to the party detect, or complained on, to trie his cause by witnesses, as many, or moe in number, as the other which deposed against him, &c.

Other qualifications of the Act of the six Articles.

After this Parliament moreover followed another Parliament the yeere following, Anno 1545. wherein other qualifications more special of the six Articles were provided; that whereas before the cruell statute of the six Articles was so straight, that if any of the Kings subjects had bin complained of by any manner of person, as well being his enemie as otherwise, he should be indicted presently upon the same, without any further examination or knowledge given to the party so accused, and so thereupon attached, committed, and in fine condemned; it was therefore by this Parliament provided, that all such presentments and indictments should not be brought before the commissioners, otherwise then by the oathes of twelve men or moe, of honestie and credit, without corruption or malice accordingly.

Item, That no such indictments or presentments should be taken, but within one yeer after the offences committed, or else the said indictments to stand void in the law.

Item. That no person accused upon any such offence against the six Articles, should be attached, or committed to ward before he were thereof indicted, unlesse by speciall warrant from the King, &c.

Item, By the authoritie of the said Parliament it was considered and enacted, that if any preacher or reader, for any word spoken, supposed to be against the six Articles, should be accused, not within the space of fortie daies of the said his reading or preaching, then the partie accused to be acquitted.

Item, That the justices or inquirers of such presentments should have full power to alter and reforme all panels of inquirie, returned before them, in like manner as the justices of peace may doe in their Sessions upon any other inquiries.

Item, That the partie so accused or indicted, upon his triall, may have all manner of challenges (peremptorie onely excepted) as other persons arraigned for felony may have, by the laws of this realme,

By these qualifications and moderations of the six Articles it may appeare that the King beganne somewhat to grow out of favour with Ste. Gardiner, and to descry his doings, whereby he was the more forward to incline somewhat in furthering the desolate cause of Religion, as may appeare both by the premisses, and also by other provisions and determinations of the foresaid Parliament an. 1545. wherein it was decreed by Act of Parliament, that the king should have full power and authoritie to appoint two and thirty persons, to wit, sixteen of the Clergy, and sixteen of the temporalty, to peruse, oversee, and examine the canons, constitutions and ordinances of the canon law, as wel Provinciall as Synodall, and so, according to their discretions, to set and establish an order of the Ecclesiastical laws, such as should be thought by the king and them convenient to be received and used within this Realme. Which statute as it is most needfull for the government of the Church of England, so would God it had bin brought to perfection.

A statute for examination of the canon law.

In this yeere, touching matters of history, we reade no great thing worthy of memory, but onely of two persons, John Athee, and John Haywood. Anno 1545.

John Athee recanted.

Of which two, we finde first John Athee to be indited by the kings writ for certain words against the sacrament, which words in the inditement are specified to be these; That he would not beleeve in the thing which the knave priest made, neither in that which Longs wife selleth; but onely in God that is in heaven. And when it was told him that God through his word could make it flesh and bloud, he answered; so he might, if he would, turn it into a chickins leg, meaning the sacrament of the Altar.

The same yeere also followed the recantation of John Haywood; who although he was tached for treason, for denying the kings supremacy, yet using the clemency of the king, upon his better reformation and amendment, made an open and solemne recantation in the face of all the people, abandoning and renouncing the popes usurped supremacy, and confessing of the King to be chiefe supreme Head and Governour of this Church of England, all foreine authoritie and jurisdiction being excluded. The tenour and effect of whose recantation here followeth.

The recantation of John Haywood.

The recantation of John Haywood.

I Am come hither at this time (good people) willing, and of mine owne desirous sute, to shew, and declare unto you briefely; First of all the great and inestimable clemency and mercifulnesse of our most soveraign and redoubted prince the kings Majestie, the which his highnesse hath most graciously used towards me a wretch, most justly and worthily condemned to die for my manifold and outragious offences, haynously and traiterously committed against his Majesty and his lawes. For whereas his Majesties supremacy hath so often bene opened unto me both by writting and speaking (if I had grace, either to open mine eyes to see it, or mine eares to heare it) to be surely and certainly grounded, and established upon the very true word of God: yet for lack of grace I have most wilfully and obstinately suffered my selfe to fal to such blindnesse, that I have not onely thought that the bishop of Rome hath beene and ought to be taken the chiefe and supreme head of the Universall Church of Christ here in earth, but also, like no true subject, concealed and favoured such as I have knowne or thought to be of that opinion. For the which most detestable treasons & untruths, I here most humbly and with all my heart first of all ask of the kings majestie forgivenesse, and secondarily of the world, beseeching all these that either now do, or hereafter shall heare of these my great transgressions, to take this mine example for an instruction for them to cal for grace, that they thereby be staid from falling at any time into such miserable blindnesse and folly.

Anno 1545.

Moreover, here afore God and you (good christian people) I do utterly and with all my heart recant

An. 1545. 37 Hen. 8.

and reuoke all mine aforesaid erroneous and traiterous opinions. And (as my conscience now doth force) I protest that euen with my heart I firmely thinke and undoubtedly beleeue, that the Bishop of Rome neither now hath, nor at any time hath had, or can haue by any law of God or man, any more authoritie, without the precinct of his owne countrey about him, then any other Bishop hath within his Diocesse. Whereby I assuredly take the abolishing of the pretensed and usurped power or authoritie of the Bishop of Rome out of this Realme, to be done iustly and truely by the Law of God. And also I take our Soueraigne Lord the Kings Highnesse to be supreme head, immediately next under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland, and all other his Graces Dominions, both of the Spiritualtie and temporaltie. And I confesse not onely that his Maiestie is so by the Law of God, but also his progenitors Kings of this realme hath bẽn, and his Highnesse heires and Successors Kings of this realme shall so be.

Thus haue I shewed you my minde as well as I can, but neither so well as I would, nor so fully as I should, namely concerning the multitude of mercy which my most gracious Prince hath shewed toward me, not onely for saving my body after worthy condemnation to death, as is aforesaid, but also for saving my soule from perishing, if my body had perished before the receiving of such wholsome counsell, as I had at his Highnesse most charitable assignement. And of this Confession declared unto you (I say as farre forth as I can) I heartily pray you all to beare me record, and most entirely pray Almighty God for the long and most prosperous estate of our Soueraigne Lord the Kings Maiestie in all his affaires and proceedings.

By me Iohn Heywood.

Memorandum, quod supra scripta assertio siue recantatio fuit facta & publice emissa per prænominatum Iohannem Heywood die dominica, Sexto viz. die Iulii. Anno millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo quarto, apud Crucem Paulinam, tempore Concionis ibidem.

In this yeere of our Lord God 1545, as there was no other thing done in England worthy to be noted, so now the order of storie here requireth by the course of yeeres, next to inferre the discourse of the troubles and persecutions which happened in Scotland, against maister George Wiseheart and diuers other good men of the same Countrey, about the same yeere of our Lord, 1545. and somewhat before. But because now we are come to the latter end almost of King Henries reigne, we will make an end (the Lord willing) with a few other English stories pertaining to that time; and that finished, we will set upon those matters of Scotland, ioyning them all together. The tractation whereof thou shalt see (good Reader) in the latter end and closing up of this Kings reigne.

Kerby, and Roger Clarke of Suffolke, Martyrs.

{ Anno 1546. } COming now to the yeare of our Lord 1546. first falling ouer the Priest, whose name was Sary, which was hanged in the Porters Lodge of Steuen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, and that, as it is supposed, not without the consent of the said B. and the secret conspiracie of that bloudy generation; to passe ouer also one Henrie with his seruant burned at Colchester; I will now proceed to the story of Kerby and Roger Clarke of Mendelsham, who were apprehended at Ipswich,

Sary a Priest hanged in St. Gardiners porters lodge.

An. 1546. the saterday before Gang Monday, and brought before the Lord Wentworth with other Commissioners appointed there to sit upon their examinations, iudgements, and causes. The night before they were arraigned, a bill was set upon the towne house doore (by whom, it was unknown) and brought the next day unto the Lord Wentworth; who answered, That it was good counsell. Which Bill in the latter end shall appeare. { King Hen. 8.

A bill brought to the Lord Wentworth, the arraignment of Kerb and Roger.

In the mean time Kerby and Rogers being in the Gaolers house, named I. Bird, an honest and a good man (who had checks diuers times at the Barre, that he was more meet to be kept, then to be a Keeper) came in Maister Robert Wingfield, sonne and heire of Humfrey Wingfield Knight, with Maister Bruelle of Wennenham; who then hauing conference with Kerby (being then in a seuerall chamber separate from the other) Maister Wingfield said to Kerby, Remember the fire is hot, take heed of thine enterprise, that thou take no more upon thee then thou shalt be able to performe. The terrour is great, the paine will be extreme, and life is sweet. Better it were betime to stick to mercy, while there is hope of life, then rashly to begin, and then to shrink; with such like words of perswasion. To whom he answered againe, Ah, Maister Wingfield, be at my burning and you shall say, there standeth a Christian soldier in the fire: for I know that fire and water, sword, and all other things are in the hands of God, and he will suffer no more to be laid upon us then he will giue us strength to beare. Ah Kerby, said Maister Wingfield, if thou be at that point, I will bid thee farewell; for I promise thee I am not so strong that I am able to burne. And so both the gentlemen saying that they would pray for them, shook hands with them, and so departed.

The words of M. Wingfi to Kerby an Roger in pri

The answer Kerby to M Wingfield.

Now first touching the behauiour of Kerby and Roger when they came to the iudgement seat, the Lord Wentworth with all the rest of the Iustices there ready, the Commissary also, by vertue of the statute ex Officio, sitting next to the Lord Wentworth, but one between; Kerby and Roger lifted up their eies and hands to heauen with great deuotion in all mens eies, making their prayers secretly to God for a space of time, whilest they might say the Lords prayer fiue or six times.

The behauio of Kerby and Roger when they were brought befo the Iudges.

That done, their Articles were declared unto them with all circumstances of the Law: and then it was demanded and required of them, Whether they beleeued, that after the words spoken by a Priest (as Christ spake them to his Apostles) there were not the very body and bloud of Christ, flesh, bloud, and bone, as he was borne of the Virgin Mary, and no bread after.

Questions p pounded to Kerby and Roger.

Unto the which words they answered and said, No, they did not so beleeue; but that they did beleeue the sacrament which Christ Iesus did institute at his last supper, on Maunday Thursday at night to his Disciples, was onely to put all men in remembrance of his precious death and bloud shedding for the remission of sinnes, and that there was neither flesh nor bloud to be eaten with the teeth, but bread and wine, and yet more then bread and wine, for that it is consecrated to an holy use. Then with much perswasions, both with faire meanes and threats beside (if it would haue serued) were these two poore men hardly layed to; but most at the hands of Foster an inferior Iustice, not being learned in such knowledge. But these two continued both faithfull and constant, chusing rather to die then to liue, and so continued unto the end.

Their answ

The Sacrament more t bare bread wine.

Foster a sore Enemie to Gods people

Then sentence was giuen upon them both, Kerby to be burned in the said towne the next Saturday, and Roger to be burned at Burie the Gang Monday after. Kerby, when his iudgement was giuen by the Lord Wentworth, with most humble reuerence holding up his hands and bowing himselfe

Sentence gi against Kerb and Roger.

selfe deoutly, said, Praised be Almighty God, and so stood still without any moe words.

Then did the Lord Wentworth talke secretly, putting his head behinde another Justice that sate betweene them. The said Roger perceiving that, said with a loud voice, speake out my Lord, and if you have done any thing contrary to your conscience, aske God mercy, and we for our parts do forgive you; and speake not in secret, for ye shall come before a Judge, and then make answer openly, even before him that shall judge all men; with other like words.

The Lord Wentworth somewhat blushing, and changing his countenance, through remorse (as it was thought) said, I did speake nothing of you, nor have I done any thing unto you, but as the Law is. Then was Kerby and Roger sent forth; Kerby to prison there, and Roger to Saint Edmunds Bury. The one of the two bursting out with a loud voice (Roger as it is supposed) thus spake with a vehemency, Fight, said he, for your God, for he hath not long to continue.

The next day, which was Saturday, about ten of the clock, Kerby was brought to the market place, where a stake was ready, wood, Broome, and straw, and did off his cloths unto his shirt, having a night cap upon his head, and so was fastened to the stake with yrons, there being in the gallery the Lord Wentworth, with the most part of all the justices of those quarters, where they might see his execution, how every thing should be done, and also might heare what Kerby did say; and a great number of people, about two thousand by estimation. There was also standing in the gallery by the Lord Wentworth, Doctor Rugham, which was before a Monke of Burie, and Sexton of the house, having on a surplesse and a stole about his neck. Then silence was proclaimed, and the said doctor began to disable himselfe, as not meet to declare the holy scriptures, being unprovided because the time was so short) but that he hoped in Gods assistance it should come well to passe.

All this while Kerby was trimming with yrons and fagots, broome, and straw, as one that should be married with new garments, nothing changing chere nor countenance, but with a most meeke spirit glorified God; which was wonderfull to behold. Then maister doctor at last entred into the first chapter of Saint John. Who in handling that matter so oft as he alledged the Scriptures, and applied them rightly, Kerby told the people that he said true, and bad the people beleeve him. But when he did otherwise, he told him again, You say not true, beleeve him not good people. Whereupon, as the voice of the people was, they judged Doctor Rugham a false prophet. So when Master Doctor had ended his collation, he said unto Kerby, Thou good man, dost not thou beleeve that the blessed Sacrament of the Altar is the very flesh and blood of Christ, and no bread, even as he was borne of the Virgin Mary? Kerby answering boldly, said, I do not so beleeve. How dost thou beleeve? said the Doctor. Kerby said, I do beleeve that in the Sacrament that Jesus Christ instituted at his last supper on Maunday Thursday to his disciples (which ought of us likewise to be done) is his death and passion and his bloudshedding for the redemption of the world, to be remembred, and (as I said before) yet bread, and more then bread, for that it is consecrated to a holy use. Then was Master Doctor in his dumpes, and spake not one word more to Kerby after.

Then said the undersherife to Kerby, hast thou any thing more to say? Yea sir, said he, if you will give me leave, say on, said the Sherife.

Then Kerby, taking his nightcap from his head, put it under his arme as though it should have done him service again: but remembring himselfe, he cast it from him, and lifting up his hands, he said the hymne, Te Deum, and the beleefe, with other prayers in the English tongue. The Lord Wentworth, whilest Kerby was thus doing, did shroud himselfe behinde one of the posts of the gallerie, and wept, & so did many other. Then said Kerby, I have done: you may execute your office good maister Sherife. Then fire was set to the wood, and with a loud voyce he called unto God, knocking on his breast, and holding up his hands so long as his re-

The Lord Wentworth wept at Kerbies burning.

The burning and Martyrdome of Kerby.

membrance would serve, and so ended his life, the people giving shouts, and praising God with great admiration of his constancie, being so simple and unlettered.

The constant death and martyrdome of Kerby.

On the Gang Munday, an. 1546. about ten of the clocke, Roger Clarke of Wendelsham was brought out of prison, and went on foot to the gate, called Southgate in Bury, and by the way the procession met with them, but he went on, and would not bow, cap, nor knee, but with most vehement words rebuked that Idolatrie and superstition, the Officers being much offended. And without the gate, where was the place of execution, the stake being ready, and the wood lying by, he came and kneeled downe, and said Magnificat in the English tongue, making as it were a Paraphrase upon the same, wherein he declared how that the blessed virgin Mary, who might as well rejoyce in pureneſſe, as any other, yet humbled her selfe to our Saviour. And what sayest thou John Baptist, said he, the greatest of all mens children? Behold the Lambe of God which taketh away the sinnes of the world. And thus with a loud voice he cried unto the people while he was in fastening unto the stake, and then the fire was set to him, where he suffered paines unmercifully; for the wood was greene, and would not burne, so that he was choked with smoke: and moreover, being set in a pitch barel, with some pitch sticking stil by the sides, he was therwith sore pained, till he had got his feet out of the barell. And at length one standing by tooke a fagot stick, and striking at the ring of yron about his necke, so

Roger Clarke of Wendelsham brought to the stake at Bury. Roger Clarke giveth no reverence to the Procession.

John 1.

The painefull burning and martyrdome of Roger Clarke of Wendelsham.

paſhed him, and ſtrook him belike upon the head, that he ſhunke downe on the one ſide into the fire, and ſo was diſſolved.

In the beginning of this ſtory of Kerby and Roger, mention was made of a certaine Bill put upon the townes houſe doore, and brought the next day to the Lord Wentworth; the words of which Bill were theſe.

The Bill ſet upon the towne houſe doore in Ipſwich.

The words of the bill ſet upon the towne houſe doore.

IVſtè judicate filii hominum; yet when ſhe ſhall iudge, miniſter your iuſtice with mercy.

A fearefull thing it is to fall into the hands of the liuing God: be ye learned therefore in true knowledge, ye that iudge the earth, leſt the Lord be angry with you.

The bloud of the righteous ſhall be required at your hands. What though the vaile hanged before Moſes face; yet at Chriſts death it fell downe.

The ſtones will ſpeake, if theſe ſhould hold their peace; therefore harden not your hearts againſt the veritie.

For fearefully ſhall the Lord appeare in the day of vengeance to the troubled in conſcience. No excuſe ſhall there be of ignorance, but every fat ſhall ſtand on his own bottome. Therefore have remorſe in your conſcience; feare him that may kill both body and ſoule.

Beware of innocent bloud ſhedding, take heed of iuſtice ignorantly miniſtred, worke diſcreetly as the ſcripture doth command: look to it, that ye make not the truth to be forſaken.

We beſeech God to ſaue our King, King Henrie the eighth, that he be not led into temptation. So be it.

This yeere alſo it was ordained and decreed and ſolemnly giuen out in Proclamation by the Kings name and authoritie and his Councel that the Engliſh proceſſion ſhould be uſed throughout all England, according as it was ſet forth by his ſaid Councell and none other to be uſed throughout the whole Realme.

The Scots ſubdued. Bulleine won. A Parliament.

Colledges and Chantries giuen to the K. Stat. Anno 37. Reg. Hen. 8.

About the latter end of this yeere 1545. in the moneth of November, after that the king had ſubdued the Scots, and afterward, ioyning together with the Emperor, had inuaded France, and had got from them the towne of Bulleine, he ſummoned his high Court of Parliament. In the which was granted unto him, beſides other Subſidies of money, all Colledges, Chauntries, frée Chappels, Hoſpitals, fraternities, Brotherhods, guildes and perpetuities of ſtipendiarie prieſts, to be diſpoſed at his will and pleaſure. Whereupon in the moneth of December following, the King after his wonted manner, came into the Parliament houſe to giue his royall aſſent to ſuch Acts as were there paſſed: where after an eloquent Oration made to him by the Speaker, he anſwering againe unto the ſame, not by the Lord Chancellor (as the manner was) but by himſelfe, uttered this Oration word for word, as it is reported and left in ſtorie.

In the contents of which Oration, firſt eloquently and lovingly he declared his gratefull heart to his loving ſubjects for their grants and ſubventions, offered unto him. In the ſecond part, with no leſſe vehemency he exhorteth them to concord, peace, and unitie. Whereunto if he had alſo ioyned the third part, that is, as in words he exhorteth to unitie, ſo he had begun indeed firſt himſelfe to take away the occaſion of diviſion, diſobedience, and diſturbance from his ſubjects, that is, had removed the ſtumbling block of the ſix articles out of the peoples way, which ſet brother againſt brother, neighbor againſt neighbor, the ſuperior againſt the ſubject, and the Wolves to devoure the poore flock of Chriſt: then he had not onely ſpoken, but alſo done like a worthy prince. But of this more ſhall be ſaid in the ſequell hereof, God willing.

The Kings Oration in the Parliament Houſe.

The Kings Oration made in the Parliament houſe.

ALthough my Chancellour for the time being hath before this time uſed very eloquently and ſubſtantially to make anſwer to ſuch Orations as have been ſet forth in this high Court of Parliament; yet is he not ſo able to open and ſet forth my minde and meaning, and the ſecrets of my heart, in ſo plain and ample manner, as I my ſelfe am and can doe. Wherefore I taking upon me to anſwer your eloquent Oration, maſter Speaker, ſay; That where you in the name of our well-beloved Commons have both praiſed and extolled me for the notable qualities that you have conceived to be in me, I moſt heartily thanke you all, that you have put me in remembrance of my dutie, which is, to indevour my ſelfe to obtaine and get ſuch excellent qualities, and neceſſary vertues, as a Prince or Governour ſhould or ought to have; of which gifts I recogniſe my ſelfe both bare and barren.

But for ſuch ſmall qualities as God hath indued me withall, I render to his goodneſſe my moſt humble thankes, intending with all my wit and diligence to get and acquire to me ſuch notable vertues and princely qualities as you have alledged to be incorporate in my perſon.

The Kings thankes to the commons.

Theſe thankes for your loving admonition and good counſell firſt remembred, I eſſoones thanke you againe, becauſe that you conſidering our great charges (not for our pleaſure but for your defence, not for our gaine but to our great coſt) which we have lately ſuſtained, as well in defence againſt our and your enemies, as for the conqueſt of that Fortreſſe, which was to this Realme moſt diſpleaſant and noyſome, and ſhall be by Gods grace hereafter to our nation moſt profitable and pleaſant, have freely of your own minde granted to us a certaine ſubſidie here in an Act ſpecified, which verily we take in good part, regarding more your kindneſſe then the profit thereof, as he that ſetteth more by your loving hearts, then by your ſubſtance. Beſide this hearty kindneſſe, I cannot a little rejoyce, when I conſider the perfect truſt and ſure confidence which you have put in me, as men having undoubted hope, and unfained beliefe in my good doings and juſt proceedings, for that you, without my deſire or requeſt, have committed to mine order and diſpoſition all Chantries, Colledges, Hoſpitals, and other places ſpecified in a certaine Act, firmely truſting that I will order them to the glory of God, and the profit of our commonwealth. Surely if I, contrary to your expectation, ſhould ſuffer the miniſters of the Church to decay; or learning, which is ſo great a jewell, to be miniſhed; or poore and miſerable people to be unrelieved; you might ſay that I, being put in ſo ſpeciall a truſt as I am in this caſe, were no truſty friend to you, nor charitable man to mine even Chriſtian, neither a lover of the publike wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom account muſt be rendred of all our doings. Doubt not I pray you but your expectation ſhall be ſerved, more godly and goodly then you will wiſh or deſire, as hereafter you ſhall plainly perceive.

The Kings promiſes for the well beſtowing of Chantries and Colledges.

Now ſithens I finde ſuch kindneſſe on your part toward me, I cannot chuſe but love and favour you, affirming that no Prince in the world more favoureth his ſubjects then I doe you, nor any ſubjects or Commons more love and obey their Soveraigne Lord, then I perceive you doe me, for whoſe defence my Treaſure ſhall not be hidden, nor if neceſſitie require, ſhall my perſon be unadventured. Yet although I with you, and you with me, be in this perfect love and concord, this friendly amitie cannot continue, except you my Lords temporall, and you my Lords ſpirituall, and you my loving ſubjects, ſtudy and take paine to amend one thing, which is ſurely amiſſe and farre out of order, to the which I moſt heartily require you; which is, that charitie and concord is not among you, but diſcord

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discord and dissension beareth rule in every place. Saint Paul saith to the Corinthians, in the thirteenth Chapter; **Charitie is gentle, Charitie is not envious, Charitie is not proud,** and so forth in the said Chapter. Behold then what love and * charitie is amongst you, when the one calleth the other heretike, and Anabaptist, and he calleth him againe Papist, Hypocrite, and Pharisee. Be these tokens of charitie amongst you? Are these the signes of fraternall love betweene you? No, no, I assure you that this lack of charitie amongst your selves will be the hinderance and asswaging of the fervent love between us, as I said before, except this wound be salved and cleerely made whole. I must needs judge the fault and occasion of this discord to be partly by the negligence of you the Fathers and Preachers of the Spiritualtie. For if I know a man which liveth in adulterie, I must judge him a lecherous and carnall person. If I see a man boast and brag himselfe, I cannot but deeme him a proud man. I see and heare dayly, That you of the Clergie preach one against another, teach one contrarie to another, inveigh one against another, without charitie or discretion. Some be too stuffe in their old *Mumpsimus*, other be too busie and curious in their new *Sumpsimus*.

Thus all men almost be in varietie and discord, and few or none doe preach truely and sincerely the Word of God according as they ought to doe. Shall I now judge you charitable persons, doing this? No, no, I cannot so doe. Alas, how can the poore soules live in concord, when you Preachers sow amongst them, in your Sermons, debate and discord? Of you they look for light, and you bring them to darknesse. Amend these crimes, I exhort you, and set forth Gods "Word, both by true preaching, and good example giving, or else I, whom God hath appointed his Vicar, and high Minister here, will see these divisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, according to my very duty, or else I am an unprofitable servant, and untrue Officer.

Although (as I say) the spirituall men be in some fault, that charitie is not kept amongst you, yet you of the Temporaltie be not cleane and unspotted of malice and envie; for you raile on Bishops, speake slanderously of Priests, and rebuke and taunt Preachers, both contrarie to good order and Christian Fraternitie. If you know surely that a Bishop or Preacher erreth, or teacheth perverse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our Councell, or to Vs, to whom is committed by God the authoritie to reforme and order such Causes and behaviours, and * be not Iudges your selves of your owne phantasticall opinions, and vaine expositions, for in such high causes ye may lightly erre. And although you be permitted to reade holy Scripture, and to have the Word of God in your mother Tongue, you must understand, that it is licensed you so to doe, onely to enforme your owne conscience, and to instruct your children and Family, and not to dispute and make Scripture a railing and a taunting stock against Priests and Preachers, as many light persons doe. I am very sory to know and heare how unreverently that most precious Iewell the Word of God is disputed, rymed, * sung, and jangled in every alehouse and Taverne, contrarie to the true meaning and doctrine of the same. And yet I am even as much sory, that the readers of the same follow it in doing so faintly and coldly. For of this I am sure, that charitie was never so faint amongst you, and vertuous and * godly living was never lesse used, nor was God himselfe amongst Christians ever lesse reverenced, honoured, or served. Therefore (as I said before) be in charitie one with another like brother and brother: love, dread, and feare God (to the which I, as your supreme head and Soveraign Lord, exhort and require you:) and then I doubt not but that love and league that I spake of in the beginning, shall never be dissolved or broken betweene us. And as touching the Lawes which be now made and concluded, I exhort you the makers to be as diligent in putting them in execution, as you were in making and furthering the same, or else your labour shall be in vaine, and your commonwealth nothing relieved.

Notes upon the foresaid Exhortation.

The Kings Oration expended with notes upon the same.

PRinces which exhort to concord and charitie doe well; but Princes which seek out the causes of discord, and reforme the same, do much better. The Papist and Protestant, Heretike and Pharisee, the old Mumpsimus, and the new Sumpsimus, be termes of variance and dissension, and be, I grant, Symptomata of a sore wound in the Commonwealth: but he that will amend this wound, must first begin to search out the causes, and to purge the occasion thereof; otherwise, to cure the sore outwardly, which inwardly doth festler and rankle still, it is but vaine.

The root and ground of all this grievance riseth here of the Prelates and Clergie of Rome, seeking as it seemeth altogether after riches, pompe, and honour of this world; who (to maintaine the same under pretense of Religion) doe in very deed subvert Religion: under that title of the Church, they bring into the Church manifest errors and absurdities intolerable. Who pretending to be Fathers of the Church, if they transgressed but in manners and lightnesse of life, or negligence of government, they might be borne withall for peace and concords sake, and here modesty, civility, quietnesse, unitie, and charitie might have place amongst modest natures. But now they obscure the glory of the Sonne of God, which in no case ought to be suffered; they extinguish the light and grace of the Gospel; they clogge mens consciences; they set up idolatrie, and maintaine Idols; they bring in false invocation, and restraine lawfull matrimonie, whereby groweth filthy pollution, adultery, and whoredome in the Church, unspeakable; they corrupt the Sacraments; they wrest the Scripture to worldly purposes; they kill and persecute Gods people. Briefely, their doctrine is damnable, their lawes be impious, their doings are detestable. And yet after all this, they crept craftily into the hearts of Princes, under the title of the Church, and colour of concord; making Kings and Princes beleeve that all be Heretiks and Schismatiks, which will not be subject to their ordinary power. Now almighty God, who is a jealous God, and not suffering the glory of his Sonne to be defaced, nor his truth to be trodden under foot, stirreth up againe the hearts of his people to understand his Truth, and to defend his cause. Whereupon of those two parts, as two mighty flints thus smiting together, cometh out the sparkle of this division, which by no wise can be quenched, but that one part must needs yeld and give over. There is no neutralitie nor mediation of peace, nor exhortation to agreement, that will serve betweene these two contrarie doctrines, but either the popes errours must give place to Gods word, or else the verity of God must give place unto them.

Wherefore as the good intent, and plausible oration of the king in this behalfe, was not to be discommended in exhorting his subjects to charitie, so had he much more deserved commendation, if he had sought the right way to worke charitie, and to

helpe innocency amongst his subiects, by taking away the impious law of the sir Articles, the mother of all division and manslaughter. For what is this to the purpose, to exhort in words never so much to charitie, and indeed to give a knife to the murtherers hand to run upon his naked brother, which never in conscience can leave his cause, nor yet hath power to defend himselfe? as by experience here followeth to be seene, what charitie ensued after this exhortation of the King to charity, by the racking and burning of good Anne Askew, with three other poore subiects of the King, within halfe a yeare after; whereof shortly you shall heare more declared.

When these Chauntries and Colledges thus by Act of Parliament were given into the Kings hands as is above remembred: which was about the moneth of December, An. 1545. the next Lent following, D. Crome preaching in the Mercers Chappell, among other reasons and perswasions to rouse the people from the vaine opinion of purgatorie, inferred this, grounding upon the said Act of parliament: That if Trentals and Chauntry masses could availe the soules in Purgatorie, then did the Parliament not wel in giving away Monasteries, Colledges, and chauntries, which served principally to that purpose. But if the Parliament did well (as no man could denie) in dissolving them, and bestowing the same upon the King, then is it a plain case, that such Chauntries and private masses doe nothing to confer and releeve them in Purgatory. This Dilemma of Doctor Crome, no doubt, was insoluble. But notwithstanding, the charitable Prelates, for all the Kings late exhortation unto charity, were so charitable unto him, that on Easter next they brought him Coram Nobis, where they so handled him, that they made him to recant. And if he had not, they would have dissolved him and his Argument in burning fire, so burning hot was their charity, according as they burned Anne Askew and her fellowes in the moneth of July the yeer following. Whose tragicall Storie and cruell handling now consequently, the Lord willing, you shall heare.

D. Cromes dilemma against private Masses.

D. Crome driven to recant.

Anno. 1545.

The charitie of the Bishops.

The first examination of Mistresse Anne Askew, before the Inquisitours, Anno, 1545.

The first examination of Anne Askew.

TO satisfie your expectation, good people (said she) this was my first examination in the yeere of our Lord, 1545. and in the moneth of March.

Christopher Dare Inquisitor.

First, Christopher Dare examined me at Sadlers Hall, being one of the quest, and asked, If I did not beleeve that the Sacrament hanging over the Altar was the very body of Christ really. Then I demanded this question of him; Wherefore was Saint Steven stoned to death? and he said, He could not tell. Then I answered, That no more would I assoile his vaine question.

The first Article against Anne Askew.

The second Article.

Secondly, he said, that there was a woman, which did testifie that I should read, how God was not in Temples made with hands. Then I shewed him the seventh and seventeenth Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, what Steven and Paul had said therein. Whereupon he asked me how I took those Sentences? I answered, I would not throw pearles amongst Swine, for Acornes were good enough.

The third Article.

Thirdly, he asked me, wherefore I said that I had rather to reade five lines in the Bible, then to heare five Masses in the temple? I confessed that I said no lesse: not for the dispraise of either the Epistle or the Gospel, but because the one did greatly edifie me, and the other nothing at all. As Saint Paul doth witnesse in the 14. chapter of his first Epistle to the Corinthians, whereas he saith, If the Trumpet giveth an uncertaine sound, who will prepare himselfe to the battell? 1 Cor. 14.

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The fourth Article.

Fourthly, he layed unto my charge, that I should say, if an ill priest ministred, it was the devill and not God.

Ill conditions of the minister hurt not the faith of the receivers.

My answer was, that I never spake any such thing. But this was my saying, that whosoever he were that ministred unto me, his ill conditions could not hurt my faith, but in spirit I received nevertheless the body and bloud of Christ.

The fifth Article.

Fifthly, he asked me what I said concerning confession? I answered him my meaning, which was as Saint James saith, that every man ought to knowledge his faults to other, and the one to pray for the other.

The sixth Article.

Sirthly, he asked me what I said to the Kings booke? And I answered him, that I could say nothing to it, because I never saw it.

The seventh Article.

Seventhly, he asked me if I had the Spirit of God in me? I answered, I had not: I was but a reprobate or a cast-away. Then he said he had sent for a priest to examine me, which was here at hand.

A Priest brought to examine Anne Askew.

The priest asked me what I said to the sacrament of the Altar, and required much to know my meaning therein. But I desired him again to hold me excused concerning that matter: none other answer would I make him, because I perceived him to be a Papist.

The eighth Article. Private Masses Idolatrie.

Eighthly, he asked me, If I did not thinke, that private Masses did helpe the soules departed? I said, It was great Idolatrie to beleeve more in them, then in the death which Christ died for us.

Anne Askew brought to the Lord Maior.

Then they had me thence unto my Lord Maior, and he examined me, as they had before, and I answered him directly in all things as I answered the Quest before. Besides this, my Lord Maior laid one thing to my charge, which was never spoken of me, but of them; and that was, whether a mouse eating the host, received God or no? This question did I never aske, but indeed they asked it of me, whereunto I made them no answer but smiled.

Then the Bishops chancellor rebuked me, and said that I was much to blame for uttering the Scriptures. For S. Paul he said, forbad women to speak, or to talke of the word of God. I answered him that I knew Pauls meaning as well as he, which is in the 1 Corinth. 14. that a woman ought not to speake in the Congregation by the way of teaching. And then I asked him how many women he had seene go into the pulpit and preach? he said he never saw any. Then I said, he ought to finde no fault in poore women, except they had offended the Law.

Women forbidden to speak in the congregation, and how.

Anne Askew commanded to the Counter by the L. Maior.

Then the Lord Maior commanded me to ward, I asked him if sureties would not serve me; and he made me short answer, that he would take none. Then was I had to the counter, and there remained eleven dayes, no friend admitted to speak with me. But in the meane time there was a priest sent unto me, which said that he was commanded of the bishop to examine me, and to give me good counsell, which he did not. But first he asked me for what cause I was put in the Counter, and I told him I could not tell. Then he said, it was great pity that I should be there without cause, and concluded that he was very sory for me.

Talke betwixt Anne Askew and a priest sent to her in prison.

Secondly he said, it was told him that I should denie the Sacrament of the Altar. And I answered againe, That, that I have said I have said.

Thirdly,

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Thirdly he asked me, If I were content to be shriven. I told him, so that I might have one of these three, that is to say, Doctor Crome, sir Guillam, or Huntington, I was contented, because I knew them to be men of wisedome. As for you, or any other, I will not dispraise, because I know you not. Then said he, I would not have you thinke but that I, or any other that shall be brought you, shall be as honest as they: for if we were not, you may be sure the King wou'd not suffer us to preach. Then I answered with the saying of Solomon; By communing with the wise, I may learn wisedome, but by talking with a fool I shall take scathe. Prov. 1.

rov. 1.

Whether a mouse may eat Christs body in ye sacrament or no.

Fourthly he asked, If the Host should fall, and a Beast did eat it, whether the Beast did receive God or no? I answered, Seeing that you have taken the pains to aske the question, I desire you also to assoile it your self: for I will not do it, because I perceive you come to tempt me. And he said it was against the order of Schools, that he which asked the question should answer it. I told him I was but a woman, and knew not the course of schools.

Fifthly he asked me, If I entended to receive the Sacrament at Easter, or no? I answered, That else I were no Christian woman; and there at I did rejoyce that the time was so neere at hand. And then he departed thence with many faire words.

The 23. day of March, my cousin Britaine, came into the Counter unto me, and asked me whether I might be put to bail, or no? Then went he immediately unto my Lord Maior, desiring him to be so good unto me, that I might be bailed. My Lord answered him, and said that he would be glad to do the best that in him lay. Howbeit he could not bail me, without the consent of a spirituall officer; requiring him to go and speak with the Chancellour of London. For he said, like as he could not commit me to prison without the consent of a spirituall officer, no more could he baile me without the consent of the same.

B. Britaine sekerth to baile Anne Askew his cousin.

B. Britaine in the bailing of Anne Askew, sent from the Maior to the Chancellor, frō the Chancellor to the Bishop.

So upon that he went to the Chancellor, requiring of him as he did before of my Lord Maior. He answered him, that the matter was so hainous, that he durst not of himselfe do it, without my lord of London were made privie thereunto. But he said he would speak unto my Lord in it, and bade him repaire unto him the next morrow, and he should well know my Lords pleasure. And upon the morrow after, he came thither, and spake both with the Chancellor, and with the Bishop of London. The Bishop declared unto him that he was very well contented that I should come forth to communication, and appointed me to appeare before him the next day after, at three of the clock at after noone. Moreover he said unto him, that he would there should be at the examination such learned men, as I was affectioned to, that they might see, and also make report that I was handled with no rigor. He answered him, that he knew no man that I had more affection to, then to other. Then said the Bishop, yes: as I understand, the is affectioned to Doctor Crome, sir Guillam Whitehead, and Huntington, that they might hear the matter, for she did know them to be learned and of a godly judgement. Also he required my cousin Britaine, that he should earnestly perswade me to utter even the very bottome of my heart, and he sware by his fidelity, that no man should take any advantage of my words, neither yet would he lay ought to my charge for any thing that I should there speak; but if I said any manner of thing amisse, he with other more would be glad to reforme me therein, with most godly counsell.

Bonners promise to M. Britain.

On the morrow after, the bishop of London sent for me at one of the clocke, his houre being appointed at three; and as I came before him, he said he was very sory for my trouble, and desired to know my opinion in such matters as were laid against me. He required me also in any wise, boldly to utter the secrets of my heart, bidding me not to fear in any point, for whatsoever I did say in his house, no man should hurt me for it. I answered, for so much as your Lordship appointed three of the clock, and my friends will not come till that houre, I desire you to pardon me of giving answer till they come. Then said he, that he thought it meet to send for those foure men which were aforenamed and appointed. Then I desired him not to put them to the paine, for it should not need, because the two gentlemen which were my friends, were able enough to testifie what I should say. Anon after he went into his gallerie with maister Spilman, and willed him in any wise that he should exhort me to utter all that I thought. In the meane while he commanded his Archdeacon to commune with me, who said unto me; Wistris, wherefore are you accused and thus troubled here before the Bishop? To whom I answered again and said; Sir, aske, I pray you, my accusers, for I know not as yet. Then took he my book out of my hand, and said, Such books as this have brought you to the trouble you are in. Beware, said he, beware, for he that made this book, and was the author thereof, was an heretique I warrant you, and burned in Smithfield. Then I asked him if he were certain and sure that it was true that he had spoken. And he said he knew well the booke was of John Friths making. Then I asked him if he were not ashamed to judge of the booke before he saw it within, or yet knew the truth thereof. I said also, that such unadvised hastie judgement is a token apparant of a verie slender wit. Then I opened the booke and shewed it him. He said he thought it had been another, for he could finde no fault therein. Then I desired him no more to be so unadvisedly rash, and swift in judgement, till he throughly knew the truth, and so he departed from me. Immediately after came my cousin Britaine in, with divers other, as maister Hall of Graies Inne, and such other like. Then my Lord of London perswaded my cousin Britaine, as he had done oft before, which was, That I should utter the bottome of my heart in any wise. My Lord said after that unto me, That he would I should credit the counsell of such as were my friends and well-willers in this behalfe, which was, that I should utter all things that burthened my conscience; for he ensured me, that I should not need to stand in doubt to say any thing. For like as he promised them (he said) he promised me, and would performe it; which was, that neither he, nor any man for him, should take me at advantage of any word I should speak, and therefore he bade me say my minde without feare. I answered him, that I had nought to say, for my conscience (I thanked God) was burdened with nothing.

Anne Askew brought forth to communication before Boner.

Talk between the Arch-deacon and Anne Askew.

Rash judgement reproved.

Good counsell given to the Archdeacon. M. Britaine, Edward Hall. Talk between Anne Askew and Boner.

Then brought he forth this unsavourie similitude; that if a man had a wound, no wise Surgeon would minister helpe unto it before he had seene it uncovered. In like case, saith he, can I give you no good counsell, unlesse I know wherewith your conscience is burthened. I answered, That my conscience was cleere in all things, and to lay a plaister unto the whole skin, it might appear much folly.

Boners first similitude.

Then you drive me (saith he) to lay to your charge your owne report, which is this; You did say, He that doth receive the Sacrament by the hands of an ill priest, or a sinner, receiveth the devill, and not God. To that I answered, That I never spake such words. But as I said before, both to the Quest, and to my Lord Maior, so say I now againe, That the wickednesse of the Priest should not

Boners first objection against Anne Askew.

not hurt me, but in spirit and faith I receiued no lesse then the body and blood of Christ. Then said the Bishop unto me, what saying is this in Spirit? I will not take you at the advantage. Then I answered, My Lord, without faith and spirit, I cannot receive him worthily.

The 2. article. Then he said unto me, that I should say that the Sacrament remaining in the pire, was but bread. I answered that I never said so, but indeed the Quest asked me such a question, whereunto I would not answer, I said, till such a time as they had assoiled me this question of mine, wherefore Steven was stoned to death? They said they knew not. Then said I again, no more would I tell them what it was.

The 3. article. Then said my Lord unto me, that I had alledged a certain text of the Scripture. I answered that I alledged none other but saint Pauls owne saying to the Athenians, in the eighteenth Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, That God dwelleth not in Temples made with hands. Then asked he me what my Faith and Beleefe was in that matter? I answered him, I beleeue as the scripture doth teach me.

The 4. article. Then inquired he of me, what if the Scripture do say that it is the body of Christ? I beleeue, said I, as the Scripture doth teach me. Then asked he again, what if the Scripture do say that it is not the body of Christ? My answer was still, I beleeue as the Scripture informeth me. And upon this argument he tarried a great while, to have driuen me to make him an answer to his minde. Howbeit, I would not, but concluded this with him, that I beleeue therein and in all other things, as Christ and his holy Apostles did leaue them.

Anne Askew charged with few words. Then he asked me why I had so few words? And I answered, God hath given me the gift of knowledge, but not of utterance: and Solomon saith, That a woman of few words is the gift of of God. Prov. 19.

The 5. article. Fifthly, my Lord laid unto my charge, that I should say that the Masse was superstitious, wicked and no better then Idolatrie. I answered him, no, I said not so. Howbeit I say the Quest did aske me whether private Masse did relieue soules departed or no? Unto whom then I answered, O Lord what Idolatrie is this, that we should rather beleeue in private Masses then in the healthsome death of the dear Son of God? Then said my Lord again, what an answer is that? Though it be but meane, said I, yet it is good enough for the question.

Then I told my Lord that there was a Priest which did hear what I said there before my Lord Maior and them. With that the Chancellor answered, which was the same priest. So the spake it in verie deed, saith he, before my Lord Maior and me.

Then were there certain priests, as doctor Standish and other, which tempted me much to know my minde. And I answered them alwayes thus; that I said to my Lord of London, I have said. Then doctor Standish desired my Lord to bid me say my minde concerning the same text of saint Pauls learning, that I being a woman should interpret the scriptures, specially where so many wise learned men were.

D. Standish his demand. Then my Lord of London said, he was informed that one should aske of me if I would receive the sacrament at Easter, and I made a mock of it.

Anne Askew could not have her accuser. Then I desired that mine accuser might come forth, which my Lord would not. But he said again unto me, I sent one to give you good counsell, and at the first word you called him papist. That I denied not, for I perceiued he was no lesse, yet made I him none answer unto it.

The priests of Lincoln against Anne Askew. Then he rebuked me, and said that I should report, that there were bent against me threescore Priests at Lincolne. Indeed, quoth I, I said so. For my friends told me, if I did come to Lincoln, the priests would assault me and put me to great trouble, as thereof they had made their boast: and when I heard it, I went thither indeed, not being afraid, because I knew my matter to be good. Moreover I remained there nine dayes, to see what would be said unto me. And as I was in the Minster reading upon the Bible, they resorted unto me by two and by two, by five and by six, minding to have spoken unto me, yet went they their wayes againe without words speaking.

Then my Lord asked if there were not one that did speak unto me. I told him yes, that there was one of them at the last which did speak to me indeed. And my Lord then asked me what he said? And I told him his words were of small effect, so that I did not now remember them. Then said my Lord, there are many that read and know the scripture, and yet follow it not, nor live thereafter. I said again, my Lord, I would wish that all men knew my conversation and living in all points; for I am sure my selfe this houre that there are none able to prove any dishonestie by me. If you know any that can do it, I pray you bring them forth. Then my Lord went away, and said he would entitle somewhat of my meaning, and so he wrote a great circumstance. But what it was, I have not in my memory: for he would not suffer me to have the copie thereof. Onely do I remember this small portion of it.

Anne Askew standeth upon her honestie.

Be it known, saith he, of all men, that I Anne Askew do confesse this to be my faith and beleefe, notwithstanding my reports made afore to the contrary. I beleeue that they which are houseled at the hands of a priest, whether his conversation be good or not, do receive the body and blood of Christ in substance really. Also I do beleeue, that after the consecration, whether it be received or reserved, it is no lesse then the very body and blood of Christ in substance. Finally, I do beleeue in this and in all other Sacraments of holy Church in all points according to the old Catholique faith of the same. In witnesse whereof, I the said Anne have subscribed my name.

Boners misreport of Anne Askews confession.

There was somewhat more in it, which because I had not the copie, I cannot now remember. Then he read it to me, and asked me if I did agree to it. And I said again, I beleeue so much thereof, as the holy Scripture doth agree unto: wherefore I desire you, that you will adde that thereunto. Then he answered, that I should not teach him what he should write. With that he went forth into his great chamber and read the same bill before the audience, which inueigled and willed me to set to my hand, saying also, that I had favour shewed me. Then said the Bishop, I might thank other, and not my self for the favour that I found at his hand: for he considered, he said, that I had good friends, and also that I was come of a worshipfull stocke.

The tenor of Boners writing whereunto Anne Askew subscribed.

Then answered one Christopher, a servant unto master Dennie: rather ought you, my Lord, to have done it in such case for Gods sake then for mans. Then my Lord sate down, and took me the writing to set thereto my hand, and I wrote after this manner: I Anne Askew do beleeue all manner things contained in the faith of the Catholique Church.

And forasmuch as mention here is made of the writing of Boner, which this godly woman said before she had not in memorie, therefore I thought in this place to inferre the same, both with the whole circumstance of Boner, and with the Title thereunto prefixed by the Register, and also with her owne subscription: to the intent the Reader seeing the same subscription, neither to agree with the time of the title above prefixed, nor with the subscrip-

KING HEN. 8. subscription after the writing annexed, might the better understand thereby what credit is to be given hereafter to such Bishops, and to such Registers. The tenour of Boners writing proceedeth thus.

The true copie of the confession and beléefe of Anne Askew, otherwise called Anne Kyme, made before the Bishop of London the twentieth day of March, in the yeer of our Lord God, after the computation of the Church of England, 1545, and subscribed with her own hand in the presence of the said Bishop and other, whose names hereafter are recited, set forth and published at this present, to the intent the world may see what credence is to be given unto the same woman, who in so short a time hath so damnably altered and changed her opinion and beléefe, and therefore rightly in open Court arraigned and condemned. Ex Regist.

The words of the Registers.

Ex Regist.

The copy of the Bishops report upon the confession of Anne Askew, as it standeth in Registers.

BE it known to all faithfull people, that as touching the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, I do firmly and undoubtedly beléeve, that after the words of consecration be spoken by the Priest, according to the common usage of this Church of England, there is present really the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whether the minister which doth consecrate be a good man or a bad man; and that also whensoever the said sacrament is received, whether the receiver be a good man or a bad man, he doth receive it really and corporally. And moreover, I do beléeve, that whether the said Sacrament be then received of the Minister, or else reserved to be put into the Pix, or to be brought to any person that is impotent or sick, yet there is the very body and blood of our said Saviour; so that whether the minister or the receiver be good or bad, yea whether the Sacrament be received or reserved; alwayes there is the blessed body of Christ really.

And this thing with all other things touching the sacrament and other sacraments of the Church, and all things else touching the Christian beléefe, which are taught and declared in the Kings Majesties book, lately set forth for the erudition of the Christian people, I Anne Askew, otherwise called Anne Kyme, do truly and perfectly beléeve, and so here presently confesse and acknowledge. And here I do promise, that henceforth I shall never say or do any thing against the premisses, or against any of them. In witnesse whereof, I the said Anne have subscribed my name unto these presents.

Written the twentieth day of March, in the yeer of our Lord God 1545. Ex Regist.

Ex Regist. Lon.

By me Anne Askew, otherwise called Anne Kyme.

Witnesses.

Edmund Bishop of London.
Iohn Bishop of Bathe.
Owen Oglethorpe Doctor of Divinitie.
Richard Smith Doctor of Divinitie.
Iohn Rudde Bachelor of Divinitie.
William Pie Bachelor of Divinitie.
Iohn Wimsley Archdeacon of London.
Iohn Cook.
Robert Iohn.
Francis Spilman.
Edward Hall.
Alexander Bret.
Edmund Buts.

With divers other moe being then present.

HEre mayest thou note, gentle Reader, in this Confession, both in the Bishop and his Register, a double sleight of false conveyance. For although the Confession purport the words of the Bishops writing, whereunto she did set her hand, yet by the title prefixed before, maiest thou see that both she was arraigned and condemned before this was registred, and also that she is falsely reported to have put to her hand, which indeed by this her own book appeareth not so to be, but after this manner and condition; I Anne Askew do beleeve all manner things contained in the faith of the Catholique Church, and not otherwise. It followeth more in the story.

Boner and his Register reproved with an untruth.

Then because I did adde unto it the Catholique Church, he flang into his chamber in a great furie. With that my cousin Britaine followed him, desiring him for Gods sake to be good Lord unto me. He answered, that I was a woman, and that he was nothing deceived in me. Then my cousin Britaine desired him to take me as a woman, and not to set my weak womans wit to his Lordships great wisedome.

Boner bishop of London in a chafe against Anne Askew.

Then went in unto him doctor Weston, and said, That the cause why I did write there the Catholique Church, was, that I understood not the church written afore. So with much ado they perswaded my Lord to come out again, and to take my name, with the names of my sureties, which were my cousin Britaine and maister Spilman of Graies Inne.

Do. Weston.

This being done, we thought that I should have been put to bail immediately, according to the order of the Law. Howbeit he would not suffer it, but committed me from thence to prison again untill the next morrow, and then he willed me to appeare in the Guild Hall, and so I did. Notwithstanding they would not put me to bail there neither, but read the Bishops writing unto me, as before, and so commanded me again to prison. Then were my sureties appointed to come before them on the next morrow in Pauls Church, which did so indeed. Notwithstanding, they would once again have broken off with them, because they would not be bound also for another woman at their pleasure, whom they knew not, nor yet what matter was laid unto her charge. Notwithstanding at the last, after much ado and reasoning to and fro, they took a bond of them of recognisance for my forth coming: and thus I was at the last delivered.

Anne Askew brought to the Guild-hall.

Anne Askew bailed at last under sureties with much ado.

Written by me Anne Askew.

The latter apprehension and examination of the worthy Martyr of God Mistresse Anne Askew, Ann. 1546.

Anne Askew martyr.

Anno. 1546.

I Do perceive (dear friend in the Lord) that thou art not yet perswaded throughly in the truth, concerning the Lords Supper, because Christ said unto his Apostles, Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you.

A declaration of Anne Askew of these words of our Saviour, This is my body

In giving forth the bread as an outward signe or token to be received with the mouth, he minded them in perfect beléefe to receive that bodie of his which should die for the people, and to thinke the death thereof to be the onely health and salvation of their soules. The bread and the wine were left us for a sacramentall Communion, or a mutuall participation of the inestimable benefits of his most precious death and bloodshedding, and that we should in the end thereof be thankfull together for that most necessarie grace of our redemption. For in the closing up thereof he said thus; This do ye in remembrance of me. Yea, so oft as ye shall eat it or drinke it, Luke 11. and 1 Corin. 11. Else should we have been forgetfull of that we ought to have in

Luke 11. 1 Cor. 11.

in daily remembrance, and also have been altogether unthankfull for it; therefore it is meet that in our prayers we call unto God to graft in our forheads the true meaning of the holy Ghost concerning this Communion. For saint Paul saith, The letter slayeth; the spirit is it onely that giveth life. 2 Cor. 3. Mark well the sixth chapter of John, where all is applied unto faith: note also the fourth chapter of saint Pauls second epistle to the Corinthians, and in the end thereof ye shall finde, that the things which are seene are temporall, but they that are not seene are everlasting. Yea, look in the third chap. to the Hebrews, and ye shall finde that Christ as a Sonne (and no servant) ruleth over his house, whose house are we, and not the dead temple, If we hold fast the confidence and rejoycing of that hope to the end. Wherefore as saith the holy Ghost, To day if ye shall hear his voice, harden not your hearts, &c. Psal. 95.

1. Cor. 3.

2. Cor. 4.

Heb. 3.

Psalme 95.

The summe of my examination before the Kings Councell at Greenwich.

Concerning that which they here demanded as touching M. Lyne, read in the centure of John Bale writing upon this place.

YOur request as concerning my prison fellows I am not able to satisfie, because I heard not their examinations. But the effect of mine was this. I being before the Councell, was asked of master Lyne. I answered, that my Lord Chancellor knew already my minde in that matter. They with that answer were not contented, but said it was the Kings pleasure that I should open the matter unto them. I answered them plainly I would not so do, but if it were the kings pleasure to hear me, I would shew him the truth. Then they said it was not meet for the King to be troubled with me. I answered, that Solomon was reckoned the wisest King that ever lived, yet misliked he not to heare two poore common women, much more his Grace a simple woman and his faithfull subject. So in conclusion, I made them none other answer in that matter. Then my Lord Chancellor asked of me my opinion in the sacrament. My answer was this; I beleeve that so oft as I in a Christian congregation do receive the bread in remembrance of Christs death, and with thanksgiving, according to his holy institution, I receive therewith the fruits also of his most glorious passion. The Bishop of Winchester bad me make a direct answer. I said I would not sing a new song of the Lord in a strange land. Then the Bishop said I spake in parables. I answered, it was best for him, for if I shew the open truth (quoth I) yee will not accept it. Then hee said I was a Parret. I told him againe, I was readie to suffer all things at his hands, not onely his rebukes, but all that should follow besides, yea and all that gladly.

This L. Chancellor was Audley.

Parables best for Winchester. Winch. beginneth to scold.

Then had I divers rebukes of the Councell, because I would not expresse my minde in all things as they would have me. But they were not in the meane time unanswered for all that, which now to rehearse were too much, for I was with them there about five houres. Then the Clerke of the Councell conveyed me from thence to my Ladie Carnith.

Anne Askew brought again before the Councell.

The next day I was brought again before the Councell. Then would they needs know of me what I said to the sacrament. I answered, That I already had said what I could say. Then after divers words they bad me go by. Then came my lord Lisle, my Lord of Esser, and the Bishop of Winchester, requiring me earnestly that I should confesse the sacrament to be fleshly, blood, and bone. Then said I to my Lord Parre and my L. Lisle, that it was a great shame for them to counsell contrarie to their knowledge. Whereunto in few words they did say, that they would gladly all things were well.

Then the Bishop said he would speak with me familiarly. I said, So did Judas, when he unfriendly betrayed Christ. Then desired the Bishop to speak with me alone. But that I refused. He asked me why: I said, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter should stand, after Christs and Pauls doctrine. Matth. 18. 2 Cor. 13.

Winchester answered home.

Matth. 18. 2 Cor. 13.

Then my lord Chancellor began to examine me again of the sacrament. Then I asked him how long he would halt on both sides. Then would he needs know where I found that. I said in the scripture, 3 Reg. 18. Then he went his way. Then the Bishop said I should be burnt. I answered, That I had searched all the scriptures, yet could I never finde that either Christ or his Apostles put any creature to death. Well, well, said I, God will laugh your threatnings to scorn: Psal. 2. Then was I commanded to stand aside. Then came to me doctor Cox, and doctor Robinson. In conclusion, we could not agree.

3 Reg. 18.

The L. Chancellor mute.

Psal. 2.

Doctor Cox. D. Robinson.

Then they made me a bill of the Sacrament, willing me to set my hand thereunto, but I would not. Then on the Sunday I was sore sicke, thinking no lesse then to die. Therefore I desired to speak with master Latimer, but it would not be. Then was I sent to Newgate in my extremitie of sicknesse; for in all my life afore I was never in such pain. Thus the Lord strengthen us in the truth. Pray, pray, pray.

Anne Askew desired to speak with M. Latimer.

The Confession of me Anne Askew, for the time I was in Newgate, concerning my beleefe.

The confession of Anne Aske in Newgate.

I Finde in the Scripture (said she) that Christ took the bread and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my body which shall be broken for you, meaning in substance, his own very body, the bread being thereof an onely signe or sacrament. For after like manner of speaking, he said he would breake downe the temple, and in three dayes build it up again, signifying his own body by the temple, as saint John declareth it, Joh. 2. and not the stony temple it selfe. So that the bread is but a remembrance of his death, or a Sacrament of thanksgiving for it, whereby we are knit unto him by a communion of Christian love, although there be many that cannot perceive the true meaning thereof, for the veile that Moses put over his face before the children of Israel, that they should not see the clearnesse thereof, Exod. 24. and 2 Corinth. 3. I perceive the same veile remaineth to this day. But when God shall take it away, then shall these blinde men see. For it is plainly expressed in the Historie of Bell in the Bible, that God dwelleth in no thing materiall. O King (saith Daniel) be not deceived, for God will be in nothing that is made with hands of men, Dan. 14. Oh, what stiffe necked people are these, that will alwayes resist the holy Ghost: But as their fathers have done, so do they, because they have stony hearts.

As Christs body is called the temple in the Scripture: so the bread call Christs body. Exod. 24. 2 Cor. 3.

Dan. 14. Acts 7.

Written by me Anne Askew, that neither wisheth death, nor feareth his might, and as merry as one that is bound towards heaven.

TRuth is laid in prison, Luke 21. The law is turned to wormwood, Amos 6. And there can no right judgement go forth, Isa. 59.

Luke 21. Amos 6. Isa. 59.

Oh forgive us all our sins, and receive us graciously. As for the works of our hands, we will no more call upon them. For it is thou Lord that art our God. Thou shewest ever mercy unto the fatherlesse.

Oh if they would do this (saith the Lord) I should heale

KING HEN. 8.

heale their sores, yea with all my heart would I love them.

O Ephraim, what have I to do with Idols any more? who so is wise, shall understand this: And he that is rightly instructed will regard it, for the wayes of the Lord are righteous. Such as are godly will walke in them, and as for the wicked, they will stumble at them, Ose. 14.

Solomon (saith saint Stephen) builded an house for the God of Iacob. Howbeit, the highest of all dwelleth not in Temples made with hands, as saith the Prophet, Heaven is my seat, and earth is my footstool. What house will ye build for me, saith the Lord? or what place is it that I shall rest in? Have not my hands made all things? Acts 7.

Woman beleeve me (saith Christ to the Samaritane) the time is at hand, that ye shall neither in this mountaine, nor yet at Ierusalem worship the Father. Ye worship ye wot not what, but we know what we worship. For salvation cometh of the Iews: But the houre cometh, and is now, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and verity. Ioh. 4.

Labour not (saith Christ) for the meat that perisheth, but for that that endureth unto life everlasting, which the Sonne of man shall give you: for him hath God the Father sealed. Iohn 6.

The summe of the condemnation of me Anne Askew at the Guild Hall.

THey said to me there, That I was an heretick, and condemned by the Law, if I would stand in mine opinion. I answered, That I was no heretique, neither yet deserved I any death by the Law of God. But as concerning the faith which I uttered and wrote to the Counsell, I would not (I said) deny it, because I knew it true. Then would they needs know if I would deny the sacrament to be Christs bodie and blood. I said, yea. For the same Sonne of God that was born of the Virgin Mary is now glorious in heaven, and will come again from thence at the latter day like as he went up. Acts 1. And as for that ye call your God, it is a piece of bread. For a more proofe thereof, mark it when you list, let it but lie in the box three moneths, and it will be mouldie, and so turn to nothing that is good. Whereupon I am perswaded that it cannot be God.

After that, they willed me to have a Priest. And then I smiled. Then they asked me if it were not good: I said, I would confesse my faults unto God, for I was sure that he would hear me with favour. And so we were condemned with a Quest.

My beleefe which I wrote to the Councell was this, That the sacramentall bread was left us to be received with thanksgiving, in remembrance of Christs death, the onely remedie of our souls recoverie; and that thereby we also receive the whole benefits and fruits of his most glorious passion. Then would they needs know whether the bread in the box were God or no? I said, God is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and truth. Iohn 4. Then they demanded, Will you plainly denie Christ to be in the sacrament? I answered, that I beleeve faithfully the eternall Sonne of God not to dwell there. In witnesse whereof I recited againe the historie of Bell, and the nineteenth Chapter of Daniel, the seventh and seventeenth of the Acts, and the foure and twentieth of Matthew: concluding thus; I neither wish death, nor yet feare his might, God have the praise thereof with thanks.

My Letter sent to the Lord Chancellor.

THe Lord God, by whom all creatures have their being, blesse you with the light of his knowledge. Amen.

My dutie to your Lordship remembred, &c. It might please you to accept this my bold suite, as the suite of one which upon due consideration is moved to the same, and hopeth to obtain. My request to your Lordship is onely that it may please the same to be a meane for me to the Kings Majestie, that his Grace may be certified of these few lines which I have written concerning my beliefe, which when it shall be truly conferred with the hard judgement given me for the same, I thinke his Grace shall well perceive me to be weighed in an uneven paire of ballance. But I remit my matter and cause to Almightie God, which rightly judgeth all secrets. And thus I commend your Lordship to the governance of him, and fellowship of all Saints. Amen.

By your handmaid, Anne Askew.

My faith briefly written to the Kings grace.

The beleefe of Anne Askew touching the sacrament written to the King.

I Anne Askew, of good memorie, although God hath given me the bread of adversitie, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sinnes have deserved, desire this to be knowne unto your Grace, That forasmuch as I am by the Law condemned for an evill doer; here I take heaven and earth to record, that I shall die in my innocencie. And according to that I have said first, and will say last, I utterly abhorre and detest all heresies. And as concerning the Supper of the Lord, I beleeve so much as Christ hath said therein, which he confirmed with his most blessed blood. I beleeve so much as he willed me to follow, and beleeve so much as the Catholique Church of him doth teach. For I will not forsake the commandement of his holy lips. But look what God hath charged me with his mouth, that have I shut up in my heart. And thus briefly I end for lacke of learning.

Anne Askew.

The effect of my examination and handling since my departure from Newgate.

The cruell handling and racking of Anne Askew after her condemnation.

ON Tuesday I was sent from Newgate to the signe of the Crowne, where master Rich, and the Bishop of London, with all their power and flattering words went about to perswade me from God; but I did not esteeme their glosing pretences.

Then came there to me Nicolas Shaxton, and counselled me to recant as he had done. I said to him, That it had been good for him never to have been born; with many other like words.

Then M. Rich sent me to the Tower, where I remained till three of clock.

This counsellor was sir John Baker.

Then came Rich and one of the Counsell, charging me upon my obedience to shew unto them if I knew any man or woman of my sect. My answer was that I knew none. Then they asked me of my Lady of Suffolke, my Lady of Sussex, my Lady of Hertford, my Lady Denny, and my Lady Fitzwilliams. To whom I answered, if I should pronounce any thing against them, that I were not able to prove it. Then said they unto me, That the King was informed that I could name, if I would, a great number of my sect. I answered, That the King was as well deceived in that behalfe, as he was dissembled with by them in other matters.

Anne Askew urged to accuse others.

Then commanded they me to shew how I was maintained in the Counter, and who willed me to stick to my opinion. I said that there was no creature that therein did strengthen me. And as for the helpe that I had in the Counter, it was by the meanes of my maid. For as she went abroad in the

the streets, made moane to the Prentises, and they by her did send me money; but who they were I never knew.

Anne Askew refuseth to accuse any.

Then they said that there were divers gentlewomen that gave me money. I said I knew not their names. Then they said that there were divers Ladies that had sent me money. I answered, That there was a man in a blew coat which delivered me ten shillings, and said that my Lady of Hertford sent it me; and another in a violet coat gave me eight shillings, and said my Lady Denny sent it me. Whether it were true or no I cannot tell. For I am not sure who sent it me, but as the maid did say. Then they said there were of the Counsell that did maintain me. And I said, No.

Anne Askew put on the rack. Wrisley & Rich racking Anne Askew.

Then they did put me on the Rack, because I confessed no Ladies or Gentlewomen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long time, and because I lay still and did not cry, my Lord Chancellor and master Rich took pains to rack me with their own hands till I was nigh dead.

Then the Lieutenant caused me to be loosed from the rack. Incontinently I swouned, and then they recovered me againe. After that I sate two long houres reasoning with my Lord Chancellor upon the bare floore. Where he with many flattering words perswaded me to leave my opinion. But my Lord God, I thank his everlasting goodnesse, gave me grace to persever, and will do, I hope, to the very end.

Anne Askew constant in her faith.

Then was I brought to an house, and laid in a bed, with as weary and painfull bones as ever had patient Job, I thank my Lord God therefore. Then my Lord Chancellor sent me word, if I would leave my opinion, I should want nothing; if I would not, I should forthwith to Newgate, and so be burned. I sent him again word, that I would rather die then breake my faith.

Anne Askew threatned to be burned.

Thus the Lord open the eyes of their blinde hearts, that the truth may take place. Farewell deare friend, and pray, pray, pray.

The order of the racking of Anne Askew.

Touching the order of her racking in the tower, thus it was; first she was led down into a dungeon, where sir Anth. Knevet the Lieutenant commanded his Gaoler to pinch her with the Rack. Which being done so much as he thought sufficient, he went about to take her down, supposing that he had done enough. But Wrisley the Chancellor, not contented that she was loosed so soone, confessing nothing, commanded the Lieutenant to straine her on the Rack again. Which because he denied to do, tendering the weaknesse of the woman, he was threatned therefore grievously of the said Wrisley, saying, That he would signifie his disobedience unto the King: and so consequently upon the same, he and master Rich throwing off their gowns, would needs play the tormentors themselves; first asking her if she were with childe. To whom she answering again, said, Ye shall not need to spare for that, but do your wills upon me; and so quietly and patiently praying unto the Lord, she abode their tyrannie, till her bones and joynts were almost pluckt asunder, in such sort as she was carried away in a chaire. When the racking was past, Wrisley and his Fellow toke their horse toward the Court.

The L. Wrisley and M. Rich play the tormentors.

Wrisley the L. Chancellor prevented by the Lieutenant.

In the mean time, while they were making their way by land, the good Lieutenant eftsoons taking boat, sped him to the Court in all haste to speake with the King before the other, and so did. Who there, making his humble sute to the King, desired his pardon, and shewed him the whole matter as it stood, and of the racking of mistresse Askew, and how he was threatned by the Lord Chancellor, because at his commandement, not knowing his highnesse pleasure, he refused to rack her; which he for compassion could not finde in his heart to do, and therefore humbly desired his Highnesse pardon. Which when the King had understood, he seemed not very well to like of their so extreme handling of the woman, and also granted to the Lieutenant his Pardon, willing him to return and see to his charge.

The Lieutenant pardoned of the King.

Great expectation was in the mean season among the warders and other officers of the Tower, waiting for his return. Whom when they saw come so cheerfully, declaring unto them how he had sped with the King, they were not a little joyous, and gave thanks to God therefore.

Anne Askews answer unto John Lacels Letter.

The answer of Anne Askew to M. Lacels Letter.

O Friend, most dearly beloved in God, I marvell not a little what should move you to judge in me so slender a faith as to fear death, which is the end of all miserie. In the Lord I desire you not to beleeve of me such weaknesse. For I doubt it not but God will performe his work in me, like as he hath begun. I understand the Councell is not a little displeased, that it should be reported abroad that I was racked in the Tower. They say now, That what they did there was but to fear me; whereby I perceive they are ashamed of their uncomely doings, and fear much lest the Kings Majestie should have information thereof, wherefore they would no man to noise it. Well, their cruelty God forgive them.

Your heart in Christ Iesus. Farewell and pray.

The purgation or answer of Anne Askew, against the false surmises of her recantation.

Anne Askew answering to the false suspition of her recanting.

I Have read the Processe which is reported of them that know not the truth, to be my recantation. But, as the Lord liveth, I never meant thing lesse then to recant. Notwithstanding this I confesse, that in my first troubles I was examined of the Bishop of London about the sacrament. Yet had they no grant of my mouth but this, That I beleeved therein as the word of God did binde me to beleeve. More had they never of me. Then he made a copy, which is now in print, and required me to set thereunto my hand. But I refused it. Then my two sureties did will me in no wise to sticke thereat, for it was no great matter they said.

Anne Askew falsly suspected to recant, and upon what occasion.

Then with much ado, at the last I wrote thus; I Anne Askew do beleeve this, if Gods Word do agree to the same, and the true Catholique Church. Then the Bishop being in great displeasure with me, because I made doubts in my writing, commanded me to prison, where I was a while, but afterwards by the meanes of friends I came out again. Here is the truth of that matter. And as concerning the thing that ye covet most to know, resort to the sixth of Iohn, and be ruled alwayes thereby. Thus fare ye well.

Anne Askew.

The Confession of the Faith which Anne Askew made in Newgate before she suffered.

The confession of Anne Askew going to her execution.

I Anne Askew of good memorie, although my mercifull Father hath given me the head of adversitie, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sinnes have deserved, do confesse my selfe here a sinner before the throne of his heavenly majestie, desiring his forgivenesse and mercie. And forsomuch as I am by the Law unrighteously condemned for an evill doer concerning opinions, I take the same most mercifull God of mine, which hath

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hath made both heaven and earth, to record, that I hold no opinions contrary to his most holy Word. And I trust in my merciful Lord, which is the Giver of all grace, that he will graciously assist me against all evill opinions which are contrary to his blessed Veritie. For I take him to witnesse, that I have done, and will, unto my lives end, utterly abhorre them to the uttermost of my power.

The matter and cause why Anne Askew suffered death.

But this is the heresie, which they report me to hold, that after the Priest hath spoken the words of consecration, there remaineth bread still. They both say, and also teach it for a necessarie article of faith, that after these words be once spoken, there remaineth no bread, but even the selfesame body that hung upon the Crosse on good Friday, both flesh, bloud, and bone. To this beliefe of theirs say I nay. For then were our common Crede false, which saith, that he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father almighty, and from thence shall come to judge the quick and the dead. Loe this is the heresie that I hold, and for it must suffer the death. But as touching the holy and blessed supper of the Lord, I beleeve it to be a most necessarie remembrance of his glorious sufferings and death. Moreover I beleeve as much therein as my eternall and only redeemer Jesus Christ would I should beleeve.

Scripture sufficient to our salvation.

Finally, I beleeve all those Scriptures to be true, which he hath confirmed with his most precious bloud. Yea, and as Saint Paul saith, those Scriptures are sufficient for our learning and salvation, that Christ hath left here with us; so that I beleeve, we need no unwritten verities to rule his Church with. Therefore loke what he hath said unto me with his owne mouth in his holy Gospell, that I have with Gods grace closed up in my heart, and my full trust is (as Dauid saith) that it shall be a Lanterne to my footsteps, Psalme 28.

Psalme 28.

Anne Askew falsly reported to deny the holy Eucharist.

There be some that do say I deny the Eucharist or sacrament of thankesgiving; but those people do untruely report of me. For I both say and beleeve it, that if it were ordered like as Christ instituted it and left it, a most singular comfort it were unto us all. But as concerning your masse as it is now used in our daies, I doe say and beleeve it to be the most abominable Idoll that is in the world. For my God will not be eaten with teeth, neither yet dieth he againe. And upon these words that I have now spoken, will I suffer death.

The Masse an abominable Idoll.

O Lord I have mo enemies now, then there be haires on my head: yet Lord, let them never overcome me with vaine words, but fight thou Lord in my stead; for on thee cast I my care. With all the spight they can imagine, they fall upon me which am thy poore creature. Yet sweet Lord, let me not set by them which are against me; for in thee is my whole delight. And Lord I heartily desire of thee, that thou wilt of thy most mercifull goodnesse forgive them that violence which they doe and have done unto me. Open also thou their blind hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in thy sight, which is onely acceptable before thee, and to set forth thy veritie aright, without all vaine fantasie of sinfull men. So be it O Lord, so be it.

The prayer of Anne Askew.

By me Anne Askew.

The order and manner of the burning of *Anne Askew*, *Iohn Lacels*, *Iohn Adams*, *Nicolas Belenian*, *with certaine of the Counsell sitting in Smithfield.*

HItherto we have intreated of this good woman: now it remaineth that we touch somewhat as concerning her end and martyrdome. After that she, being borne of such stock and kindred that she might have lived in great wealth and prosperitie, if she would rather have followed the world then Christ, now had beene so tormented, that she could neither live long in so great distresse, neither yet by her adversaries be suffered to die in secret; the day of her execution being appointed, she was brought into Smithfield in a chaire, because she could not go on her feet, by means of her great torments. When she was brought unto the stake, she was tied by the middle with a chaine that held up her body. When all things were thus prepared to the fire, Doctour Shaxton, who was then appointed to preach, began his Sermon. Anne Askew hearing, and answering againe unto him, where he said well, confirmed the same; where he said amisse, there, said she, he misseth, and speaketh without the book.

Anne Askew brought unto the stake.

Anne Askew framed upon the rack.

Shaxton preached at Anne Askews burning.

The Sermon being finished, the Martyrs, standing there tyed at three severall stakes ready to their martyrdome, began their prayers. The multitude and concourse of the people was exceeding, the place where they stood being railed about to keep out the preasse. Upon the bench under S. Bartholomewes Church sate Wriseley Chancellour of England, the old Duke of Norfolke, the old Earle of Bedford, the Lord Maior, with divers other mo. Before the fire should be set unto them, one of the Bench hearing that they had Gunpowder about them, and being afraid lest the fagots by strength of the Gunpowder would come flying about their eares began to be afraid: but the Earle of Bedford declaring unto him how the Gunpowder was not layd under the fagots, but onely about their bodies to rid them out of their paine, which having vent there was no danger to them of the fagots, so diminished that feare.

Then Wriseley Lord Chancellour sent to Anne Askew letters, offering to her the Kings pardon if she would recant. Who, refusing once to look upon them, made this answer againe, that she came not thither to denie her Lord and Maker. Then were the letters likewise offered unto the other, who in like manner, following the constancie of the woman, denied not onely to receive them, but also to looke upon them. Whereupon the L. Maior, commanding fire to be put to them, cryed with a loud voice, Fiat justitia.

Anne Askew refuseth the Kings pardon.

Iustitia injusta.

And thus the good Anne Askew with these blessed Martyrs, being troubled so many manner of waies, and having passed through so many torments, having now ended the long course of her agonies, being compassed in with flames of fire, as a blessed sacrifice unto God, she slept in the Lord, An. 1546. leaving behinde her a singular example of Christian constancie for all men to follow.

Iohn Lacels, Iohn Adams and Nicholas Belenian.

THere was at the same time also burnt together with her, one Nicholas Belenian Priest of Shropshire, Iohn Adams a Taylor, and Iohn Lacels Gentleman, of the Court and houshold of King Henry.

The martyrdome of Anne Askew, Iohn Lacels, Iohn Adams, Nicholas Belenian.

It happened well for them, that they died together with Anne Askew. For albeit that of themselves they were strong and stout men, yet, through the example and exhortation of her, they being the more boldned received occasion of greater comfort in that so painfull and dolefull kinde of death: who beholding her indincible constancie, and also stirred up through her perswasions, did set apart all kinde of feare.

Thus they confirming one another with mutuall exhortations tarried looking for the tormentor and fire, which, at the last flaming round about them, consumed their blessed bodies in happie Martyrdome, in the yeare of our salvation, 1546. about the moneth of June.

There is also a certaine letter extant, which the said Iohn Lacels briefly wrote, being in prison, touching the sacrament of Christs body and bloud; wherein he doth both confute the errour of them, which being not contented with the spirituall receiving of the sacrament, will leave no substance of bread therein, and also confuteth the sinister interpretation of many therupon. The tenor of which letter is as hereunder followeth.

The Copie of the letter of John Lacels written out of prison.

The letter of M. Iohn Lacels written out of prison.

SAint Paul because of deeds and dissention among the Corinthians, wrote his Epistle unto them; and in like case pertaining to my conscience, I doe protest my whole heart touching the blessed Supper of the Lord, wherein I trust in God to bring nothing for me, but I shal be able with Gods holy word to declare and manifest the same. And herein I take occasion to recite the saying of Saint Paul in the said Epistle the eleventh Chapter, That which I delivered unto you, I received of the Lord. For the Lord Iesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, gave thanks, and brake it, and said, take ye, eat ye, this is my body, which is broken for you.

1 Cor. 11.

Here, me seemeth, Saint Paul durst not take upon him his Lords & Masters authoritie. Wherefore, as at Gods hand the breaking of the most innocent and immaculate body and bloud of Christ is the quietnesse of all mens consciences, the onely remedie of our sinnes, and the redemption of mankinde which is called in the Scripture the daily offering: so the Masse which is the invention of man (whose author is the pope of Rome, as it doth appear in Polydore Virgil & many others) is the unquietnesse of all Christendome, a blasphemie unto Christs bloud, and (as Daniel calleth it) the abominable desolation, as the Scripture shall hereafter more manifest it. S. Paul was belike to learne of the Romans church, the manner of the consecration as they call it, with the breathing ober the host, & other ceremonies besides, that he durst not take upon him to say, Hoc est corpus meum. But this I will avow: it was the Lord Iesus that made the Supper, which also did finish it, and made an end of the onely act of our Salvation, not onely here in this world, but with his father in heave, as he declareth himselfe, that he will drink no more of this bitter cup, till he drinke it new in his fathers kingdome, where all bitternesse shall be taken away.

The blasphemie and wickednes of the Masse.

A prophecie.

S. Paul did not take upon him in the person of Christ to say, *Hoc est corpus meum* as our priests doe.

Now if any man be able to finish the act of our Saviour, in breaking of his body, and shedding of his bloud here, and also to finish it with the father in heaven, then let him say it. But I thinke that if men will look upon Saint Pauls words well, they shall be forced to say, as S. Paul saith; the Lord Iesus said it, and once for all, which onely was the fulfiller of it. For these words, Hoc est corpus meum, were spoken of his naturall presence (which no man is able to denie) because the Act was finished on the Crosse, as the Story doth plainly manifest it to them that have eies. Now this bloudy sacrifice is made an end of, the supper is finished, forsomuch as Christ hath once suffered for sinnes, the just for the unjust, to bring us to God, and was killed as pertaining to the flesh, and hath entred in by his owne bloud once for all, into the holy place, and found eternall redemption.

None but Christ can say, *Hoc est corpus meum*, and he said it once for all.

1 Pet. 3.

Heb. 9.

Here now followeth the administraiton of the supper of the Lord, which I will take at Christs hands after the resurrectiō, although other men will not

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not be ashamed to bring the wicked counsels of foolish inventions for them. And it came to passe as Christ sate at meat with them, he took bread, blessed, and brake it, and gave it to them, and their eyes were opened, and knew him, and he vanished out of their sight. And the Apostles did know him in breaking of bread.

Here also it seemeth to me the Apostles to follow their Master Christ, and to take the right use of the Sacrament, and also to teach it to those that were converted to Christ, as mention is made in the Acts of the Apostles, where it is said, They continued in the Apostles doctrine and fellowship, in breaking of bread, and prayer, and they continued daily with one accord in the Temple, and brake bread in every house, and did eate there with gladnesse and singlenesse of heart, praising God, and had favour with all the people. And Saint Paul following the same doctrine, doth plainly shew the dutie of the Minister, and also of them that shall receive it; As oft as ye shall eat this bread, and drinke this cup, ye shall shew the Lords death untill he come. Here I do gather that the Minister hath no further power and authoritie then to preach and pronounce the Lords death, or else to say the Lord Jesus said it, which did fulfill it on the Crosse.

Furthermore, I do stedfastly beleeve, that where the bread is broken according to the ordinance of Christ, the blessed and immaculat Lambe is present to the eies of our faith, and so we eate his flesh, and drink his bloud, which is to dwell with God, and God with us. And in this we are sure we dwell with God, in that he giveth us his holy Spirit, even as the forefathers, that were before Christs coming, did presently see the Lords death, and did eate his body and drinke his bloud.

In this I do differ from the Popes Church, that the priests have authority to make Christs naturall presence in the bread, for so doth he more then our Lord and Saviour did; As the example is manifest in Judas, which at Christs hands received the same wine and bread, as the other Apostles did. But the Pope and his adherents are even they whom Daniel speaketh of, saying, He shall set men to unhallow the Sanctuary, and to put downe the daily offering, and to set up the abominable desolation. Yea, he (of Rome) shall speake marvellous things against the God of heaven, and God of all Gods, wherein he shall prosper so long, till the wrath be fulfilled, for the conclusion is devised already. He shall not regard the God of heaven, nor the God of his fathers, yea in his place shall he worship the mightie Idoll, and the God whom his fathers knew not, which is the God of Maozim.

For lack of time I leave the commemoration of the blessed supper of the Lord, and the abominable Idoll the Masse, which is it that Daniel meaneth by the God Maozim. Read the second and last chapters of Daniel, the second to the Thessalonians, the second Epistle; where they recite the abomination of desolation, which, Matthew saith, standeth in the holy place, which is the consciences of men. Marke saith, where it ought not to stand, which is a plain denial of all the inventions of men. Further Luke saith, the time is at hand. Paul saith, the mystery of iniquitie worketh already, yea, and shall continue untill the appearance of Christ, which in my judgement is at hand.

Now for the Supper of the Lord, I doe protest to take it as reverently as Christ left it, and as his Apostles did use it, according to the testimonies of the Prophets, the Apostles, and our blessed Saviour Christ, which accordingly Saint Paul to the Ephesians doth recite.

Now with quietnesse I commit the whole world to their Pastor and heardman Jesus Christ the onely Saviour and true Messias, and I commend my Soveraigne Lord and maister, the Kings Majestie, King Henry the eighth to God the Father, and to our Lord Jesus Christ; the Queene and my Lord the Prince, with this whole realme, ever to the innocent and immaculate Lambe, that his bloud may wash and purifie their hearts and soules from all iniquitie and sin, to Gods glory and to the salvation of their soules. I doe protest, that the inward part of my heart doth groane for this, and I doubt not but to enter into the holy Tabernacle which is above, yea, and there to be with God for ever. Farewell in Christ Jesus.

Iohn Lacels, late servant to the King, and now I trust to serve the everlasting King, with the testimonie of my bloud in Smithfield.

Rogers, Martyr, burned in Smithfield.

One Rogers in Norfolke Martyr.

LIke as Winchester and other Bishops did set on King Henry against Anne Askew and her fellow Martyrs, so Doctor Repse, Bishop of Norwich, did incite no lesse the old Duke of Norfolke, against one Rogers in the countrey of Norfolke; who much about the same year and time, was there condemned and suffered martyrdome for the six articles. After which time it was not long, but within a halfe yeare both the King himselfe and the Dukes house decaied: albeit, the Dukes house by Gods grace recovered againe afterward, and he himselfe converted to a more moderation in this kinde of dealing.

The martyrdome of Rogers.

The story of Queene Katharine Parre, late Queene, and wife to King Henry the eighth. Wherein appeareth in what danger she was for the Gospel, by the meanes of Steven Gardiner and other of his Conspiracie; and how graciously she was preserved by her kinde and loving husband the King.

AFter these stormie stories above recited, the course and order as well of the time as the matter of the story doth require now somewhat to intreat likewise touching the troubles and afflictions of the vertuous and excellent Lady Queene Katharine Parre, the last wife to King Henry: the story whereof is this. { Anno. 1546. }

Q. Katherine Parre.

About the same time above noted, which was about the yeare after the King returned from Bulleine, he was informed that Queene Katharine Parre, at that time his wife, was very much given to the reading and studying of the holy Scriptures, & that she for that purpose had retained divers well learned and godly persons to instruct her thoroughly in the same; with whom as at all times convenient she used to have private conference touching spirituall matters; so also of ordinary, but especially in Lent every day in the afternoone for the space of an houre, one of her said Chapleines in her privie Chamber made some collation to her and to her Ladies and Gentlewomen of her privie Chamber, or other that were disposed to heare: In which sermons they oft times touched such abuses as in the Church were then rife. Which things as they were not secretly done, so neither were their preachings unknowne unto the King. Whereof at the first, and for a great time, he seemed very well to like. Which made her the more bold (being indeed become very zealous toward the Gospel, and the Professors thereof) frankly to debate with the King touching religion, and therein flatly to discover her selfe; oftentimes wishing, exhorting, and perswading the King, that as he had, to the glory of God, and his eternall fame, begun a good and a

The religious zeale of Queen Katharine toward Gods word.

godly work in banishing that monstrous Idoll of Rome, so he would throughly perfect and finish the same, cleansing and purging his Church of England cleane from the dregs thereof, wherein as yet remained great superstition.

The exhortation of D. Katharine to the King.

And albeit the king grew towards his latter end very sterne and opinionate, so that of few he could be content to be taught, but worst of all to be contended withall by argument; notwithstanding, toward her he refrained his accustomed manner (unto others in like case used) as appeared by great respects, either for the reverence of the cause, whereunto of himselfe he seemed well inclined, if some others could have ceased from seeking to pervert him, or else for the singular affection, which, until a very small time before his death, he alwaies bare unto her. For never handmaid sought with more carefull diligence to please her Mistresse, then she did with all painful indeavour apply her selfe by all vertuous meanes in all things to please his humour.

The King towards his latter end waxed more impatient.

Moreover besides the vertues of the minde, shee was indued with very rare gifts of Nature, as singular beautie, favour, and comely personage, being things wherein the king was greatly delighted: and so enjoyed she the Kings favour, to the great likelihood of the setting at large of the Gospel within this Realme at that time; had not the malicious practise of certaine professed enemies against the truth (which at that time also were very great) prevented the same, to the utter alienating of the Kings minde from Religion, and almost to the extreme ruine of the Queene and certain others with her, if God had not marvellously succoured her in the distresse. The conspirers and practisers of her death were Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, Wrisley then L. Chancellour, & others more both of the Kings Privy Chamber, & of his Privie Councell. These seeking (for the furtherance of their ungodly purpose) to revive, stir up, & kindle evill and pernicious humours in their Prince & Soveraign Lord, to the intent to deprive her of this great favour which then she stood in with the King (which they not a little feared would turne to the utter ruine of their Antichristian sect, if it should continue) and thereby to stop the passage of the Gospel; and consequently, having taken away her, who was the onely Patronesse of the Professors of the truth, openly without fear of check or controlment, with fire and sword, after their accustomed manner, to invade the small remainder, as they hoped, of that poore flock, made their wicked entry unto this their mischievous enterprise, after this manner following.

Enemies and conspirers against the Gospel.

Queen Katharine a patronesse of Gods truth.

The kings Majestie, as you have heard, misliked to be contended withall in any kinde of argument. This humour of his, although the Queene would not crosse in smaller matters, yet in cases of religion as occasion served, she would not stick in reverent termes and humble talke, entering with him into discourse, with sound reasons of scripture now and then to contrary. The which the King was so well accustomed unto in those matters, that at her hands he tooke all in good part, or at the least did never shew countenance of offence thereat: which did not a little appall her adversaries to heare and see. During which time, perceiving her so throughly grounded in the Kings favour, they durst not for their lives once open their lips unto the King in any respect to touch her, either in her presence, or behinde her back. And so long she continued this her accustomed usage, not onely of her hearing private Sermons (as is said) but also of her free conference with the K. in matters of religion, without all perill, untill at the last by reason of his sore legge (the anguish whereof began more and more to increase) he waxed sickly, and therewithall froward, and difficult to be pleased.

The King sometime contrary to the Queene in argument.

The King waxeth sickly and difficult to please.

In the time of this his sickness he had left his accustomed manner of coming and visiting of the Queene: and therefore she, according as she understood him, by such assured intelligence as she had about him, to be disposed to have her company, sometimes being sent for, other sometimes of her selfe would come to visit him, either at after dinner or after supper, as was most fit for her purpose. At which time she would not faile to use all occasions to move him, according to her manner, zealously to proceed in the reformation of the Church. The sharpenesse of the disease had sharpened the Kings accustomed patience, so that he beganne to shew some tokens of misliking; and contrary unto his manner, upon a day breaking off that matter, he took occasion to enter into other talke, which somewhat amased the Queen. To whom notwithstanding in her presence he gave neither evill word nor countenance, but knit up all Arguments with gentle words and loving countenance; and after other pleasant talke, she for that time tooke her leave of his Majestie. Who after his manner bidding her farewell sweet heart (for that was his usuall terme to the Queene) licensed her to depart.

The K. begin neth to mis like of the Queen

At this visitation chanced the Bishop of Winchester aforenamed to be present, as also at the Queenes taking her leave (who very wel had printed in his memory the Kings sudden interrupting of the queene in her tale, and falling into other matter) and thought that if the yron were beaten whilst it was hot, and that the kings humor were holpen, such misliking might follow towards the queene, as might both overthrow her and all her endeavours; and he onely awaited some occasion to renew into the Kings memory the former milliked argument. His expectation in that behalfe did nothing faile him; for the king at that time shewed himselfe no lesse prompt and ready to receive any information, then the Bishop was maliciously bent to stirre up the Kings indignation against her. The King, immediately upon her departure from him, used these or like words; A good hearing, quoth he, it is when women become such Clerks, and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old daies to be be taught by my wife.

The Bishop of Winchester seeketh his occasion to worke mischiefe.

The Bishop hearing this seemed to millike that the queen should so much forget her selfe, as to take upon her to stand in any argument with his Majestie, whom he to his face extold for his rare vertues, and specially for his learned judgement in matters of religion, above not onely Princes of that and other ages, but also above Doctors professed in Divinitie, and said that it was an unseemely thing for any of his Majesties subjects to reason and argue with him so malapertly, and grievous to him for his part, and other of his Majesties counsellors and servants, to heare the same; and that they all by proofe knew his wisdome to be such, that it was not needfull for any to put him in minde of any such matters; inferring moreover how dangerous and and perilous a matter it is, and ever hath been for a Prince to suffer such insolent words at his subjects hands: who as they take boldnesse to contrary their Soveraigne in words, so want they no will, but onely power and strength to overthrow them in deeds.

The bishop of Winchesters words to the King.

Besides this, that the Religion by the Queene so stiffely maintained did not onely disallow and dissolve the policie and politique Government of Princes, but also taught the people that all things ought to be in common; so that what colour soever they pretended, their opinions were indeede so odious, and for the Princes Estate so perilous, that (saving the reverence they beare unto her for his Majesties sake) they durst be bold to affirme that the greatest Subject in this Land, speaking those Words that shee did speake, and defending likewise those Arguments

Winchesters accusation against the Queene.

that

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that she did defend, had with indifferent iustice by law deserved death.

Howbeit for his part, he would not, nor durst not, without good warrant from his Maiestie, speake his knowledge in the Queenes case, although very apparent reasons made for him, and such as his dutifull affection towards his Maiestie, and the zeale and preseruation of his estate, would scarce giue him leaue to conceale, though the uttering there therof might through her, and her faction, be the vtter destruction of him, and of such as indeed did chiefly tender the Princes safety, without his Maiestie would take vpon him to be their Protector, and as it were their Buckler. Which if he would do (as in respect of his owne safety he ought not to refuse) he with others of his faithfull Counsellors could within short time disclose such treason, cloaked with this cloake of heresie, that his Maiestie should easily perceiue how perilous a matter it is to cherish a Serpent in his owne bosome: Howbeit he would not for his part willingly deale in the matter, both for reuerend respect aforesaid, and also for feare least the faction was growne already too great, there with the Princes safety to discouer the same. And therewithall, with heauie countenance, and whispering together with them of that sect there present, he held his peace.

Winchester abuseth the King with his flatterings.

These and such other kindes of Winchesters flattering phrases marvellously whetted the King both to anger and displeasure towards the Queene, and also to be iealous and mistrustfull of his owne estate. For the assurance whereof Princes use not to be scrupulous to doe any thing. Thus then Winchester with his flattering words, seeking to frame the Kings disposition after his owne pleasure, so farre crept into the King at that time, and with doubtfull feares he with other his fellowes so filled the Kings mistrustful minde, that before they departed the place, the King (to see belike what they would doe) had giuen commandement, with warrant to certaine of them made for that purpose, to consult together about the drawing of certaine articles against the Q. wherein her life might be touched; which the King, by their perswasions pretended to be fully resolued not to spare, hauing any rigor or colour of law to countenance the matter. With this commission they departed for that time from the King, resolued to put their pernicious practise to as mischieuous an execution.

How Winchester and his fellowes deuise against the gospellers.

During the time of deliberation about this matter, they failed not to use all kinde of policies, and mischieuous practises, as well to suborne accusers, as otherwise to betray her, in seeking to vnderstand what bookes by law forbidden she had in her closet. And the better to bring their purpose to passe, because they would not vpon the sudden but by means deale with her, they thought it best, at the first, to begin with some of those Ladies, whom they knew to be great with her, and of her bloud. The chiefest whereof, as most of estimation, and priuie to all her doings, were these; the Lady Herbert, afterwards Countesse of Pembroke, and sister to the Queene, and chiefe of her Priuy Chamber; the Lady Lane, being of her Priuy Chamber, and also her Cousin germaine; the Lady Tyrwit, of her Priuie Chamber, and for her vertuous disposition in very great fauour and credit with her.

Lady Herbert.

Lady Lane.

Lady Tyrwit.

It was deuised that these three aboue named should first of all haue been accused and brought to answer vnto the six Articles, and vpon their apprehension in the court, their closets and coffers should haue been searched, that somewhat might haue bin found whereby the Quæn might be charged, which being found, the Q. her selfe presently should haue bin taken, and likewise by barge carried by night vnto the Tower. This platforme thus deuised, but yet in the end coming to no effect, the King by those aforesaid was forthwith made priuie vnto the deuice by Winchester and Wrisley, and his consent thereunto demanded. Who (belike to proue the Bishops malice, how farre it would presume) like a wise politique Prince, was contented (dissembling) to giue his consent, and to allow of euery circumstance (knowing notwithstanding in the end what he would do.) And thus the day, the time, and the place of these apprehensions aforesaid was appointed; which deuice yet after was changed.

Winchesters platforme.

The King at that time lay at Whitehall, & vsed very seldome, being not well at ease, to stirre out of his Chamber or priuy Gallerie; and few of his Councell, but by especiall commandement, resorted vnto him; these onely except, who by reason of this practise vsed oftner then ordinary to repaire vnto him. This purpose so finely was handled, that it grew now within few daies of the time appointed for the execution of the matter, and the poore Quæne neither knew nor suspected any thing at all, and therefore vsed after her accustomed manner, when she came to visite the King, still to deale with him touching religion, as before she did.

The King all this while gaue her leaue to vtter her mind at the full without contradiction; not vpon any euill minde or misliking (ye must conceiue) to haue her speedy dispatch, but rather closely dissembling with them, to try out the vttermost of Winchesters fetches. Thus after her accustomed conference with the King, when she had taken her leaue of him (the time and day of Winchesters finall day approching fast vpon) it chanced that the King of himselfe vpon a certaine night after her being with him, and her leaue taken of him, in mislike of her religion, brake the whole practise vnto one of his Physitians, either Doctor Wendy, or else Diuen, but rather Wendy as is supposed: pretending vnto him, as though he intended not any longer to be troubled with such a Doctresse as she was; and also declaring what trouble was in working against her by certaine of her enemies, but yet charging him withall, vpon perill of his life, not to vtter it to any creature liuing: and thereupon declared vnto him the parties aboue named, with all circumstances, and when and what the finall resolution of the matter should be.

D. Wendy the Kings Physitian sent to the Queene.

The Quæn all this while, compassed about with enemies and persecutors, perceiued nothing of all this, nor what was working against her, and what traps were layed for her by Winchester and his Fellowes; so closely was the matter conueyed. But see what the Lord God (who from his eternall throne of wisdome seeth and dispatcheth all the inuentions of Achitophel, and comprehendeth the wylie beguily themselues) did for his poore handmaiden, in rescuing her from the pit of ruine, whereinto she was ready to fall vnawares.

The wyles of this Achitophel Winchester dispatched.

For as the Lord would, so came it to passe, that the bill of Articles drawn against the Quæne, and subscribed with the Kings owne hand (although dissemblingly you must vnderstand) falling from the bosome of one of the foresaid Counsellors, was found and taken vp of some godly person, and brought immediately vnto the Quæn. Who reading there the Articles comprised against her, and perceiuing the Kings own hand vnto the same, for the sudden feare therof fell incontinent into a great melancholy and agonie, bewailing and taking on in such sort, as was lamentable to see, as certaine of her Ladies and Gentlewomen being yet alive, which were then present about her, can testifie.

The Articles drawn against the Q. how they came to her hands.

The Queene in an agonie.

The King hearing what perpleritie she was in, almost to the perill and danger of her life, sent his Physitians vnto her. Who trauelling about her, and seeing what extremitie she was in, did what they could for her recouerie. Then Wendy, who knew the cause better then the other, and perceiuing by her words what the matter was, according to

to that the king before had told him, for the comforting of her heavy minde, began to breake with her in ſecret manner, touching the ſaid Articles deviſed againſt her, which he himſelfe, he ſaid, knew right well to be true: although he ſtood in danger of his life, if ever he were knowne to utter the ſame to any living creature. Nevertheleſſe, partly for the ſafetie of her life, and partly for the diſcharge of his owne conſcience, having remorſe to conſent to the ſhedding of innocent bloud, he could not but give her warning of that miſchiefe that hanged over her head, beſeeching her moſt inſtantly to uſe all ſecrecy in that behalfe, and exhorted her ſomewhat to frame and conforme her ſelf unto the kings minde, ſaying, he did not doubt, but if ſhe would ſo doe, and ſhew her humble ſubmiſſion unto him, ſhe ſhould finde him gracious and favourable unto her.

The exhortation of Doctor Wendy to the Queene.

The Kings coming to the Queene to comfort her.

It was not long after this, but the king hearing of the dangerous ſtate wherein ſhe yet ſtill remained, came unto her himſelfe. Unto whom after that ſhe had uttered her griefe, fearing leſt his Majeſty, ſhe ſaid, had taken diſpleaſure with her, and had utterly forſaken her, he like a loving husband, with ſweet and comfortable words, ſo refreſhed and appeaſed her carefull minde, that ſhe upon the ſame beganne ſomewhat to recover, and ſo the King, after he had tarried there about the ſpace of an houre, departed.

After this the Queene, remembring with her ſelfe the words that Doctor Wendy had ſaid unto her, deviſed how by ſome good opportunitie ſhe might repaire to the Kings preſence. And ſo firſt commanding her ladies to convey away their books which were againſt the Law, the next night following after ſupper, ſhe (waited upon onely by the Lady Parbert her ſiſter, and the Lady Lane, who carried the candle before her) went unto the Kings Bed-Chamber, whom ſhe found ſitting and talking with certaine Gentlemen of his Chamber. Whom when the King did behold, very courteouſly he welcommed her, and breaking off the talke, which before her coming he had with the Gentlemen aforeſaid, began of himſelfe, contrary to his manner before accuſtomed, to enter into talke of religion, ſeeming as it were deſirous to be reſolved by the Queene of certaine doubts which he propounded.

The Queene perceiving to what purpoſe this talke did tend, not being unprovided in what ſort to behave herſelfe towards the King, with ſuch anſwers reſolved his queſtions as the time and opportunitie preſent did require, mildely and with reverent countenance anſwering againe after this manner.

The Queenes politike ſubmiſſion to the King.

Your Majeſtie, quoth ſhe, doth right well know, neither I my ſelfe am ignorant, what great imperfection and weakeneſſe by our firſt creation is allotted unto us women, to be ordained and appointed as inferiour and ſubject unto man as our head, from which head all our direction ought to proceed, and that as God made man to his own ſhape and likeneſſe, whereby he, being indued with more ſpeciall gifts of perfection, might rather be ſtirred to the cõtemplation of heavenly things, and to the earneſt endeavour to obey his Commandements, even ſo alſo made he woman of man, of whom and by whom ſhe is to be governed, commanded and directed. Whoſe womanly weakeneſſes and naturall imperfection ought to be tolerated, aided and borne withall, ſo that by his wiſedome ſuch things as be lacking in her ought to be ſupplied.

Sithens therefore that God hath appointed ſuch a naturall difference betweene man and woman, and your Majeſtie being ſo excellent in gifts and ornaments of wiſdome, and I a ſilly poore woman ſo much inferiour in all reſpects of nature unto you, how then cometh it now to paſſe that your Majeſtie, in ſuch diffuſe cauſes of religion, will ſeeme to require my judgement? Which when I have uttered and ſaid what I can, yet muſt I, and will I, referre my judgement in this and in all other caſes to your Majeſties wiſdome, as my onely anker, ſupreme head and governour here in earth next under God, to leane unto.

Not ſo by Saint Mary, quoth the King, You are become a Doctor, Kate, to inſtruct us (as we take it) and not to be inſtructed, or directed by us.

If your Majeſtie take it ſo, quoth the Queene, then hath your Majeſtie very much miſtaken, who have ever beene of the opinion, to thinke it very unſeemely, and prepoſterous for the woman to take upon her the office of an inſtructer or teacher to her lord and husband, but rather to learne of her husband, and to be taught by him. And where I have with your Majeſties leave heretofore beene bold to hold talke with your Majeſtie, wherein ſometimes in opinions there hath ſeemed ſome difference, I have not done it ſo much to maintaine opinion, as I did it rather to miniſter talke, not onely to the end your Majeſtie might with leſſe griefe paſſe over this painfull time of your infirmitie, being intentive to our talke, and hoping that your Majeſtie ſhould reape ſome eaſe thereby; but alſo, that I hearing your Majeſties learned diſcourſe might receive to my ſelfe ſome profit thereby. Wherein, I aſſure your Majeſtie, I have not miſſed any part of my deſire in that behalfe, alwaies referring my ſelfe in all ſuch matters unto your Majeſtie, as by ordinance of nature it is convenient for me to doe.

And is it even ſo, ſweet heart, quoth the king? And tended your Arguments to no worſe end? Then perfect friends we are now againe, as ever at any time heretofore: and as he ſate in his Chaire embracing her in his armes and kiſſing her, he added this ſaying, That it did him more good at that time to heare thoſe words of her owne mouth, then if he had heard preſent newes of an hundred thouſand pounds in money ſalne unto him. And with great ſignes and tokens of marvellous joy and liking, with promiſes and aſſurances never againe in any ſort more to miſtake her, entring into other very pleaſant diſcourſes with the queen and the lords, and Gentlemen ſtanding by, in the end (being very farre in the night) he gave her leave to depart. Whom in her abſence to the ſtanders by he gave as ſingular and as effectuous commendations, as before time to the Biſhop and the Chancellor (who then were neither of them preſent) he ſeemed to miſlike of her.

Perfect agreement betweene the King and the Queene.

Now then, God be thanked, the kings mind was cleane altered, and he deteſted in his heart (as afterwards he plainly ſhewed) this tragicall practiſe of thoſe cruel Caiaphaſes, who nothing underſtanding of the Kings well reformed minde, and good diſpoſition toward the Queene, were buſily occupied about thinking and providing for their next daies labour, which was the day determined to have carried the Queene to the Tower.

The King abhorred the malicious workings of the bloody papiſts.

The day and almoſt the houre appointed being come, the King being diſpoſed in the afternoone to take the ayre (waited upon with two Gentlemen onely of his bedchamber) went into the Garden, whither the Queene alſo came, being ſent for by the king himſelfe, the three Ladies above named alone waiting upon her. With whom the King at that time diſpoſed himſelfe to be as pleaſant as ever he was in all his life before: When ſuddenly in the middeſt of their mirth, the houre determined being come, in cometh the Lord Chancellour into the garden with forty of the kings guard at his heeles, with

This purpoſe being altered that the Lady ſhould be firſt taken, it was then appointed that they with the Queene ſhould altogether be apprehended in manner as is here declared.

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with purpose indeed to have taken the Quéene together with the three Ladies aforesaid, whom they had before purposed to apprehend alone, even then unto the Tower. Whom then the King sternly beholding, breaking off his mirth with the Quéene, stepping a little aside, called the Chancellour unto him. Who upon his knées spake certain words unto the King, but what they were (for that they were softly spoken, and the King a good prettie distance from the Quéene) it is not well known, but it is most certaine that the Kings replying unto him, was knave, for his answer: yea, arrant knave, beast, and fole, and with that the King commanded him presently to avant out of his presence. Which words although they were uttered somewhat low, yet were they so vehemently whispered out by the King, that the Quéene did easily, with her Ladies aforesaid, over-heare them: which had béene not a little to her comfort, if she had known at that time the whole cause of his coming. so perfectly as after she knew it. Thus departed the Lord Chancellour out of the Kings presence as he came, with all his train, the whole mould of all his devise being utterly broken.

The King, after his departure, immediately returned to the Quéene. Whom she perceiving to be very much chafed (albeit coming towards her, he inforced himselfe to put on a merry countenance) with as swéet words as she could utter, she indeavoured to qualifie the King his displeasure, with request unto his Majestie in the behalf of the Lord Chancellour, whom he seémed to be offended withall; saying, for his excuse, that albeit she knew not what iust cause his Majestie had at that time to be offended with him, yet she thought that ignorance, not will, was the cause of his error, and so besought his Majestie (if the cause were not very hainous) at her humble suit to take it.

Ah poore soule, quoth he, thou little knowest how evill he deserveth this grace at thy hands. Of my word, swéet heart, he hath béene towards thée an arrant knave, and so let him go. To this the Quéen in charitable manner replying in few words, ended that talk; having also by Gods onely blessing happily, for that time and ever, escaped the dangerous snares of her bloody and cruell enemies for the Gospels sake.

The pestiferous purpose of this Bishop, and of such like bloody adversaries practising thus against the Quéene, and proceéding of Gods Gospel (as ye have heard) putteth me in remembrance of such another like storie of his wicked working in like manner, a little before: but much more pernicious and pestilent to the publique Church of Jesus Christ, then this was dangerous to the private estate of the queén. Which story likewise I thought here as in convenient place to be adioyned and notified, to be known to all posterity, according as I have it faithfully recorded and storied by him, which heard it of the Archbishop Cranmers own mouth declared, in order and form as followeth.

The King revi- ch Winley L. Chancellour. The L. Chan- cellour com- anded to a- aunt out of the ings sight.

Willies devises nd Winche- rs platforme e in the dust.

he Quéene aken excuse her enemy.

he Queen by ods marvel- s blessing livered of all r adversitie.

A discourse touching a certain policie used by Steven Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, in staying King Henry the eighth from redressing of certain abuses of ceremonies in the Church, being Embassadour beyond the seas.

Also the communication of King Henry the eighth, had with the Embassadour of France at Hampton Court concerning the reformation of Religion, as well in France, as in England, Anno, 1546. Mens. August.

IT chanced in the time of King Henry the eighth, when his Highnesse did lastly (not many yéers before his death) conclude a league betwéene the Emperour, the French King, and himself, that the bishop of Winchester, Steven Gardiner by name, was sent in Embassage beyond the seas, for that purpose. In whose absence the Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, attending upon the Kings Court, sought occasion somewhat to further the reformation of the corrupt Religion, not yet fully restored unto perfection. For like as the said Archbishop was alwayes diligent and forward to prefer and advance the sincere doctrine of the Gospel; so was that other Bishop a contrary instrument, continually spurning against the same, in whatsoever coast of the world he remained. For even now he being beyond the seas, in the Temporall affaires of the Realme, forgat not, but found the means, as a most valiant Champion of the Bishop of Rome, to stop and hinder, as well the good diligence of the said Archbishop, as the godly disposition of the Kings Majesty in that behalfe, which thus chanced.

Winchester a great hinderer of the course of the Gospel.

Whilest the said bishop of Winchester was now remaining beyond the seas about the affairs afore said, the Kings Majestie and the said Archbishop having conference together for reformation of some superstitious enormities in the Church; amongst other things, the king determined forthwith to pull down the Rods in every Church, and to suppresse the accustomed ringing on Alhallow night, with a few such like vain ceremonies: and therefore when the said Archbishop took his leave of the King, to go into Kent his Diocesse; his Highnesse willed him to remember that he should cause two letters to be devised, by me, quoth the King, to be signed, the one to be directed unto you my Lord, and the other unto the Archbishop of York, wherein I will command you both to send forth your precepts unto all other Bishops within your Provinces, to sée those enormities and ceremonies reformed undelayedly that we have communed of.

The Kings conference with Doct. Cranmer about reformation of the Church, Rood lofts, ringing on Alhallow night.

Letters of reformation to be signed by the King.

So upon this, the Kings pleasure known, when the Archbishop of Canterbury was then come into Kent, he caused his Secretary to conceive and write these Letters according to the Kings minde, and being made in a readinesse, he sent them to the Court to sir Anthonie Denie, for him to get them signed by the King. When maister Denie had moved the King thereunto, the King made answer, I am now otherwayes resolved, for you shall send my Lord of Canterbury word, that sithence I spake with him about those matters, I have received Letters from my Lord of Winchester, now beeing on the other side of the sea, about the conclusion of a League betweene us and the Emperour, and the French King, and hee writeth plainly unto us, that the league will not prosper nor goe forward, if wee make any other innovation, change, or alteration, either in religion or Ceremonies, then heretofore hath béene alreadie commenced and done. Wherefore my Lord of Canterbury must take patience herein, and forbeare untill we may espy a more apt and convenient time for that purpose.

The Kings minde altered by Winchester.

Which matter of reformation beganne to be revived againe, at what time the great Embassadour from the French King, came to the Kings Majestie at Hampton Court, not long before his death. Where then no gentleman was permitted to wait upon his Lord and Maister, without a Velvet Coat and a chaine of Gold. And for that entertainment of the Embassadour, were builded in the Parke there three verie notable great and sumptuous banquetting houses. At the which it was purposed, that the said Embassadour should have béene three sundry nights very richly banquetted. But as it chanced, the French Kings great affairs were then suddenly such, that this Embassador was sent for home in poasthaste, before he had received halfe the noble entertainment that was prepared for him, so that he had but the fruition of the first banquetting house.

Reformation of religion stopped by Steven Gardiner.

Anno. 1546.

This Embassador was Admirall of France, whose name was Monsieur de Annebalt, he came to Hampton Court, the 20. day of August, ann. 1546. The matter of reformation agein renued a little before the Kings death.

Now

The kings banquet for the French Embassadour.

Now what princelike order was there used in the furniture of the banket, as well in places of the noble estates; namely, the Kings majestie, and the French Embassadour with the noble men both of England and France on the one part, and of the Quenes highnesse and the Lady Anne of Cleve, with other noble women and Ladies of the other part, as also touching the great and sumptuous preparation of both costly and fine dishes there out of number spent, it is not our purpose here presently to intreat thereof, but onely to consider and note the conference and communication had the first night after the said banket was finished, betweene the Kings Majestie, the said Embassadour, and the Archbishop of Canterburie (the Kings highnesse standing openly in the banketting house, in the open face of all the people, and leaning one arme upon the shoulder of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other arme upon the shoulder of the Embassadour) touching the establishing of godly religion betweene those two Princes in both their Realms: As by the report of the said Archbishop unto his Secretary, upon occasion of his service to be done in King Edwards visitation, then being register in the same visitation, relation was made on that behalfe in this sort.

Secret communication between the King and the French Embassadour and the Archb. of Canterburie.

The testimony and credit of the story.

When the said visitation was put in a readinesse, before the Commissioners should proceed in their voyage, the said archbishop sent for the said register his man unto Hampton Court, and willed him in any wise to make notes of certain things in the said visitation; whereof he gave unto him instruction, having then further talk with him touching the good effect and successe of the said visitation. Upon which occasion the Register said unto his master the Archbishop: I do remember, that you not long ago caused me to conceive and write letters, which King Henry the eighth should have signed and directed unto your grace, and the Archbishop of York, for the reformation of certain enormities in the churches, as taking down of the roods, and forbidding of ringing on Allhallow night, and such like vain ceremonies. Which letters your Grace sent to the Court to be signed by the Kings Majestie, but as yet I think that there was never any thing done therein.

The name of this Register was W. Morice, Secretary sometimes to the Archb. Tho. Cranmer.

Why, quoth the Archbishop again, never heard you those letters were suppressed and stopped? Whereunto the Archbishops servant answering again; as it was (said he) my dutie to write those letters, so was it not my part to be inquisitive what became thereupon. Mary, quoth the Archbishop, my Lord of Winchester then being beyond the seas, about the conclusion of a league betweene the Emperor, the French King, and the King our master, and fearing that some reformation should heere passe in the Realme, touching religion in his absence against his appetite, wrote to the kings Majestie, bearing him in hand, that the league then towards would not prosper nor goe forwards on his Majesties behalfe, if he made any other innovation, or alteration in religion, or Ceremonies in the Church, then was already done; which his advertisement herein caused the King to stay the signing of those letters, as Sir Anthony Denie wrote to me by the kings commandement.

Mark the mischievous fetches of this old Fox Winchester.

Then said his servant againe unto him; For so much as the Kings good intent tooke no place then, now your grace may go forward in those matters the opportunitie of the time much better serving thereunto then in king Henries daies.

Not so, quoth the archbishop. It was better to attempt such reformation in king Henry the eight his dayes then at this time, the king being in his infancy. For if the Kings father had set forth any thing for the reformation of abuses, who was hee that durst gain say it? Mary, we are now in doubt how men will take the change, or alteration of abuses in the Church, and therefore the Councell hath forborn especially to speake thereof, and of other things which gladly they would have reformed in this Visitation, referring all those and such like matters unto the discretions of the Visitors. But if King Henry the eighth had lived unto this day with the French king, it had been past my Lord of Winchesters power to have visured the Kings highnesse, as he did when he was about the same league.

I am sure you were at Hampton Court, quoth the Archbishop, when the French Kings Embassadour was entertained there at those solemne Banquetting houses, not long before the Kings death; namely, when after the banquet was done the first night, the King leaning upon the Embassadour and upon me; if I should tell what communication betweene the Kings Highnesse and the said Embassadour was had, concerning the establishing of sincere Religion then, a man would hardly have beleeved it. Nor had I my self thought the kings highnesse had been so forward in those matters as then appeared. I may tell you it passed the pulling down of Rods, and suppressing the ringing of Bells. I take it, that few in England would have beleeved, that the Kings Majestie and the French King had been at this point, not onely within halfe a yeer after to have changed the Masse in both the Realms into a Communion (as we now use it) but also utterly to have extirped and banished the Bishop of Rome, and his usurped power, out of both their realms and dominions.

The purpose of K. Henry and of the French king a little before their deaths.

Yea, they were so throughly and firmly resolved in that behalfe, that they meant also to exhort the Emperour to do the like in Flanders and other his countreys and seigniories, or else they would breake off from him. And herein the Kings Highnesse willed me (quoth the Archbishop) to pen a forme thereof to be sent to the French King to consider of. But the deep and most secret providence of Almightie God, owing to this Realm a sharp scourge for our iniquities, prevented for a time this their most godly device and intent, by taking to his mercie both these Princes.

A briefe narration of the trouble of sir George Blage.

HEre would also something be said of sir George Blage, one of the Kings privy Chamber, who being falsly accused by sir Hugh Caverley, knight, and maister Littleton, was sent for by Wrisly Lord Chancellor the Sunday before Anne Askew suffered, and the next day was carried to Newgate, and from thence to Guildhall, where he was condemned the same day, and appointed to be burned the Wednesday following. The words which his Accusers laid unto him were these; What if a Mouse should eat the bread? Then by my consent they should hang up the Mouse. Whereas indeed these words he never spake, as to his lives end he protested. But the truth (as he said) was this, that they craftily to undermine him, walking with him in Pauls Church after a sermon of doctor Crome, asked if he were at the Sermon. He said, Yea. I heard say (saith maister Littleton) that he said in his Sermon, That the Masse profiteth neither for the quicke nor for the dead. No, saith M. Blage, wherefore then? belike for a Gentleman when he rideth on hunting, to keepe his horse from stumbling. And so they departing, immediately after he was apprehended (as is shewed) and condemned to be burned. When this was heard among them of the privy Chamber, the King hearing them whispering together (which he could never abide) commanded them to tell him the matter. Whereupon the matter being opened, and sute made to the King, especially by the good Earle of Bedford, then

Sir George falsly accused.

Sir George Blage sent to Newgate and condemned. The cause of his condemnation.

The craftie undermining of these false accusers.

Lord

{KING HEN. 8.} Lord Priuie Seale, the King being sore offended with their doings, that they would come so nere him, and euen into his priuy Chamber, without his knowledge, sent for Wriſley, commanding him eftsoones to draw out his pardon himselfe, and so was he set at libertie. Who coming after to the Kings presence; Ah my Pigge (saith the King to him, for so was he wont to call him.) Yea, said he, if your Maiestie had not been better to me then your Bishops were, your Pig had been rosted ere this time.

W. Blags pardoned by the King.

The Kings pig almost rosted.

¶ But to let this matter of sir George Blage passe, we will now reduce our storie againe to Anne Askew and her fellow Martyrs, who the same weeke were burned, and could finde no pardon.

{Anno 1546.} Then the Catholique Fathers when they had brought this Christian woman with the residue (as above hath been declared) unto their rest, they being now in their ruffe and triumph, like as the Pharisees when they had brought Christ to his grave, deuised with themselues how to keepe him downe still, and to ouertread Truth for euer. Whereupon consulting with certain of the Councell, they made out a straight and hard Proclamation, authorised by the Kings name, for the abolishing of the Scripture, and all such English bookes which might giue any light to the setting forth of Gods true Word and grace of the Gospel. The copie and tenour of which Proclamation is this as followeth.

A Proclamation for the abolishing of English bookes, after the death of Anne Askew; set forth by the King, *Anno* 1546. the eighth day of July.

{Proclamation by the abolishing of English books.

THe Kings most excellent Maiestie, vnderstanding how, under the pretence of expounding and declaring the truth of Gods Scripture, divers lewd and evill disposed persons have taken upon them to utter and sowe abroad, by bookes imprinted in the English tongue, sundrie pernicious and detestable errours and heresies, not onely contrarie to the Laws of this Realme, but also repugnant to the true sense of Gods Law and his Word, by reason whereof certaine men of late, to the destruction of their owne bodies and soules, and to the evill example of others, have attempted arrogantly and maliciously to impugne the Truth, and therewith trouble the sober, quiet, and godly Religion, united and established under the Kings Maiestie in this his Realme; his Highnesse minding to foresee the dangers that might ensue of the said bookes, is enforced to use his generall prohibition, commandement, and Proclamation, as followeth.

Say rather for the ignorance and lack of Gods Scripture many have taken occasion of errour and heresies intolerable.

The new Testament of Tindal and of Coverdales translation in English, forbidden.

First, That from henceforth no man, woman, or person, of what estate, condition, or degree soever he or they be, shall after the last day of August next ensuing, receive, have, take, or keep in his or their possession, the Text of the new Testament of Tindals or Coverdales translation in English, nor any other then is permitted by the Act of Parliament made in the Session of the Parliament holden at Westm. in the foure and thirtieth and five and thirtieth yeere of his Maiesties most noble raigne; nor after the said day shall receive, have, take or keepe in his or their possession, any manner of books printed or written in the English tongue, which be or shall be set forth in the names of Frith, Tindall, Wickliffe, Ioy, Roy, Basil, Bale, Barnes, Coverdale, Turner, Tracy, or by any of them, or any other booke or books, containing matter contrarie to the said Act made in the yeere thirty foure or thirty five, but shall, before the last day of August next coming, deliver the same English booke, or bookes, to his master in that household, if he be a servant, or dwell under any other, and the Master or ruler of the house, and such other as dwell at large shall deliver all such books of these sorts as they have, or shall come to their hands, delivered as afore or otherwise, to the Maior, Bailiffe, or chiefe Constable of the Towne where they dwell, to be by them delivered over openly within fourtie dayes next following after the said deliverie, to the Sheriffe of the Shire, or to the Bishops Chancellour, or commissarie of the same Diocesse, to the intent the said Bishop, Chancellour, Commissarie and Sheriffe, and everie of them may cause them incontinently to be openly burned: which thing the Kings Majesties pleasure is, that everie of them shall see executed in most effectuall sort, and of their doings thereof make certificate to the Kings Majesties most honourable Councell, before the first day of October next coming.

Scripture books in English restrained.

Burning scripture bookes.

And to the intent that no man shall mistrust any danger of such penall statutes as be passed in this behalfe, for the keeping of the said books, the Kings Majestie is most graciously contented by this Proclamation to pardon that offence to the said time appointed by this Proclamation for the delivery of the said books, and commandeth that no Bishop, Chancellour, Commissarie, Maior, Bailiffe, Sheriffe, or Constable, shall be curious to mark who bringeth forth such books, but onely order, and burne them openly, as is in this Proclamation ordered. And if any man, after the last day of August next coming, shall have any of the said books in his keeping, or be proved, and convinced by sufficient witnesse before foure of the Kings most honourable Councell, to have hidden them, or used them, or any copy of any of them, or any part of them, whereby it should appeare that he willingly hath offended the true meaning of this Proclamation, the same shall not onely suffer imprisonment and punishment of his bodie at the Kings Majesties will and pleasure, but also shall make such fine and ransome to his Highnesse for the same, as by his Majestie or foure of his Graces said Councell shall bee determined, &c.

A bait to bring in bookes.

The penalty limited.

Finally, his Majestie straightly chargeth and commandeth, that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soeyer he or they be, from the day of this Proclamation, presume to bring any manner of English book, concerning any matter of Christian religion, printed in the parts beyond the Seas, into this Realme, to sell, give or distribute any English booke printed in outward parts, or the copy of any such book, or any part thereof, to any person, dwelling within this his Graces Realme, or any other his Majesties dominions, unlesse the same shall be specially licensed so to do by his Highnesse expresse Grant to be obtained in writing for the same, upon the paines before limited, and there withall to incurre his Majesties extreme indignation.

The vncouth dealing of the Papists in gathering heresies where none is.

Forsomuch as it is and alwayes hath been the common guise and practise of the Popes Church to extinguish, condemne, and abolish all good Bookes and wholsome treatises of learned men, under a false pretence of errours and heresies, whereof examples now abundantly appeare in this historie above: Now for the better triall hereof, to see and try the impudent and shameleſse vanitie of these Catholique Clergie men, in mistaking, falsifying, depraving, blaspheming, and slandering where they have no cause, against all right and honest dealing, yea, against their owne knowledge, conscience, and manifest veritie of Gods Word; I shall therefore desire the attentive Reader, before we passe any further, to consider and expend here two things by the way: First, what opinions and articles these men gather out of their books for errours and heresies. Secondly, how wittingly and willingly they wrest, pervert, and misconstrue their sayings and writings, in such sense as the writers never

never spake nor meant, and all to bring them into hatred of the world, after they have burned their books.

Articles of Wickliffe and others falsified by the Papists.

So did they before with John Wickliffe, John Hus, and Hierome. So did they before with master Luther, Tindall, Frith, Lambert, Barnes, Joy, Roy, Seton, and briefely yet do still with all the Protestants, either perverting their sayings otherwise then they meant, or noting for heresies such as are manifest principles, and grounds of our Religion: or else falsly belying them, or untruly mistaking them, either in mangling the places, or adding to their words, as may serve for their most advantage, to bring them out of credit with Princes and all the people.

For the more evident probation and experience whereof, thou shalt see here (Christian Reader) as in a Table laid before thine eyes, the book or Catalogue of such errours, blasphemies and heresies, which the Catholique Papists in their owne registers have extracted out of their books, whom in this and other proclamations they have condemned. Whereunto moreover, we have annexed the verie places also of the Authors, out of which every article is gathered, keeping also the same signature of verse and page, which they in their registers do send us unto. So that with little diligence thou mayest now, loving Reader, easily perceive, conferring the articles and places together, what truth and fidelitie these bloody Catholiques have used toward the children of God: First in burning up their bodies, then in consuming, and abolishing their books, and afterward drawing out articles, such as they list themselves, out of their works, to make the people believe what damnable heretiques they were, as by these Articles hereunder insuing collected and contained in their owne Registers may well appeare. In all which Articles, there is not one (speaking of these writers which here they have condemned) but either it is a perfect truth and a principle of Christian doctrine, or else it is falsely gathered, or perversely recited, or craftily handled, and maliciously mangled, having either something cut from it, or some more added, or else racked out of his right place, or wrested to a wrong meaning which the place giveth not, or else which some other place following doth not better expound and declare. This false and malicious dealing hath alwaies been a common practise amongst Gods enemies from the beginning, to falsifie, wrest, and deprave all things whatsoever maketh not to their faction and affection, be it never so true and just. So began they with Steven the first Martyr of Jesus Christ, and so have they continued still, and yet do to this present day.

The words of S. Steven falsly depraved. Acts 6. 7.

Long it were to recite, but more grievous to behold what spite and falshood was used in the articles of the Albingenses, Waldenses, Wickliffe, Swinderby, Brute, Thorpe, Armachanus, sir John Oldcastle, John Hus, the Bohemians and such other. Which thing, if the books and places whence these articles were gathered against them had been suffered to remaine, we might more plainly understand. In the meane season as touching these Articles here present, for so much as the Bishops own Registers have offered them unto us, and do yet remain with the selfe same books from whence they be excerpted, I shall therefore desire thee (friendly Reader) first to consider the articles, and lay them with the places which the Registers themselves do assigne, and then judge thy selfe what is to be thought thereof. The articles gathered out of the foresaid books with the Bishops decree prefixed before the same, is as hereunder followeth.

A publique

{KING HEN. 8.}

A publique instrument by the Bishops, for the abolishing of the Scripture, and other books to be read in English.

A writing of the Bishops against English books.

IN the name of God, Amen. Be it known to all and singular, true, and faithfull people, to whom these present letters testimoniall, or this present publique and authentique instrument shall come to be seene, read, heard, or understood, and whom this under written shall or may teach, or appertain unto in any manner of wise in time to come; William by the sufferance of Almightie God, Archbishop of Canterburie, Primate of all the realme of England, sendeth greeting in our Lord God everlasting. We signifie unto you all, and let you well wit and know by these presents, that the King our Soveraigne Lord, hearing of many books in the English Tongue, containing many detestable errours, and damnable opinions, printed in the parts beyond the seas, to be brought into divers Townes, and sundrie parts of this his realme of England, and sowne abroad in the same, to the great decay of our faith Catholike, and perillous corruption of his people, unlesse speedie remedie were briefly provided; his Highnesse willing evermore to imploy all his studie and minde, in the high degree which Almightie God hath called him unto, to the wealth of his subjects, that they might live not onely in tranquillity and peace, but also be kept pure and clean of all contagion, and wrong opinions in Christs religion: considering also that he, being defender of the faith, would be full loth to suffer such evill seed sowne amongst his people, and so take root that it might overgrow the corne of the Catholique doctrine before sprung in the souls of his subjects; for the repelling of such books, calling unto him of his great goodnesse and gracious disposition, not onely certaine of the chiefe Prelates and Clerks of his Realme, but also of each Vniversity a certaine number of the chiefe learned men, proposed such of those books, as his Grace had readie to be read unto them, requiring to heare in that behalfe their advice and judgement of them. Who, both by great diligence and mature deliberation, perusing over the said books, found in them many errours and heresies, both detestable and damnable, being of such sort, that they were like briefly to corrupt a great part of his people; (if they might be suffered to remaine in their hands any space) gathering also out of them many great errours and pestilent heresies, and noting them in writing to the intent to shew for what cause they reputed the said books damnable, of which hereafter out of each booke gathered many do ensue: albeit many more there be in the said bookes, which bookes totally do swarme full of heresies and detestable opinions.

Heresies and errours collected by the Bishops out of the booke of Tindall, named the wicked Mammon, with the places of the booke annexed to the same, out of which every article is collected.

Heresies falsly gathered by the Papists out of the wicked Mammon.

1 FAith onely justifieth. Fol. 59.

1 Article. The Papists the principles of divinity, make heresie.

This Article being a principle of the scripture, and the ground of our salvation, is plain enough by S. Paul and the whole body of the scripture: neither can any make this an heresie, but they must make S. Paul an heretick, and shew themselves enemies unto the promises of grace, and to the crosse of Christ.

2 The Law maketh us to heare God, because we bee borne under the power of the Devill. Fol. 59.

2 Article.

3 It is impossible for us to consent to the will of God. Fol. 59.

3 Article.

The place of Tindall from whence these Articles

KING HEN. 8.

cles be wrested is in the wicked Mammon, as followeth. Which place I beseech thee indifferently to read, and then to judge.

ein is no-ing contained h that which ughtly conso-nt unto the Scripture.

In the faith which we have in Christ, and in Gods promises, finde we mercy, life, favour, and peace. In the Law we finde death, damnation, and wrath, moreover, the curse and vengeance of God upon us. And it, that is to say the Law, is called of Paul, the ministration of death and damnation. In the Law we are proved to be the enemies of God, and that we hate him. For how can we be at peace with God, and love him, seing we are conceived and borne under the power of the devil, and are his possession and kingdome, his captives and bondmen, and led at his will, and he holdeth our hearts, so that it is impossible for us to consent to the will of God? Much more impossible is it for a man to fulfill the law of his own strength and power, seeing that we are by birth and nature the heires of eternall damnation, &c.

4 Article.

4 The Law requireth impossible things of us. Fol. 59.

t heresie is ese words?

Read the place. The Law when it commandeth that thou shalt not lust, giveth thee not power so to do, but damneth thee because thou canst not so do. If thou wilt therefore be at peace with God, and love him, then must thou turn to the Promises and to the Gospel, which is called of Paul the ministration of righteousnesse, and of the spirit.

2 or 3.

5 Article.

5 The Spirit of God turneth us and our nature, that we do good, as naturally as a tree doth bring forth fruit. Fol. 65.

s place speaketh of the operation and effect of faith, containeth nothing but ich is manifest by the Scripture.

The place is this: The spirit of God accompanieth faith, and bringeth with her light, wherewith a man beholdeth himself in the Law of God, and seeth his miserable bondage and captivitie, and humbleth himself, and abhorreth himself. She bringeth Gods promises of all good things in Christ: God worketh with his word, and in his word, and as his word is preached, faith roteth her self in the hearts of the Elect: and as Faith entreth, and the Word of God is beleeved, the power of God loseth the heart from the captivitie and bondage under sinne, and knitteth and copleth him to God, and to the will of God, altereth and changeth him cleane, fashioneth and forgeth him anew, giveth him power to love and to do that which before was impossible for him either to love or do, and turneth him into a new nature, so that he loveth that which before he hated, and hateth that which he before loved, and is clean altered and changed, and contrarily disposed, and is knit and coupled fast to Gods will, and naturally bringeth forth good works; that is to say, that which God commandeth to do, and not things of his own imagination; and that doth he of his own accord, as a tree bringeth forth fruit of his own accord, &c.

6 Article.

6 Works do onely declare to thee that thou art justified. Fol. 65.

If Tyndal say, that works do onely declare our justification, he doth not thereby destroy good works; but onely sheweth the right use and office of good works to be nothing to merit our justification, but rather to testifie a lively faith, which onely justifieth us: the article is plain by the Scripture and S. Paul.

7 Article.

7 Christ with all his works did not deserve heaven. Fol. 69.

h. 10.

e meaneth his divinitie, in his humanitie he deserved en by his s, not our-

Read the place. All good works must be done freely with a single eye, without respect of any thing, so that no profit be sought thereby. That commandeth Christ where he saith, Free have you received, free give again. For look as Christ with all his works "did not deserve heaven (for that was his alreadie) but did us service therewith, and neither looked for, nor sought his own profit, but ours, and the honour of God his Father onely: even so we with all our works may not seek our owne profit, neither in this world nor in heaven, but must and ought freely to work to honour God withall, and without all manner of respect seek our neighbours profit, and do him service, &c.

ly for himself, but for us all.

8 Article.

8 Labouring by good works to come to heaven, thou shamest Christs blood? Fol. 69.

To say that heaven is gotten by our deservings is a popish heresie, and contrary to the Scriptures.

Read the place. If thou wouldest obtaine heaven with the merits and deservings of thine owne works, so doest thou wrong, yea, and shamest the blood of Christ, and unto thee Christ is dead in vaine. Now is the true beleever heire of God by Christs deservings, yea and in Christ was predestinate and ordained unto eternall life before the world began. And when the Gospel is preached unto us, we beleeve the mercy of God, and in beleeving, we receive the spirit of God, which is the earnest of eternall life, and we are in eternall life already, and already feel in our hearts the sweetnesse thereof, and are overcome with the kindnesse of God and Christ, and therefore love the will of God, and of love are ready to work freely, and not to obtain that which is given us freely, and whereof we are heirs already, &c.

9 Article.

9 Saints in heaven cannot helpe us thither. Fol. 69.

Whether saints can help us unto heaven, see the Scriptures, and mark well the office of the Son of God, our onely Saviour and Redeemer, and thou shalt not need to seek any further.

10 Article.

10 To build a Church in the honour of our Lady, or any other saint, is in vain, they cannot help thee, they be not thy friends. Fol. 71.

The place answered.

Reade the place of Tindall. What buildest thou Churches, foundest Abbeyes, Chauntries, and Colledges in the honor of Saints, to my mother, saint Peter, Paul, and Saints that be dead, to make of them thy friends? They need it not, yea they bee not thy friends; thy friends are thy poore neighbours, which need thy helpe and succour. Then make thy friends with the unrighteous Mammon, that they may testifie of thy faith, and that thou mayst know and feele that thy faith is right and not feigned, &c.

Our friends to be made of the wicked Mammon are meant the poore alive, and not the saints departed.

11 Article.

11 All flesh is in bondage of sin, and cannot but sin. Fol. 74.

This Article is evident enough of it selfe, confirmed by the Scripture, and needeth no allegations.

12 Article.

12 Thou canst not be damned without Christ be damned, nor Christ be saved without thou be saved. Fol. 76.

The place answered.

Read the place; A physitian serveth but for sick men, and that for such men as feele their sicknesse, and mourne therefore, and long for health. Christ likewise serveth but for sinners onely that feele their sinne, and that for such sinners as sorrow and mourne in their hearts for health. Health is the power or strength to fulfill the law, or to keep the commandements: Now he that longeth for that health, that is to say, to do the law of God, is blessed in Christ, and hath a promise that his lust shall be fulfilled, and that he shall be made whole. Blessed are they which hunger and thirst for righteousnesse sake (that is, to fulfill the law) for their lust shall be fulfilled. Matth. 5.

The beleeving man standing upon the certaintie of Gods promise, may assure himselfe of his salvation, as truly as Christ himselfe is saved, and he can no more then Christ himselfe be damned; and

This longing, and the consent of the heart unto the law of God is the working of the spirit, which God hath poured into thine heart, in earnest, that thou mightest be sure that God will fulfill all his promises that he hath made thee. It is also the seal and mark which God putteth on all men that he chuseth unto everlasting life. So long as thou seest thy sinne, and mournest, and consentest to the law, and longest (though thou be never so weake) yet the spirit shall keepe thee in all temptations from desperation, and certifie thine heart, that God for his truth shall deliver thee, and save thee, yea, and by thy good deeds shalt thou be saved; not

which

although the Scripture doth not uſe this phraſe of ſpeaking, yet it importeth no leſſe in effect by reaſon of the verity of Gods promiſe which impoſſible it is to fail.

which thou haſt done, but which Chriſt hath done for thee. For Chriſt is thine, and all his deeds are thy deeds. Chriſt is in thee, and thou in him, knit together inſeparably, neither canſt thou be damned, except Chriſt be damned with thee, neither can Chriſt be ſaved, except thou be ſaved with him, &c. The like comfortable words he hath afterward, fol. 38. which are theſe. He that deſireth mercy, the ſame feeleth his own miſerie and ſin, and mourneth in his heart to be delivered, that he might honour God, and God for his truth muſt hear him, which ſaith by the mouth of Chriſt, Bleſſed are they which hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſſe, for they ſhall be ſatisfied. God, for his truths ſake, muſt put the righteouſneſſe of Chriſt in him, and waſh his unrighteouſneſſe away in the blood of Chriſt. And be the ſinner never ſo weak, ſo feeble, and frail, though he have ſinned never ſo oft and ſo grievouſly: yet ſo long as this luſt, deſire, and mourning to be delivered remaineth in him, God ſeeth not his ſins, reckoneth them not for his truths ſake, and love in Chriſt. He is not a ſinner in the ſight of God that would be no ſinner. He that would be delivered, hath his heart loſe already. His heart ſinneth not, but mourneth, repenteth, and conſenteth unto the Law and will of God, and juſtifieth God, that is, beareth record that God, which made the Law, is righteous and juſt. And ſuch a heart truſting in Chriſts blood is accepted for full righteouſneſſe, and his weakneſſe, infirmitie, and frailtie is pardoned, and his ſins are not looked upon, untill God put more ſtrength in him, and fulfill his deſire, &c.

13. Article. 13 The commandements be given us, not to do them, but to know our damnation, and call for mercie of God. fol. 76.

This article is falſely wreſted out of theſe words: which do not ſay that we ſhould not do the commandements, but that we cannot do them.

Read the place. If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandements. Matth. 15. 19. Firſt remember that when God commandeth us to do any thing he doth it not therefore becauſe that we of our ſelves are able to do that he commandeth, but that by the law we might ſee and know our horrible damnation and captivitie under ſinne, and ſo repent and come unto Chriſt and receive mercie, &c.

14. Article. 14 Faſting is onely to avoid ſurfet, and to tame the body; all other purpoſes be naught. Fol. 81.

The words of Tyndal be theſe. Faſting is to abſtain from ſurfeting or overmuch eating, from drunkenneſſe and cares of the world, as thou maieſt read, Luk. 20. And the end of faſting is to tame the bodie, that the ſpirit may have the free courſe to God, and may quietly talk with God. For overmuch eating and drinking, and care of worldly buſineſſe, preſſeth downe the ſpirit, choketh it, and tangleth it, that it cannot lift up it ſelf to God. Now he that faſteth for any other intent then to ſubdue the body, that the ſpirit may wait on God, and freely exerciſe it ſelf in the things of God, the ſame is blinde, and wotteth not what he doth, erreth, and ſhooteth at a wrong mark, and his intent and imagination is abominable in the ſight of God, &c.

The true end of faſting.

15. Article. 15 To bid the poore man pray for me, is onely to remember him to do his duty; not that I have any truſt in his prayer. Fol. 82.

The words of Tyndal be theſe. When we deſire one another to pray for us, that do we to put our neighbour in remembrance of his dutie, and not that we truſt in his holineſſe, our truſt is in God, in Chriſt, and in the truth of Gods promiſes. We have alſo a promiſe, that when two or three or moe agree together in one thing, according to the will of God, God heareth us; notwithſtanding as God heareth many, ſo heareth he few, and ſo heareth he one, if he pray after the will of God, and deſire the honour of God, &c.

The place bideth us put our truſt in Chriſt onely, and not in poore mens prairs, and ſo doth the Scripture likewiſe, and yet no hereſie therein.

16. Article. 16 Though thou give me a thouſand pound to pray for thee, I am no more bound now then I was before. Fol. 83.

The words be theſe. If thou give me a thouſand pound to pray for thee, I am no more bound then I was before. Mans imagination can make the commandement of God neither greater nor ſmaller, neither can the law of God either adde or diminiſh. Gods Commandements be as great as himſelf, &c.

17. Article. 17 A good deed done and not of fervent charitie, as Chriſts was, is ſin. Fol. 83.

The words of Tyndal be theſe. Though thou ſhew mercie unto thy neighbour, yet if thou do it not with ſuch burning love, as Chriſt did unto thee, ſo muſt thou knowledge thy ſin, and deſire mercy in Chriſt, &c.

This place ſweareth to no ſuch meaning as in the article: but onely ſheweth our good deeds to be imperfect.

18. Article. 18 Everie man is Lord of another mans goods. Fol. 83.

The words of Tyndal be theſe. Chriſt is Lord over all, and every Chriſtian is heire annexed with Chriſt, and therefore Lord of all, and every one lord of whatſoever another hath. If thy brother or neighbour therefore need, and thou have to helpe him, and yet ſheweſt not mercie, but withdraweſt thy hands from him, then robbeſt thou him of his own, and art a thief, &c. Read more hereof in the 17. Article following.

This place ſpeaketh nothing to none impropriety of other mans goods, but onely by the communion of Chriſtian

19. Article. 19 I am bound to love the Turk with the very bottom of my heart. Fol. 83.

The place of this article is this. I am bound to love the Turke with all my might and power, yea and above my power, even from the ground of my heart, after the example that Chriſt loved me, neither to ſpare goods, body, nor life, to winne him to Chriſt. And what can I do more for thee, if thou gaveſt me all the world? Where I ſee need, there can I not but pray, if Gods ſpirit be in me, &c.

To love the Turk to the end to win him to Chriſt, hereſie but no ritie.

20. Article. 20 The worſt Turke living hath as much right to my goods at his need, as my houſhold, or mine own ſelfe. Fol. 83.

Read and mark well the place in the Wicked Mammon.

In Chriſt we are all of one degree without reſpect of perſons. Notwithſtanding, though a Chriſtian mans heart be open to all men, and receiveth all men, yet becauſe that his habilitie of goods extendeth not ſo far, this proviſion is made, that every man ſhall care for his own houſhold, as father and mother, and thine elders that have holpen thee, wife, children, and ſervants. If thou ſhouldeſt not care and provide for thine houſhold, then were thou an Infidell, ſeeing thou haſt taken on thee ſo to do; and forſomuch as that is thy part committed unto thee of the congregation, when thou haſt done thy dutie to thine houſhold, and yet haſt further abundance of the bleſſings of God, that oweſt thou to the poore that cannot labour, or would labour and can get no work, and are deſtitute of friends: to the poore I mean which thou knoweſt, to them of thine owne Pariſh. If thy neighbours which thou knoweſt be ſerved, and thou yet have ſuperfluitie, and heareſt neceſſitie to be among the brethren a thouſand mile off, to them art thou debter. Yea, to the very Infidels we be debters if they need, as farre forth as we maintaine them not againſt Chriſt, or to blaſpheme Chriſt. Thus is every man that needeth thy helpe, thy father, mother, ſiſter, and brother in Chriſt; even as every man that doth the will of the father, is father, mother, ſiſter and brother unto Chriſt.

Moreover, if any be an Infidell and a falſe Chriſtian, and forſake his houſhold, his wife, children, and ſuch as cannot helpe themſelves, then art thou bound to them, if thou have wherewith, even as much as to thine owne houſhold, and they have as good right in thy goods, as thou thy ſelfe, &c. And if the whole world were thine, yet hath every brother his right in thy goods, and is heire with thee, as we are all heires of Chriſt.

To reader: peevishly place is wr First here mention m of any Turk Secondly, place ſpeak of an Infidel meaneth of Chriſtians which forſa their own houſholds. Thirdly, right in th goods, he n eth no prop that he ha claim, but to put thee i membrance thy Chriſti duty what give.

21 Almes,

{KING HEN. 8}

KING HEN. 8. 21. article. The place anſwered.

21 Almes deſerveth no meed. Fol. 84.

The place is this: He that ſeeketh with his almes more then to be mercifull, to be a neighbour, to ſuccour his brothers nèd, to doe his dutie to his Brother, to give his brother that he oweth him, the ſame is blinde, and ſeeth not what it is to be a Chriſtian man, and to have fellowſhip in Chriſts bloud, &c.

22 There is no work better then another to pleaſe God, to make water, to waſh diſhes; to be a Sowter or an Apoſtle, all is one; to waſh diſhes and to preach is all one, as touching the deede to pleaſe God. Fol. 44.

These words of Tindal ſufficiently diſharge the article of all herein, if they be well wayed. The meaning whereof is this, that all our acceptation with God ſtandeth onely upon our faith in Chriſt, and upon no work nor office. Whereby Corinthus the ſouldier, beleeving in Chriſt, is as well juſtified before God, as the Apoſtle or teacher, ſo that there is no reſpecting now either in work or office, but onely in our faith in Chriſt, which onely ſatisfieth us before God. Rom. 8.

The words of Tindall be theſe. As pertaining to good workes, underſtand that all works are good which are done within the Law of God, in Faith, and with thankeſgiving to God, and underſtand that thou in thy doing pleaſeſt God, whatſoever thou doeſt within the law of God, as when thou makeſt water, &c.

Moreover, put no difference betwéene workes, but whatſoever cometh into thy hands, that doe, as time, place, and occaſion giveth, and as God hath put thee in degree, high or low. As touching to pleaſe God, there is no work better then another. God loketh not firſt on thy workes, as the world doth, as though the beautifulneſſe of the workes pleaſed him, as it doth the world, or as though he had need of them; but God loketh firſt on the heart, what faith thou haſt to his words, how thou beléeveſt him, and how thou loveſt him for his great mercy that he hath ſhewed thee; he loketh with what heart thou worketh, and not what thou worketh; how thou acceptеſt the degrée that he hath put thee in, and not of what degrée thou art, whether thou be an Apoſtle or a ſhoomaker. Set this example before thine eyes: Thou art a kitchen page, and waſheſt thy maſters diſhes. Another is an Apoſtle, and preacheth the Word of God. Of this Apoſtle heark what S. Paul ſaith, If I preach (ſaith he) I have nought to rejoyce in, for neceſſitie is put unto me. As who ſhould ſay, God hath made me ſo, woe is unto me if I preach not. If I doe it willingly (ſaith he) then have I my reward. That is, Then am I ſure that Gods Spirit is in me, and that I am elect to eternall life. If I doe it againſt my will, an office is committed unto me; That is, If I do it not of love to God, but to get a living thereby, and for a worldly purpoſe, and had lever otherwiſe live; then do I that office which God hath put me in, & yet pleaſe not God my ſelfe, &c. Moreover, howſoever he preach, he hath not to rejoyce in that he preacheth. But if he preach willingly with a true heart, and of conſcience to God, then hath he his reward, that is, then feeleth he the earneſt of eternall life, and the working of the ſpirit of God in him. And as he feeleth Gods goodnes and mercy, ſo be thou ſure he feeleth his owne infirmitie, weakneſſe, and unworthineſſe, and mourneth and knowledgeth his ſinne, in that the heart will not ariſe to worke with that full luſt and love that is in Chriſt our Lord. And nevertheleſſe is he yet at peace with God, through faith and truſt in Chriſt Jeſus. For the earneſt of the ſpirit that worketh in him teſtifieth and beareth witnes unto his heart, that God hath choſen him, and that his Grace thal ſuffice him, which grace is now not idle in him. In his workes putteth he no truſt.

No difference betwéen before God in reſpect of deeds, but only in reſpect of faith.

Now thou that miniſtreſt in the kitchen, and art but a kitchen page, receiveſt all things at the hand of God, knoweſt that God hath put thee in that office, ſubmitteſt thy ſelf to his wil, and ſerveſt thy maſter, not as a man, but as Chriſt himſelfe, with a pure heart, according as Paul teacheth; putteſt thy truſt in God, and with him ſeekeſt thy reward. Moreover, there is not a good deed done, but thy heart rejoyceth therein, yea when thou hearеſt that the word of God is preached by this Apoſtle, and ſeeſt the people turne to God, thou conſenteſt unto the deed, thy heart breaketh out in joy, ſpringeth and leapeth in thy breſt, that God is honoured, and in thine heart doeſt the ſame that the Apoſtles doe, and happily with greater delectation and a more fervent ſpirit. Now, he that receiveth a Prophet, in the name of a Prophet, ſhall receive the reward of a prophet; That is, he that conſenteth to the deed of a prophet, and maintaineth it, the ſame hath the ſame ſpirit, and earneſt of everlaſting life, which the Prophet hath, and is elect as the Prophet is.

Now if thou compare deed to deed, there is great difference betwixt waſhing of diſhes, and preaching the word of God. But as touching to pleaſe God, none at all. For neither that, nor this pleaſeth, but as farre forth as God hath choſen a man, hath put his ſpirit in him, and puri fied his heart by faith and truſt in Chriſt, &c.

23 Ceremonies of the Church have brought the world from God, fol. 86. 23. article.

Reade the place of Tindall, Séeke the word of God in all things, and without the word of God doe nothing, though it appeare never ſo glorious. Whatſoever is done without the word of God, that count Idolatrie. The kingdome of heaven is within us. Luke 7. Wonder therefore at no monſtrous appearance, nor at any outward thing without the word. For the world was never drawne from God, but with an outward ſhew, and glorious appearance and ſhining of hypocriſie, and of fained and uſurped faſting, praying, watching, ſinging, offering, ſacrificing, hallowing of ſuperſtitious ceremonies, and monſtrous diſguiſing, &c. The place anſwered.

24 Beware of good intents: They are damned of God. Fol. 87. 24. article.

25 See thou doe nothing but that God biddeth thee. Fol. 87. 25. article.

The words of Tindall out of the which theſe two articles be gathered are theſe. Beware of thy good intent, good minde, good affection, or zeale as they call it. Peter of a good mind, & of a good affection or zeale, chid Chriſt, becauſe he ſaid that he muſt go to Jeruſalem & there be ſlain. But Chriſt called him Satan for his labour; a name that belongeth to the Devil, and ſaid that he perceived not godly things, but worldly. Of a good intent, and of a fervent affection to Chriſt, the ſonnes of Zebede would have had fire to come downe from heaven to conſume the Samaritanes; but Chriſt rebuked them, ſaying, that they wiſt not of what ſpirit they were; that is, that they underſtood not how that they were altogether worldly and fleſhly minded. Peter ſmote Malchus of a good zeale, but Chriſt condemned his déed. The Jewes of a good intent and of a good zeale ſlew Chriſt and perſecuted the Apoſtles, as Paul beareth them record, Rom. 10. I beare them record (ſaith he) that they have a fervent minde to Godward, but not according to knowledge. It is another thing then to doe of a good minde, and to doe of knowlege. Labour for knowledge that thou mayeſt know Gods will, and what he would have thee to do. The place anſwered. Mat. 16. Luke 9. Good intents. Rom. 10.

Our minde, intent, and affection, or zeale, are blinde, and all that we doe of them is damned of God, and for that cauſe hath God made a Teſtament betwéene him and us, wherein is contained both what he would have us to doe, and what he would have us to aske of him. Sée therefore that thou do nothing to pleaſe God withall, but that he commandeth, neither aske any thing of him but that he hath promiſed thee, &c.

20 Churches are for preaching onely, and not as they be uſed now. Fol. 78. 26. article.

This article containeth neither erro nor hereſie, but is plaine enough of it ſelfe, to all them that have their mindes exerciſed in the Scriptures of God.

27 To worſhip God otherwiſe then to beleeve 27. article.

that he is just and true in his promise, is to make God an Idol. Fol. 87.

The place annexed. Read the words of Tindall with this Article. God is honored on all sides, in that we count him righteous in all his lawes and ordinances, and also true in all his promises. Other worship of God is none, except we make an Idoll of him, &c.

28 article. 28 Pharaoh had no power to let the people depart at Gods pleasure. Fol. 95.

29 article. 29 Our Prelates, in sinne say they have power. Fol. 95.

The place annexed. Rom. 10. Reade the place in the Wicked Mammon, out of the which these two articles are gathered. Saint Paul saith, If thou confesse with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, & beleeve with thine heart that God raised him from death, thou shalt be safe: That is, if thou beleeve that he raised him up againe for thy salvation. Many beleeve that God is rich and almightie, but not unto themselves: as that he will be good to them, and defend them, and be their God. Pharaoh for paine of the plague was compelled to confesse his sinnes, but had yet no power to submit himselfe unto the will of God, and to let the Children of Israel goe, and to lose so great profit for Gods pleasure. As our Prelates confesse their sins, saying, Though we be never so evill, yet we have the power. And againe, the Scribes and the Pharisees, say they, sate in Moses seat, doe as they teach, but not as they doe. Thus confesse they that they are abominable, &c.

Here follow other heresies and errours, collected by the Bishops out of the book named, *The Obedience of a Christian man*, with the places of the book annexed to the same.

Articles of heresie gathered by the papists out of W. Tindals obedience. 1 HE saith, We are bound to make satisfaction to our neighbour, but not to God. Fol. 132.

Satisfaction is a full recompence or amends making to him we have offended, which recompence we are able to make one man to another, and are bound so to doe; but to God no man can make any mends or recompence, but onely Gods owne Son Christ Jesus our Saviour: for else if man could have made satisfaction to God, then had Christ died in vaine. Gal. 2. Loe, what heresie or errour is in this Article?

2 article. 2 He saith, That children ought not to marry without the consent of their parents. Fol. 120.

The place annexed. The words of Tindall in the Obedience be these: Let the fathers and mothers marke how they themselves were disposed at all ages, and by experience of their owne infirmities, helpe their Children, and keep them from occasions. Let them provide marriages for them in season, teaching them also to know, That she is not his wife which the son taketh, nor he her husband which the daughter taketh without the consent or good will of their Elders, or them that have authoritie over them. If their friends will not marry them, then are they not to blame if they marry themselves. Let not the fathers and mothers alwaies take the uttermost of their authoritie of their children, but at all times suffer with them, and beare their weaknesse as Christ doth ours, &c.

The parents consent in marriage.

3 article. 3 He saith that vowes are against the ordinance of God. Fol. 109.

They that say that this article is an heresie, let him shew where these vowes in all the New Testament be ordained of God, especially such vowes of single life and wilfull povertie, as by the canon Law be obtruded to young Priests and Novices. S. Paul plainly foresendeth any widowes to be admitted under the age of threescore yeares. Is not here trow you a perilous heresie?

4 He saith, That a Christian man may not resist a Prince being an Infidell and an Ethnike. This taketh away freewill. Fol. 113. {KING HEN. 8.} 4 article.

Saint Peter willeth us to be subject to our Princes, 1 Pet. 2. Saint Paul also doth the like, Rom. 13. Who was also himselfe subject to the power of Nero: and although every commandement of Nero against God he did not follow, yet he never made resistance against the authoritie and state of Nero, as the pope useth to doe against the state not onely of Infidels, but also of Christian princes.

5 Whatsoever is done before the Spirit of God cometh and giveth us light, it is damnable sinne. This is against morall vertues. Fol. 113. 5 article.

What heresie Aristotle in his Ethiks can finde by this article, I cannot tell. Sure I am, that the Word and Spirit of God well considered, can finde none, but rather will pronounce the contrary to be a damnable heresie.

6 He reproveth men that make holy Saints their advocates to God, and there he saith, That Saints were not rewarded in heaven for their holy workes. Fol. 114. 6 article.

The place annexed. The words of Tindall be these: They turne from Gods Word, and put their trust and confidence in the Saint, and his merits, and make an Advocate, or rather a God of the Saint, &c. They ascribe heaven to their imaginations and mad inventions, and receive it not of the libertie of God, by the merits and deserdings of Christ, &c.

7 God moved the hearts of the Egyptians to hate the people; likewise he moved Kings, &c. Fol. 118. 7 article.

The place annexed. The words in the Obedience be these: In the hundred and seventh Psalme thou readest, He destroyed the rivers, and dried up the springs of water, and turned the fruitfull land into barrennesse, for the Inhabitants thereof. When the Children of Israel had forgotten God in Egypt, God moved the hearts of the Egyptians to hate them, and to subdue them with their craft and wylinesse, Psalme 105.

In the second chapter of the first Booke of the Kings, God was angry with his people, and moved David to number them, when Joab & the other lords wondred why he would have them numbred, and because they feared lest some evil should follow, disswaded the King; yet it holpe not, God so "hardened his heart in his purpose, to have an occasion to slay the wicked people, &c. "God sometimes harden the heart of good Princes for the wickednesse of the people. 8 article.

8 Paul was of higher authoritie then Peter. Fol. 125.

The place annexed. The words in the Obedience be these: I suppose (saith he, speaking of Paul) that I was not behind the high Apostles, meaning in preaching Jesus Christ and his Gospell, and ministring the Spirit. And in the same chapter he proveth by the doctrine of Christ, that he was greater then the high Apostles: For Christ saith, To be great in the Kingdome of God, is to doe service, and take paine for other. Upon which rule Paul disputeth, saying. If they be the Ministers of Christ, I am more. In labours more aboundant, in stripes above measure, in prison more plenteous, in death oft, &c. If Paul preached Christ more then Peter, and suffered more for his congregation, then is he greater then Peter, by the testimony of Christ, &c.

9 A Priest ought to have a wife for two causes. Fol. 133. 9 article.

The place annexed. The words of Tindall be these: He must have a wife for two causes; one, That it may thereby be knowne who is meet for the rome: he is unapt for so chargeable an office, which had never household to rule. Another cause is, That Chastitie is an exceeding seldome gift, and unchastitie exceeding perilous for that degree, in as much as the people looke as well unto the living as unto the preaching, True doctrine made heresie

KING. HEN. 8.

preaching, and are hurt at once if the living diſagree, and fall from the Faith, and beleeve not the word, &c.

10. article. 10 He condemneth Auricular Confeſſion, Fol. 140.

Read afore. 11. article. Of this read above.

11 Every man is a Prieſt, and wee reade no other Prieſt to be a meane for us unto God. Fol. 144.

The place annexed. The words in the Obedience be theſe. There is a word called in Latine Sacerdos, in the Greek, ἱερεὺς, in Hebrew Coham, that is a Miniſter, an Officer, a Sacrificer, or a Prieſt, as Aaron was a Prieſt, and ſacrificed for the people, and was a mediatour betweene God and them, & in the Engliſh it ſhould have had ſome other name then Prieſt, but Antichriſt hath deceived us with unknown and ſtrange termes to bring us into confuſion and ſuperſtitious blindneſſe. Of that manner is Chriſt a Prieſt for ever, and all we are prieſts through him, and need no more of any ſuch prieſt to be a mean for us unto God, &c.

And made us kings and prieſts to God his father, &c. Apoc. 1.

12 article. 12 He deſtroyeth the ſacraments of Matrimonie and orders. Fol. 144.

As truely as Matrimonie and orders be ſacraments, ſo truely is this article an hereſie.

13 article. 13 He ſaith that Purgatorie is the Popes invention, and therefore he may doe there whatſoever he will. 150.

Foan. Angelus. One of the Popes owne Writers ſaith thus, Soules being in purgatory are under the popes juriſdiction, and the pope may, if he will, evacuate all purgatory. Furthermore the old Fathers make little mention of purgatorie, the Greeke Church never beleeved the Purgatorie: Saint Auguſtine doubteth of purgatory, and the Scriptures plainely diſprove purgatory. Saint John ſaith, The bloud of Jeſus Chriſt the ſonne of God purgeth us from all ſinne. And the pope ſaith, Sinne cannot be purged but by the fire of Purgatorie: Now whoſe invention can purgatorie be, but onely the popes?

4 article. 14 Saints be ſaved not by their merits, but onely by the merits of Chriſt. Fol. 151.

Hereſie made erelie. What can be more manifeſt and plaine by the Scriptures, then this? Eſay ſaith, All we have erred, every man in his owne waies, and God hath layd upon him all our iniquities, &c.

5 article. 15 He ſaith, no man may be hired to pray, Fol. 155.

The place marked. The words in the Obedience be true, which are theſe. To pray one for another are we equally bound: and to pray is a thing that we may alwaies doe whatſoever we have in hand, and that to doe, may no man hire another: Chriſts bloud hath hired us already, &c.

6 article. 16 Why ſhould I truſt, ſaith he, in Pauls prayer or holineſſe? If Saint Paul were alive, he would compare himſelfe to Saint Paul, and be as good as he, Fol. 159.

The place annexed. The words of Tindall import ſuch meaning as in the article. The words of Tindall be theſe. Why am not I alſo a falſe prophet if I teach thee to truſt in Paul, or in his holineſſe or prayer, or in any thing ſaving in Gods word, as Paul did? If Paul were here and loved me, as he loved them of his time, to whom he was a ſervant to preach Chriſt, what good could he doe for me, or wiſh me, but preach Chriſt, and pray to God for me to open my heart, to give me his Spirit, and to bring me unto the full knowledge of Chriſt? Unto which port or haven when I am once come, I am as ſafe as Paul, joynt heire with Paul of all the promiſes of God, &c.

7 article. 17 He ſaith that all that be baptiſed, become Chriſt himſelfe. Fol. 163.

The place annexed. With this Article confer the words of the Obedience, which be theſe. In Matth. 25. ſaith Chriſt, In as much as ye have done it to one of the leaſt of theſe my brethren, ye have done it to me. And in as much as ye have not done it unto one of the leaſt of theſe, ye have not done it unto me. Here ſeeſt thou that we are Chriſts brethren, and even Chriſt himſelfe, and whatſoever we doe one to another, that we doe to Chriſt, &c.

18 article. 18 He ſaith that the children of faith be under no law. Fol. 163.

The place annexed. The article is true being truely taken. The words of Tindall be theſe. I ſerve thee not becauſe thou art my Maker or King, for hope of reward or fear of pain, but for the love of Chriſt. For the children of faith are under no law, as thou ſeeſt in the Epiſtle to the Romanes, to the Galatians, and the firſt of Timothie, but are free. The Spirit of Chriſt hath written the lively Law of love in their hearts, which driveth them to worke of their own accord, freely and willingly, for the great love ſake onely which they ſee in Chriſt, and therefore need they no law to compell them, &c.

19 article. 19 There is no deed ſo good, but that the law condemneth it. Fol. 177.

The place annexed. What hereſie is in this. The place in the Obedience is this. Thou haſt the ſtory of Peter, how he ſmote off Malchus eare, and how Chriſt healed it againe: There haſt thou in the plain text great fruit, and great edifying, which I paſſe over. Then come I, when I preach of the Law & the Goſpel, and borrow this example to expreſſe the nature of the Law, & of the Goſpel, and to paint it unto thee before thine eies; and of Peter and his ſword make I the Law, & of Chriſt the Goſpel, ſaying, as Peters ſword cutteth off the eare, ſo doth the law. The law damneth, the law killeth and mangleth the conſcience. There is no eare ſo righteous, that can abide the hearing of the Law. There is no deed ſo good, but that the Law damneth it. But Chriſt, that is to ſay, the Goſpel, the promiſes and Teſtament that God hath made in Chriſt, healeth the eare and conſcience, which the eare hath hurt, &c.

20 article. 20 To aske of God more then he hath promiſed, cometh of a falſe faith, and is plaine Idolatrie. Fol. 171.

The place annexed. What hereſie is in this? The words of Tindall are theſe. Look wherein thou canſt beſt keep the Commandements, thither get thy ſelfe, and there abide, &c. If we have infirmities that draw us from the lawes of God, let us cure them with the remedies that God hath made. If thou burne, marry; for God hath promiſed thee no chaſtitie, as long as thou maieſt uſe the remedy that he hath ordained; no more then he hath promiſed to ſlack thine hunger without meat. Now to aske of God, more then he hath promiſed, cometh of a falſe faith, and is plaine Idolatrie, &c.

21 article. 21 Our paine taken in keeping the commandements, doth nothing but purge the ſinne that remaineth in the fleſh, but to looke for any other reward or promotion in heaven, then God hath promiſed for Chriſts ſake, is abominable in the ſight of God. Fol. 171.

The place annexed. Conſider the place in the Obedience, which is this. To look for any other reward, or promotion in heaven, or in the life to come, then that which God hath promiſed for Chriſts ſake, and which Chriſt hath deſerved for us with his paine taking, is abominable in the ſight of God: for Chriſt onely hath purchaſed the reward, and our paine taking to keep the commandements doth but purge the ſinne that remaineth in the fleſh, and certifie us, that we are choſen and ſealed with Gods ſpirit, unto the reward that Chriſt hath purchaſed for us, &c.

22 article. 22 The pope hath no other authoritie but to preach onely. Fol. 173.

This hereſie is onely to the Pope: but nons at all to God. Chriſt ſaid to Peter, Fede my ſheepe, John 21. And thou being converted, confirme thy brethren Luke, 22. And to his Apoſtles he ſaid, Goe ye into all the world and preach the Goſpel, &c. Againe, Saint Paul 1 Cor. 1. ſaith, That Chriſt ſent him not to baptiſe, but to preach: to what other office or function he ſent the pope, let them judge which conſider the Scriptures.

23 article. 23 If thou binde thy selfe to chastitie to obtaine that which Christ purchased for thee, so surely art thou an Infidell. Fol. 175.

Read and conferre the place of Tindall, which is this. Chastitie canst thou not give to God, further then God lendeth it thee. If thou canst not live chaste, thou art bound to marrie, or to be damned, &c. For to what purpose thou bendest thy selfe, must be seen. If thou do it to obtaine thereby that which Christ hath purchased for thee, so art thou an Infidell, and hast no part with Christ. If thou wilt see more of this matter, look into Deuteronomie, and there thou shalt finde it more largely intreated, &c.

The place annexed. Chastitie.

24 article. 24 He denieth, rebuketh, and damneth miracles. Fol. 176.

The place annexed. Miracles how far to be beleeved.

The words in Tindals Obedience be these. And when they cry miracles, miracles, remember that God hath made an everlasting Testament which is in Christs bloud, against which we may receive no miracles, no neither the preaching of Paul himselfe if he come againe, by his owne teaching to the Galatians, neither yet the preaching of the Angels of heaven, &c.

The end of Gods miracles is good; the end of these miracles is evill. For the offerings, which are the cause of the miracles, do but minister and maintaine vice, sinne, and all abomination, and are given to them that have too much, so that for very abundance they come out their owne shame, and corrupt the whole world with the stinch of their filthinesse, &c.

25 article. 25 He saith that no man should serve God with good intent or zeale; for it is plaine Idolatrie. Fol. 77.

The place annexed. Good intents without Gods word, God abhorreth.

The place is in the Obedience: Remember Saul was cast away of God for ever, for his good intent. God requireth obedience unto his word, and abhorreth all good intents, and good zeales which are without Gods Word, for they are nothing else but plaine Idolatrie, and worshipping of false Gods, &c.

Here follow other heresies and errours collected by the Bishops, out of the book called the Revelation of Antichrist, with the places of the booke, out of the which they were gathered, annexed to the same.

Articles out of the book called the Revelation of Antichrist. 1 TO binde a man perpetually to any Vow of Religion, is without doubt an errour. Fol. 19.

The place of the Booke called the Revelation, whence this article is gathered, is this that followeth: which the Fathers did neither make nor keep, he meaneth vowes, but with the libertie of the spirit, binding no man perpetually to them. For if they did, without doubt, they erred according to mans fragilitie.

2 article. 2 To say the constitutions of Religion are good because holy men did ordaine them, as Augustine, Benedict, Francis, Dominicke and such other, and to follow such examples of fathers, is to leave the faith. Fol. 19.

The place annexed. The place of the Article is this. But they object; The statutes and ordinances are good. Holy men did make them, as Augustine, Benedict, Bernard, Francis, Dominick, and such other. To this I answer, That is even it that Christ & the Apostles did meane, That these words should be like to those things which are taught in the Gospell, for that they call counterfeiting of the doctrine, and privily bringing in of sects and heresies, because they take onely of the Fathers examples of works, and leave the faith, &c.

2 Pet. 2.

3 article. 3 All morall divines have a wicked conscience full of scrupulositie. Fol. 3.

Morall Divines be they whose doctrine and hope of salvation consisteth in morall vertues, rather then in Christian faith, apprehending the free promises of God in Christ. And they that be such can never be certified in conscience of their salvation, but alwaies be full of feare and scrupulositie. Saint Paul therefore saith, It is therefore of faith, that it might come by grace, and the promise might be firme and sure to the whole seed, Rom. 4. Rom. 4.

4 article. 4 Morall vertues, as justice, temperance, strength, chastitie, described by naturall reason, maketh a synagogue, and corrupteth Christs faith. Fol. 64.

The place annexed. The place of this article, gathered out of the Revelation, is this: so many he (the pope he meaneth) corrupteth, as he hath subdued and led under his lawes and imperie. And who is he in the world that is not subject under him, except they be infants, or peradventure some simple persons, which are reserved by the inscrutable counsell & provision of God: O thou man of sin, O thou sonne of perdition, O thou abomination, O thou corrupter, O thou author of evill consciences, O thou false marker of good consciences, O thou enemie of faith and Christian liberty, who is able to rehearse, yea, or to comprehend in his minde the infinite waves of this monstrous "kings evils?

"By this king he meaneth the king of kings which Daniel speaketh of in the eighth chapter.

If he had ordained these his laws in those works of vertues that are commended in the ten precepts, or else in such as the Philosophers & naturall reason did describe, as are justice, strength, temperance, chastity, mildnesse, truth, goodnesse, and such other, peradventure they should onely have made a Synagogue, or else have ordained in the world a certaine civil justice, for through these also faith should have bin corrupted, as it was among the Jews. Howbeit, now he keepeth not himself within these bounds, but runneth at riot, and more at large, raising infinite tempests of mischiefe, entising and drawing us to ceremonies, and his own fained traditions, and bindeth us like asses and ignorant fooles, yea and like stocks unto them, &c.

5 article. 5 Christ took away all laws, and maketh us free and at libertie, and most of all he suppresseth all ceremonies. Fol. 63, 65.

The place annexed. The place of this article gathered out of the Revelation, is this: Christ taking away all lawes to make us free and at liberty, did most of all suppresse and disanull the ceremonies which did consist in places, persons, garments, meats, dayes, and such other, so that their use should be to all men most free and indifferent, &c.

What he meaneth by taking away all lawes, he declareth a little before, saying, he hath not delivered us from the law, but from the power and violence of the law, which is the very true loking. But for all that he hath not taken away from the powers and officers, their right, sword, and authoritie to punish the evill, for such pertaine not to his kingdome, untill they are made spirituall, and then freely and with a glad heart they serve God.

6 article. 6 If the Pope would make all the observations of the ceremonies, as Lent, fasting, holy-daies, confession, Matrimonie, Masse, Mattins, and reliques, &c. free and indifferent, he should not be Antichrist; but now, because he commandeth them in the name of Christ he utterly corrupteth the Church, suppresseth the faith, and advanceth sinne. Fol. 67.

If the Pope will inferre a necessitie of those things, which Christ leaveth free and indifferent, then what doth he make himselfe but Antichrist? The Article is plaine, and is founded upon the doctrine of Christ, and Saint Paul.

7 article. 7 To beleeve in Christ maketh sure inheritors with Christ. Fol. 1.

8 article. 8 If a man say, then shall we doe no good works? I answer as Christ did: This is the work of God to beleeve in him whom he hath sent. Fol. 1.

The

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The place answered. Iohn 1.

Iohn 6.

iacob. 2. Matth. 8.

Matth. 27.

se. 13. eb. 2. Cor. 15. om. 8.

article.

he place answered.

article.

he place answered.

The place of these two articles, gathered out of the Revelation is this; who is this light that we are exhorted to beleeve in? Truely it is Christ, as Saint John doth testifie; He was the true light that lighteneth all men which come into the world. To beleeve in this light, maketh us the children of light, and the sure inheritors with Jesus Christ. Even now have we cruel adversaries, which set up their bristles, saying, why, shall we then doe no good works? To these we answer as Christ did to the people in the sixt of Saint John, which asked him what they should doe, that they might worke the workes of God? Jesus answered and said unto them, This is the worke of God, that ye beleeve in him whom he hath sent. And after it followeth, Verily verily I say unto you, He that beleeveth on me hath everlasting life. To this also condescendeth Saint John, in his Epistle, saying, These things have I written unto you that beleeve on the name of the Sonne of God, that you may surely know how that you have eternall life. What is the name of the Sonne of God? Truly his name is Jesus, that is to say, a Saviour; therefore thou must beleeve that he is a Saviour.

But what availeth this? The devils doe thus beleeve and tremble. They know that he is the Son of God, and said unto him, crying, O Jesus the Sonne of God, what have we to doe with thee? They know that he hath redeemed mankinde by his passion, and they laboured to let it. For when Pilate was set downe to give judgement, his wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to doe with that just man, for I have suffered many things this day in my sleepe about him. No doubt she was vexed of the devil, to the intent that she should perswade her husband to give no sentence upon him, so that Satan might the longer have had jurisdiction over mankind. They know that he hath suppressed sinne and death, as it is written, Death is consumed into victory. Death where is thy sting? Hell where is thy victory? The sting of death is sinne: the strength of sinne is the law. But thankes be unto God which hath given us victorie through our Lord Jesus Christ; who by sin damned sinne in the flesh. For God made him to be sinne for us, that is to say, a sacrifice for our sin (and so is sinne taken in many places) which knew no sinne, that we by his meanes, should be that righteousnesse which before God is allowed. It is not therefore sufficient to beleeve that he is a Saviour and Redeemer; but that he is a Saviour and Redeemer unto thee, &c.

9 Numbring of sinnes maketh a man a more sinner, yea, a blasphemer of the name of God. Fol. 3.

The place of this article gathered out of the Revelation is this; Knowledge thy selfe a sinner, that thou maist be justified. Not that the numbering of thy sinnes can make thee righteous, but rather a greater sinner, yea, and a blasphemer of the holy name of God, as thou maist see in Cain, which said that his sinnes were greater then that he might receive forgivenesse, and so was a Reprobate, &c.

10 God bindeth us to that which is impossible for us to accomplish. Fol. 3.

The place of this article gathered out of the Revelation is this; If thou aske of me, why he bindeth us to that which is impossible for us to accomplish; thou shalt have S. Augustines answer, which saith in the second book that he wrote to Hierome, that the Law was given us, that we might know what to doe, and what to eschew, to the intent that when we see our selves not able to do that which we are bound to doe, nor avoid the contrary, we may then know what we shall pray for, and of whom we shall aske this strength, so that we may say unto our Father; Good father command whatsoever it pleaseth thee, but give us the grace to fulfull that thou commandest. And then we perceive that we cannot fulfill his will, yet let us confesse that the Law is good and holy, and that we are sinners and carnall, sould under sinne. But let us not here stick, for now we are at hell gates, and doubtlesse should fall into utter desperation, except God did bring us again, shewing us his Gospel and promise, saying, Feare not little flock, for it is your Fathers pleasure to give you a kingdome, &c. Rom. 7. Luk. 12.

11 Sinne cannot condemne us, for our satisfaction is made in Christ which died for us. Fol. 4. 11. article.

The place of this article gathered out of the Revelation is this: Sinne hath no power over us, neither can condemne us, for our satisfaction is made in Christ, which died for us that were wicked, and naturally the children of wrath. But God which is rich in mercy, through the great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead through sinne, hath quickened us with Christ, and with him hath raised us up, and with him hath made us sit in heavenly places through Jesus Christ, to shew in times to come the exceeding riches of his grace in kindnesse towards us through Christ Jesus: For by grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of your selves, for it is the gift of God, and cometh not of works, lest any man should boast himselfe, &c. The place answered. Ephes. 2.

12 I will shew thee an evident argument and reason that thou maist know without doubt, who is Antichrist. All they that do pursue are Antichrist; The Pope, Bishops, Cardinals, and their Adherents doe pursue; therefore the Pope, Bishops, and Cardinals, and their adherents, are Antichrists. I weene our Syllogismus be well made. Fol. 9. 12 article.

The place of this article gathered out of the Revelation is this: I wil shew thee an evident reason, that thou mayst know without doubting which is the very Antichrist: and this argument may be grounded upon their furious persecution, which Paul doth confirme, writing to the Galatians. We (deare brethren) are the Children of Promise, as Isaac was (not the sonnes of the bondwoman, as Ismael:) but as he that was borne after the flesh did persecute him that was borne after the spirit, even so it is now. Marke Pauls reason. By Isaac are signified the Elect, and by Ismael the reprobate. Isaac did not persecute Ismael, but contrary, Ismael did persecute Isaac. Now let us make our reason. The place answered.

Bar- All they that do persecute are Ismael, be reprobates and Antichrists. Major.

ba- But all the Popes Cardinals, Bishops, and their Adherents do persecute. Minor.

ra. Therefore all the Popes Cardinals, bishops, and their Adherents be Ismael, reprobates and Antichrists. Conclusio.

I weene our Sylogismus is well made, and in the first figure.

Reade the place, and see how he proveth the parts of this argument more at large.

13 I thinke verily, that so long as the successors of the Apostles were persecuted and martyred, there were good Christian men, and no longer. Fol. 10. 13 article.

The Bishops of Rome in the Primitive Church were under persecution the space welneere of three hundred yeares, under the which persecution, as good as thirty of them and moe died martyrs. Since that time have succeeded two hundreth and foure Popes which have lived in great wealth and abundance, amongst whom if the booke of Revelation think that there be not foure to be found good Christian men, I think no lesse but that he may so think without any heresie.

14 It is impossible that the word of the Crosse should be without affliction and persecution. Fol. 10 14 article.

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2. Tim. 3. Saint Paul ſaith, whoſoever will live vertuouſly in Chriſt Jeſus, ſhall ſuffer perſecution. And how then can this be true in Paul, and in this man hereſie?

15 article. 15 That the Apoſtles did ever curſe any man, truely we cannot reade in Scripture: for Chriſt commanded them to bleſſe thoſe that curſed them. Fol. 11.

The place annexed. Upon what good ground of the Revelation this hereſie is wrung out, let the place be conferred, which is written in theſe words following: They are as mercifull as the Woolfe is on his prey. They were ordained to bleſſe men, but they curſe as the devill were in them. Paul ſaith that he hath power to edifie, and not to deſtroy. But I wot not of whom theſe bloudy beaſts have their authoritie, which doe ſo much rejoyce in curſing and deſtruction. We reade how Paul did excommunicate the Corinthian (and that for a great tranſgreſſion) to the intent that he might be aſhamed of his iniquitie, and deſired againe the Corinthians to receive him with all charitie: but that the Apoſtles did curſe any man, truly we cannot reade in Scripture, for Chriſt commanded them to bleſſe thoſe that curſed them, and to pray for thoſe that perſecuted them, &c.

2 Cor. 10. 1 Cor. 13. 1 Cor. 5. 2 Cor. 3.

16 16 By workes, ſuperſtitions, and ceremonies, we decay from the faith, which alone doth truely juſtifie and make holy. Fol. 15.

Note here, good Reader, how perverſly and corruptly this Article is drawne. For where the place of this book, which is written, fol. 15. expreſſly ſpeaketh of truſting to workes, meaning that we ſhould put no confidence in workes, but onely in faith in Chriſt Jeſus, this Article, to make it appeare more infamous and hereticall, leaveth out the falſe truſt and ſpeaketh ſimply, as though workes ſhould decay faith. Read the place, which is written in theſe words following: Daniel calleth not this word Peſchiam, any manner of ſinne, but thoſe ſpeciall and chiefe ſinnes, which reſiſt and fight againſt the truth and the faith: as are the truſting in workes, ſuperſtitions and ceremonies, by the which we decay from the faith, &c.

False wreſting.

17 article. 17 The abuſion of the Maſſe with all his ſolemnities, with vigils, yeare-mindes, foundations, burials, and all the buſineſſe that is done for the dead, is but a face and a cloake of godlineſſe, and deceiving of the people: As if they were good Workes, rather for the dead then for the quick. Fol. 24.

True godlineſſe conſiſteth in faith, that is, in the true knowledge of the Son of God whom he hath ſent, and in the obſervation of Gods Commandements. All their rites and additions inſtituted by man, are no part of true godlines. And who ſo putteth truſt and confidence therein, as being things meritorious for the dead, is deceived. Such Funerals Saint Auguſtine calleth rather refreſhings of the living, then reliefings and helpes of the dead.

18. article. 18 To keep and obſerve one day to faſt, another to abſtaine, to forbeare ſuch a meate upon the faſting day to deſerve heaven therby, is a wicked face and cloake, and againſt Paul. Fol. 29.

The truth of this Article is manifeſt enough, to be void of all error and hereſie, unleſſe it be hereſie, to beleeve and hold with the Scripture. Saint Paul ſaith, if heaven and our righteouſneſſe come by the law, then Chriſt died in vaine. Galatians the ſecond.

Galat. 2.

19 article. 19 The multiplication of holy-dayes, of feaſts of *Corpus Chriſti*, of the viſitation of our Lady, &c. is a wicked face and colour, and indeed fooliſh, unprofitable and vaine. Fol. 30.

This Article likewiſe needeth no declarration, containing in it a true & neceſſary complaint of ſuch ſuperfluous holy-daies of the popes making. Which as they bring with them much occaſion of wickedneſſe, Idleneſſe, drunkenneſſe, and vanitie, ſo having alſo joyned unto them opinion of religion, and meritorious devotion and Gods ſervice, they gender Superſtition, and nourith the people in the ſame.

20 article. 20 Keeping of virginitie and chaſtitie of religion is a deviliſh thing. Fol. 30.

Another place falſely depraved by the papiſts. The place, cited in the book of the Revelation of Antichriſt, doth ſufficiently open it ſelfe, ſpeaking and meaning only of thoſe monkiſh vowes, which by the Canonicall conſtitution of the pope are violently forced upon prieſts and monkes, the coaction whereof Saint Paul doth rightly call the Doctrine of Devils. And here note by the way another trick of a popiſh caviller. For where the words of the book ſpeak plainly of the chaſtitie of the religious, he fraudulently turning it to an univerſalitie ſaith, the chaſtitie of religion, whereby it might ſeeme to the ſimple reader more odious and hereticall: the words of the place be theſe.

1 Tim. 4. Keeping of Virginitie and chaſtitie of the religious ſeemeth to be a godly and a heavenly thing: but it is a deviliſh thing. Of the which it is ſpoken in the fourth of the firſt Epiſtle to Timothie, Forbidding to marrie, &c. Whereas againe our moſt reverend Father maketh that thing neceſſary that Chriſt would have free, whereof Daniel in the 11. Chapter ſpeaketh, He ſhall not be deſirous of women. Here Daniel meaneth that he ſhall refuſe and abſtaine from marriage, for a cloake of godlineſſe, and not for love of chaſtitie.

Dan. 11.

21 article. 21 Worſhipping of Reliques is a proper thing, and a cloake of advantage againſt the precept of God, and nothing but the affection of men. Fol. 30. 31.

The place annexed. Theſe be the words in the Rev. This (the worſhipping of reliques he meaneth) is a proper & moſt fruitful cloake of advantage. Out of this were invented innumerable pilgrimages, with the which the fooliſh and unlearned people might loſe their labour, money and time, nothing in the mean ſeaſon regarding their houſes, wives and children, contrarie to the commandement of God; when as they might doe much better deeds to their neighbours, which is the precept, &c.

22 article. 22 There is but one ſpeciall office that pertaineth to thine orders, and that is to preach the word of God. Fol. 36.

Of this matter ſufficient hath beene ſaid before in the 22. article alledged out of the book of Obedience.

23 article. 23 The temple of God is not ſtones and wood, neither in the time of Paul was there any houſe which was called the Temple of God. Fol. 36.

The place ſpeaking of the temple where Antichriſt ſitteth, not ſo grievous as the article maketh. The place of this Article is this: which is an adverſary (the pope he meaneth) and is exalted above all that is called God or that is worſhipped: ſo that he ſhall ſit in the temple of God and ſhew himſelfe as God. Doth he not ſit in the Temple of God, which ſaith and profeſſeth himſelf to be the Maſter in the whole Church? What is the temple of God? Is it ſtones and wood? doth not Paul ſay, The temple of God is holy, which temple are ye? Neither in the time of Paul was there any houſe, which was called the Temple of God, as we now call them. What meaneth this ſitting, but reigning, teaching & judging? Who, ſith the beginning of the church, durſt preſume to call himſelfe the maſter of the whole Church, but onely the Pope, &c.

24 article. 24 He that faſteth no day, that ſaith no Mattens, and doth none of the precepts of the Pope, ſinneth not, if he thinke that hee doth not ſinne. Fol. 43.

The place is there clearly plain without any danger of hereſie. The place in the Revel. is this: Becauſe he feareth the conſciences under the title and pretence of Chriſts name, he maketh of thoſe things which in themſelves are no ſinnes very grievous offences. For he that beleeveth that he doth ſinne if he eat

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eat fleſh on the Apoſtles Even, or ſay not mattens and Prime in the morning, or elſe leave undone any of the Popes precepts, no doubt hee ſinneth; not becauſe the deed which he doth is ſinne, but becauſe he beleeveth it is ſinne, and that againſt this foolish beleef and conſcience he offendeth. Of which foolish conſcience onely the Pope is head authour; for another doing the ſame deed, thinking that he doth not ſinne, truly offendeth not. And this is the cauſe that the ſpirit of Paul complaineth that many ſhall depart from the faith. And for this foolish conſcience mens traditions be pernicious and noyſome, the ſnares of ſoules, hurting the faith and the libertie of the Goſpell. If it were not for this cauſe they ſhould do no hurt. Therefore the devil through the Pope abuſeth theſe conſciences to ſtablish the Laws of his tyrannie, to ſuppreſſe the Faith and libertie, and to repleniſh the world with error, ſin, and perdition, &c.

Traditions how they do hurt.

5. article.

25 Chriſt ordained the Sacrament of the Altar onely to nouriſh the faith of them that live; but the Pope maketh it a good worke, and a Sacrifice to be applyed both to the quicke and dead. Fol. 48.

The place toucheth the abuſe of the ſacrament, and is not againſt the ſacrament.

The place is this: Satan hated the Sacrament, and knew no way how to ſuppreſſe and diſanull it: Therefore he found this craft, that the Sacrament, which Chriſt did onely ordaine to nouriſh and ſtablish the faith of them that live, ſhould be counted for a good worke and ſacrifice, and bought and ſold; and ſo faith is ſuppreſſed, and this wholſome miniſtery is applied, not to the quick, but unto the dead, that is to ſay, neither to the quick, neither yet to the dead. Oh the incredible fury of God, &c.

6. article.

26 Theſe ſignes (he ſpeaketh of miracles and viſions, or apparitions) are not to the encreaſe of faith and Goſpel, for they are rather againſt the faith and Goſpel, and they are the operation of Satan, and lying ſignes. Fol. 49.

The place containeth a true complaint of alle illuſions, and may well be ſoyn.

The place is as followeth; Who is able to number the monſtrous marvels onely of them that are departed? God Lord, what a ſea of lies hath invaded us, of apparitions, conjurings, and anſwers of ſpirits? By the which it is brought to paſſe, that the Pope is alſo made the King of them that are dead, and reigneth in Purgatorie, to the great profit of his prieſts, which have all their living, riches, and pomp out of purgatorie. Howbeit they ſhould have leſſe if they did ſo well teach the faith of them that live, as they do rideleſſe them that are dead. Neither was there ſince the beginning of the world, any worke found of ſo little labour and great advantage. For truly to this purpoſe were gathered almoſt the poſſeſſions of all Princes and rich men. And through theſe riches ſprang up all pleaſures and idleneſſe, and of idleneſſe came very Babylon and Sodom, &c.

This book of the Revelation of Antichriſt reaſing upon the 8. Chap. of Dan. which here ſpeaketh of the king of faces and reedels, alſo deth here to the ſame.

Neither are theſe ſignes to the encreaſe of the faith and Goſpel (for they are rather againſt the faith and Goſpel) but they are done to ſtablish the tyrannie of theſe "faces and reedels, and to ſet up and confirm the truſt in workes. Among theſe illuſions are thoſe miracles to be reputed, which are ſhewed in viſions, pilgrimages, and worſhippings of ſaints, as there are plentie now adayes, which the Pope confirmeth by his Buls, yea, and ſometime doth canonize ſaints that he knoweth not. Now behold what is the operation of Satan in lying ſignes, &c.

7. article.

27 The people of Chriſt do nothing becauſe it is commanded, but becauſe it is pleaſant and acceptable unto them. Fol. 63.

The place ſeeth another meaning then the Article pretendeth.

The words out of the which this article is gathered are theſe, They are the people of Chriſt, which willingly do hear and follow him, not for any fear of the law, but onely entiſed and led with a gracious liberty and faithfull love; not doing any thing becauſe it is commanded, but becauſe it is pleaſant and acceptable unto them though it were not commanded: for they that would do otherwiſe, ſhould be counted the people of the Law and ſynagogue, &c.

28. article.

28 In the whole new Law is no urgent precept nor grievous, but onely exhortations to obſerve things neceſſary for ſouls health. Fol. 63.

The place is found, and ſtandeth well with Scripture.

The place of this article gathered out of the Revelation is this; A Chriſtian ſhould worke nothing by compulſion of the law, but all through the ſpirit of liberty, as Paul ſaith in the ſecond of the firſt Epiſtle to Timothie. The Law is not given to a righteous man: for whatſoever is done by compulſion of the law is ſin, for it is not done with a glad and willing ſpirit, but with a contrary will, and rebelling againſt the law, and this truly is ſin. Therefore in the fourth of the ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians he calleth the Preachers of the new Teſtament the miniſters of the ſpirit, and not of the letter, becauſe they teach grace, and not the law. Wherefore in the whole new Teſtament are there no urgent or grievous precepts, but onely exhortations to obſerve thoſe things which are neceſſarie to our health. Neither did Chriſt and his Apoſtles at any time compell any man. And the holy Ghoſt was for that cauſe called Paracletus, that is to ſay, an exhorter and comforter, &c.

1 Tim. 2.

2 Cor. 4.

29. article.

29 All things neceſſarie are declared in the new Teſtament, but no man is compelled, but to do according to their owne will. Therefore Chriſt teacheth, Matth. 18. That a rebel ſhould not be killed, but avoided. Fol. 63. 66.

The place anſwered.

The words in the Revelation are theſe. In the new Teſtament are all things declared, which we ought to do and leave undone; what reward is ordained for them that do and leave undone; and of whom to ſeek, finde, and obtain help to do and leave undone; But no man is compelled, but ſuffered to do according to their own will. Therefore in the eightenth of Matthew, he teacheth that a rebell ſhould not be killed, but avoided and put out of company like a gentile, &c.

30. article.

30 Chriſt forbad that one place ſhould be taken as holy, and another prophane; but would that all places ſhould be indifferent. Fol. 68.

The place anſwered. The Pope maketh difference of places; but the Goſpel maketh none.

The place is this; Chriſt taketh away the difference of all places, will be worſhipped in everie place. Neither is there in his kingdome one place holy, and another prophane, but all places are indifferent; neither canſt thou more heartily and better beleeve, truſt, and love God in the temple at the Altar, in the Churchyard, then in thy barn, vineyard, kitchin, or bed. And to be ſhort, the martyrs of Chriſt have honoured him in dark dungeons, and priſons, &c.

31. Article.

31 He raileth againſt all the rites and ceremonies of the Maſſe, as he were mad. Fol. 68.

This place maketh onely the prepoſterous judgement of them which see more by the precepts of men, then by the commandements of God; and yet herein he uſeth no railing, or maketh terrour.

The place out of the which this article is collected, is as followeth. If a Nunne touch the ſuperaltare, or the Corporas (as they call it) it is a ſin. To touch the Chalice is a great tranſgreſſion. To ſay a Maſſe with an unhallowed Chalice, is a grievous offence. To do ſacrifice in veſtiments which are not conſecrated, is a hainous crime. It is reputed for a ſin, if in miniſtring any Sacrament the Prieſt doth lack any ornament that pertaineth thereunto. If he call a childe, or ſpeak in the words of a Canon, it is a ſinne. He offendeth alſo that doth ſhut or ſtammer in the words of the Canon. He ſinneth that toucheth the holy reliques of ſaints. He that toucheth the ſacrament of the altar either with hand or finger, though it be for neceſſitie, to pluck it from the roofe of his mouth, committeth ſuch villanous iniquitie, that they will ſcrape and ſhave off the quick fleſh from the part which did touch it. I think at length they will ſley the tongue, the roofe of the mouth, the throat, and the belly, becauſe they touch the ſacrament. But to

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hurt thy neighbour, or privily to convey away any of his goods, or not to help him in his need, is in a manner counted for no sinne, nor yet regarded, &c.

32. article. 32 No labour is now adayes more tedious then saying of Masse, Mattens, &c. Which before God are nothing but grievous sins. Fol. 70.

33. article. 33 The sins of Manasses, and other wicked Kings sacrificing their own children, are but light and childish offences to those. The cursed sacrifices of the Gentiles may not be compared to ours, we are seven times worse Gentiles then we were before we knew Christ. Fol. 70.

This place may seem to speak somewhat vehemently peradventure, but yet I see no heresie in it. The words out of the which these two articles are gathered, are these. They are so oppressed (those he meaneth which are under the servitude of the Popes lawes and decrees) that they fulfill them onely with the outward work; for their wils are clean contrary, as we see by experience in troublesome businesse of Vigils, Masses, and Houres, which both must be said and sung. In the which they labour with such wearinesse, that now adayes no labour is more tedious. Yet nevertheless, the cruell exactors of these most hard works compell men to work such things without ceasing, which before God are nothing but grievous sins; although before men they be good works, and counted for the service of God. Here are invented the intisements of the senses through organs, musick, and diversitie of songs; but these are nothing to the spirit, which rather is extinct through these wanton trifles. Ah Christ, with what violence, with what power are they driven headlong to sin, and perish through this abomination?

3. Reg. 3. 1. Lestrigones were a people or gyants about the borders of Italy, who as Homer saith, used to eat mens flesh. It is horrible to look into these cruell whirlpools of consciences, which perish with so great paines and labour: what light offences to these are the sins wherin Manasses and other wicked kings sinned by doing sacrifice with their owne children & progenie? Truly the cursed sacrifices of the most rude gentiles, no not of the Lestrigones, may be compared unto ours. The saying of Christ may be verified in us; seven more wicked spirits make the end worse then the beginning. For I say, that we Gentiles are worse seven times then we were before we knew Christ, &c.

34. article. 34 It were better to receive neither of the parts of the Sacrament of the Altar, then the one alone. Fol. 73.

The truth of this place may well be avouched by good reason. The words be these. Plainly I think that the whole is taken away sith I see manifestly the one part gone (for the bread and the wine is but one sacrament) the other is left onely for a laughing stock. For he that in one part offendeth against God, is guiltie in all. Therefore it were better to receive neither of the parts, then the one alone; for so we might the more surely eschew the transgression of that which Christ did institute, &c.

35. article. 35 The law of the Pope that commandeth everie man to communicate together upon one day, is a most cruell law constraining men to their own destruction. Fol. 73.

The place answered. When ought not to be driven to the Communion against their wils, but to be exhorted and left to their own disposition. The place is this. He (the Pope he meaneth) setteth a most cruell and deadly snare to tangle the consciences, suffereth not the use of this sacrament to be free, but compelleth all together on one certain day once in the yeer to communicate. Here I pray thee, Christian brother, how many doest thou think do communicate onely by the compulsion of this precept, which truly in their heart had lever not to communicate? and all these sin (for they do not communicate in spirit, that is to say, neither in faith nor will, but by the compulsion of this letter and law) sith that this bread requireth a hungry and not a full heart, and much lesse a disdaining and hatefull minde. And of all these sins the Pope is authour, constraining all men by his most cruell law to their own destruction, whereas he ought to leave this Communion free to every man, and onely call and exhort them, and not compell and drive them unto it, &c.

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36. article. 36 The spirit would that nothing should be done, but that which is expressely rehearsed in Scripture. Fol. 81.

In things pertaining to God worship, &c. is true. In things appertaining to Gods worship and service, true it is that he is not to be worshipped, but onely according to that which he hath revealed and expressed unto us in his own word. And this is the meaning of the author, as by his words doth plainly appear.

37. article. 37 Saint Thomas de Aquino savoureth nothing of the Spirit of God. Fol. 83.

Tho. Aquine. The doctrine of Thomas Aquine referreth the greatest or a very great part of our righteousnesse to opus operatum and unto merits. The Spirit of God referreth all our righteousnesse before God, onely to our faith in Christ. Now how these savour together, let any indifferent reader judge.

38. article. 38 The Pope did condemne the truth of the Word of God openly at Constance in Iohn Hus, persevering unto this day in the same stubbornnesse. Fol. 86.

Iohn Hus. Touching the condemnation of John Hus, and the manner of his handling, and the cause of his death, read his story before, and consider moreover his prophecie of the hundred yeers after him expired, how truly the sequell did follow in Martine Luther, and then judge of his cause, good Reader, as the truth of Gods word shall lead thee. And thus much concerning these slanderous articles.

Here follow other heresies and errours, collected by the Bishops out of the booke named the summe of the Scripture, with the places of the booke annexed to the same.

Articles out of the sum of the Scripture.

1. article. THe water of the Fount hath no more vertue in it then hath any other water. Fol. 1.

2. article. 2 The vertue of Baptisme lieth not in hallowed water or in other outward thing, but onely in faith. Fol. 6.

The place annexed. The place of these two Articles gathered out of the summe of the Scripture is this. The water of Baptisme taketh not away our sin; for then were it a precious water, and then it behoved us daily to wash our selves therein. Neither hath the water of the Fount more vertue in it self, then the water that runneth in the river of Rhene. When Philip baptized the eunuch, the servant of Candace the queene of Ethiope, there was then no hallowed water, nor candle, nor salt, nor creame, neither white habite; but he baptized him in the first water they came to upon the way. Here mayest thou perceive that the vertue of Baptisme lieth not in hallowed water, or in the outward things that we have at the Fount, but in the faith onely, &c. Christ hath healed us (saith S. Paul) by the bath of regeneration and renovation of the holy Ghost. Acts 8. Tit. 3.

3. article. 3 Godfathers and godmothers be bound to helpe their children that they be put to school, that they may understand the Gospel, and the Epistles of saint Paul. Fol. 15.

The place annexed. The place of this article gathered out of the said book is this: The godfathers and godmothers be bound to help the children that they be put to schol, to the intent, that they may understand the Gospel, the joyfull message of God, with the Epistles of saint Paul. God hath commanded to publish, and to shew the Gospel, not onely to priests, but to everie creature. Go ye (saith Christ unto his disciples) into the universall world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. For we be all equally bound to know the Gospel and the doctrine of the new Testament, &c. And saint Paul, writing to the Corinthians, confesseth that he sendeth his epistles to Mark 16.

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all the Church, that is to say, to all the assembly of Christian men, and to all them that call on the name of Jesus, &c.

4 We think when we beleeve that God is God, and can our Creed, that we have the faith that a Christian man is bound to have; but so doth the devil beleeve. Fol. 17.

5 To beleeve that the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost be one God, is not the principall that we must beleeve: our faith doth not lie principally in that, for so beleeveth the devil. Fol. 18.

The place out of the which these two articles are collected is this: We think, when we beleeve that God is God, and can our Creed, that we have the faith which a Christian is bound to have. The devill beleeveth also that there is a God, and life everlasting, and a hell, but he is never the better for it; and he trembleth alway for his faith, as saith saint James, The devils beleeve, and they tremble. A man might ask, What shall I then beleeve? Thou shalt beleeve plainly and undoubtedly, That the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost is one onely God, &c. But this likewise beleeve the wicked spirits, and are nothing the better therefore. There is yet another faith which Christ so much requireth of us in the Gospel, and whereunto S. Paul almost in all his Epistles so strongly exhorteth us, that is, that we beleeve the Gospel: When our Lord began first to preach, he said (as rehearseth S. Mark) repent and beleeve the Gospel. Of this faith read before in the first article gathered out of the wicked Mammon, and in the ninth and tenth of the Revelation of Antichrist.

6 If we beleeve that God hath promised everlasting life, it is impossible that we should perish. Fol. 20.

Lo here, good Reader, another manifest example of the unhonest dealing and false cogging of these men. For where the place of the Author speaketh expresly of putting our trust in God and his promises, the article prettily leaveth out our trusting in Gods promise, and saith onely, if we beleeve that God hath promised. Read the place, and confer it with the Article, and then judge whether there be no difference betweene trusting in the promise that God hath made of everlasting life, and beleeving onely that God hath made the promise of everlasting life. The place here followeth as it is there written.

When with a perfect courage we put all our trust in God and in his promises, it is impossible that we should perish, for he hath promised us life everlasting. And forasmuch as he is almightie, he may well perform that that he hath promised; and in that he is mercifull and true, he will perform his promise made unto us, if we can beleeve it stedfastly, and put all our trust in him.

7 If thou canst surely and stedfastly beleeve in God, he will hold his promise. For he hath bound himself to us, and by his promise he oweth us heaven, in case that we beleeve him. Fol. 21.

Seeing all our hope standeth onely upon the promise of God, what heresie then is in this doctrine, to say that God oweth us heaven by his promise, which is no other to meane but that God cannot break promise? And now judge thou (good reader) whether is more heresie to say, that God oweth us heaven by his promise, as we say; or this, that God oweth us heaven by the condignitie and congruitie of our works, as the Papists say.

8 All Christs glory is ours. Fol. 27.

9 We need not to labour to be Christs heirs and sons of God, and to have heaven; for we have all these things already. Fol. 24.

The words, out of the which these two heresies are gathered, be these: We be made his heires, and all his glory is ours, as saint Paul largely declareth. This hath God given us without our deserving, and we need not to labour for all these things, for these we have already, &c.

They which note these articles for heresie, by the same judgement they may make heresie of S. Johns Gospel, and of Pauls Epistle, and of all together. S. John saith, The glory which thou gavest me, I have given them that they may be one, as we also are one. As many as received him, to them gave he power to be the sons of God. S. Paul saith, The same spirit certifieth our spirit, that we are the sons of God. If we be sons, then are we also heirs, the heires I means of God, and heirs annexed with Christ.

True doctrine made heresie. Iohn 7.

Iohn 1. Rom. 8.

10 We need not to labour by our good works to get everlasting life, for we have it alreadie; we be all justified, wee be all the children of God. Fol. 28.

10. article.

11 All that thinke that good works help or profit any thing to get the gift of salvation, they blaspheme against God, and rob God of his honour. Fol. 28.

11. article.

12 If we be circumcised, that is to say, if wee put any trust in works, Christ shall not helpe us. Fol. 18.

12. article.

13 We deserve nothing of God. Fol. 30.

13. article.

14 We deserve not everlasting life by our good works; for God hath promised it unto us, before that we began to do good. Fol. 40.

14. article.

15 Every Christian man must keepe Gods commandments by love, and not by hope to get for his service everlasting life. Fol. 42.

15. article.

16 The Iews kept the Commandments, and the Law of God; yet they could not come to heaven. Fol. 43.

16. article.

17 Men trusting in their good works, are like to the theefe on the left side, and are such men as come to the Church daily, keep holy dayes and fasting dayes, and heare masses, and these people be soonest damned; for this is one of the greatest errours in Christendome, to think that thy good works shall help to thy salvation. Fol. 47.

17. article.

If these Articles be made heresies, which refer the benefit of our inheritance of life and salvation to Gods gift, and not to our labours; to grace and not to merits; to faith, and not to the law of works; then let us shut up clean the new testament, and away with Gods word, and set up a new divinitie of the Popes making: yea let us leave Christ with his hereticall Gospel, and in his stead set up the Bishop of Rome with his Talmud and become the disciples of his decretals. And certes except Christian Princes begin betime to take some zeale of God unto them, and look more seriously upon the matter, the proceedings of these men seem to tend to little better, then to drive us at length from true Christianitie, to another kinde and forme of Religion of their own invention, if they have not brought it well neere to passe alreadie.

True Christianity turned into heresie.

18 To serve God in a tediousnesse, or for feare of hell, or for the joyes of heaven, is but a shadow of good works, and such service doth not please God. Fol. 41.

18. article.

The place is this: works done in faith be onely pleasant unto God, and worthy to be called good works; for they be the works of the holy Ghost that dwelleth in us by this faith. But they that are done by tediousnesse and evill will, for feare of hell, or for desire of heaven, be nothing else but shadows of works, making hypocrites. The end of our good works is onely to please God, knowledging that if we do never so much, we can never do our dutie; for they that for feare of hell, or for the joyes of heaven do serve God, do a constrained service, which God will not have. Such people do not serve God, because he is their God and their Father, but to have their reward, and to avoid

These contain no matter either of errour or heresie.

avoid his punishments, and such people are hired men and waged servants, and are not children. But the children of God serve their Father for love, &c.

19. article. 19 We must love death, and more desire to die, then to fear death. fol. 36.

Although our nature be fraile and full of imperfection, so that we do not as we should, yet doing as we ought, and as we are led by the Scriptures to do, we should not dread, but desire rather to die and to be with Christ, as the place it self doth well declare, which is this:

The place is found and perfect. We must love death, and more desire to die and to be with God, as did S. Paul, then to fear death. For Jesus Christ died for us, to the intent that we should not feare to die, and he hath slaine death, and destroyed the sting of death, as writeth Saint Paul, saying, O death where is thy sting? Death is swallowed up in victorie. And to the Philippians, Christ is to me life, and death is to me advantage.

1. Cor. 15. Phil. 1.

20. article. 20 God made us his children and his heirs, while we were his enemies, and before we knew him. fol. 44.

I marvell what the Papists meane in the registers to condemne this article as an heresie, unlesse their purpose be utterly to impugne and gainstand the Scripture, and the writings of S. Paul, who in the fifth chapter to the Romanes, and other his epistles, importeth even the same doctrine in all respects, declaring in formall words that we be made the children and heirs of God, and that we were reconciled unto him when we were his enemies.

21. article. 21 It were better never to have done good work, and ask mercy therefore, then to do good works, and think that for them God is bound to a man by promise, fol. 48.

22. article. 22 We can shew no more honour to God, then faith and trust in him, fol. 48.

What heresie can be drawn out of this place? The place out of the which these two Articles be gathered, is this: It were better for thee a thousand fold that thou hadst been a sinner, and never had done good deed, and to acknowledge thine offences and evil life unto God, asking mercie with a good heart, lamenting thy sins, then to have done good works and in them to put thy trust, thinking that therefore God were bound to thee. There is nothing which (after the manner of speaking) bindeth God, but firm and stedfast faith and trust in him and his promises, &c. For we can shew unto God no greater honour, then to have faith and trust in him: For whosoever doth that, he confesseth that God is true, good, mightie, and mercifull, &c.

23. article. 23 Faith without good works, is not little or feeble faith, but it is no faith. fol. 50.

24. article. 24 Everie man doth as much as he beleeveth, fol. 50.

The place out of the which these two articles be gathered, is this: If thy faith induce thee not to do good works, then hast not thou the right faith, thou doest but onely think that thou hast it. For saint James saith, That faith without works is dead in it self. He saith not that it is little or feeble, but that it is dead, and that which is dead, is not: therefore when thou art not moved by faith unto the love of God, and by the love of God unto good works, thou hast no faith, but faith is dead in thee; for the spirit of God, that by faith cometh into our hearts to stir up love, cannot be idle: Everie one doth as much as he beleeveth, and loveth as much as he hopeth, as writeth Saint John: He that hath this hope that he is the sonne of God, purifieth himself as he is pure: He saith not, he that purifieth himself hath this hope, for the hope must come before, proceeding from the faith, as it behoveth that the tree must first be good which must bring forth good fruit.

James 3.

Heresie picked out where none is. 1. Iohn 3.

25. article. 25 We cannot be without motions of evill desires; but we must mortifie them in resisting them. fol. 52.

They which note this article of heresie, may note themselves rather to be like the Pharisee, Luk. 18. who, foolishly flattering himself in the false opinion of his own righteousnesse, was not subdued to the righteousnesse, which standeth before God by faith, and therefore went home to his house lesse justified then the Publicane. If the Scriptures condemne the heart of man to be crooked even from his youth, Genes. 6. and also condemneth all the righteousnesse of man to be like a filed cloth, and if S. Paul could finde in his flesh no good thing dwelling, but sheweth a continuall resistance betweene the old man and the new, then must it follow, that these Pharisees, which condemne this article of heresie, either carry no flesh and no old man about them to be resisted; or verily, say what they will, they cannot chuse but be cumbred with evill motions for the inward man continually to fight against. The place of the author sufficiently defendeth it self, as followeth.

No man can finde any heresie in this place except he be a Pharisee.

Saint Paul biddeth us mortifie all our evil desires and carnall lusts, as uncleannesse, covetousnesse, wrath, blasphemy, detraction, pride, and other like vices. And unto the Romanes the sixth, he saith, Let no sin reign in your mortall bodies, That is to say, albeit we cannot live without the motion of such evill desires, yet we shall not suffer them to rule in us, but shall mortifie them in resisting them, &c.

Col. 3. The place of the author.

26. article. 26 All true Christianitie lieth in love of our neighbours for God, and not in fasting, keeping of holydayes, watching, praying, and singing, and long prayers daily, and all day long hearing masse, running on pilgrimage, &c. fol. 52.

Confer this article with the Scripture, and thou shalt see no heresie in it. The place of this article is this. Thou hast always occasion to mortifie thine evill desires, to serve thy neighbour, to comfort him, and to help him with word and deed, with counsell and exhortation and other semblable meanes. In such love towards our neighbour, for the love of God, lieth all the law and the prophets, as saith Christ, yea, and all Christianitie; and not in fasting, keeping of holy dayes, watching, singing, and long prayers, daily, and all day long hearing of Masses, setting up of candles, running on pilgrimages, and such other things, which as well the hypocrites, proud people, envious and subject to all wicked affections do, &c.

27. article. 27 Many Doctors in divinitie, and not onely in common people, beleeve that it is the part of Christian faith onely to beleeve that Iesus Christ hath lived here in earth. fol. 53. 54.

To beleeve, that Christ hereliued and died is good: but this is not the thing onely that maketh a Christian man. Iam. 2. The place is this: we beleeve that Jesus Christ hath here lived on earth, and that he hath preached, and that he died for us, and did many other things. When we beleeve these things after the storie, we beleeve that this is our Christian faith. This not onely the simple people beleeveth, but also Doctors in divinitie, which are taken for wise men. Yea, the devil hath also this faith, as saith S. James, The devils beleeve, and they tremble. For as we have said before, the devil beleeveth that God is God, and that Jesus Christ hath here preached, that he died, was buried, and rose again. Thus must we also beleeve, that this is not the faith whereof speaketh the Gospel and S. Paul, &c.

Of this faith, and what it is, read before in the place of the fourth and fifth articles of this book, and of the first Article gathered out of the wicked Mammon, and the ninth and tenth articles of the Revelation of Antichrist.

28. article. 28 He that doth good against his will, he doth evil. fol. 56.

The place answering to the article. The place is this: all good deeds, which are not done by love and good will, are sin before God, as saith saint Augustine. He that doth good against his

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his will, doth evil; albeit that he doth be good. For that which I do against my will, I hate; and when I hate the commandment, I hate also him that hath commanded it, &c.

29 article. 29 No man doth more then he is bound to do, and therefore no man may make other partakers of their good works. Fol. 59.

Ga.64. Whosoever gathereth heresie of this article, must needs shew himself to be an heretique. The words be these: The prophet Isaiah saith, We are all as an unclean thing, and all our justice is as it were a filthy cloth: and therefore I can never marvell enough, that many of the religious persons would make other partakers of their good works, seeing that Christ saith in the Gospel: when ye have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants, we have done but that which was our dutie to do. For none doth more then he is bound to do, but only Jesus Christ (which onely, as saith saint Peter, never did sinne, neither was there deceit found in his mouth) hath done that he was not bound to do. And as the prophet Isaiah saith, hath taken upon him our infirmities, and born our sorrows, he was wounded for our offences, and smitten for our wickednesse, and by his stripes are we made whole, &c.

1. Pet. 2.

Ca.53.

30. article. 30 Christ hath gotten heaven by his passion; but that right hath he no need of, but hath granted it to all them that beleeve in his promises. fol. 59.

The doctrine of this article is good. Reade the place; Jesus Christ possesseth the kingdome of heaven by double right. First, because he is the Sonne of God, and very inheritour of his kingdom. Secondly, because he hath gotten it by his passion and death. Of his second right he hath no need, and therefore he giveth it to all them that beleeve and trust in him and his promises.

1. article. 31 If God had promised us heaven for our good works, we should ever be unsure of our salvation. Fol. 59.

2. article. 32 Be our sins never so great, that it seemeth impossible to us to be saved, yet without any doubt we must beleeve to be saved. Fol. 59.

The doctrine of these articles is as true as the Gospel. The words out of the which these two articles be gathered are these: If God had promised heaven unto us because of our works, we should ever then be unsure of our salvation. For we should never know how much, nor how long we should labour to be saved, and should ever be in fear that we had done too little, and so we should never die joyfully. But God would assure us of heaven by his promise, to the intent we should be certain and sure, for he is the truth, and cannot lie: and also to the intent that we should have trust and hope in him. And notwithstanding that after the greatnesse and multitude of our sins, it seem to us a thing impossible, yet allwayes we must beleeve it without any doubt, because of his sure promise; and whosoever doth this, he may joyfully die, and abide the judgement of God, which else were intolerable. Read more hereof before in the eleventh article taken out of the wicked Mammon.

13. article. 33 If thou love thy wife because she is thy wife, that is no love before God, but thou shalt love her because she is thy sister in God. Fol. 83.

A difference between carnall love and spirituall love; and yet in matrimonie both are necessary. The words be these; Our Saviour Christ hath commanded nothing so straightly as to love one another; yea, to love our enemies also: then how much more should the man and wife love together? But there be but few that know how to love the one the other as they ought to do. If thou love thy wife onely because she is thy wife, and because she serveth and pleaseth thee after the flesh, for beautie, birth, riches, and such like, this is no love before God. Of such love speaketh not saint Paul, for such love is among harlots, yea, among brute beasts: but thou shalt love her because she is thy sister in the Christian faith, and because she is inheritor together with thee in the glory of God, and because ye serve together one God, because ye have received together one baptisme, &c. Thou shalt also love her for her vertues, as shamefastnesse, chastity, and diligence, sadnesse, patience, temperance, secretie, obedience, and other godly vertues, &c.

34. article. 34 It is nothing but all incredulitie, to run in pilgrimage, and seek God in one certain place, which is like mighty in all places. Fol. 62.

The matter of this article is evident to all indifferent and learned judgements, to be void of all doubt of heresie.

35. article. 35 Men should see that their children come to Church to hear the sermon. Fol. 89.

What mean these men, trow you, to make this doctrine an heresie? The place of this article is this: On the festivall daies thou shalt bring thy children to the Church to hear the sermon, and when thou shalt come home, thou shalt ask them what they have kept in memorie of the sermon. Thou shalt teach them the Christian faith. Thou shalt admonish them to live well, and to put all their hope and trust in God, and rather to die then to do any thing that is against the will of God; and principally, thou shalt learn them the contents of the prayer of our Saviour Christ, called the Pater noster; that is to say, how they have another Father in heaven, of whom they must seek for all goodnesse, and without whom they can have no good thing: and how that they may seek nothing in all their works, and in all their intents, but the honour of their heavenly Father: and how they must desire that this Father would govern all that they do or desire: and how that they must submit all to his holy will, which cannot be but good, &c. Thou shalt buy them wholsome bookes, as the holy Gospel, the Epistles of the holy Apostles, yea both the new and the old Testament, that they may understand and drink of the sweet fountain and waters of life.

36. article. 36 Thou shalt not vex or grieve, by justice or otherwise, the poore that oweth unto thee: for thou mayest not do it without sin. Fol. 97.

Matth.5. Rom.12. Heb.10. The place is this: Thou shalt not vex or grieve by justice, &c. as Christ saith, resist not evil, but whosoever striketh thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also, &c. Saint Paul saith, Render not evil for evil, and if it be possible and as much as is in you, live in peace with all men, not revenging your selves my welbeloved, but give place to wrath; for it is written, To me the vengeance, and I will render it, saith the Lord God.

37. article. 37 Some text of Canon law suffereth war, but the teaching of Christ forbiddeth all wars. Nevertheless when a Citie is besieged, or a countrey invaded, the lord of the countrey is bound to put his life in jeopardie for his subjects. fol. 119.

38. article. 38 So a lord may use horrible war charitably and christianly, fol. 119.

How Christians may warre lawfully. As touching war, to be moved or stirred first of our parts against any people or countrey upon any rash cause, as ambition, malice, or revenge, the gospel of Christ giveth us no such sword to fight withall. Notwithstanding, for defence of countrey and subjects, the magistrate, being invaded or provoked by other, may lawfully, and is bound to do his best, as the citie of Marburgh did well in defending it self against the Emperour, &c.

39. article. 39 The Gospel maketh all true Christian men servants to all the world. fol. 79.

Craftie cogging in this article. He that compiled this article craftily to make the matter to appeare more hainous, leaveth out the latter part which should expound the other, that is, by the rule of charitie; for that the authour addeth withall. By which rule of charitie, and not of office and dutie, every Christian man is bound one to help another, as Christ himself being Lord of all, yet of charitie was a servant to every man to do him good: reade the place of the summe of the Scriptures in the page as in the Article it is assigned.

40. article. 40 The Gospel is written for all persons, estates, Prince, Duke, Pope, Emperour. Fol. 112.

They which noted this article for an heresie, I suppose could little tell either what God or what the Scripture meaneth.

41. article. 41 When Iudges have hope that an evil doer will amend, they must be alwayes mercifull, as Christ was to the woman taken in advoutry. The temporall law must obey the Gospel; and them that we may amend by warning, we shall not correct by justice. fol. 113.

The purpose of the book whence this article is wrested being well understood, intendeth not to binde temporall judges and magistrates from due execution of good laws, but putteth both them, and especially spirituall judges, in remembrance by the example of Christ, to discerne who be penitent offendors, and who be otherwise; and where they see evident hope of earnest repentance and amendment, if they be Ecclesiasticall Iudges, to spare them; if they be Civill Magistrates, yet to temper the rigour of the Law as much as conveniently they may, with mercifull moderation, which the Grecks do call Epieikia.

AND thus much hitherto of these heresies and articles collected by the Bishops, and inserted in their own registers out of the books above specified. The names of the Bishops and Collectors were these, Sir Thomas Wose Lord Chancellour, William Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, Tonstall Bishop of London, Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, Richard Sampson Dean of the Chappell, Richard Wolman Master of the Requests, John Bell, Doctor Wilson, with a great number moe, as in the registers doth appeare. Ex Regist. Cant. & Lond.

I shall not need I trust (gentle reader) further here to stay thee with reciting mo places, when these alreadie rehearsed may suffice for a taste and a triall for thee, sufficient to note and consider how falsely and most slanderously these Catholikes have depraved and misreported the bookes and writings of good men; who might almost gather heresies as well of saint Johns Gospel, and saint Pauls Epistles, as out of these places. Thus may we see, what cannot malice do being set on mischief? or what cannot the spirit of spite and cavilling finde out, being inflamed with hatred, and blown with the bellows of ambition and iniquitie? And as they have done with these, the like parts they have and do practise still against all other; whosoever in defence of truth dare touch never so little either the Popes Crown, or the belkies of his Clergie; for these two sores in no case they can abide to be touched. And hereof onely cometh all this crying out, Heresie, heresie, blasphemy, error, and schisme. Although the doctrine be never so sound and perfect after the scripture, yet if the Writer be not such in all points (especially in these two above touched) as will sing after their tune, and dance after their pipe, he is by and by an heretique, by vertue of their inquisition. So did they with the articles of the learned Earle Ioannes Picus Mirandula. So did they with I. Reucline or Capnion. So did they also with good John Colet here in England. Also with the like spirit of lying and cavilling the Catholike faculties of Lodain, Spain, and Paris condemned the works and writings of Erasmus, and many mo. So full they are of censures, articles, suspicions, offences, inquisitions. So captious they be in taking, so rash in judging, so slanderous of report, so practised in depraving, misconstruing, and wresting true meanings unto wrong purposes; briefly, so pregnant they be in finding heresies where none are, that either a man must say nothing, or serve their devotion, or else he shall procure their displeasure, that is, shall be deemed for an heretique. Yea, and though no just cause of any heresie be minstred, yet where they once take disliking, they will not stick sometimes with false accusations to presse him with matter which he never spake nor thought. If Luther had not stirred against the Popes Pardons and authoritie, he had remained still a white sonne of the mother Catholique church, and all had been well done whatsoever he did. But because he adventured to touch once the triple crown, what floods of heresies, blasphemies, and articles were cast out against him, enough to drown a whole world: what lies and forged crimes were invented against him?

Truth maliciously slandered and depraved of the Papists.

The Popes crown and the Monkes bellies two perillous things to be touched.

The Popes Church upholden with lying and cavilling.

Here now cometh Staphylus and furious Surius, with their fraternitie, and say, that he learned, his divinitie of the devill. Then followeth an other certain Chronographer who in his lying story reporteth most falsely, that Luther died of drunkennesse. With like malice the said Chronographer writeth also of Master Bucer, falsely affirming upon his information, that he should deny at his death Christ our Messias to be come: When not onely Doctor Redman which preached at his burial, but also all English men, which knew the name of Bucer, did know it to be contrary.

Impudent lies upon M. Luther.

M. Bucer most shamefully slandered.

So was it laid against one Singleton chaplein sometime to Quene Anne Bullen, that he was the murtherer of Packington, and afterward, that he was a stirrer up of sedition and commotion; who also suffered as a traitor for the same: Where in very deed the true cause was for nothing else, but for preaching the Gospel unto the people, whose purpose was ever so far off from stirring sedition, that he never once dreamed of any such matter, as he himself declared and protested to one Richard Lante his scholler, who is yet alive and can testifie the truth hereof. But this is no new practise amongst the Romane Bishops; whereof enough hath been said before in the story of sir John Oldcastle, and sir Roger Acton, &c.

Singleton maliciously slandered and condemned of sedition.

Another like practise of such malicious slander we finde also in one Merial a Bricklayer, whose name with his abjuration remaineth yet in the registers of the Bishop of London.

Merial falsely belied and misreported of the Papists.

The story is this, and not unworthy to be remembred. In the yeer of our Lord, 1534. which was about the first beginning of Quene Anne Bullen, at what time purgatory and such trumpery began to grow in contempt; Stokesley Bishop of London made a sermon in the Shrouds upon the Sunday before May day: Where he preaching in the commendation of the vertue of Masses, declared to the people that for a little cost, if they procured Masses to be said, wives might deliver their husbands, and husbands their wives out of the bitter pains of purgatory. At his sermon, besides many other, was Thomas Merial, a zealous favourer of Gods word; who, being in the watch on May Even, made a relation of these words of the bishop unto the company about him, amongst whom then was one John Twiford, a furious Papist, and who had the same time the setting up of the stakes in Smithfield, whereat the good saints of God were burned.

Bishop Stokesley's sermons in the shrouds.

Twiford the common tormentor of the martyrs that suffered in Smithfield.

This Twiford, which then kept a Taverne and had an old grudge against the said Merial for striking his boy, hearing these words, allured home to his house certain persons, to the number of ten, whose names were these; Blackwell, Laurence Wilson, Thomas Clark, John Duffield, William Kennyngham, Thomas Pollier, Worme a cutler, Allen Rise, with another that was the tenth. Besides these he procured also secretly M. Chambers Clerke, whose name was Bright. And when he had craftily overcome them with wine, and made them to report what words he listed, and which they knew not themselves, the Clerk by and by received the same in writing. Whereupon this article

was

KING. HEN. 8.

was gathered against Meriall, that he should hold and affirme, that the passion of Christ doth not help them which came after him, but onely them which were in Limbo before: and also that he should say that his wife was as good as our Ladie. Upon this writting of the Notarie, he was immediately brought to bishop Stokesley, & there by the deposition of these ten false witnesses wrongfully accused, and also for the same should have been condemned, had not Doctour Barret the same time bid him speake one word (which he knew not) as the sentence was in reading, whereby the condemnation was stayed and he put to doe open penance and to beare a fagot. Notwithstanding the said Meriall sware before the Bishop that he never spake nor meant any such words as there was said unto him, but onely recited the words of the Bishops sermon, reporting the same in the person of the bishop, and not his owne. Which also was testified to be true by the oathes of three other, to wit, William Tompson, Gregorie Newman, and Will. Wit, who being in the foresaid watch the same time, did take upon their oath before the Bishop, that his words were no other, but as is above declared. Which three witnesses at the second Edition hereof were also living, with the wife of the foresaid Meriall, who would then also be sworne that the same was true: Whereas contrary the other ten persons be all gone, and none of them all remaining. Of whom moreover, the most of all the said tenne came to a miserable end, whereas the other three which testified the truth with Meriall, being living at the second Edition hereof, did see the end of all the other. And as for Twyford, which was the executioner to Frith, Bayfield, Baineham, Tewkesburie, Lambert, and other good men, he died rotting above the ground, that none could abide him, and so came to a wretched end. Ex testim. uxoris, Meriall, W. Tomson, Gregorii Newman, W. Wit, &c.

Of this malicious and perverse dealing of these men contrary to all truth and honesty, in defaming them for heretikes which indeed are none, and with opprobrious railing to slander their cause, which is nothing else but the simple truth of Christs Gospel, whoso listeth to search further (if these examples hitherto recited do not suffice) let him read the story of Merindoll and Angrongne. Let him consider the furious Bull of Pope Martin; the like slanderous Bull also of Pope Leo the tenth, with the Edict of Charles the Emperour against Luther. Also let him survey the railing stories of Surius the monk of Colen, the book of Osius, of Lindus, the Chronologie of Genebrardus, the storie of Cochleus against the Hussits and the Lutherans, with the preface of Conradus Brunus the Lawyer prefixed before the same, wherin he most fallly & untruly railing against these protestants, whom he calleth heretikes, chargeth them to be blasphemers of God, contemners of God and men, Church-robbers, cruell, false liers, crafty deceivers, unfaithfull, promisebreakers, disturbers of publike peace and tranquillitie, corrupters and subverters of commonweales, and all else that naught is.

In much lik sort was Socrates accused of his countreymen for a corrupter of the youth, whom Plato notwithstanding defendeth. Aristides the just lacked not his unjust accusers. Was it not objected unto Saint Paul that he was a subverter of the law of Moses, and that we might doe evill that good might come thereof? How was it layed to the Christian Martyrs in the primitive Church for worshipping of an Asses head, & for sacrificing of infants. And to come more neere to these our latter dayes, you heard likewise how falsely the Christian congregation of the Frenchmen gathered together in the night at Paris, to celebrate the holy communion, were accused of filthy commixtion of men and women together, and the king the same time, Henry the second, was made to beleeve that beds with pillowes and mats were found there in the floore where they lay together; whereupon the same time divers were condemned to the fire and burned. Finally, what innocency is so pure, or truth so perfect, which can be void of these slanders and criminations, when also our Saviour Christ himselfe was noted for a wine drinker, and a common hunter of the Publicans, &c.

Reade before.

Even so likewise it pleaseth our Lord & Saviour Christ to keep and to exercise his Church under the like kind of adversaries now reigning in the church, who under the name of the church will needs maintaine a portly state & kingdome in this world, & because they cannot uphold their cause by plaine Scripture and the word of God, they beare it out with facing, railing, and slandering, making princes and the simple people beleeve, that all be Heretikes, Schismatikes, Blasphemers, Rebels and subverters of all authoritie and common weales, whosoever dare reply with any Scripture against their doings.

No truth safe from false detraction.

It is written of Nero, that when he himselfe had burnt the citie of Rome six daies and seven nights, he made open Proclamations that the innocent Christians had set the city on fire, to stir the people against them, whereby he might burne and destroy them as rebels and traitors.

Suetonius in Nerone.

Not much unlike seemeth the dealing of these religious Catholikes, who when they be the true heretikes themselves, & have burnt and destroyed the church of Christ, make out their exclamatiõs, buls, Briefes, Articles, Bookes, Censures, Letters, and Edicts against the poore Lutherans, to make the people beleeve, that they be the heretikes, Schismatikes, disturbers of the whole world. Who if they could prove them, as they reprove them to be heretikes, they were worthy to be heard. But now they cry out upon them heretikes, & can prove no heresie; they accuse them of error, and can prove no error; they call them schismaticks, and what Church since the world stood, hath bene the mother of so many schismes as the mother church of Rome? they charge them with dissension, & rebellion: and what dissension can be greater then to dissent from the Scripture and word of God? or what rebellion is like, as to rebel against the Son of God, and against the will of his eternall Testament? They are disturbers, they say, of peace and of publike authority; which is as true, as that the Christians set the citie of Rome on fire. What doctrine did ever attribute so much to publike authority of Magistrates, as do the protestants: or who ever attributed lesse to Magistrates, or deposed moe Dukes, Kings, & Emperours, then the papists? They that say that the Bishop of Rome is no more but the Bishop of Rome, and ought to weare no Crowne, is not by and by a rebel against his King and Magistrates, but rather a maintainer of their authoritie; which indeed the Bishop of Rome cannot abide. Briefly, wilt thou see whether be the greater heretiks, the protestants or the papists? Let us trie it by a measure, and let this measure be the glory onely of the Son of God, which cannot faile. Now judge I beseech thee, whosoever knoweth the doctrine of them both, whether of these two doe ascribe more or lesse to the Majestie of Christ Jesus our King and Lord; the Protestants which admit none other head of the Church, nor justifier of our soules, nor forgiver of our sins, nor advocate to his Father but him alone, or els the papists which can abide none of these articles, but condemne the same for heresie. Which being so (as they themselves will not deny) now judge good reader, who hath set the city of Rome on fire, Nero, or else the Christians.

Papists accuse the protestants of heresie, and they be the heretiks themselves.

A measure between the protestants and the papists, to try whether of them two are the greater heretikes. Comparison between the doctrine of the papists and of the protestants.

But to return again to the purpose of our former matter, which was to shew forth the proclama-

tion of the Bishops, for the abolishing of English bookes above rehearsed, as being corrupt and full of heresie, which notwithstanding we have declared to containe no heresie, but sound and wholesome doctrine, according to the perfect Word and Scripture of God.

Here now when the Prelates of the Popes side had procured this Edict and Proclamation aforesaid, for the condemnation of all such English Bookes, printed or unprinted, which made against their advantage, they triumphed not a little, weening they had made a great hand against the Gospell for ever to rise againe, and that they had established their kingdome for ever, as indeede to all mens thinking it might seeme no lesse. For who would have thought, after so streight, so precise, and so solemne a Proclamation, set forth and armed with the Kings terrible authoritie; also after the cruell execution of Anne Askew, Lacels, and the rest: Item, after the busie searching moreover and names taking of many other, of whom some were chased away, some apprehended and laid up, divers in present perill, and expectation of their attachment, who would have thought (I say) otherwise possible, but that the Gospell must needs have an overthrow: seeing what sure worke the Papists here had made, in setting up their side, and throwing downe the contrary.

Gods mercifull helpe in time of need.

But it is no new thing with the Lord, to shew his power against mans presumption, who when he counteth himselfe most sure, then is he furthest off, & when he supposeth to have done all, then is he new to begin againe. So was it in the Primitive Church before Constantinus time, that when Nero, Domitianus, Marentius, Decius, and other Emperours impugning the Gospell and profession of Christ, did not onely constitute lawes and Proclamations against the Christians, but also did ingrave the same lawes in tables of brasse, minding to make all things firme for ever and a day; yet we see, how with a little turning of Gods hand, all their puissant devises, and brasen lawes turned all to winde and dust. So little doth it availe for man to wrestle against the Lord and his procedings. Howsoever mans building is mortall and ruinous, of brittle brick, and mouldring stones; yet that which the Lord taketh in hand to build, neither can time wast, nor man pluck downe. What God setteth up, there is neither power nor striving to the contrary. What he intendeth, standeth; what he blesseth, that prevaileth. And yet mans unquiet presumption will not cease still to erect up towers of Babell against the Lord, which the higher they are builded up, fall with the greater ruine. For what can stand, that standeth not with the Lord? Which thing as in example of all ages is to be seen; so in this late proclamation devised by the Bishops, is in like manner exemplified.

Gods power worketh commonly against mans presumption.

Towers of Babel against the Lord.

The which proclamation, though it was sore and terrible for the time, yet not long after, by reason of the Kings death (whom the Lord shortly thereupon tooke to his mercy) it made at length but a Castle come downe. So that where the Prelates thought to make their Jubile, it turned them to the Threnes of Jeremie. Such be the admirable workings of the Lord of hosts, whose name be sanctified for ever.

Mans device against the Lord overthrowne.

This doe I not inferre for any other purpose, but onely for the workes of the Lord to be seene; premonishing thee (good Reader) withall, that as touching the King (who in this proclamation had nothing but the name onely) here is nothing spoken but to his laud and praise. Who, of his owne nature and disposition, was so inclinable and forward in all things vertuous and commendable, that the like enterprise of redresse of Religion hath not lightly been seen in any other Prince christened. As in abolishing the stout and almost invincible authoritie of the Pope, in suppressing monasteries, in repressing custome of Idolatrie and pilgrimage, &c. Which enterprises as never King of England did accomplish (though some began to attempt them) before him; so yet to this day we see but few in other Realmes dare follow the same.

The praise of K. Henry 8.

If Princes have alwaies their Counsell about them, that is but a common thing. If sometime they have evill counsell ministred, that I take to be the fault rather of such as are about them, then of Princes themselves. So long as Queene Anne, Thomas Cromwell, Bishop Cranmer, master Doctor Buts, with such like were about him, & could prevaile with him, what Organ of Christs glory did more good in the Church then he? as is apparant by such Monuments, Instruments, and Acts set forth by him, in setting up the Bible in the Church, in exploding the Pope with his vile Pardons, in removing divers superstitious ceremonies, in bringing into order the inordinate Orders of Friers and sects, in putting Chanterie priests to their pensions, in permitting white meate in Lent, in destroying pilgrimage worship, in abrogating idle and superfluous holy dayes, both by Act publique, and also by private letters sent to Boner tending to this effect.

Much superstition purged by K. Henry.

By the King.

The Kings Letter to Boner.

RIght reverend Father in God, right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. And whereas considering the manifold inconveniences which have ensued, and daily doe ensue to our subjects by the great superfluitie of holy dayes, we have by the assents and consents of all you the Bishops and other notable personages of the Clergy of this our Realme, in full congregation and assembly had for that purpose, abrogated & abolished such as be neither Canonical, ne meet to be suffered in a Commonwealth, for the manifold inconveniences which doe ensue of the same, as is rehearsed: and to the intent our determination therein may be duely observed and accomplished, we have thought convenient to command you immediately upon the receit hereof, to addresse your commandements in our name to all the Curates, Religious houses, and Colledges within your Dioceese, with a copie of the Act made for the abrogation of the holy daies aforesaid, a transumpt whereof ye shall receive herewith, commanding them and every of them, in no wise, either in the Church or otherwise, to indict or speake of any of the said dayes and feasts abolished, whereby the people might take occasion either to murmure, or to contemne the order taken therein, and to continue in their accustomed idleneese, the same notwithstanding; but to passe over the same with such secret silence, as they may have like abrogation by disuse, as they have already by our authoritie in Convocation. And forsomuch as the time of harvest now approacheth, our pleasure is ye shall with such diligence and dexteritie put this matter in execution, as it may immediately take place for the benefit of our subjects at this time accordingly without failing, as ye will answer unto us for the contrary.

Abrogation of holy Dayes.

Given under our signet, at our Monastery of Chertesey, the eleventh day of August.

Thus while good counsell was about him, and could be heard, he did much good. So againe when sinister and wicked counsell under subtill and craftie pretences had gotten once the foot in, thrusting truth and veritie out of the Princes eares, how much religion & all good things went prosperously forward before, so much on the contrary side all revolted backward againe. Whereupon proceeded this

K. Henry according as his Counsell was about him, so was he lev.

KING. HEN. 8. this Proclamation above mentioned, concerning the abolishing and burning of English bookes. Which Proclamation bearing the name of the Kings Maiestie, but being the very deed of the Popish Bishops, no doubt had done much hurt in the Church among the godly sort, bringing them either into great danger, or else keeping them in much blindenesse, had not the shortnesse of the Kings daies stopped the malignant purposes of the foresaid Prelates, causing the King to leave that by death unto the people, which by his life he would not grant. For within foure moneths after, the Proclamation coming out in August, he deceased in the beginning of Januarie, in the eight and thirtieth yeare of his reigne, Anno 1547. leaving behinde him three children, who succeeded him in his kingdome, King Edward, Queene Mary, and Queene Elizabeth; of whom it remaineth now to prosecute (by the permission and sufferance of Christ our high Lord and Prince) in the processe of this history, according as the order of their succession, and acts done by them in the Church shall require: after that first I shall have prosecuted certaine other matters by the way, according to my promise here to be inserted.

he death of Henry 8. Anno. 1547.

The History touching the *persecution in Scotland, with the names and causes of such blessed Martyrs which in the same Countrey suffered for the Truth, after the time of Patrick Hamelton.*

THus having finished the time and race of King Henry the eight, it remaineth now, according to my promise made before, here to place and adioyne so much as doth come to our hands, touching the persecution of Scotland, and of the blessed martyrs of Christ which in that countrey likewise suffered for the true religion of Christ, and testimony of their faith.

To proceed therefore in the history of these Scotland matters, next after the mention of David Straton and maister Nicolas Gurlay, with whom we ended before, the order of time would require next to inferre the memory of sir John Borthwike, Knight, commonly called Captaine Borthwike. Who being accused of heresie, as the Papists call it, and cited therefore, Anno 1540. and not appearing, and escaping out into other Countries, was condemned for the same being absent, by the sentence of David Beaton, Archbishop of Saint Andrewes, and other Prelates of Scotland, and all his goods confiscate, and his picture at last burned in the open market place. Whose storie, with his articles objected against him, and his confutations of the same, here ensueth in processe under expressed, as followeth.

ade afore. r Iohn orthwike, ught, cited d condemned heresie, being dent and s picture rned in Scotland. no 1540.

The Act or Processe or certaine articles against Sir Iohn Borthwike, Knight, in Scotland, with the answer and confutation of the said Borthwike; whose preface to the Reader here followeth.

aptaine orthwike.

BY the helpe of a certaine friend of mine there came certaine articles unto my hand, for the which the Scottish cardinal, & such other like of his sect and affinitie did condemne me as an heretike. And forsomuch as this condemnation should not lack his cloke or defence, they gathered together a great number of witnesses, where as besides the bare names of the witnesses they alledged none other proofe at all. Wherefore I thought good to bestow some labour in refelling these articles which they could not prove, partly that I might take away from all true Christians the occasion of all evill suspition, as though that I being vanquished or overthrowne by their threatnings would deny Christ; and partly that their errors beeing thereby made manifest, they could even for very shame repent, or else hereafter the lesse abuse the furor or madnes of such witnesses to shed bloud. Therefore I will first confirme by evident testimonies of the Scriptures those things which in times past I have taught, and afterward I will refell their vaine sophistication, whereby they go about to subvert the truth of God.

SIr John Borthwike Knight, commonly called Captaine Borthwike, being accused, suspected, slandered, and convict by witnesses, without all doubt of greater estimation then he himselfe, in the yeare of our Lord, 1540. the eight & twentieth day of May, in cloister of Saint Andrewes in the presence of the most reverend Fathers, Gawine archbishop of Glasquine, Chancellor of Scotland, William bishop of Aburdin, Henry of Candicatia, John Bishop of Brecknocke, and William of Dunbar Bishop, Andrew of Melrowes, George of Dunerbeling, John of Paslet, John of Londrose, Robert of Killos and William of Kulrose abbots, Mancolalyne of Quiterne and John of Petinuaim Priors, Maister Alexander Kalfour Vicar of Kirkman, Rector of law, officiall of Saint Andrewes, John Winton Subprior, John Anand and Thomas Emynghame, Canons of Saint Andrewes, and maister John Maior and Peter Capell and batchelours of divinitie & doctors, Martine Wallfour bachelour of Divinitie, and of his fellow Prior of the Friers Augustines of the same city, John Tulidaffe, Warden of the Friers Minors, and John Patterson of the same Covent; and also in the presence of the most noble, mighty and honourable Lords, George of Huntelo, James of Arraine, William Marshall, William of Monnetros, Earles, Malcolm Lord of Flemming, Chamberlaine of Scotland, John Lord of Linsey, John Lord of Erskine, George Lord of Seton, James Hamelton of Finwart, Water L. of Saint John, Maister James of Colinton Clerke to the Kings Register, with divers other Lords, Barons, and honest persons, being called and desired together for witnesses, that he did hold, publish and openly teach these errors following.

The first Article.

That our holy Father the Pope, as Christs vicar, hath not, neither can exercise greater authoritie over Christians here on earth, then any other Bishop or Prelate.

Borthwike.

These holy ones doe magnifie their Lord by like title as common theeves and robbers are accustomed to preferre the Captaines and ringleaders of their robberies and mischiefes, calling them in every place the most honest and good men, whereas likewise it is evident that in the whole world there is no man more given to riot, which more greedily doth seek after all kinde of delicatenesse and wantonnesse, and finally aboundeth with all kinde of vice, as treason, murther, rapine, and all kinde of such evills. Furthermore, whereas they affirme him to be the Vicar of Christ here in earth, it shall be easily convinced, when as it shall be made manifest, that he neither hath nor can exercise more power or authoritie over Christians then any other Bishop or Prelate. For unto that office of being

Vicar they referre that great authoritie the which they do so greatly boast and brag of, which being taken away, the office of Vicar doth also fall and decay. But now to attempt the matter, I wil first demand of the maintainers of this preheminence and authoritie, whereupon they will ground the same: I know that they will answer unto me that Peter had power & authoritie over the other Apostles, and consequently over the universall Church, the which power by succession is translated unto the Bishops of Rome. But how unshamefastly do they lie herein, any may easily perceive which hath but any smal sparke of judgement in him, when as he shall heare the testimonies of the Scriptures, which we will alledge to confirme this our opinion. For Peter, in the fifteenth of the Acts, in the councel doth declare what is to be done, and admonisheth us what of necessitie we ought to doe. And he there did also heare other speak, and did not onely give them place to say their mindes, but also permit and receive their judgement; and whereas they decreed, he followed and obeyed the same. Is this then to have power over others? Furthermore, whereas in his first Epistle he writeth unto bishops and pastors, he doth not command them as a Superiour or head over them, by power and authoritie, but maketh them his fellow companions, and gently exhorteth them as is accustomed to be done betweene equals of degree; for these are his words: I beseech and desire the bishops and pastors which are amongst you, for so much as I my selfe am also a bishop, and a witnesse of the afflictions of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory which shall be revealed, that they do diligently feed the flocke of Christ which is committed unto them. Why then do they so challenge unto the the authoritie of Peter, which he never acknowledged in himselfe? Truly I doe not doubt, but if that Peter were here present, he would with like severitie rebuke their folly and madnesse, as Moses in times past did unto Iosua, which burned with too earnest a zeale towards him. I doubt not but that many in this fained authority of Peter do seek out more vaine helps to maintaine and uphold the tyranny of popes, rather then to make him ruler and governour over all other. For whereas in the eight chapter of the Acts he is commanded by his fellowes to go with John into Samaria, he did not refuse so to do. Inasmuch then as the Apostles doe send him, they declare thereby, that they doe not count him as their head and superiour, and in that he doth obey them, and taketh upon him the office or ministery committed unto him, he confesseth thereby that he hath a society and fellowship with them, but no rule or imperie over them, as he writeth in his Epistle. But if none of these examples were evident or manifest, the onely Epistle to the Galatians were sufficient to put us out of all doubt: where Saint Paul, almost throughout two whole chapters, doth nothing else but declare and affirme himselfe to be equall unto Peter, in the honour or dignitie of the Apostleship. For first of all he rehearseth how he went up to Jerusalem unto Peter, not to the intent to professe any homage and subjection unto him, but onely to witnesse with a common consent and agreement unto all men the doctrin which they taught; and that Peter did require no such thing at his hand, but gave unto him the right side or upper hand of the fellowship, that they might joyntly together labor in the vineyard of the Lord. Moreover, that he had no lesse favor and grace among the Gentiles, then Peter had amongst the Jews; and finally, when as Peter did not faithfully execute his office & ministery, he was by him rebuked, and Peter became obedient to his correction. All these things do evidently prove, that there was equality betwen Paul and Peter, and also that Peter had no more power over the residue of the Apostles, then he had over Paul. The which thing S. Paul even of purpose doth intreat of, lest that any man should preferre Peter or John before him in the office of Apostleship, which were but his companions, & not Lords over one another: whereupon these places of scripture work this effect, that I cannot acknowledge Peter to be superior or head over other Apostles, neither the pope over other bishops. But I acknowledge and confesse Christ to be the onely head of the church, the foundation & high priest therof, the which with one oblatiõ hath made perfect for evermore all those which are sanctified. And I boldly doe affirme & say with Saint Gregorie, that whosoever calleth himself, or desireth to be named or called the head or universall priest or bishop, in that his pride he is the forerider or predecessor of Antichrist; forsomuch as through his pride he doth exalt himselfe above all others. Furthermore whereas they alledge out of the old law, the hie priesthood and the supreme judgement, which God did institute and ordaine at Jerusalem, I answer thereunto, that Christ was that high Bishop, unto whom the right & title of priesthood is now transported and referred. Neither is there any man so impudent, which wil take upõ him to succeed in the place or degree of his honor: forsomuch as this priesthood doth not cõsist only in learning, but in the propitiation & mercy of God, which Christ hath fulfilled by his death, & in the intercession, by the which he doth now intreat for us unto his Father.

Christ the onely head of the Church.

Universall Bishop spoken against by Gregory.

The high priesthood in the old law, doth not prove Peters or the Popes supremacie.

Whereas also they do alledge out of the 16. chapter of Matthew, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock, &c. If they doe thinke that this was particularly spoken unto Peter, Saint Cyprian, and Saint Augustine shall sufficiently answer them, that Christ did it not for this purpose, to prefer one man above all the residue, but that thereby he might commend and set forth the unity of the church, for so saith S. Cyprian, In the person of one man God gave unto them all the keies, that he might thereby signifie the unitie of them all. For even as Peter was, even the very same were all the residue, being indued with like fellowship of honor & dignity. But it was convenient that it should take his originall of one, that the Church of God might be manifested to be one onely. Saint Augustines words are these, If the mysterie of the Church were not in Peter, the Lord would not have said unto him, I will give unto thee the keyes of the Kingdome of heaven. If this were spoken unto Peter, the Church hath the not. If the Church have them, then Peter when he received the keyes, did figurate the whole Church. Againe, when as they were all demanded and asked, onely Peter answered, Thou art Christ. Then was it said unto him, I will give unto thee the keyes, as though that he alone had received the power of binding and losing; for like as he alone spake that for them all, so he, as it were, bearing the person of that unity, received the same with the all. Therefore one for them all, because he is united unto them all. Another Argument they doe gather upon the words which Christ spake unto Peter, Thou art Peter, and upon this roeke will I build my Church. The which words are not found to be spoken unto any other of the Apostles. The which Argument shall easily be dissolved, if we did understand and know why Christ did give Peter that name, which otherwise was called Simon. In the first Chapter of Saint John, Christ speaketh thus unto him, Thou shalt be called Cephas. the which by interpretatiõ signifieth Peter, in that point having respect unto the constant confession of Christ, which he had made, like as God changed the name of Abraham, who at first was called Abram, because he should be a father of many nations: then even as Abraham took his name of the multitude, which should come forth of his seed, so likwise Peter took his name of the constant confession of Christ, which indeed is the true rock wherupon the Church

The place of Matth. Thou art Peter, and upon this rock Matthew 16. expounded. Cyprian.

Augustine.

Peter hath society with the Apostles, but no rule over the Apostles.

Paul equall with Peter.

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which indeed is the true rock whereupon the church is builded, & not Peter himſelfe; no otherwiſe then Abraham, which was not the multitude it ſelfe, whereof he took his name. Beſides this, the church ſhould be ſtayed, or builded upon over weak a foundation, if it ſhould have Peter for the ground or foundation thereof, who being amazed and overcome with the words of a little wench, did ſo inſtantly deny Chriſt. Now therfore I think there is no man but he doth underſtand how theſe Romiſh builders do wreſt the ſcriptures hither and thither, and like unto the rule or ſquare, do apply them according to their wils, to what end & uſe they themſelves thinke good. Furthermore in that they doe alledge out of the twentieth chapter of John, Feede my Sheepe, it is overchildiſh an Argument; for to Feed is not to beare rule and dominion over the whole church. Beſides all this, as Peter had received commandement of the Lord, ſo doth he exhort all other Biſhops to feed their flock in his firſt Epiſtle and fifth chapter. Hereby a man may gather by theſe words of Chriſt, that either there was no authoritie given unto Peter more then unto others, or elſe that Peter did equally communicate that right and authoritie, which he had received, unto others, and did not reſerve it unto himſelfe after his death, to be tranſported unto the Biſhops of Rome. As for ſuch reaſons as they do alledge which are not gathered and taken out of holy Scriptures, I paſſe them over, leſt I might ſeeme to contend with ſhadowes.

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on papiſti-
e ſolved.

The ſecond article.

That indulgences and pardons, granted by our ſupreme head the Pope, are of no force, ſtrength, or effect, but tend onely to the abuſe of the people and the deceiving of their ſoules.

Borthwike.

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l of no effect.

It ſhall be evidently declared, that indulgences and pardons are of none effect, after that I have firſt of all taught what they doe call indulgences or pardons. They ſay, they are the treaſure of the Church, that is to ſay, the merits of Chriſt, of the Saints, Apoſtles and Martyrs, which they impudently affirme to have performed and merited more at Gods hand, at the time of their death, then was neceſſarie or needfull for them; and that of the aboundance of their merits there did ſo much ſuperabound, which was not onely ſufficient for themſelves, but alſo might redound to the help of others: And becauſe ſo great a goodnes ſhould not be ſuperfluous or in daine, they affirme and teach that their bloud was mixed and joyned with the bloud of Chriſt; and of them both the treaſure of the church was compound and made for the remiſſion and ſatisfaction of ſins. How cunning and notable cookes theſe are, which can make a confection of ſo many ſundry herbes. Furthermore, they doe faine the cuſtodie and keeping of this treaſure to be committed wholly to the biſhop of Rome, in whoſe power conſiſteth the diſpenſation of ſo great treaſures, that either by himſelf he may give or grant, or otherwiſe give power unto other to give the ſame. And hereupon riſe the plenarie indulgences and pardons granted by the Pope for certaine yeares, by Cardinals for an hundred dayes, by Biſhops for fortie dayes. This is the judgement and opinion which they hold of the Indulgences. But I pray you, who taught thoſe Saints to worke or deſerve for other, but onely Satan, who would utterly have the merits of Chriſt extinguiſhed and blotted out, which he knoweth to be the onely remedy of ſalvation? For if the Scripture doe teach us that no man of himſelfe can deſerve or worke their ſalvation, how did the Saints then worke or merit for others? It is manifeſt that Chriſt ſaith in the ſeventeenth of Luke, When ye have done all that which is commanded you to doe, yet, ſaith he, ye are unprofitable ſervants. Beſides this, all that which may be deſerved or merited in the righteouſneſſe of man, in the threeſcore and fourth chapter of Eſay, is compared unto the garment menſtruous and defiled, to be caſt out.

No man of
himſelfe can
worke his own
ſalvation.

There are almoſt infinite places in the ſcripture, wherein mans power is ſo extenuate, and the corruption and frowardneſſe of our nature ſo made manifeſt, that even in the beſt and moſt perfect workes there lacketh not imperfection. Notwithſtanding the parable of the ten Virgins, written in the five and twentieth Chapter of Matthew, ought to put us out of all controverſie and doubt: There Chriſt deſcribeth two kindes of men, the one kinde of holy men which obſerve and kepe the inward righteouſneſſe of the heart, as the oile of faith; the other ſort is of ſuch, which having no minde of their oile, are anſwered by them which are wiſe, no, leſt that there be not ſufficient for you and for us, but goe you rather to them which doe ſell and buy for your ſelves: in the which place it is manifeſtly declared how vainely the ſecond ſort of men doe flie to the patronage of the elect, by whoſe merits they think to be ſaved.

The parable of
the ten Virgins
exponnded.

Now let us weigh and conſider upon what places of Scripture they build or eſtabliſh their fained invention of pardons: they alledge the ſaying of S. Paul to the Coloſſians, I ſupply or fulfill the afflictions of Chriſt, which were wanting in my fleſh, for his body which is the Church. But Paul in this place doth not referre that defect or ſupplement to any worke of redemption, expiation, or ſatisfaction, but to thoſe afflictions, by the which the members of Chriſt, that is to ſay, all faithfull ſhould be afflicted, ſo long as they live in the fleſh; wherefore he ſaith, that this doth yet remaine of the paſſions of Chriſt, that thoſe afflictions which once he ſuffered in his owne body, he now daily ſuffereth in his members. For Chriſt hath vouchſafed to honour us with this honour, that he doth impute and call our afflictions to be his. And whereas Saint Paul doth adde this word for the Church, he doth not underſtand thereby for their redemption, reconciliation, ſatisfaction, or expiation of the church, but for the edifying, and the profiting of the ſame, as in the ſecond Epiſtle to Timothie, he ſaith, That for the elect ſake he ſuffered all theſe things that they might obtaine ſalvation. But to the intent no man ſhould thinke that ſalvation to depend upon thoſe things which he himſelfe had ſuffered, he added further, The which is in Chriſt Jeſus. As touching the reaſon that the bloud of the martyrs is not ſhed in vain without fruit or profit, and therefore ought to be conferred to the common utilitie and profit of the Church, I anſwer that the profit and fruit thereof is abundant to glorifie God by their death, to ſubſcribe and beare witneſſe unto the truth by their bloud, and by the contempt of this preſent life to witneſſe, that he doth ſeeke after a better life by his conſtancy and ſtedfaſtneſſe, to confirme and eſtabliſh the faith of the church, and ſubdue and vanquiſh the enemie.

An other ob-
jection diſſol-
ved.

The bloud of
Martyrs
whereto it pro-
fiteth.

he treaſure of
e Church as
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apiſts hold to
the Pope.

The third Article.

That the Pope is an open uſer of Simony, daily ſelling the gifts of the ſpiritualties, and that it is lawfull for all Biſhops to be coupled and joyned in Matrimonie.

Borthwike.

This article hath his ſeverall parts, for thoſe things, which we have ſpoke or anſwered unto the article before written, do ſufficiently declare, that the

Pope is not onely a user of simonie, but also a notable deceiver, which selleth such kind of merchandise as can in no place helpe or prevaile; forsomuch as his pardons are nothing lesse the such as he faineth them to be. Doth he not then shew himselfe a manifest deceiver, when as he maketh faires and markets of them? but to the intent I will not séeme in this behalfe vainly to labour or travell, I will passe unto the second part, whereas I doe say, that it is not onely done against the word of God, but also against equitie & justice, to forbid priests to marry, forsomuch as it is not lawfull for any man by any means to forbid that thing which the Lord hath left at liberty. For Saint Paul, in the thirteenth chapter unto the Hebrewes, declareth that matrimony is lawful for all men, saying, that marriage and the undefiled bed or chamber is honorable amongst all men: and in the first to the Corinthians & seventh chapter, he saith, For avoiding of whoredome, let every man have a wife of his owne: but I know what these obstinate and stiffe necked will answer unto me, that the same is spoken and meant of others, and not of priests. But what will they answer unto me as touching that which is written in the first to Timothie, and third chapter, A Bishop ought to be without rebuke, the husband of one wife, and by and by after he saith, Deacons ought to be the husbands of one wife, the which should rule & govern their children and family uprightly? Unto these Paul affirmeth matrimony to be meet and necessary, let them say what they can to the contrary. What could be more vehemently spoken against their wicked tyranny, then that which by the holy Ghost he declareth in the fourth chapter of the same Epistle, that in the latter dayes there should come wicked men which should forbid matrimony, and calleth them not onely deceivers, but also wicked spirits, attending unto the doctrine of wicked spirits, but these men thinke that they have very well escaped, when as they wrest this sentence to those old ancient heretikes the Tatianes; they (say these men) did condemne matrimony, we do not condemne it, but only forbid church men to marry, unto whom we thinke matrimony is not convenient. As though that albeit this Prophecie were first of all complete and fulfilled in the Tatianes, that it did not also redound unto them, or as though this their subtill sophistication were worthy to be regarded, that they do not deny or prohibite matrimony, because they do not forbid it unto all men generally. Like as if a tyrant would contend and affirme his law to be good, by the extremitie & violence whereof onely one part of the citie is oppressed. But now let us heare the reasons of the contrary part: it behoveth, say they, a priest to differ from the common sort of the people by some notable marke or token. But reade Saint Paul, whereas he describeth the perfect image of a good Bishop, did he not reckon and account marriage amongst the other good gifts which he required to be in them? But I know very well how these men interpret Paul. Verily that a Bishop ought not to be chosen, which hath married his second wife. But also it appeareth openly by the text, that this interpretation is false, forsomuch as he doth by and by declare and shew what manner of women the wives of Bishops and Deacons ought for to be. Wherefore Saint Paul numbreth matrimonie amongst the principall vertues pertaining unto a Bishop. And these men do teach it to be an intolerable vice amongst the orders of the Church, and not being content with that generall reproch or slander, they call it in the Canons the uncleanlinesse, polluting, & defiling of the flesh. Now let every man consider with himselfe out of what shop this stuffe is taken. God instituted matrimonie, Christ sanctified it with his presence, by turning water into wine, and vouchsafed so to honour it, that he would have it the image or figure of his love and friendship with the Church: what can be more famous or notably spoken to the commendation and praise of wedlocke? But these unshamefast faces do call it a filthy & unclean thing, alledging the Leviticall priests, which, as often as they came unto the office of ministration, were bound to lie apart from their wives, whereby they being clean and undefiled might handle the holy things: and our Sacraments, forsomuch as they are much more noble and excellent then theirs, and daily used, it would be a very uncomely thing that they should be handled by married men. As though that the Office of the ministery of the Gospel were all one with the Leviticall priesthood. For they as figures did represent Christ, which being mediator betwéen God and man, by his singular and absolute puritie and cleannesse should reconcile the Father unto us, forsomuch as on no part sinners could exhibite or shew forth any type or forme of his sanctitie or holinesse: yet to the intent they might shadow him out with certaine similitudes or lineaments they were commanded that when soever they should come unto the Sanctuarie or holy place, they should purifie themselves above all mens order or fashion: for then did they most nære and properly figurate Christ which appeared in the tabernacle, as peacemaker to reconcile the people unto God. This Image or personage forsomuch as our Ecclesiasticall pastors at this day doe not take upon them to execute, in vain are they compared unto them. Wherefore the Apostle without all exception upon a sure and good ground doth pronounce and say, that marriage is honourable amongst all men, and that whoremongers and adulterers do abide the judgement of God. Besides all this, the Apostles themselves by their examples do prove that matrimonie is worthy of any office or function, be it never so excellent, for S. Paul himselfe is witnesse, that they did not onely kéep their wives, but also carried them about with them.

Priests marriage lawfull.

KING HEN. 8. A popish objection against priests marriage refuted. Leviticall priests in the time of their ministration abstaine from their wives, Ergo Christian priests must have no wives. I doe deny the argument.

The fourth Article.

That all those heresies commonly called the heresies of England, or at the least, the greater or most part of them are to be now presently understood and known by the Englishmen to be of themselves good and just, and to be observed of all faithfull Christians as most true and conformable unto the law of God, and that he had perswaded many persons to embrace the said heresies. 4. Article.

Borthwike.

Saint John in his eleventh chapter, declareth how Caiaphas high Bishop of Jerusalem did prophesie that Jesus should die for the people, which thing he spake being utterly ignorant. The like Image of blindnesse we have now presently in our lururious Cardinal of Saint Andrewes, and his adherents, which accused religion of heresie, which in the yeare of our Lord, 1540. was had in estimation in England, at the which time they proclaimed me an archheretike, although they estéeme the same religion for most Christian: for what religion at that time was used in England, the like the whole realme of Scotland did embrace: in this point only the Englishmen differed from the Scots, that they had cast off the yoke of Antichrist, the other not. Idols were worshipped of both nations, the prophaning of the Supper and Baptisme was like unto them both, wicked superstition reigned on both parts, and true worship was deformed and defaced with detestable hypocrisie.

The state of religion in England. an. 1540.

Truely it is most false that they doe affirme and say, that I had subscribed unto such kinde of heresies, as though they had bæn conformable unto the law of God, when as nothing is more adverse or repugnant thereunto: for even now of late, God

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KING HEN. 8.

of his goodnesse and mercy had opened my dazling eyes, and hath drawn me out of the filthy slow of Idolatry and superstition, in the which amongst others I have so long time wallowed and tumbled. Neither is it any lesse absurd, that they affirm me to have allured many to embrace the same, except peradventure they do understand that I have oftentimes wished that the yoke of Antichrist should be shaken and cast off from the necks of the Scots, as it is from the English men; which thing with sincere and upright heart, and with an earnest minde I do now also wish and desire.

The fifth Article.

That the Scottish Nation and their Clergie be altogether blinded, whom he did also say and affirme that they had not the true Catholique faith. And this he did openly teach and preached also, that his faith was much better and more excellent, then the faith of all the Clergie in the realme of Scotland.

Borthwike.

No man will deny that people to be blinded which neither heareth Christ nor his Apostles. Such is the people of Scotland, I speak of those unto whom the veritie and truth of Christ hath not yet opened or manifested it self. There is no cause therefore why they should accuse me of heresie. Furthermore, how farre off the nation and people of Scotland be from the hearing of Christ, albeit the premisses do sufficiently declare, in that they do challenge unto the Romish Antichrist the authoritie which Christ and his Apostles do declare Christ himself to be endued withall, and that contrarie to the word of God they forbid Priests to marry; I will adde something more unto it, whereby the matter may be more evident. Christ calleth himself the doore whereby all men ought to enter in, the tenth Chapter of Iohn. Contrariwise, the Scots do say and affirm, that we must enter in by the Virgin Mary and saint Peter. Christ in the fourth of Iohn saith, The time shall come when as the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth; the Scots build themselves high Temples and Chappels for Idols, in the which, even as Israel in times past, they commit fornication. Paul in his Epistle to the Hebrews, and tenth Chapter, saith, That Christ by one onely oblation hath made perfect all those for evermore, which are sanctified: which saying confirmeth also the words of Christ hanging upon the crosse, saying, It is finished; signifying that by his death there was a finall end set to all sacrifices, which are offered up for sins. But the Scottish Churchmen, as they are blasphemers indeed, so do they brag and boast that they daily offer up Christ for the sins both of the quick and of the dead. God commandeth us that we shall not worship any Image; the Scots do not onely fall down flat before Images, but also offer up incense unto them. Saint Paul teacheth us that Christ is made our wisdom, righteousnesse, sanctification, and redemption; the Scots, being wise men in their own conceits, prefer and embrace Traditions feigned and invented out by mans head before the Law of God, they stablish righteousnesse in their own works, sanctification in holy water and other externall things, redemption in pieces of lead, which they do buy of their great Antichrist. Who then will quarrell with me, that I do lie that the people of Scotland are blinde? and that my faith, which doth onely behold the word of God, is much more better and excellent then theirs?

The sixth Article. The 6. article.

Agreeablie to the ancient errours of Iohn Wickliffe and Iohn Hus arch-heritiques condemned in the Councell of Constance, he hath affirmed and preached, That the Clergie ought not to possesse or have any temporall possessions, neither to have any jurisdiction or authoritie in temporalties, even over their own subjects, but that all these things ought to be taken from them, as it is at this present in England.

Borthwike.

The Lord in the eighteenth Chapter of the book of Numbers said thus unto Aaron, Thou shalt possesse nothing in their land, neither shalt thou have any portion amongst them, I am thy portion and inheritance amongst the children of Israel: for unto the sonnes of Levi I have given all the tithes of Israel, that they should possesse them for their ministery which they do execute in the Tabernacle of the congregation. Albeit I do not doubt, but that the Order of the Levites and of the Clergie is farre different and variable. For the administration of their sacred and holy things, after their death, passed unto their posteritie as it were by right of inheritance; which happeneth not unto the posteritie of our Clergie in these dayes. Furthermore, if any heritage be provided or gotten for them, I do not gainsay but that they shall possesse it. But still I do affirm, That all temporall jurisdiction should be taken from them. For when as twice there rose a contention amongst the disciples, which of them should be thought the greatest, Christ answered; The Kings of nations have dominion over them, and such which have power over them are called beneficiall: you shall not do so; for he which is greatest amongst you shall be made equall unto the yongest or least, and he which is the Prince or Ruler amongst you shall be made equall unto him that doth minister. Minding thereby, and willing utterly to debarre the ministers of his Word from all terrene and civill dominion and empire. For by these points he doth not onely declare that the office of a Pastor is distinct and divided from the office of a Prince and Ruler, but that they are in effect so much different and separate, that they cannot agree or joyn together in one man. Neither is it to be thought that Christ did set or ordain an harder Law then he himself before did take upon him. Forsomuch as in the twelfth of Luke certain of the companie said unto him, Master, command my brother that he divide his inheritance with me. He answered; Man, who made me a Judge or divider amongst you? We see therefore that Christ even simply did reject and refuse the office of a Judge, the which thing he would not have done if it had been agreeable unto his office or duty. The like thing also he did in the eighth chapter of John, when as he refused to give judgement upon the woman taken in adulterie, which was brought before him. Whereas they do alledge that Moses did supply both offices at once, I answer, that it was done by a rare miracle. Furthermore, that it continued but for a time untill things were brought unto a better state. Besides that, there was a certaine forme and rule prescribed him of the Lord, then took he upon him the Civill governance, and the priesthood he was commanded to resigne unto his brother; and that not without good cause, for it is against nature, that one man should suffice both charges: wherefore it was diligently foreseen and provided for in all ages. Neither was there any Bishop, so long as any true face or shew of the Church did continue, who once thought to usurp the right and title of the Word. Wherupon in the time of

The Leviticall law is no necessary rule now binding.

But he meaneth here of excessive lands possessions of Abbeys, and religious houses addict to them, but the princes may diminish or convert them otherwise upon considerations.

Civil dominion differing from Ecclesiasticall.

Christ refuteth the office of a civill judge.

An objection made by the example of Moses supplying both the offices answered unto.

of saint Ambrose this proverbe took his originall, That Emperors did rather wish or desire the office of priesthood, then Priests any Empire. For it was all mens opinions at that time, that sumptuous palaces did pertain unto Emperors, and churches unto Priests. Saint Bernard also writeth many things which are agreeable unto this our opinion; as is this his saying, Peter could not give that which he had not, but he gave unto his successors that which he had, that is to say, carefulnesse over the congregation; for when as the Lord and Maker saith, That he is not constitute or ordained Iudge betweene two, the servant or disciple ought not to take it scornfully if that he may not iudge all men. And lest that he might seem in that place to speak of the spirituall iudgement, he straightway annexeth, Therefore, saith he, your power and authoritie shall be in offence and transgression, not in possessions. For this purpose, and not for the other, have you received the keyes of the kingdome of heaven. Why then do you invade other mens bounds or borders? The rest I will passe over for brevities sake.

Palaces to princes, churches pertain to priests.

Peter could not give that he had not.

Peter had no lordly dominion: Ergo, Peter could not give lordly dominion to his successors.

The seventh Article.

The 7. article.

Falsely, and against the honour, state, and reverence of the sacred majestie of the King of Scots, he hath said, holden, and affirmed, that our most noble King of Scots, Defender of the Christian faith, would appropriate unto himselfe all the possessions, lands, and rents of the Church, given and granted by his predecessours, and also by himself, and convert them unto his own private use. And for this end and purpose, as he hath many times written unto him, so hath he with his whole endeavour perswaded our said noble Lord and King thereunto.

Borthwike.

It is no marvell though these mad dogges do so barke against me, whom they think to have counselled the Kings Majestie (I would to God I had also thoroughly perswaded him) that he should take away from these unjust sacrilegious possessors, the riches wherewith all they are fatted and engreased like swine. For this is the nature of dogges, if any man go about to take away the bone out of their mouth, by and by to snatch at him and teare him with their teeth. It is out of all controversie unto such as have any wit at all, that such were verie childish, that is to say, ignorant of all learning and iudgement, which did so fat and feed with their possessions these belly Bealls. For who would not iudge it more then childish, to bestow the Kings victuals or meat upon the bellies of the Prophets of Baal and Iesabel? But all they which at this present do endue such filthy sinks (I will not call them dens of thæves) with such revenues, they do follow the steps of Iesabel; for what other thing do they, when as daily they are bleating and bowing before their Images, burning of incense, and fall flat down before their Altars, but that which in times past the Prophets of Baal did when as they transported the worship of God unto an Idol? Wherefore if Daniel and Elias were spotted with heresie when they would have destroyed the priests of Baal, I grant that I also must be an heretique.

A comparison between our belly priests and the priests of Baal.

But forsomuch as then he did nothing but which was commanded him of the Lord, that was able to kill the Prophet which had allured the people to follow strange gods, he could not truly and justly be accused of heresie; so neither can my adversaries spot me therewithall, except peradventure they will condemne in me that (whereas Elias dealt more rigorously with the prophets of Baal, for he call them into the brook Kidron) I required or desired no more, but that the riches which was wickedly bestowed upon them, and their possessions might be taken from them.

The eighth Article.

He willed and desired, and oftentimes with his whole heart prayed that the church of Scotland might come and be brought to the same point and state, and to like ruine as the church of England was alreadie come unto.

The 8. article.

Borthwike.

If the Church of Israel decayed, when as in the time of Zorobabel, Nehemias, and other holy men, it was released and set at libertie out of Babylon; I grant also, that it was a ruine unto the English men, to have departed and gone away out of Babylon, the mother of all whoredome; upon whose rotten and filthy paps and breasts they have a long time depended and hanged, being made drunke with the wine of her whoredome and unshamefastnesse. They had rather cause to give me thanks, who with so sincere and good a heart wished unto them so happie a fall. But these unthankfull persons thought it not enough with slander and reproach to teare me asunder, but now also, as blinde rage and madnesse hath taken away all sincerities and uprightnesse of minde and iudgement, they lie in wait, and lay snares for my life.

Spirituall Babylon.

The ninth Article.

He hath openly holden, said, and affirmed, preached, and taught, that the laws of the Church, that is to say, the sacred Canons, approved and allowed by the holy Catholique and Apostolique Church, are of no force, strength, or effect; alledging therefore and affirming, that they are made and invented contrary to the Law of God.

The 9. article.

Borthwike.

God forbid that I should say, that those things which are approved by the holy Catholique Church should be of no effect or value. For well I know, that the holy Apostolique Church hath never allowed, ordained, or taught any thing which she hath not learned of the Lord: the Apostles are witnesses thereof, Peter and Paul, whereof the one of them dareth not frælie utter or speake of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by himself for the obedience of the Gentiles.

Apostolique Church.

The other erhorteth, That if any man speak, he should speak the praises of God: but I condemne those lawes which the Bishops of Rome have made according to their own will and minde, and say that they are spirituall, pertaining unto the salvation of the soul, and necessarie unto everlasting life; forsomuch as the writings of the Apostles do evidently declare, that there was no authoritie known amongst them to make or ordaine ony ordinances or laws.

The Romish Church.

Furthermore, the scriptures do manifestly shew the same, how oftentimes, even by the Lords own mouth, this foresaid authoritie is taken from the Ministers of the Church; so that no excuse for them remaineth, but that they be plain rebels against the word of God, how many soever do presume or take upon them to appoint or set any new laws upon the people of God. Which thing is more manifest and evident then the light it self, in many places of the scripture. For in the three and twentieth chapter of Ioshuah, it is written; You shall observe and do all that is written in the Law of Moses, neither shall you swarve from that, either to the right hand or to the left hand. But that which

Prelates have no such authority by the Word to binde mens consciences with new laws.

is

KING. HEN. 8.

is written in the twelfth Chapter of Deuteronomie ought to move them ſomewhat the more.

Whatſoever I command, ſaith the Lord, that ſhall you obſerve and do; thereunto you ſhall adde nothing, neither ſhall you take any thing from it, The like he had ſaid before in the fourth chapter of the ſame book. And again, Moſes in the thirteenth Chapter of the ſame book doth witneſſe, that he did put forth life and bleſſing unto Iſrael, when as he gave them that law which he had received of the Lord. How can they then excuſe themſelves of periurie, which ordain new laws to live by? But let us proceed further, and ſee what authoritie the Prieſts of Levies ſtock had to make laws. I do not deny, but that God, in the ſeventeenth Chapter of Deuteronomie, ordained under a great penaltie, that the authoritie of the Prieſts ſhould not be contemned, but had in reverence. But in the ſecond of Malachy he alſo declareth under what condition they are to be heard, whereas he ſaith, He hath made a covenant with Levi, that the law of truth ſhould be in his mouth; and by and by after he added, The lips of the Prieſt ſhall keep and maintain wiſdom, and the law they ſhall require at his mouth, which is the meſſenger of the Lord of hoſts. Therefore it is fit and neceſſarie, if a Prieſt will be heard, that he do ſhew himſelf the meſſenger of God, that is to ſay, that he faithfully report and declare the commandments which he hath received of the Lord. For whereas Malachy ſpeaketh of hearing of them, he putteth this ſpecially, that they do anſwer according to the law of the Lord. Therefore like as the Leviticall Prieſts did breake their covenant made with God, if they did teach any other law then that which they had received of him; ſo likewiſe theſe men muſt either acknowledge themſelves to be covenant-breakers, or elſe they may not binde the conſciences of men with any new law.

how far the office of Prieſts extendeth.

Furthermore, what power the prophets had univerſally, it is very lively deſcribed in Ezechiel, in his 33. chapter.

ezech. 33.

Thou ſonne of man, ſaith the Lord, I have made thee a guide unto the houſe of Iſrael, thou ſhalt hear the Word out of mine own mouth, and declare it unto them from me. He then which is commanded to hear of the mouth of the Lord, is he not forbidden to rehearſe or ſpeak any thing of himſelf? For what other thing is it to ſpeak from the Lord, but ſo to ſpeak that he may boldly affirm and ſay, that it is not his word, but the word of the Lord which he ſpeaketh?

Further, God by his Prophet Ieremie calleth it chaffe, whatſoever doth not proceed from himſelf. Wherefore none of the Prophets have opened their mouthes at any time to ſpeak, but being premoniſhed before by the Word of God. Whereupon it hapneth, that theſe words are ſo often pronounced by them, The Word of the Lord; the charge or burthen of the Lord; the Miſſion of the Lord; Thus ſaith the Lord; The mouth of the Lord hath ſpoken it.

Now that we may alſo confirm that which is before ſpoken, by the examples of the Apoſtles, that they have taught nothing but that which they have learned of the Lord, the law which Chriſt preſcribed unto them, when as he indued them with the dignitie and honour of the Apoſtleſhip, is ſomewhat more profoundly to be repeated. In the laſt chapter of Matthew, he commandeth them to go forth and teach, not ſuch things as they themſelves did raſhly invent and deviſe, but thoſe things which he had commanded them.

Furthermore, Paul, in the ſecond to the Corinthians, denieth that he hath any dominion or rule over the faith of the Corinthians, albeit he was ordained by the Lord to be their Apoſtle. If you require and deſire a further reaſon of the moderation of Saint Paul, read the tenth Chapter of the Epiſtle to the Romanes, whereas he teacheth, That faith cometh by hearing, it cometh not by the dreames of the Biſhop of Rome, or by any other Biſhop, but onely by the word of God; neither ought any man to think it ſtrange, that neither Chriſt reſtrained his Apoſtles by the law, that they ſhould not teach any thing but that which they had learned of the mouth of the Lord. He ſet the ſame law upon himſelf, becauſe it ſhould not be lawfull for any man to refuſe it.

My doctrine ſaith Chriſt is not mine, but his which ſent me, my Fathers; he which hath been the onely and eternall Counſellour of the Father, which alſo is ordained by the Father, the Lord and Maſter over all, for ſo much as yet he doth the office and part of a miniſter, he doth by his example preſcribe unto all Miniſters, what rule and order they ought to follow in teaching; wherefore the power of the Church is not ſuch, that it may at her own will and diſcretion teach new doctrines, either, as they terme it, frame new articles of faith, either eſtabliſh new laws, but is ſubject unto the word of the Lord, and as it were included in the ſame. But now let us behold what defence they do bring for their conſtitutions. The Apoſtles, ſay they, and the elders of the primitive Church, eſtabliſhed a decree, beſides the commandement of Chriſt, whereby they did command all people to abſtain from all things offered unto Idols, ſuffocation, and blood. If that were lawfull for them ſo to do, why is it not lawfull for their ſucceſſour, as often as neceſſitie ſhall require, to imitate and to follow them in doing the like?

The Church ſubject to the word of God. Reaſons wherewith they defend their conſtitutions.

But I deny that the Apoſtles in that behalfe did make any new decree or ordinance, forſomuch as Peter in the ſame councell pronounceth God to be tempted, if any yoke be laid upon the necks of the Diſciples: Even he himſelf doth ſubvert and overthrow his own ſentence, if they conſent to lay any yoke upon them. But a yoke is laid upon them if the Apoſtles by their own authoritie do decree to prohibite the Gentiles not to touch any thing offered unto Idols or ſtrangled; but you will ſay, they do write they ſhould abſtain from thoſe things. I grant that they do ſo write: But what doth Saint James declare? That the Gentiles which are converted unto God are not to be troubled and vexed in ſuch externe decrees and outward elements as theſe be. And the Apoſtle ſufficiently declareth that he goeth about nothing leſſe then to reſtrain the libertie of the Gentiles, but onely to admoniſh and warne them how they ſhould moderate and rule themſelves amongſt their brethren, leſt they ſhould abuſe their liberty to the offence of others.

Anſwer to the reaſons above.

They alledge furthermore, that which is written in the three and twentieth of Matthew, the Scribes and Phariſees have ſitten in the chair of Moſes, therefore all things whatſoever they command you to obſerve and keep, the ſame obſerve and do, but do you not as they do. I anſwer, the Lord in this place doth inveigh againſt the manners of the Phariſees, ſimply inſtructing his hearers which before he had taught, that albeit they could perceive or ſee nothing in their life which they ſhould follow, yet for all that they ſhould not refuſe to do thoſe things which they did teach by the Word, I ſay by the Word, and not of their own head.

Another reaſon.

The tenth Article.

10. article.

Divers and many wayes he hath ſaid, holden, and alſo affirmed, and openly taught that there is no religion to be obſerved or kept, but ſimply to be aboliſhed and deſtroyed, as it is now in England; and deſpiſing all religion, affirming that it is but abuſing of the people, he hath taught that their habits and veſtures are deformed and verie monſtrous

ſtrous, having in them no manner of utilitie or holineſſe, inducing and alluring as much as in him lay, all the adherents of his opinion, that all religion in the kingdom of Scotland ſhould be ſubverted and utterly taken away, to the great offence of the Catholike Church, and the diminiſhing and detriment of the Chriſtian Religion.

Borthwike.

The Prophet Iſaiah in his fifth Chapter crieth out, ſaying, Wo be unto you which call evill good, and good evill, darkneſſe light, and light darkneſſe, ſower ſweet, and ſweet ſower. And it followeth in the ſame place, in the ſaid Prophet, Wo, ſaith he, to you that be wiſe and ſapient in your own eyes and prudent in your owne eſtimation. No man can denie but that the Cardinall of Scotland and his adherents be under this moſt heavy and grievous curſe, when as they do ſo generally confound the Chriſtian religion and their wicked Monkery, that they do entitle them both by one name of Holineſſe. I truſt I will make it appeare more manifeſt then the day, that they do it by a ſacrilegious audacitie or boldneſſe, unto ſuch as ſetting apart all prepoſterous affection will embrace the truth, when as ſhe doth manifeſtly ſhew her ſelf.

But before I enter into the matter, I will all men to underſtand, that I do not touch that kinde of Monkery, which Saint Auguſtine and other do ſo often make mention of; as in which the Monks being gathered together, utterly contemning and deſpiſing the vanities of this world, did lead a moſt chaſte and godly life, living in prayer, reading, and diſputations, not puffed up with pride, nor contentious with frowardneſſe, neither full of envie, no man poſſeſſed any thing of his own, no man was chargeable or burdenous unto others, they wrought with their hands to get that which might ſuſtaine the body, the ſpirit and minde not let and hindred from God. Whatſoever did ſuperabound more then was neceſſarie for their ſuſtentation, as by the reſtraint of their delicious and delicate fare much did redound of the labours of their hands, it was with ſuch diligence diſtributed unto the poore and needie, as it was not with greater diligence gotten by them which did give the ſame.

For they by no meanes went about to have abundance lying by them, but ſought all means poſſible that nothing ſhould remain by them more then ſufficient: beſides this, no man was forced to any extremitie, which he could not beare or ſuffer, no man had any thing laid upon him which he refuſed, neither was he condemned of the reſt, which confeſſed himſelf unable to imitate or follow; they had alwayes in their minde how commendable a thing love and charitie was; they remembred that all things are clean to them which are clean. Therfore they did not refuſe or reject any kinds of meat as polluted or defiled; but all their whole induſtrie and labour was applied to ſubdue luſt and concupiſcence, and to retain love amongſt brethren. Many of them did drink no wine, yet notwithſtanding they thought not themſelves defiled therewithall. For unto ſuch as were ſick and diſeaſed, who could not recover the health of their bodie without the ſame, they did moſt gently permit it. And whereas many fondlily refuſed the ſame, they brotherly admoniſhed them to take heed that they became not rather the weaker then the holier, through their vain ſuperſtition.

Hitherto I have repeated that which S. Auguſtine writeth of the Monks of his time, whereby I would as it were paint out in a Table, what maner of monkery there was in the old time, that all men might underſtand how great difference there is betweene that and the monkery in theſe our later daies. For he would have all extreme compulſion to be taken away in ſuch things as by the word of God are left to us at liberty. But now adayes there is nothing more ſeverely and cruelly exacted. For they ſay it is a remedileſſe offence if any do but never ſo little ſwerve from their preſcript order in colour or kinde of garment, or in any kinde of meat, or in any other frivolous or vain ceremonie.

{KING. HEN.8.} Precepts of men more cruelly exacted then the precepts of God.

Saint Auguſtine doth ſtraightly affirme that it is not lawfull for Monks to live idle upon other mens labour; he plainly denyeth that in his time there was any ſuch example of any well ordered Monaſtery: but our Monks do conſtitute the principall part of holineſſe in idleneſſe, which they call a contemplative life; wherefore the ſtate or Monkerie of the old time, and of theſe our dayes, is in all points ſo divers, that ſcarſe can any thing be more unlike, I will not ſay utterly contrarie; for our Monks not content with that godlineſſe to the ſtudie and deſire whereof Chriſt commandeth all his continually to be intentive, they imagine a new kinde of godlineſſe, I know not what, by the meditation whereof they are more perfect, then all other. But it is a moſt peſtilent errour (which all godly men ought to abhorre) to fain any other rule of perfection, then that common rule delivered unto the whole univerſall Church, which we ſuppoſe to be ſufficiently approved in the refutation of the article before paſſed. Now I alſo paſſe over with ſilence the great blaſphemy, whereby they compare their monaſticall confeſſion unto Baptiſme. I alſo hold my peace that they do diſſipate and divide the communion of the Church, when as they do ſeparate themſelves from the lawfull ſocietie and fellowſhip of the faithfull, and claim unto themſelves a peculiar miniſterie and private adminiſtration of the ſacraments: but as S. Auguſtine witneſſeth, it was ſo far off, that the Monkes in times paſt had any ſeverall Church or adminiſtration of the Sacraments from others, as that they were a part and portion of the common people, albeit that they dwelt aſunder.

Idleneſſe and pleaſure the weapons of the ancient enemy.

But if a man may touch the manner of theſe our Monks, what ſhall I call the cloiſters in theſe our dayes, otherwiſe then brothell houſes, ſwine ſties, and dens of diſcord. Beſides that, I will paſſe over their fairs and markets, which in theſe later dayes they do make of their reliques of Martyrs, to build up Sodom again. Wherefore I conclude that this their kind of life which they claim unto themſelves, is utterly wicked and naught, the which is not eſtabliſhed or grounded upon any certain calling of God, neither allowed by him: wherefore I may be bold to ſay that it is unlawfull, becauſe their conſcience hath nothing whereby to ſuſtain it ſelf before God, and whatſoever is not of faith is ſin.

And furthermore, ſo long as they do intangle and bind themſelves with ſo many and ſo perverſe and wicked kinds of worſhipping, as the monkery now adates doth contain in it, I may well ſay that they are not conſecrated unto God, but unto the devill. For why, was it lawfull for the Prophets to ſay, that the Iſraelites did offer their children unto wicked ſpirits, and not unto God, becauſe that they did corrupt and violate the true worſhipping of God with prophane ceremonies? Is it not lawfull then to ſpeak the like of our Monks, which together with their Cowls have put on a thouſand ſnares of moſt wicked ſuperſtitions? Let everie man now weigh and conſider with himſelf, if I have done wickedly to wiſh ſuch religions, as is this our monkerie, to be utterly extinguiſhed and rooted out. Moreover all Chriſtian Princes ſhould rightly and truly do their office, if as in times paſt Joſias pulled down and overthrew the high places which his elders the Kings of Juda had builded, ſo they would aboliſh and drive away this kinde of Monks.

¶ It

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¶ It is plainly manifest by lawfull proofs, that the said John Borthwike had and presently hath divers books suspected of heresie, condemned as well by the papall, as also regall and ordinarie authoritie, and prohibited by the Law: that is to say, specially the new Testament commonly printed in English, Oecolampadius, Melanchon, and divers treatises of Erasmus and other condemned heretiques, also a book intituled Vnio dissidentium, the which containeth most manifest and great errours and hereticall assumptions, and hath read and studied the same as well openly as privately, and hath presented and communicated them unto others, and also hath instructed and taught many Christians in the same, to the end and purpose to divert and turn them away from the true Christian and Catholique faith.

Borthwike.

O good God, who can suffer so great a blasphemie? with what a filthy cankered stomack do these Romish swine note the new Testament with heresie? who would not judge it a most venemous tongue which dare pronounce and utter such contumelious words against the holy Gospel of our Saviour Christ? Truly these men (howsoever they do pronounce me an archheretique) do fill up the measure of all other heretiques (I will not say blasphemers) as the Iews which put Christ to death did of all other murtherers. How then shall these serpents and stock of vipers escape and flee the judgement of everlasting fire? I do not greatly stand or stay, that they do suspect Oecolampadius, Melanchon, or Erasmus, neither am I so mad to plead their cause, who as they are men of singular learning and eloquence, so do their writings manifestly declare, how falsely and wickedly these sycophants impute this crime and slander of heresie unto them.

It is manifest, that the said Iohn Borthwike was so obstinate in all the foresaid errors and heresies, and so maintained and taught them with such an obdurate heart and minde, that he would not by any means be perswaded from them by his friends and divers other persons which did dearly love and favour him; but chose rather obstinately to persevere in his said errors.

Borthwike.

I am willingly contented to be reduced to the Catholique faith, but if that Satan raise up any storms or tempests against that, those I do something resist. Wherefore they most shamefully lie which do otherwise jest or talk of me; for I know not by what reason they call them my friends which so greatly laboured to convert me, neither will more esteeme them, then the Madianites, which in times past called the children of Israel to do sacrifice unto their Idols. And furthermore, I desire the most high and mightie God, that he will never suffer me to swarve or turn away from this so holy, godly, and Christian obstinacie and stubbornesse. The man is blest that hath set his whole hope and confidence upon the Lord, and hath not regarded or looked upon the proud, or those which follow after lies.

The sentence of condemnation against Sir Iohn Borthwike Knight, by the Cardinall, Bishops, and Abbots in Scotland, *Anno* 1540.

Sentence of condemnation against Borthwike.

OF all which the premisses and many other errors by him holden, spoken, published, affirmed, preached, and taught, the common fame and report is, that the said sir John Borthwike is holden, reputed, and accounted of very many as an heretique, and principall heretique, which holdeth evil opinions of the Catholique faith.

Where we David by the title of S. Stephen in mount Celio, Prelate and Cardinall of the holy Church of Rome, Archbishop of Saint Andrews, primate of the whole kingdome of Scotland, and borne Legate of the Apostolike Sea, sitting after the manner of Iudges in our tribunall seat, the most holy Gospels of God being laid before us, that our judgement might proceed from the face of God, and our eyes might behold and look upon equitie and justice, having onely God, and the veritie and truth of the Catholike faith before our eies, his holy name being first called upon, having, as is before said, hereupon holden a Councell of wise men, as well Divines as Lawyers, we pronounce, declare, decree, determine, and give sentence, that the said sir John Borthwike, called Captaine Borthwike, being suspected, infamed, and accused of the errours and heresies before said, and wicked doctrines manifoldly condemned, as is aforesaid, and by lawfull proofs against him in every of the premisses had, being convict and lawfully cited and called, not appearing, but as a fugitive, runne away, and absent, even as though he were present, to be an heretike, And is, and hath been convict as an heretique, And as a convict heretike and heresiarch to be punished and chastened with due punishment, and afterward to be delivered and left unto the secular power. Moreover, we confiscate and make forfeit, and by these presents declare and decree to be confiscated and made forfeit all and singular his goods, moveables and unmoveables, howsoever and by whatsoever title they be gotten, and in what place or part soever they be, and all his offices whatsoever he hath hitherto had, reserving notwithstanding the dowry and such part and portion of his goods, as by the law, custome and right of this Realme unto persons confiscate ought to appertain. Also we decree, that the picture of the said John Borthwike being formed, made, and painted to his likenesse, be carried through this our Citie to our Cathedrall Church, and afterward to the market crosse of the same Citie, and there in token of malediction and curse, and to the terrour and example of others, and for a perpetuall remembrance of his obstinacie and condemnation, to be burned. Likewise we declare and decree, that notwithstanding, if the said John Borthwike be hereafter apprehended and taken, he shall suffer such like punishment due by order of law unto heretiks, without any hope of grace or mercy to be obtained in that behalfe. Also we plainly admonish and warne, by the tenor of these presents, all and singular faithfull Christians, both men and women, of what dignitie, state, degree, order, condition, or preheminence soever they be, or with whatsoever dignitie, or honour ecclesiasticall or temporall they be honoured, that from this day forward they do not receive or harbor the said sir John Borthwike, commonly called Captaine Borthwike, being accused, convict, and declared an heretique, and archheritique, into their houses, hospitals, castles, cities, towns, villages, or other cottages whatsoever they be, or by any manner of means admit him thereunto, either by helping him with meat, drink, or victuals, or any other thing whatsoever it be, they do shew unto him any manner of humanitie, help, comfort, or solace, under the pain and penaltie of greater and further excommunication, confiscation, and forfeitures; and if it happen that they be found culpable or faultie in the premisses, that they shall be accused therefore as the favourers, receivers, defenders, maintainers, and abetters of heretiques, and shall be punished therefore according to the order of Law, and with such paine,

The picture of Borthwike cursed and condemned.

any

and punishment as shall be done unto men in such behalf.

And now to prosecute such other as followed, beginning first in order with Thomas Forret and his fellows: Their storie is this.

Persecuters.	*Martyrs.*
	Thomas Forret, priest.
	Frier Iohn Kelowe.
	Frier Benarage.
	Duncane Sympson, priest.
	Robert Foster, a Gentleman.
	With three or four other men of Striveling, martyrs.

Their Causes.

David Beton Bishop., and Cardinall of S. Andrews.

George Treichton, Bishop of Dunkelden.

NOt long after the burning of David Stratton and Walter Gurlay above mentioned, in the dayes of David Beaton, Bishop, and Cardinall of saint Andrews, and George Treichton, Bishop of Dunkelden, a Canon of saint Colmes Inche, and Vicar of Dolone, called Deane Thomas Forret, preached everie Sunday to his Parishioners out of the Epistle or Gospel as it fell for the time; which then was a great noveltie in Scotland, to see any man preach, except a Blacke Frier or a Gray Frier: and therefore the Friers envied him, and accused him to the Bishop of Dunkelden (in whose dioceese he remained) as an heritique, and one that shewed the mysteries of the Scriptures to the vulgar people in English, to make the Clergie detestable in the sight of the people. The Bishop of Dunkelden, moved by the Friers instigation, called the said Deane Thomas, and said to him, My Joy Deane Thomas; I love you well, and therefore I must give you my counsell, how you shall rule and guide your self. To whom Thomas said, I thank your lordship heartily. Then the Bishop began his counsell on this manner.

Tho. Forret priest.

George Treichton Bishop of Dunkelden and Persecuter.

My Joy Deane Thomas, I am enformed that you preach the Epistle or Gospel every Sunday to your Parishioners, and that you take not the Cowe, nor the uppermost cloth from your Parishioners, which thing is verie prejudiciall to the Churchmen; and therefore my Joy Deane Thomas, I would you took your Cowe and your uppermost cloth as other Churchmen do, or else it is too much to preach every Sunday; for in so doing you may make the people think that we should preach likewise. But it is enough for you, when you finde any good Epistle, or any good Gospel, that setteth forth the libertie of the holy Church, to preach that, and let the rest be.

Tho. Forret preacheth and will take no mortuary nor Chrisome of his parishiones. Ergo, he is an heretike against the Popes Catholike Church.

Thomas answered, my Lord, I think that none of my parishioners will complain that I take not the Cowe, nor the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give me the same, together with any other thing that they have, and I will give and communicate with them any thing that I have, and so my Lord we agree right well, and there is no discord among us.

And where your Lordship saith, It is too much to preach everie Sunday; indeed I think it is too little, and also would wish that your Lordship did the like. Nay, nay, Deane Thomas (saith my Lord) let that be, for we are not ordained to preach. Then said Thomas, where your Lordship biddeth me preach, when I finde any good Epistle, or a good Gospel, truly my Lord, I have read the new Testament and the old, and all the Epistles and Gospels, and among them all I could never finde any evill Epistle, or any evill Gospel; but if your Lordship will shew me the good Epistle, and the good Gospel, and the evill Epistle and the evill Gospel, then I shall preach the good, and omit the evil. Then spake my Lord stoutly and said, I thank God that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was, (and of these words rose a Proverbe which is common in Scotland, We are like the Bishop of Dunkelden, that knew neither new nor old Law:) therefore Deane Thomas, I will know nothing but my Portuise and my Pontifficall. Go your way, and let be all these fantasies, for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, ye will repent it when you may not mend it. Thomas said, I trust my cause be just in the presence of God, and therefore I passe not much what do follow thereupon, and so my Lord and he departed at that time. And soon after a Summons was directed from the Cardinall of saint Andrews, and the said Bishop of Dunkelden upon the said Deane Tho. Forret, upon two Black Friers, called Frier John Kelow, and another called Benarage, and upon one Priest of Striveling called Duncane Sympson, and one gentleman called Robert Foster in Striveling, with other three or foure, with them of the towne of Striveling; who at the day of their appearance after their summoning, were condemned to the death, without any place for recantation, because (as was alledged) they were heresiarchs, or chief heretiques and teachers of heresies, and especially because many of them were at the bridall and marriage of a Priest, who was Vicar of Twyhody beside Striveling, and did eat flesh in Lent at the said bridall, and so they were all together burnt upon the castle hill at Edenborough, where they that were first bound to the stake godly and marvellously did comfort them which came behinde.

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It is too much in the Popes church to preach every Sunday.

The Bishop of Dunkelden was not ordained to preach.

A proverbe in Scotland.

Tho. Forret Frier.
John Kelow Frier.
Benerage.
Duncane Sympson, priest.
Rob. Foster gentleman, with three or foure other of Striveling, martyrs.

Here followeth the manner of persecution used by the Cardinal of Scotland against certaine persons in Perth.

Persecuters.	*Martyrs.*
	Robert Lambe.
	William Anderson.
	James Hunter.
	James Ravelesson.
	James Founleson.
	Hellen Stirke his wife.

{Anno 1543.}

Their Causes.

David Beton Bishop, and Cardinall of S. Andrews.

FIrst, there was a certain Act of Parliament made in the government of the Lord Hamelton, Earl of Arran, and governour of Scotland, giving privilege to all men of the realm of Scotland, to read the Scriptures in their mother tongue and language, secluding nevertheless all reasoning, conference, convocation of people to heare the Scriptures read or expounded. Which libertie of private reading being granted by publique

Proclamation in Scotland permitting private reading of the scripture

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proclamation, lacked not his owne fruit, so that in sundry parts of Scotland thereby were opened the eyes of the elect of God to see the truth, and abhorre the papisticall abominations. Amongst the which were certaine persons in S. Johnston, as after is declared.

At this time there was a Sermon made by frier Spense, in Saint Johnston, alias called Perth, affirming prayer made to Saints to be so necessarie, that without it there could be no hope of salvation to man. Which blasphemous doctrine a Burges of the said towne, called Robert Lambe, could not abide, but accused him in open audience of erroneous doctrine, and adjured him in Gods name to utter the truth. The which the frier, being stricken with feare, promised to do: but the trouble, tumult, and stirre of the people increased so, that the Frier could have no audience, and yet the said Robert with great danger of his life escaped the hands of the multitude, namely of the women, who contrary to nature addressed them to extreme crueltie against him.

At this time in the yeere of our Lord, 1543. the enemies of the truth procured John Chartuous, who favoured the truth, and was Provost of the said Citie and towne of Perth, to be deposed from his office by the said Governors authoritie, and a papist called Master Alexander Marbeck to be chosen in his roome, that they might bring the more easily their wicked and ungodly enterprise to an end.

After the deposing of the former provost, and election of the other, in the moneth of Januarie the yeer aforesaid, on Saint Pauls day, came to Saint Johnston, the Governor, the Cardinall, the Earle of Argile, Justice Sir John Cambell of Lunde, Knight, and Justice Defor, the Lord Borthwike, the Bishops of Dunblane, and Orkeney, with certaine other of the Nobilitie. And although there were many accused for the crime of heresie (as they terme it) yet these persons onely were apprehended upon the said S. Pauls day, Robert Lambe, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Rabeleson, James Founleson, and Yellen Stirke his wife, and were cast that night in the Spay Tower of the said Citie, the morrow after to abide judgement.

Upon the morrow, when they appeared and were brought forth to judgement in the towne, was laid in generall to all their charge the violating of the Act of Parliament before expressed, and their conference and assemblies in hearing and expounding of Scripture against the tenor of the said Act. Robert Lambe was accused in speciall for interrupting of the frier in the pulpit, which he not onely confessed, but also affirmed constantly, that it was the dutie of no man, which understood and knew the truth, to heare the same impugned without contradiction; and therefore sundry which there were present in judgement, who hid the knowledge of the truth, should beare the burden in Gods presence for consenting to the same.

The said Robert also with William Anderson, and James Rabeleson were accused for hanging up the Image of Saint Francis in a cord, nailing of Rams hornes to his head, and a Cowes rumpe to his taile, and for eating of a goose on Alhallow Even.

James Hunter being a simple man and without learning, and a Fletcher by occupation, so that he could be charged with no great knowledge in doctrine, yet because he often used that suspect companie of the rest, he was accused.

The woman Yellen Stirke was accused, for that in her childbed she was not accustomed to call upon the name of the Virgin Mary, being exhorted thereto by her neighbours, but onely upon God for Jesus Christs sake, and because she said in like manner, that if she herselfe had beene in the time of the Virgin Mary, God might have looked to her humilitie and base estate, as he did to the Virgins, in making her the mother of Christ, thereby meaning, that there were no merits in the Virgin, which procured her that honour to be made the mother of Christ, and to be preferred before other women, but Gods onely free mercy exalted her to that estate. Which words were counted most execrable in the face of all the Clergie, and of the whole multitude.

James Rabeleson aforesaid, building a house, set upon the round of his fourth staire the three crowned Diadem of Peter carved of tree, which the Cardinall tooke as done in mockage of his Cardinals hat, and this procured no favour to the said James at their hands.

Rabeleson, for letting up in his house a triple crowne of S. Peter.

These forenamed persons upon the morrow after Saint Pauls day were condemned and judged to death, and that by an Assise, for violating (as was alledged) the Act of Parliament, in reasoning and conferring upon Scriptures, for eating flesh upon dayes forbidden, for interrupting the holy frier in the pulpit, for dishonouring of Images, and blaspheming of the Virgin Mary, as they alledged.

After sentence given, their hands were bound, and the men cruelly intreated. Which thing the woman beholding desired likewise to be bound by the Sergeants with her Husband for Christ his sake.

There was great intercession made by the town in the meane season for the life of these persons aforenamed, to the Governour, who of himselfe was willing so to have done, that they might have been delivered. But the Governour was so subject to the appetite of the cruell Priests, that he could not doe that which he would. Yea, they menaced to assist his enemies and to depose him, except he assisted their crueltie.

There were certaine priests in the citie, who did eat and drinke before in these honest mens houses, to whom the Priests were much bounden. These priests were earnestly desired to intreat for their holfesse at the Cardinals hands: but they altogether refused, desiring rather their death, then preservation. So cruell are these beasts from the lowest to the highest.

Then after, they were carried by a great band of armed men (for they feared rebellion in the towne except they had their men of warre) to the place of execution, which was common to all theeves, and that to make their cause appeare more odious to the people.

Robert Lambe at the gallowes foot made his exhortation to the people, desiring them to feare God, and leave the leaven of Papisticall abominations, and manifestly there prophecied of the ruine and plague which came upon the Cardinall thereafter. So every one comforting another, and assuring themselves that they should sup together in the kingdome of heaven that night, they commended themselves to God, and died constantly in the Lord.

The martyrdome of these good men.

The woman desired earnestly to die with her husband, but she was not suffered; yet following him to the place of execution, she gave him comfort, exhorting him to perseverance and patience for Christs sake, and parting from him with a kisse, said on this manner, Husband rejoyce, for we have lived together many joyfull dayes; but this day, in which we must die, ought to be most joyfull unto us both, because we must have joy for ever; therefore I will not bid you good night, for we shall suddenly meet with joy in the kingdome of heaven. The woman after was taken to a place to be drowned, and albeit she had a childe sucking on her brest, yet this moved nothing the unmercifull hearts of the

enemies. So after she had commended her children to the neighbours of the towne for Gods sake, and the sucking barne was given to the nurse, she sealed up the truth by her death. Ex Regist. & instrumentis a Scotia missis.

The condemnation of Master George Wisehart Gentleman, who suffered Martyrdome for the faith of Christ Iesus at S. Andrewes in Scotland, An. 1546. Mar. 1. with the articles objected against him, and his answers to the same.

{ Anno. 1545. } The examination of master George Wisehart.

WIth most tender affection and unfained heart consider (gentle reader) the uncharitable manner of the accusation of Master George Wisehart, made by the bloudy enemies of Christs Faith. Note also the articles whereof he was accused, by order digested, and his mark answers so far as he had leave and leisure to speake. Finally, ponder with no dissembling spirit the furious rage and tragicall cruelnesse of the malignant Church, in persecuting of this blessed man of God; and of the contrary, his humble, patient, and most godly answers made to them suddenly without all feare, not having respect to their glorious menacings and boisterous threats, but charitably and without stop answering, not moving his countenance, nor changing his visage, as in his accusation hereafter following manifestly shall appeare.

But before I enter into his articles, I thought it not impertinent somewhat to touch concerning the life and conversation of this godly man, according as of late it came to my hands, certified in writing by a certaine scholler of his sometime named Emerie Tylney, whose words of testimoniall, as he wrote them to me, here follow.

About the yeere of our Lord, 1543. there was in the Universitie of Cambridge one M. George Wisehart, commonly called master George of Benets colledge, who was a man of tall stature, pold headed, and on the same a round French cap of the best; judged to be of melancholy complexion by his Physiognomie, black haired, long bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his countrey of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learne, and was well travelled, having on him, for his habite or clothing, never but a mantle or friese gowne to the shoes, a black Millian Fustian doublet, and plaine black hosen, course new Canvalle for his shirts, and white falling bands and Cuffes at his hands. All the which Apparell he gave to the poore, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly as he liked, saving his French cap which he kept the whole yeere of my being with him.

He was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating Covetousnesse; for his charitie had never end, night, noone, nor day; he forbare one meale in three, one day in foure for the most part, except something to comfort nature. He lay hard upon a pusse of straw, and course new Canvalle Sheetes, which when he changed, he gave away. He had commonly by his bed side a tub of water, in the which, (his people being in bed, the candle put out, and all quiet) he used to bathe himselfe, as I being very young, being assured, often heard him, and in one light night discerned him; he loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. He taught with great modestie and gravitie, so that some of his people thought him severe, & would have slaine him, but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them, and went his way. O that the Lord had left him to me his poore Boy, that he might have finished that he had begun. For in his religion he was as you see here in the rest of his life, when he went into Scotland with divers of the nobilitie, that came for a treaty to King Henry the eight. His learning was no lesse sufficient, then his desire; alwaies prest and ready to doe good in that he was able, both in the house privately, and in the schole publikely, professing and reading divers authors.

{ King Hen. 8. }

If I should declare his love to me, and all men, his charitie to the poore, in giving, releeving, caring, helping, providing, yea infinitely studying how to doe good unto all, and hurt to none, I should sooner want words then just cause to commend him.

All this I testifie with my whole heart, and truth, of this godly man. He that made all, governeth all, and shall judge all, knoweth that I speake the truth, that the simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, the hypocrite disclosed.

T. & G.

Emery Tylney.

Dogmata ejusdem Georgii.

Fides sola sine operibus justificatr.
Opera ostendunt & ostentant fidem.
Romana Ecclesia putative caput mundi.
Lex canonica caput Papæ.
Missæ ministerium, mysterium iniquitatis.

To the said Master George, being in captivitie in the castle of Saint Andrewes, the Deane of the same towne was sent by the commandement of the Cardinall, and his wicked Counsell, and there summoned the said Master George, that he should upon the morning following appeare before the judge, then and there to give account of his seditious and heretical doctrine.

M. George Wisehart summoned out of prison to appeare.

To whom master George answered, what needeth, said he, my Lord Cardinall to summon me to answer for my doctrine openly before him, under whose power and dominion I am thus straightly bound with yrons? may not my Lord compell me to answer of his ertort power? Or beleeveth he that I am unprovided to render account of my doctrine? To manifest your selves what men ye are, it is well done that ye keep your old ceremonies, and constitutions made by men.

M. George Wisehart's answer to the Deane that summoned him.

Upon the next morning, the Lord Cardinall caused his servants to addresse themselves in their most warlike array, with Jack, Knapskal, Splent, Speare, and Ar, more seeming for the Warre, then for the preaching of the true Word of God.

And when these armed Champions marching in warlike order had conveyed the Bishops into the Abbey Church, incontinently they sent for master George, who was conveyed into the said Church by the Captaine of the Castle, accompanied with an hundred men addressed in manner aforesaid; Like a Lambe led they him to sacrifice. As he entred into the Abbey church dore, there was a poore man lying, vexed with great infirmities, asking of him his almes, to whom he flung his purse. And when he came before the Lord Cardinall, by and by the Subprior of the Abbey, called Deane John Winryme, stood up in the Pulpit, and made a sermon to all the congregation there then assembled, taking his matter out of the viij. Chapter of Mathew, whose sermon was divided into foure principall parts.

M. Wisehart brought againe before the Bishops.

M. Wisehart casteth his purse to a poore man.

The sermon of I. Winryme.

The first part was a briefe and short declaration of the Evangelist.

The second part, of the interpretation of the good seed. And because he called the Word of God the good seed, and heresie the evill seed, he declared what

KING HEN. 8. Heresie defined.

what heresie was, and how it should be knowne; which he defined on this manner, Heresie is a false opinion defended with pertinacy, clerely repugning the Word of God.

The cause of heresie.

The third part of his sermon was, the cause of heresie within that realme, and all other realmes. The cause of heresie (quoth he) is the ignorance of them which have the cures of mens souls: to whom it necessarily belongeth to have the true understanding of the Word of God, that they may be able to winne againe the false Doctors of heresies, with the sword of the spirit, which is the Word of God; and not onely to winne againe, but also to overcome them, as saith Paul, A Bishop must be faultlesse, as it becometh the Minister of God, not stubborne, nor angry, no drunkard, no fighter, nor given to filthy lucre, but harborous, one that loveth goodnesse, sober minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to improve that which they say against him.

1. 7.

The manner to know an heretike.

The fourth part of his Sermon was how heresies should be knowne. Heresies (quoth he) be knowne after this manner: as the Goldsmith knoweth the fine gold from the unperfect, by the Touchstone: so likewise may we know heresie by the undoubted Touchstone, that is, the true, sincere, and undefiled Word of God. At the last he added, That heretikes should be put downe in this present life. To which proposition the Gospel appeared to repugne, which he intreated of; Let them grow unto the harvest; the harvest is the end of the world. Nevertheless, he affirmed that they should be put downe by the Civill Magistrate and Law. And when he ended his Sermon, incontinently they caused Master George to ascend into the pulpit, there to heare his accusation and articles. And right against him stood by one of the fed flock, a Monster, John Lauder, laden full of cursings written in paper. Of which he took out a roll, both long and also full of cursings, threats, maledictions, and words of devillish spight and malice, saying to the innocent Master George so many cruell and abominable words, and he hit him so spightfully with the Popes thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded lest the earth then would have swallowed him up quick. Notwithstanding he stood still with great patience, hearing their sayings, not once moving or changing his countenance.

The Gospel is of letting tares to grow unto harvest.

In Lauder a cler.

The way to know the ignorant.

When that this fed sow had read throughout all his lying menacings, his face running downe with sweat, and frothing at his mouth like a Boare, he spit at Master Georges face, saying, what answerest thou to these sayings, thou runnagate traitor, theefe, which we have duely proved by sufficient witnesse against thee? Master George hearing this, kneeled down upon his knees in the pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, sweetly and Christianly he answered to them all in this manner.

The fruits of the charitie.

Master George his answer.

Wisehartes answer.

MAny horrible sayings unto me a Christian man, many words abominable to heare ye have spoken here this day, which not only to teach, but also to think, I thought ever great abomination. Wherefore I pray your discretions quietly to heare me, that ye may know what were my sayings and the manner of my doctrine. This my petition (my Lord) I desire to be heard for three causes.

Three causes why Master Wisehart desireth to be heard.

The first is, Because through preaching of the Word of God his glory is made manifest. It is reasonable therefore, for the advancing of the glory of God, that ye heare me, teaching truly the pure word of God, without any dissimulation.

The second reason is, Because that your health springeth of the Word of God; for he worketh all things by his Word. It were therefore an unrighteous things, if ye should stop your eares from me, teaching truly the Word of God. The 2. cause.

The third reason is, because your doctrine uttereth many blasphemous and abominable words, not coming of the inspiration of God, but of the Devill, with no lesse perill then of my life. It is just therefore and reasonable that your discretions should know what my words and doctrine are, and what I have ever taught in my time in this realm, that I perish not unjustly, to the great perill of your soules. Wherefore both for the glory and honour of God, your owne health, and safegard of my life, I beseech your discretions to heare me, and in the meane time I shall recite my doctrine without any colour. The 3. cause.

Wisehartes doctrine.

First and chiefly, since the time I came into this realme, I taught nothing but the ten Commandements of God, the twelve Articles of the faith, and the prayer of the Lord in the Mother Tongue. Moreover, in Dundy I taught the Epistle of saint Paul to the Romanes. And I shall shew your discretions faithfully, what fashion and manner I used when I taught, without any humane dreade; so that your discretions give me your eares benevolent and attent.

Suddenly then with an high voice cried the Accuser the fed sow, Thou heretike, runnagate, Traitor, and theefe, it was not lawfull for thee to preach. Thou hast taken the power at thine owne hand, without any authoritie of the Church. We forethinke that thou hast been a preacher so long. Then all the whole Congregation of the Prelates, with their Complices, said these words; If we give him licence to preach, he is so crafty, and in the holy Scripture so exercised, that he will perswade the people to his opinion, and raise them against us.

The cry of the Scribes and Pharisees.

Master George seeing their malicious & wicked intent, appealed from the Lord Cardinall to the Lord Governor, as to an indifferent and equall Judge. To whom the accuser, John Lauder aforesaid, with hoggish voice answered; Is not my Lord Cardinall the second person within this Realme, Chancellor of Scotland, Archbishop of Saint Andrewes, Bishop of Meropois, Commendator of Aberbrothoke, Legatus natus, Legatus à Latere? And so reciting as many titles of his unworthy honours as would have loden a ship, much sooner an asse; Is not he (quoth John Lauder) an equall Judge apparantly unto thee? Whom other desirest thou to be thy Judge?

Wisehart appealeth to the Governor.

The style and titles of the Archbishop of S. Andrewes.

To whom this humble man answering, said, I refuse not my Lord Cardinall, but I desire the Word of God to be my Judge, and the Temporall Estate, with some of your Lordships mine auditors, because I am here my Lord Governors prisoner. Whereupon the pridefull and scornfull people that stood by mocked him, saying, Such man, such Judge; speaking seditious and reprochfull words against the Governor and other the Nobles, meaning them also to be heretikes. And incontinent without all delay they would have given sentence upon Master George, and that without further processe, had not certain men there counselled the Cardinall to read againe the Articles, and to heare his answers thereupon, that the people might not complaine of his wrongfull condemnation.

The words of the people against the L. Governor.

And shortly to declare, these were the Articles following, with his answers, as far as they would give him leave to speake. For when he entended to mitigate their leasings, and shew the manner of his doctrine, by and by they stopped his mouth with another Article.

I THou false heretike, runnagate, traitour and theefe, deceiver of the people, thou despi-

ſeſt the holy Church, and in like caſe contemneſt my Lord Governors authoritie. And this we know for ſuretie, that when thou preachedſt in Dundy, and was charged by my Lord Governors authoritie to deſiſt, nevertheleſſe thou wouldeſt not obey, but perſeveredſt in the ſame; and therefore the Biſhop of Brothen curſed thee, and delivered thee into the devils hands, and gave thee in commandment that thou ſhouldeſt preach no more. That notwithſtanding, thou didſt continue obſtinately.

Anſwer. **My Lords, I have read in the Acts of the Apoſtles, that it is not lawful to deſiſt from the preaching of the Goſpel for the threats and menaces of men. Therefore it is written,** We ſhall rather obey God then men. **I have alſo read in the Prophet Malachy,** I ſhall curſe your bleſſings, and bleſſe your curſings, **beleeving firmely, that the Lord will turne your curſings into bleſſings.**

Acts 5.

Malach. 2.

2 Article. 2 Thou falſe heretike didſt ſay, That the prieſt, ſtanding at the Altar ſaying maſſe, was like a Fox wagging his taile in July.

Anſwer. **My Lords, I ſaid not ſo, Theſe were my ſayings; The moving of the body outward, without the inward moving of the heart, is naught elſe but the playing of an Ape, and not the true ſerving of God. For God is a ſecret ſearcher of mens hearts; therefore who will truely adore and honor God, he muſt in ſpirit and veritie honour him. Then the accuſer ſtopped his mouth with another Article.**

3 article. 3 Thou falſe heretike preachedſt againſt the Sacraments, ſaying, that there were not ſeven Sacraments.

Anſwer. Of the ſeven Sacraments. **My Lords, if it be your pleaſures, I never taught of the number of the Sacraments, whether they were ſeven or eleven. So many as are inſtituted by Chriſt, and are ſhewed to us by the Evangel, I profeſſe openly. Except it be the word of God I dare affirme nothing.**

4 Article. 4 Thou falſe heretike haſt openly taught, that auricular confeſſion is not a bleſſed ſacrament. And thou ſayeſt that we ſhould onely confeſſe us to God, and to no prieſt.

Anſwer. Confeſſion, what it is, and to whom it ought to be made. **My Lords, I ſay, that auricular confeſſion, ſeeing that it hath no promiſe of the Evangel, therefore it cannot be a ſacrament. Of the confeſſion to be made to God, there are many teſtimonies in Scripture, as when David ſaith,** I thought I would knowledge mine iniquitie againſt my ſelfe unto the Lord, and he forgave the puniſhment of my ſinne, Pſalme 32. **Here Confeſſion ſignifieth the ſecret knowledge of our ſinnes before God. When I exhorted the people in this manner, I reproved no manner of Confeſſion. And further Saint James ſaith,** Knowledge your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be healed. **When that he had ſaid theſe words, the Biſhops and their complices cried, and grinned with their teeth, ſaying, See ye not what colours he hath in his ſpeaking, that he may beguile us and ſeduce us to his opinion?**

Iames 5.

5 Article. 5 Thou heretike diddeſt ſay openly, that it was neceſſary to every man to know and underſtand his baptiſme, and what it was, contrary to generall Councels and the eſtate of the holy Church.

Anſwer. **My Lords, I beleeve there be none ſo unwiſe here, that will make merchandiſe with a French man, or any other unknowne ſtranger, except he know and underſtand firſt the condition or promiſe made by the Frenchman or ſtranger: So likewiſe I would that we underſtood what thing we promiſe in the name of the infant unto God in Baptiſme. For this cauſe I beleeve ye have confirmation. Then ſaid Maſter Bleifer Chaplaine, that he had the devill within him, and the ſpirit of Error. Then anſwered him a childe, ſaying, The Devill cannot ſpeake ſuch words as yonder man doth ſpeake.**

Baptiſme, how neceſſary it is to be knowne of all men. Confirmation wherefore it ſerveth. *Ex ore infantium.*

6 Article. 6 Thou heretike, traitor, and theefe, thou ſaideſt that the Sacrament of the Altar was but a peece of bread baked upon the aſhes, and no other thing elſe, and all that is there done, is but a ſuperſtitious rite againſt the commandement of God.

Anſwer. The papiſts reproved for liers and miſreporters. **Oh Lord God, ſo manifeſt lies and blaſphemies the Scripture doth not teach you. As concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, my Lords, I never taught any thing againſt the Scripture, the which I ſhall, by Gods grace, make manifeſt this day, I being ready therefore to ſuffer death.**

The lawfull uſe of the ſacrament of the Altar. **The lawfull uſe of the ſacrament is moſt acceptable unto God; but the great abuſe of it is very deteſtable unto him. But what occaſion they have to ſay ſuch words of me, I ſhall ſhortly ſhew your Lordſhips. I once chanced to meet with a Jew, when I was ſailing upon the water of Rhene. I did inquire of him what was the cauſe of his pertinacie, that he did not beleeve that the true Meſſias was come, conſidering that they had ſeen all the Prophecies which were ſpoken of him to be fulfilled. Moreover, the Prophecies taken away, and the ſcepter of Juda, and by many other teſtimonies of the Scripture I banquiſhed him that Meſſias was come, the which they called Jeſus of Nazareth. This Jew anſwered againe unto me, when Meſſias cometh, he ſhall reſtore all things, and he ſhall not abrogate the Law, which was given to our forefathers, as ye doe. For why? we ſee the poore almoſt periſh through hunger amongſt you; yet you are not moved with pitie toward them: but amongſt us Jewes (though we be poore) there are no beggers found.**

The ſtory of a Jew.

The principall cauſes which ſtop the Jewes from Chriſtianitie.

Images. **Secondarily, it is forbidden by the Law to faine any kinde of imagery of things in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the ſea under the earth, but one God onely is to be honoured: but your ſanctuaries and Churches are full of Idols.**

The ſacrament of the Altar. **Thirdly, a peece of bread baken upon the aſhes ye adore and worſhip, and ſay, that it is your God. I have rehearſed here but the ſayings of the Jew, which I never affirmed to be true. Then the Biſhops ſhooke their heads, and ſpitted on the earth, and what I meant further in this matter they would not heare.**

7 Article. 7 Thou falſe heretike didſt ſay, that extreme unction was not a Sacrament.

Anſwer. **My Lords, forſooth I never taught any thing of extreme unction in my doctrine, whether it were a ſacrament or no.**

8 Article. 8 Thou falſe heretike ſaidſt, that holy water is not ſo good as waſh and ſuch like. Thou condemnedſt conjuring, and ſaidſt holy Churches curſings availe not.

Anſwer. **My Lords, as for holy water what ſtrength it is of I taught never in my doctrine. Conjurings and Crociſmes, if they were conformable to the word of God, I would commend them; but inſomuch as they are not conformable to the commandement and word of God, I reprove them.**

9 Article. 9 Thou falſe heretike and runnagate haſt ſaid, that every lay-man is a prieſt, and ſuch like. Thou ſaidſt, that the pope hath no more power, then any other man.

Anſwer. **My Lords, I taught nothing but the word of God, I remember that I have read in ſome places in S. John and S. Peter, of the which the one ſaith** He hath made us kings and prieſts. **The other ſaith,** He hath made us a kingly prieſthood. **Wherefore I have affirmed that any man being cunning in the word of God, and the true faith of Jeſus Chriſt, hath his power given him from God, and not by the power or violence of men, but by the vertue of the word of God, the which word is called the power of God as witneſſeth S. Paul evidently enough.** And againe I ſay, that any unlearned man, not exerciſed in the word of God, nor yet conſtant in his faith, whatſoever eſtate or order he be of, I ſay, he hath no power to binde or looſe, ſeeing he wanteth the inſtrument, by the which he bindeth or looſeth, that is to ſay, the word of God.

Apoc. 1. and 5. 1 Pet. 2.

Rom. 1.

The inſtrument to binde and looſe.

After

KING HEN. 8.

After that he had ſaid theſe words, all the biſhops laughed, and mocked him. When that he beheld their laughing, Laugh ye (ſaith he) my Lords? Though that theſe ſayings appeare ſcornefull and worthy of deriſion to your Lordſhips, nevertheleſſe they are very weighty to me, and of a great value, becauſe they ſtand not onely upon myſelfe, but alſo the honour and glory of God. In the mean time many godly men beholding the woodneſſe and great crueltie of the biſhops, and the invincible patience of Maiſter George, did greatly mourne and lament.

o Article.

10 Thou falſe heretike ſaideſt, that a man hath no free will, but is like to the Stoikes, which ſay, that it is not in mans will to doe any thing, but that all concupiſcence and deſire cometh by God, whatſoever kinde it be of.

nſwer.

hn 8.

My Lords, I ſaid not ſo, truly; I ſay, that as many as beleeve in Chriſt firmely, unto them is given libertie, conformable to the ſaying of S. John, If the Sonne make you free, then ſhall ye verily be free. Of the contrary, as many as beleeve not in Chriſt Jeſus, they are bondſervants of ſinne, He that ſinneth is bound to ſinne.

Article.

11 Thou falſe heretike ſaideſt, it is as lawfull to eat fleſh upon the Friday, as on Sunday.

nſwer. im. 1.

Pleaſeth it your Lordſhips, I have read in the Epiſtles of Saint Paul, that who is cleane, unto him all things are cleane. On the contrary, to the filthy man all things are uncleane. A faithfull man, cleane and holy, ſanctifieth by the word the creature of God. But the creature maketh no man acceptable unto God. So that a creature may not ſanctifie any impure and unfaithfull man. But to the faithfull man all things are ſanctified by the word of God and prayer. After theſe ſayings of Maiſter George, then ſaid all the Biſhops with their complices, what nædeth us any witneſſe againſt him? hath he not openly here ſpoken blaſphemie?

ating of eates.

he creature ch not ſancti- without the ord.

Article.

12 Thou falſe heretike doeſt ſay, that we ſhould not pray to Saints, but to God onely, Say whether thou haſt ſaid this, or no; ſay ſhortly.

nſwer.

For the weakneſſe and infirmitie of the hearers, he ſaid without doubt plainly, that Saints ſhould not be honoured. My Lord (ſaid he) there are two things worthy of note. The one is certain, the other uncertaine. It is found plainly and certaine in Scripture, that we ſhould worſhip and honour one God, according to the ſaying of the firſt commandement, Thou ſhalt onely worſhip and honour thy Lord God, with all thy heart. But as for praying to and honduring of ſaints, there is great doubt among many, whether they heare, or no, invocation made unto them. Therefore I exhorted all men equally in my doctrine, that they ſhould leave the unſure way, and follow that way which was taught us by our Maiſter Chriſt. He is our onely mediatour, and maketh interceſſion for us to God his Father. He is the dore by the which we muſt enter in. He that entreth not in by this dore, but climeth another way, is a theefe and a murtherer. He is the veritie and life. He that goeth out of this way, there is no doubt but he ſhall fall into the mire; yea verily, is fallen into it already. This is the faſhion of my doctrine, the which I have ever followed. Verily, that which I have heard and read in the word of God I taught openly, and in no corners. And now ye ſhall witneſſe the ſame, if your Lordſhips will heare me. Except it ſtand by the word of God, I dare not be ſo bold to affirme any thing. Theſe ſayings be reherſed divers times.

o honor one od is cer- me. Mat. 4.

he ſure way is be followed.

Article.

13 Thou falſe heretike haſt preached plainly, ſaying that there is no purgatorie, and that it is a fained thing, any man after this life to be puniſhed in purgatorie.

nſwer.

My Lords, as I have oftentimes ſaid heretofore, without expreſſe witneſſe and teſtimonie of the Scripture I dare affirme nothing. I have oft and divers times read over the Bible, and yet ſuch a terme found I never, nor yet any place of Scripture applicable thereunto. Therefore I was aſhamed ever to teach of that thing which I could not find in the ſcripture. Then ſaid he to Maiſter John Lauder his accuſer, If you have any teſtimonie of the Scripture, by the which you may probe any ſuch place, ſhew it now before this auditory. But this dolt had not a word to ſay for himſelfe, but was as dumbe as a bætle in that matter.

Purgatorie not once named in Scripture.

14 Thou falſe heretike haſt taught plainly againſt the vowes of Monks, Friers, Nunnes, and Prieſts; ſaying, That whoſoever was bound to ſuch like vowes, they vowed themſelves to the eſtate of damnation. Moreover, that it was lawfull for Prieſts to marrie wives, and not to live ſole.

14 Article.

Of troth, my Lords, I have read in the Evangell, that there are three kindes of chaſte men; ſome are gelded from their mothers woombe; ſome are gelded by men; and ſome have gelded themſelves for the kingdome of heavens ſake. Verily, I ſay theſe men are bleſſed by the ſcripture of God. But as many as have not the gift of chaſtitie, nor yet for the Evangell have overcome the concupiſcence of the fleſh, and have vowed chaſtitie; ye have experience, although I ſhould hold my peace, to what inconvenience they have vowed themſelves.

Anſwer. Mat. 13. Three kindes of chaſte men.

The danger of unchaſtitie.

When he had ſaid theſe words, they were all dumbe, thinking better to have ten Concubines, then one married wife.

15 Thou falſe heretike and runnagate ſayeſt, thou wilt not obey our generall nor provinciall Councels.

15 Article.

My Lords, what your generall Councels are I know not, I was never exerciſed in them, but to the pure word of God I gave my labours. Reade here your generall Councels, or els give me a booke wherein they are contained, that I may read them. If they agree with the word of God, I will not diſagree. Then the ravening wolves turned into woodnes and ſaid, Wherefore let we him ſpeak any further? Read forth the reſt of the articles, and ſtay not upon them. Among theſe cruell Tygers there was one falſe hypocrite, a ſeducer of the People, called John Graiſind Scot, ſtanding behinde John Lauders back, haſtning him to reade the reſt of the articles, and not to tarry upon his witty and godly anſwers. For we may not abide them, quoth he, no more then the devill may abide the ſigne of the Croſſe, when it is named.

Anſwer.

They run apace to ſhed blood.

Jo. Grayfind Scot an haſty butcher to his ſlaughter.

16 Thou heretike ſayeſt, that it is in vaine to build to the honour of God coſtly Churches, ſeeing that God remaineth not in the Churches made with mens hands, nor yet can God be in ſo little ſpace as betwixt the Prieſts hands.

16 Article.

My Lords, Solomon ſaith, If that the heaven of heavens cannot comprehend thee, how much leſſe this houſe that I have builded? And Job conſenteth to the ſame ſentence, Seeing that he is higher then the heavens, therefore what canſt thou build unto him? He is deeper then hell, then how ſhalt thou know him? He is longer then the earth, and broader then the Sea. So that God cannot be comprehended in one place, becauſe that he is infinite. Theſe ſayings notwithſtanding, I never ſaid that Churches ſhould be deſtroyed, but of the contrary I affirmed ever, that Churches ſhould be ſuſtained and upholden, that the people ſhould be congregated into them, there to heare of God. And moreover, whereſoever is true preaching of the word of God, and the lawfull uſe of the Sacraments, undoubtedly there is God himſelfe: ſo that both theſe ſayings are true together; God cannot be comprehended in any place, and whereſoever two or three are gathered together in his name, there is he preſent in the middeſt of them.

Anſwer. 3 Reg. 8. Iob 11.

Whereunto Churches ſhould ſerve.

Then ſaid he to his Accuſer, If you think any

otherwise then I say, shew forth your reasons before this auditorie. Then he without all reason being dumbe, and not answering one word, proceeded forth in his articles.

17 Article. 17 Thou false heretike contemnest fasting, and sayest thou shouldest not fast.

Answer. True fasting he alloweth. My Lords, I finde that fasting is commended in the Scripture; therefore I were a slanderer of the Gospel, if I contemned fasting. And not so onely, but I have learned by experience, that fasting is good for the health of the body; but God knoweth who fasteth the true fast.

18 Article. 18 Thou false heretike hast preached openly, saying, that the soule of man shall sleepe till the latter day of judgement, and shall not obtaine life immortall untill that day.

Answer. The faithfull soule shall never sleepe. God full of mercy and goodnesse forgide them that say such things of me: I wot and know surely by the word of God, that he which hath begun to have the faith of Jesus Christ, and beleeveth firmely in him, I know surely that the soule of that man shall never sleep, but ever shall live an immortall life. The which life from day to day is renued in grace and augmented; nor yet shall ever perish or have an end, but ever immortall shall live with Christ. To the which life all that beleeve in him shall come, and rest in eternall glory, Amen.

When the bishops with their complices had accused this innocent man in manner and forme aforesaid, incontinently they condemned him to be burnt as an heretike, not having respect to his godly answers and true reasons which he alledged, nor yet to their owne consciences, thinking verily that they should do to God good sacrifice, conformable to the saying of Saint John, They shall excommunicate you: yea, and the time shall come, that he which killeth you, shall thinke that he hath done to God good service.

John 16.

The Prayer of Master George Wisehart.

The prayer of M. George Wisehart, for the congregation of God. O Immortall God, how long shalt thou suffer the woodnesse and great crudelity of the ungodly to exercise their furie upon thy servants which doe further thy word in this world, seeing they desire to be contrary, that is, to choke and destroy the true doctrine and veritie, by the which thou hast shewed thy selfe unto the world, which was all drowned in blindnes & misknowledge of thy name. O Lord, we know surely that thy true servants must needs suffer, for thy Names sake, persecution, affliction and troubles in this present life, which is but a shadow, as thou hast shewed to us, by thy Prophets and Apostles. But yet we desire thee heartily, that thou conserve, defend and helpe thy congregation, which thou hast chosen before the beginning of the world, and give them thy grace to heare thy word, and to be thy true servants in this present life.

Then by and by they caused the common people to void away, whose desire was alwaies to heare that innocent man to speake. Then the sonnes of darknesse pronounced their sentence definitive, not having respect to the judgement of God. And when all this was done and said, the Cardinall caused his warders to passe againe with the meeke lambe into the Castle, untill such time as the fire was made ready. When he was come into the Castle, then there came two gray fiends, Frier Scot and his mate, saying, Sir, ye must make your confession unto us. He answered and said, I will make no confession unto you. Goe fetch me yonder man that preached this day, and I will make my confession unto him. Then they sent for the subprior of the Abbey, who came to him with all diligence. But what he said in this confession, I cannot shew.

When the fire was made ready, and the gallows at the West part of the Castle neere to the priorie, the Lord Cardinall dreading that Master George should have beene taken away by his friends, commanded to bend all the Ordnance of the castle right against that part, and commanded all his Gunners to be ready and stand beside their Gunnes, untill such time as he were burned. All this being done, they bound Master Georges hands behinde his backe, and led him forth with their souldiers from the castle, to the place of their wicked execution. As he came forth of the Castle gate, there met him certaine beggers asking his almes for Gods sake. To whom he answered, I want my hands wherewith I should give you almes, but the mercifull Lord, of his benignitie and aboundance of grace that feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you necessaries both unto your bodies and soules. Then afterward met him two false fiends, I should say Friers, saying, Master George, pray to our Lady, that she may be Mediatrix for you to her Sonne. To whom he answered mekely, Cease, tempt me not, my brethren. After this he was led to the fire with a rope about his necke, and a chaine of yron about his middle.

M. Wisehart prayeth for the relefe of the poore.

M. Wisehart answereth the Friers tempting him.

When that he came to the fire, he sate downe upon his knees and rose againe, and thrise he said these words, O thou Savior of the world have mercy on me. Father of heaven I commend my spirit into thy holy hands. When he had made this prayer, he turned him to the people and said these words.

The words and exhortation of M. Wisehart at his death to the people. I beseech you Christian brethren and sisters, that ye be not offended in the word of God for the affliction and torments, which ye see already prepared for me. But I exhort you that you love the word of God, and suffer patiently and with a comfortable heart for the words sake, which is your undoubted Salvation, and everlasting comfort.

Moreover, I pray you shew my brethren and sisters, which have heard me oft before, that they cease not, nor leave off the word of God which I taught unto them, after the grace given to me, for any persecutions or troubles in this world, which last not; and shew unto them, that my Doctrine was no old wives fables after the constitutions made by men. And if I had taught mens doctrine I had gotten great thankes by men. But for the words sake and true Evangell, which was given to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and minde. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire for Christs sake. Consider and behold my visage, ye shall not see me change my colour. This grim fire I feare not. And so I pray you to do, if that any persecution come unto you for the Words sake, and not to feare them that slay the body, and afterward have no power to slay the soule. Some have said of me, that I taught, that the soule of man should sleepe untill the last day. But I know surely, and my faith is such, that my soule shall sup with my Saviour Christ this night, ere it be sir houres; for whom I suffer this. Then he prayed for them which accused him, saying, I beseech thee father of heaven to forgive them that have of any ignorance, or else have of any evill minde, forged any lies upon me, I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly.

The constant patience of this good man.

M. George Wisehart prayeth for his enemies and forgiveth them.

And last of all he said to the people on this manner; I beseech you brethren and sisters to exhort your Prelates to the learning of the word of God, that they at the last may be ashamed to doe evill, and learne to doe good. And if they will not convert themselves from their wicked errour, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew. Many faithfull words said he in the meane time, taking no heed or care of the cruell torments, which were then prepared for him.

M. George Wisehart prophesieth of the death of the Cardinall, which followed after.

And

KING HEN. 8.

And laſt of all the hangman, that was his tormentor, ſate down upon his knées, and ſaid; Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death. To whom he anſwered, come hither to me. When that he was come to him, he kiſſed his cheek,

The martyrdome of maſter George Wiſehart.

and ſaid, Lo here is a token that I forgive thée. My heart do thine office; and by and by he was put upon the gibbet and hanged, and there burnt to powder. When that the people beheld the great tormenting, they might not withhold from pitious mourning and complaining of this innocent lambs ſlaughter.

A Note of the juſt puniſhment of God upon the cruell Cardinall Archbiſhop of S. Andrews, named Beaton.

IT was not long after the martyrdome of the bleſſed man of God, maſter George Wiſehart aforeſaid, who was put to death by David Beaton, the bloody Archbiſhop and Cardinall of Scotland, as is above ſpecified, Anno, 1546. the firſt day of March, but the ſaid David Beaton Archbiſhop of S. Andrews, by the juſt revenge of Gods mightie judgement, was ſlain within his own caſtle of S. Andrews by the hands of one Lech and other gentlemen, who, by the Lord ſtirred up, brake in ſuddenly into his caſtle upon him, and in his bed murthered him the ſaid yéar, the laſt day of May, crying out, Alas, alas, ſlay me not, I am a Prieſt. And ſo like a Butcher he lived, and like a Butcher he died, and lay ſeven moneths and more unburied, and at laſt like a Carrion buried in a Dunghill, Anno, 1546. Maii ult. Ex hiſtor. Impreſſa.

After this David Beaton ſucceéded John Hamelton Archbiſhop of S. Andrews, Ann. 1549. who to the intent that he might in no waies appeare inferiour to his predeceſſour, in augmenting the number of the holy martyrs of God, in the next yéar following called a certain poore man to judgement, whoſe name was Adam Wallace. The order and manner of whoſe storie here followeth.

The ſtory and martyrdome of Adam Wallace in Scotland.

THere was ſet upon a Scaffold made hard to the Chancelarie wall of the black Friers Church in Edenborough, on ſeats made thereupon, the L. Governour. Above him at his back ſate Maſter Galwin Hamelton Dean of Glaſgue, repreſenting the Metropolitane Paſtor thereof. Upon a ſeat on his right hand ſate the Archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews. At his back, and aſide somewhat ſtood the Officiall Louthaine. Next to the Biſhop of ſaint Andrews, the Biſhop of Dunblane, the Biſhop of Murray, the Abbot of Dunfermeling, the Abbot of Gleuluce, with other Churchmen of lower eſtimation, as the Officiall of ſaint Andrews, and other Doctors of that neſt and Citie. And at the other end of the ſeat ſat maſter Uchiltrie. On his left hand ſat the Earl of Argyle Juſtice, with his Depntie ſir John Campbell of Lundy at his féet. Next him the Earle of Huntley. Then the Earl of Anguiſh, the Biſhop of Gallaway, the Prior of ſaint Andrews, the Biſhop of Dikenay, the Lord Forbes, Dean John Winryme Subprior of Saint Andrews, and behinde the ſeats ſtood the whole Senate, the Clark of the Regiſter, &c.

Adam Wallace martyr.

The condemnation of Adam Wallace, a poore man.

convenerunt ſcribæ & Phariſæi adverſus dominum, & adverſus Chriſtum ejus.

At the further end of the Chancelarie wall in the pulpit was placed maſter John Lauder Parſon of Harbottle accuſer, clad in a ſurplice, and a red hood, and a great congregation of the whole people in the bodie of the Church, ſtanding on the ground. After that, ſir John Ker, Prebendary of S. Gyles church, was accuſed, convicted, and condemned, for the falſe making and giving forth of a ſentence of divorce, whereby he falſely divorced and parted a man and his lawfull wife in the name of the Dean of Roſcalrige and certain other Judges appointed by the holy father the Pope. He granted the falſehood, and that never any ſuch thing was done indéed, nor yet meant nor moved by the foreſaid Judges, and was agréed to be baniſhed the Realms of Scotland and England for his life time, and to loſe his right hand, if he were found or apprehended therein after, and in the meane time to leave his Benefices for ever, and they to be vacant.

Barrabas let go, poore Chriſt taken and crucified.

After that was brought in Adam Wallace, a ſimple poore man in appearance, conveyed by John of Cunnoke ſervant to the Biſhop of ſaint Andrews, and ſet in the midſt of the Scaffold, who was commanded to look to the accuſer; who aſked him what was his name, he anſwered, Adam Wallace. The accuſer ſaid he had another name, which he granted, and ſaid he was commonly called Feane. Then aſked he where he was born? Within two mile of Fayle, ſaid he, in Kyle. Then ſaid the accuſer, I repent that ever ſuch a poore man as you ſhould put theſe noble Lords to ſo great encumbrance this day by your vaine ſpeaking. And I muſt ſpeake, ſaid he, as God giveth me grace, and I beléeve I have ſaid no evill to hurt any bodie. Would God (ſaid the accuſer) ye had never ſpoken; but you are brought forth for ſo horrible crimes of hereſie, as never were imagined nor heard of in this countrey before, and ſhall be ſufficiently proved, that ye cannot denie it; and I forethinke that it ſhould be heard, for hurting of weake conſciences. Now I will ye thee no more, and thou ſhalt heare the points that thou art accuſed of.

Adam Wallace brought in before the ſcribes and Pharisees.

John Lauder his accuſer.

Adam Wallace otherwiſe named John Feane.

Adam Wallace, alias Feane: thou art openly delated and accuſed for preaching, ſaying, and teaching of the blaſphemies and abominable hereſies under written. In the firſt thou haſt ſaid and taught that the bread & wine on the altar, after the words of conſecration, are not the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt. He turned to the Lord Governour, and Lords aforeſaid, ſaying; I never ſaid, nor taught any

The ſacrament of the Popiſh altar.

The doctrine of Adam Wallace touching the ſacrament of the Lords body.

any thing but that I found in this booke and writ (having there a Bible at his belt in French, Dutch, and Engliſh) which is the Word of God, and if you will be content that the Lord God & his Word be judge to me, and this his holy Writ, here it is, and where I have ſaid wrong, I ſhall take that punihment you ſhall put to me; for I never ſaid any thing concerning this that I am accuſed of, but that which I found in this Writ.

What didſt thou ſay, ſaid the accuſer? I ſaid, quoth he, that after our Lord Jeſus Chriſt had eaten the Paſchall Lambe in his latter ſupper with his Apoſtles, and fulfilled the ceremonies of the old Law, he inſtituted a new ſacrament in remembrance of his death then to come. He took bread, he bleſſed, and brake it, and gave it to his diſciples, and ſaid, Take ye, eat ye, this is my body which ſhall be broken and given for you. And likewiſe the cup, bleſſed, and bade them them drink all thereof, for that was the cup of the new Teſtament which ſhould be ſhed for the forgiving of many. How oft ye do this, do it in my remembrance.

Matth. 26.

The Archb. of S. Andrews ſpeaketh.

The Earle of Huntley ſpeaketh.

Then ſaid the Biſhop of S. Andrews and the Official of Louthain, with the Dean of Glaſgue, and many other Prelats, We know this well enough. The Earl of Huntley ſaid, Thou anſwereſt not to that which is laid to thee; ſay either nay or yea thereto. Ye anſwered, if ye will admit God and his word ſpoken by the mouth of his bleſſed Sonne Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour, ye will admit that which I have ſaid; for I have ſaid and taught nothing but what the Word, which is the triall and touchſtone, ſaith; which ought to be Judge to me, and to all the world.

Why (quoth the Earl of Huntley) hatt thou not a Judge good enough? and troweſt thou that we know not God and his Word? Anſwer to that is ſpoken to thee. And then they made the Accuſer ſpeak the ſame thing over again. Thou ſayeſt, quoth the Accuſer, and hatt taught, that the bread and wine in the ſacrament of the Altar, after the words of the conſecration, are not the bodie and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

Ye anſwered, I never ſaid more then the Writ ſaith, nor yet more then I have ſaid before. For I know well by S. Paul when he ſaith, Whoſoever eateth this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, receiveth to himſelf damnation. And therefore when I taught (which was but ſeldome, and to them onely which required and deſired me) I ſaid, That if the Sacrament of the Altar were truly miniſtred, and uſed as the Sonne of the living God did inſtitute it, where that was done, there was God himſelfe by his divine power, by the which he is over all.

1 Cor. 11.

The Biſhop of Orknay aſked him, Beleevеſt thou not, ſaid he, that the bread and wine in the ſacrament of the Altar, after the words of the conſecration, is the very body of God, fleſh, blood, and bone?

Adam Wallace anſwereth by his Creed.

Ye anſwered, I wote not what that word Conſecration meaneth. I have not much Latine, but I beleeve that the Sonne of God was conceived of the holy Ghoſt, and born of the virgin Mary, and hath a naturall body, with hands, feet, and other members, and in the ſame body he walked up and down in the world, preached and taught, he ſuffered death under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and that by his godly power he raiſed that ſame body again the third day; and the ſame body aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth at the right hand of the Father, which ſhall come again to judge both the quick and dead. And that this bodie is a naturall body with hands and feet, and cannot be in two places at once, he ſheweth well himſelf; for the which everlaſting thanks be to him that maketh this matter cleere: when the woman brake that ointment on him, anſwering to ſome of his Diſciples which grudged thereat, he ſaid, The poore ſhall you alwayes have with you, but me ye ſhall not have alwayes. Meaning of his naturall body. And likewiſe at his aſcenſion ſaid he to the ſame diſciples that were fleſhly, and would ever have had him remaining with them corporally; It is needfull for you that I paſſe away, for if I paſſe not away, the Comforter the holy Ghoſt ſhall not come to you; (meaning that his naturall body behooved to be taken away from them) But be ſtout and be of good cheere, for I am with you unto the worlds end.

{KING HEN. 6.}

Matth. 26.

John 16.

Matth. 28.

And that the eating of his very fleſh profiteth not, may well be known by his words which he ſpake in the ſixth of John; where after that he had ſaid, Except ye eat my fleſh and drinke my blood, ye ſhall not have life in you; they murmuring thereat, he reproved them for their groſſe and fleſhly taking of his words, and ſaid, What will ye think when ye ſee the Sonne of man aſcend to the place that he came from? It is the ſpirit that quickneth, the fleſh profiteth nothing, to be eaten as they took it, and even ſo take ye it.

The eating of the very fleſh of Chriſt profiteth nothing. John 6.

It is an horrible hereſie, ſaid the Biſhop of Orknay. When he began to ſpeak again, and bade the Lord governour judge if he had right by the writ, the accuſer cried, Ad ſecundam. Nunc ad ſecundam, anſwered the Archbiſhop of S. Andrews.

The Biſhop of Orknay ſpeaketh.

Then was he bidden to hear the Accuſer, who propounded the ſecond article, and ſaid, Thou ſaidſt likewiſe, and openly didſt teach that the Maſſe is very Idolatrie, and abominable in the ſight of God.

The 2 article againſt Adam Wallace.

Ye anſwered and ſaid, I have read the Bible and Word of God in three tongues, and have underſtood them ſo farre as God gave me grace, and yet never read I that word Maſſe in it all: but I found, ſaid he, that the thing that was higheſt and moſt in eſtimation amongſt men, and not in the Word of God, was idolatrie, and abominable in the ſight of God. And I ſay the Maſſe is holden greatly in eſtimation, and high amongſt men, and is not founded in the Word, therefore I ſaid it was Idolatrie, and abominable in the ſight of God. But if any man will finde it in the Scripture, and prove it by Gods word, I will grant mine errour, and that I have failed; Otherwiſe not. And in that caſe I will ſubmit me to all lawfull correction and punihment. Ad tertiam, ſaid the Archbiſhop.

Anſwer.

The Maſſe not found in Scripture. Argument.

Then ſaid the accuſer, Thou hatt ſaid and openly taught, That the God which we worſhip, is but bread, ſown of corn, growing of the earth, baked of mens hands, and nothing elſe.

3 Article.

Ye anſwered, I worſhip the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, three perſons in one Godhead, which made and faſhioned the heaven and earth, and all that is therein of nought; but I know not which God you worſhip: and if you will ſhew me whom you worſhip, I will ſhew you what he is, as I can by my judgement.

Anſwer.

The Popes god

Beleevеſt thou not (ſaid the accuſer) that the ſacrament of the Altar, after the words of the conſecration betwixt the Prieſts hands, is the very body and blood of the Sonne of God, and God himſelf? What the body of God is, ſaid he, and what kinde of body he hath, I have ſhewed you, ſo far as I have found in Scripture.

Then ſaid the accuſer, Thou hatt preached, ſaid, and openly taught divers and ſundry other great errors and abominable hereſies againſt all the ſeven ſacraments, which for ſhortneſſe of time I pretermit and overpaſſe. Whether doſt thou grant thy foreſaid articles that thou art accuſed of, or no, and thou ſhalt hear them ſhortly. And then repeated the accuſer the three articles aforeſaid ſhortly over, and aſked him whether he granted or denied them?

Chriſts naturall body cannot be in two places at once.

Ye anſwered that which before he had ſaid of his

KING HEN. 8.

his answers, and that he said nothing but agreeing to the holy word as he understood, so God judge him, and his owne conscience accuse him; and thereby would he abide unto the time he were better instructed by Scripture, and the contrary proved, even to the death: and he said to the Lord governour and other Lords, if you condemne me for holding by Gods word, my innocent blood shall be required at your hands, when ye shall be brought before the judgement seat of Christ, who is mighty to defend my innocent cause, before whom ye shall not deny it, nor yet be able to resist his wrath, to whom I refer the vengeance, as it is written, Vengeance is mine, and I will reward.

Then gave they forth sentence, and condemned him by the Laws, and so left him to the secular power, in the hands of sir John Campbel Justice deputy, who delivered him to the Provost of Edenborough to be burnt on the castle hill, who incontinent made him to be put in the uppermost house in the towne, with irons about his legs and necke, and gave charge to sir Hugh Merry to keep the key of the said house, an ignorant minister and impe of Satan and of the Bishops; who by direction sent to the poore man two Gray Friers to instruct him, with whom he would enter into no communing. Soon after that were sent in two black Friers, an English Frier, and another subtile sophister, called Arbirtromy, with the which English Frier he would have reasoned and declared his faith by the Scriptures. Who answered, he had no commission to enter into disputation with him, and so departed and left him.

Then was sent to him a worldly wise man, and not ungodly in the understanding of the truth, the Deane of Roscalrige, who gave him Christian consolation, among the which he exhorted him to beleeve the reality of the Sacrament after the consecration. But he would consent to nothing that had not evidence in the holy Scripture, and so passed over that night in singing, and lauding God to the tears of divers hearers, having learned the Psalter of David without book, to his consolation: For they had before spoiled him of his Bible, which alwayes, till after he was condemned, was with him where ever he went. After that sir Hugh knew that he had certain books to read and comfort his spirit, he came in a rage and took the same from him, leaving him desolate (to his power) of all consolation, and gave divers ungodly and injurious provocations by his devillish venome, to have perverted him a poore innocent, from the patience and hope he had in Christ his Saviour; but God suffered him not to be moved therewith, as plainly appeared to the hearers, and seers for the time.

So all the nert morning abode this poore man in irons, and provision was commanded to be made for his burning against the nert day. Which day the Lord governor, and all the principall both spirituall and temporall Lords, departed from Edenborough to their other businesse.

After they were departed, came the Deane of Roscalrige to him again, and reasoned with him after his wit. Who answered as before, he would say nothing concerning his faith, but as the Scripture testifieth, yea, though an Angel came from heaven to perswade him to the same; saving that he confessed himself to have received good consolation of the said Deane in other behalfs as becometh a Christian.

Then after came in the said Merry again, and examined him after his old manner, and said he would gar Devils to come forth of him ere Even. To whom he answered, You should rather be a godly man to give me consolation in my case. When I knew you were come, I prayed God I might resist your temptations; which, I thank him, he hath made me able to do; therefore I pray you let me alone in peace. Then he asked of one of the officers that stood by, is your fire making ready? Who told him it was. He answered, as it pleaseth God; I am ready soone or late as it shall please him; and then he spake to one faithfull in that company, and bade him commend him to all the faithfull, being sure to meet together with them in heaven. From that time, to his forth coming to the fire, spake no man with him.

At his forth coming, the Provost with great menacing words forbade him to speak to any man, or any to him, as belike he had commandement of his superiours. Coming from the town to the Castle hill, the common people said, God have mercy upon him. And on you too (said he.) Being beside the fire, he lifted up his eyes to heaven twice or thrice, and said to the people, Let it not offend you that I suffer death this day for the Truths sake; for the disciple is not greater then his Maker. Then was the Provost angry that he spake. Then looked he to heaven again, and said, They will not let me speak. The rope being about his neck, the fire was lighted, and so departed he to God constantly, and with good countenance to our sights. Ex testimoniis & literis è Scotia petitis, Anno 1550.

The words of Adam Wallace the Lord Governor and the rest.

Ebr. 10. Sentence of condemnation given against Adam Wallace.

Sir Hugh Merry an impe of Satan.

Friers sent to instruct Adam Wallace.

The Deane of Roscalrige sent to A. Wallace. The books of the good man taken from him.

The Provost of Edenborough forbiddeth him to speak to any man.

The words of Adam Wallace to the people.

The constant martyrdome of Adam Wallace.

The burning of the blessed Martyr *Adam Wallace.*

The Schisme that arose in Scotland for the *Pater noster.*

The Deane commeth again to Adam Wallace.

Sir Hugh Merry commeth again to Ad. Wallace.

A Schisme in Scotland by a sermon of Ric. Marshal a black Frier, preaching that the Pater noster should not be said to saints.

AFter that Richard Marshall, Doctor of Divinitie, and Prior of the Blacke Friers at the New Castle in England, had declared in his preachings at saint Andrews in Scotland, that the Lords prayer (commonly called the Pater noster) should be done onely to God, and not to Saints, neither to any other Creature; the Doctors of the Universitie of saint Andrews, together with the Gray Friers, who had long ago taught the people to pray the Pater noster to Saints, had great indignation that their old doctrine should be repugned, and stirred up a Gray Frier, called Frier Tottis;

Toittis, to preach again to the people, that they should and might pray the Pater noster to saints. Who finding no part of the Scripture to found his purpose upon, yet came to the Pulpit the first of November, being the Feast of Allhallows, Anno 1551. and took the Text of the Gospel for that day read in their Masse, written in the fifth of Matthew containing these words; Blessed are the poore in spirit, for to them pertaineth the kingdome of heaven.

Matth. 5.

The doctrine of the Papists holdeth that the Pater noster may be said to saints, and why.

This feeble foundation being laid, the Frier began to reason most impertinently, that the Lords prayer might be offered to saints, because everie petition thereof appertaineth to them. For if we met an old man in the street, said he, we will say to him, God day father, and therefore much more may we call the saints our Fathers; and because we grant also that they be in heaven, we may say to every one of them, Our Father which art in heaven. Our Father, God, hath made their names holy, and therefore ought we as followers of God, to hold their names holy, and so we may say to any of the saints, Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. And for the same cause, said the Frier, as they are in the kingdome of heaven, so that kingdome is theirs by possession, and so praying for the kingdome of heaven, we may say to them, and every one of them, Thy kingdome come. And except their will had been the very will of God, they had never come to that kingdome. And therefore seeing their will is Gods will, we may say to every one of them, Thy will be done.

Blasphemous doctrine against the glory and name of God.

A Frierly gloss upon the Pater noster.

The Friers sophistry here failed him.

But when the Frier came to the fourth petition, touching our daily bread, he began to be astonished and ashamed, so that he did sweat abundantly, partly because his sophistrie began to faile him, not finding such a colour for that part as for the other which went before, and partly because he spake against his owne knowledge and conscience; and so he was compelled to confesse that it was not in the Saints power to give us our daily bread, but that they should pray to God for us, said he, that we may obtain our daily bread by their intercession: and so glosed he the rest to the end. Not standing yet content with this detestable doctrine, he affirmed most blasphemously, that saint Pauls napkin, and saint Peters shadow did miracles, and that the vertue of Eliseus cloak divided the waters; attributing nothing to the power of God: with many other errors of the Papists, horrible to be heard.

Upon this, followed incontinent a dangerous schisme in the Church of Scotland: for not onely the Clergie, but the whole people were divided among themselves, one defending the Truth, and another the Papistrie; in such sort that there rose a Proverbe; To whom say you your Pater noster? And although the Papists had the upper hand as then, whose words were almost holden for Law (so great was the blindnesse of that age) yet God so inspired the hearts of the common people, that so many as could get the understanding of the bare words of the Lords prayer in English (which was then said in Latine) utterly detested that opinion, holding that it should in no wise be said to saints: so that the Craftsmen and their servants in their Boothes, when the Frier came, exploded him with shame enough, crying, Frier Pater noster, Frier Pater noster. Who at the last being convict in his owne conscience, and ashamed of his former sermon, was compelled to leave the towne of saint Andrews.

A Scottish proverbe.

Frier Pater noster driven out of S. Andrews.

In the meane time of this brute there were two Pasquils set on the Abbey Church, the one in Latine bearing these words:

Doctores nostri de Collegio
Concludunt idem cum Lucifero.
Quod sancti sunt similes altissimo:
Et se tuentur gravatorio
De mandato Officialis,
Ad instantiam fiscalis,
Gaw & Harvey non varii
In premissis connotarii.

{KING HEN. 8.}

Walter, David Gaw and M. Thomas Harvey two Procurators.

The other in English, bearing these words:

Doctours of Theologie, of fourescore of yeares,
And old jolly Lupoys the bald gray Friers,
They would be called Rabbi and Magister noster,
And wot not to whom they say their Pater noster.

Shortly, the Christians were so hotly offended, and the Papists on the other side so proud and wilfull, that necessarie it was, to eschew greater inconveniences, that the Clergy at last should be assembled to dispute and conclude the whole matter, that the lay people might be put out of doubt. Which being done, and the Universitie agreed, whosoever had been present might have heard much subtile sophistry. For some of the popish doctors affirmed that it should be said to God formalitèr, and to Saints, materialiter. Others, ultimatè, & non ultimatè. Others said it should be said to God principalitèr, and to Saints minus principalitèr. Others that it should be said to God primariè, and to saints secundariè. Others that it should be said to God capiendo strictè, and to saints capiendo largè. Which vaine distinctions being heard and considered by the people, they that were simple remained in greater doubtfulnesse then they were in before: so that a well aged man, and a servant to the Subprior of saint Andrews, called the Subprior Thome, being demanded to whom he said his Pater noster? he answered, to God onely. Then they asked againe what should be said to the saints? he answered, give them Aves and Creedes enow in the Devils name, for that may suffice them well enough, albeit they do spoile God of his right. Others, making their vaunts of the Doctors, said, that because Christ (who made the Pater noster) never came into the Ile of Britaine, and so understood not the English tongue, therefore it was that the doctors concluded it should be said in Latine.

Disputation in Scotland to whom they should say their Pater noster.

Pater noster to be said to God formalitèr and to saints materialitèr.

Vltimatè to God, non ultimatè to saints.

Principalitèr to God, minus principalitèr to saints.

Primariè to God secundariè to saints.

Strictè to God, largè to saints.

The answer of an old man to whom they should say their Pater noster.

A doctorly reason why the Pater noster should be said in Latin.

This perturbation and open slander yet depending, it was thought good to call a provinciall councell to decide the matter. Which being assembled at Edenborough, the Papists being destitute of reason defended their parts with lies, alledging that the Universitie of Paris had concluded that the Lords prayer should be said to saints. But because that could not be proved, and that they could not prevail by reason, they used their will in place of reason, and sometime despitefull, and injurious talk. As Frier Scot, being asked of one to whom he should say the Pater noster, he answered, saying, say it to the devill knave. So the Councell perceiving they could profit nothing by reasoning, they were compelled to passe "voting.

The Councell of Edenborough could not agree to whom they should say their Pater noster.

The Papists maintain their cause with lies and railing, when reason lacketh.

But then incontinent they that were called Churchmen were found divided and repugned among themselves. For some Bishops, with the Doctors and Friers consented that the Pater noster should be said to saints; but the Bishops of S. Andrews, Caithnesse and Atheins, with other moe learned men, refused utterly to subscribe to the same. Finally with consent of both the parties, Commission was given by the holy Church to Deane "John Winrame, then Subprior of saint Andrews, to declare to the people how and after what maner they should pray the Lords prayer. Who, accepting of the commission, declared that it should be said to God,

"That is, to the numbring of voices.

The Friers and Prelates could not agree among themselves about saying the Pater noster.

"This Winram is now become a goodly Minister in the Church of God and a married man.

{King Hen. 8.} God, with some other restrictions, which are not necessarie to be put in memorie. And so, by little and little, the brute and tumult ceased. Ex testim. è Scotia allato.

The Martyrdome of the blessed servant of God, Walter Mille.

Walter Mille, Martyr.

AMong the rest of the Martyrs of Scotland, the marvellous constancie of Walter Mille is not to be passed over with silence. Out of whose ashes sprang thousands of his opinion and religion in Scotland, who altogether chose rather to die then to be any longer over troden by the tyrannie of the forsaid cruell, ignorant, and beastly Bishops, Abbots, Monks, and Friers; and so began the congregation of Scotland to debate the true religion of Christ against the Frenchmen and Papists, who sought allwayes to depresse and kepe downe the same; for it began some after the martyrdome of Walter Mille, of the which the forme hereafter followeth.

In the yeer of our Lord, 1558. in the time of Mary Dutchesse of Longaway, Quéene Regent of Scotland, and the said John Hamelton being Bishop of saint Andrews, and Primate of Scotland, this Walter Mille (who in his youth had bèen a Papist) after that he had bèn in Almaine, and had heard the Doctrine of the Gospel, returned againe into Scotland, and, setting aside all Papistrie and compelled Chastitie, married a wife, which thing made him unto the Bishops of Scotland to be suspected of heresie; and after long watching of him he was taken by two Popish priests, one called sir George Straqwhen, and the other sir Hugh Turry servants to the said Bishop for the time, within the towne of Dysart in Fyffe, and brought to saint Andrews and imprisoned in the Castle thereof. He being in prison, the papists earnestly travelled and laboured to have seduced him, and threatned him with death and corporall torments, to the intent they might cause him to recant and forsake the truth. But seeing they could profit nothing thereby, and that he remained still firme and constant, they laboured to perswade him by fair promises, and offered unto him a Monks portion for all the dayes of his life, in the Abbey of Dunfermeling, so that he would denie the things he had taught, and grant that they were heresie; but he, continuing in the truth even unto the end, despised their threatnings and faire promises.

W. Mille contrary to his poore vow married.

W. Mille first suspected of heresie.

W. Mille taken by two popish priests, George Straqwhen, and sir Hugh Turrey.

Then assembled together the Bishops of saint Andrews, Murrey, Brechin, Caitnes, and Atheins, the Abbots of Dunfermeling, Landors, Balindrinot, and Tolwper, with doctors of Theology of saint Andrews, as John Greson Blacke Frier, and Deane John Wynryme, Subprior of saint Andrews, William Tranlton, Provost of the Old College, with divers others, as sundrie Friers Blacke and Gray. These being assembled, and having consulted together, he was taken out of prison, and brought to the Metropolitane Church, where he was put in a Pulpit before the Bishops to be accused, the twentieth day of Aprill. Being brought into the Church, and climbing up into the Pulpit, they seeing him so weake and feeble of person, partly by age and travell, and partly by evill intreatment, that without helpe he could not climbe up, they were out of hope to have heard him for weaknesse of voice. But when he began to speake, he made the church to ring and sound againe, with so great courage and stoutnesse, that the Christians which were present were no lesse rejoyced, then the adversaries were confounded and ashamed. He being in the Pulpit, and on his knées at prayer, sir Andrew Oliphant, one of the Bishops priests, commanded him to arise and to answer to his articles, saying on this manner, Sir Walter Mille, arise and answer to the articles, for you hold my Lord here overlong. To whom Walter, after he had finished his prayer, answered, saying, We ought to obey God more then men, I serve one more mighty, even the Omnipotent Lord: and where ye call me sir Walter, call me Walter and not sir Walter, I have bèn overlong one of the Popes Knights. Now say what thou hast to say.

Concilium-magnantium.

Walter Mille for age could scarce climbe to the pulpit. God giveth strength contrary to mans expectation.

Andrew Oliphant the Archbishops Chaplain.

These were the Articles whereof he was accused, with his answers unto the same.

OLiphant. What thinke you of Priests Marriage? Oliphant.

Mille. I hold it a blessed band; for Christ himselfe maintained it, and approved the same, and also made it free to all men; but you think it not free to you, ye abhorre it, and in the meane time take other mens wives and daughters, and will not kep the band that God hath made. Ye vow chastitie, and breake the same. Saint Paul had rather marry then burne; the which I have done, for God never forbade marriage to any man, of what state or degree soever he were. Mille.

Oliphant. Thou saiest there be not seven sacraments. Oliphant.

Mille. Give me the Lords supper and baptisme, and take you the rest, and part them among you. For if there be seven, why have you omitted one of them, to wit, marriage, and give your selves to slanderous and ungodly whoredome? Mille.

Oliph. Thou art against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and saiest, that the Masse is wrong, and is Idolatrie. Oliphant.

Mille. A Lord or a King sendeth and calleth many to a dinner, and when the dinner is in readines, he causeth to ring a bell, and the men come to the hall, and sit down to be partakers of the dinner, but the Lord turning his back unto them eateth all himself, and mocketh them; so do ye. Mille. A similitude aptly applied.

Oliph. Thou denyest the sacrament of the Altar to be the very body of Christ really in flesh and blood. Oliphant.

Mille. The Scripture of God is not to be taken carnally but spiritually, and standeth in faith onely; and as for the Masse it is wrong, for Christ was once offered on the Crosse for mans trespasse, and will never be offered again, for then he ended all sacrifice. Mille. The sacrament and sacrifice of the Masse.

Oliph. Thou denyest the office of a Bishop. Oliphant.

Mille. I affirme that they, whom ye call Bishops, do no Bishops works, nor use the office of Bishops; (as Paul biddeth, writing to Timothy) but live after their own sensuall pleasure, and take no care of the Flock, nor yet regard they the word of God, but desire to be honoured and called, my Lords. Mille. Bishops, no Bishops.

Oliph. Thou spakest against Pilgrimage, and calledst it a Pilgrimage to whoredome. Oliphant.

Mille. I affirm and say that it is not commanded in the Scripture, and that there is no greater whoredome in any place, then at your pilgrimages, except it be in common brothels. Mille.

Oliph. Thou preachedst secretly and privately in houses, and openly in the fields.

Mille. Yea man, and on the sea also, saying in a ship.

Oliph. Wilt thou not recant thy erroneous opinions? And if thou wilt not, I will pronounce sentence against thee.

Mille. I am accused of my life; I know I must die once, and therefore as Christ said to Judas, Quod facis fac citius. Ye shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn, I am no chaffe; I will not be blown away with the winde, nor burst with the flail; But I will abide both. W. Mille constant in the truth. Sentence pronounced against W. Mille.

These things rehearsed they of purpose, with other

other light trifles, to augment their finall accusation, and then sir Andrew Oliphant pronounced sentence against him, that he should be delivered to the temporall Judge, and punished as an heretique, which was to be burnt. Notwithstanding, his boldnesse and constancie moved so the hearts of many, that the Bishops Steward of his regality, Provost of the town, called Patrick Learmond, refused to be his temporall Judge, to whom it appertained, if the cause had bẽn just. Also the Bishops chamberlain, being therewith charged, would in no wise take upon him so ungodly an office. Yea the whole town was so offended with his unjust condemnation, that the Bishops servants could not get for their money so much as one cord to tie him to the stake, or a Tarre barrel to burn him, but were constrained to cut the cords of their maisters own pavillion to serve their turn.

Patrick Learmond the Archbishops steward and Provost refuseth to be his temporall judge.

Also the Archbishops chamberlain refuseth to be his judge.

The town offended with the condemnation of Mal. Mille.

No cord in all the town could be bought to tie him to the stake.

Alexander Simmerwall the Bishops servant made temporall judge for Walter Mille.

The miraculous working of God in Mal. Mille.

Nevertheless one servant of the Bishops more ignorant and cruell then the rest, called Alexander Simmerwaill, enterprising the Office of a Temporall Judge in that part, conveied him to the fire, where, against all naturall reason of man, his boldnesse and hardinesse did more and more increase, so that the spirit of God working miraculously in him made it manifest to the people that his cause and Articles were most just, and he innocently put down.

Now when all things were ready for his death, and he conveied with armed men to the fire, Oliphant bade him passe to the stake: and he said, nay, but wilt thou put me up with thy hand and take part of my death, thou shalt see me passe up gladly; for by the law of God I am forbidden to put hands upon my self. Then Oliphant put him up with his hand, and he ascended gladly, saying, Introibo ad Altare Dei, and desired that he might have space to speak to the people; the which Oliphant and other of the burners denied, saying, That he had spoken overmuch, for the Bishops were altogether offended that the matter was so long continued. Then some of the young men committed both the burners and the bishops their maisters to the Devil, saying, that they beleeved they should lament that day, and desired the said Walter to speak what he pleased.

W. Mille denied by the Bishops to speak.

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W. Mille permitted by the young men to speak.

And so after he had made his humble supplication to God on his knees, he arose, and standing upon the coals said on this wise. Dear friends, the cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime laid to my charge (albeit I be a miserable sinner before God) but only for the defence of the faith of Jesus Christ set forth in the new and old Testament unto us; for which as the faithfull Martyrs have offered themselves gladly before, being assured after the death of their bodies of eternall felicitie, so this day I praise God, that he hath called me of his mercie among the rest of his servants to seal up his truth with my life: which as I have received it of him, so willingly I offer it to his glory. Therefore as you will escape the eternall death, be no more seduced with the lies of Priests, Monks, Friers, Priors, Abbots, Bishops, and the rest of the sect of Antichrist, but depend onely upon Jesus Christ and his mercie, that ye may be delivered from condemnation. All that while there was great mourning and lamentation of the multitude; for they perceiving his patience, stoutnesse, and boldnesse, constancie and hardinesse, were not onely moved and stirred up, but their hearts also were so inflamed, that he was the last Martyr that died in Scotland for the Religion. After his prayer, he was hoised up on the stake, and being in the fire, he said, Lord have mercy on me, Pray people while there is time, and so he constantly departed.

The words of W. Mille to the people.

The constant hardinesse of W. Mille.

W. Mille the last martyr in Scotland.

Epitaphium.

Non nostra impietas aut actæ crimina vitæ
Armarunt hostes in mea fata truces:
Sola fides Christi sacris signata libellis,
Quæ vitæ causa est, est mihi causa necis.

The martyrdome of Walter Mille.

W. Mille of Scotland Martyr. {Anno. 1558.}

After this, by the just judgement of God, in the same place where Walter Mille was burnt, the Images of the great Church of the Abbey, which passed both in number and costlinesse, were burnt in time of reformation. Ex fideli testimonio è Scotia misso.

And thus much concerning such matters as happened, and such martyrs as suffered in the Realme of Scotland for the faith of Christ Jesus, and testimonie of his truth.

Persecution in Kent.

IN revolving the Registers of William Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, I finde more over besides these above comprehended, in the time and reigne of King Henry, the names of divers other, whereof some suffered Martyrdome for the like testimonie of Gods word, and some recanted, which albeit here they do come a little out of order, and should have bẽn placed before in the beginning of King Henries reign, yet rather then they should utterly be omitted, I thought here to give them a place, though somewhat out of time, yet not altogether I trust without fruit unto the Reader, being no lesse worthie to be Registred, and preserved from oblivion, then other of their fellows before them.

Ex Regist. W. Warham Archiepisc. Cant.

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A Table of certaine true servants of God, and martyrs omitted, which were burned in the Diocesse of Canterbury, under William Warham Archbishop of Canterbury; with the names of their Persecutors and Accusers, Anno 1511.

Persecutors, and Iudges.	*Accusers and Witnesses.*
	William Rich of Beninden.
	Agnes Ive, of Canterburie.
	Robert Hilles, of Tenterden.
	Steven Castelin, of Tenterden.
Will. Warham Archbishop of Canterburie.	Iohn Grebil, of Tenterden, husband to Agnes Grebil the Martyr.
	Christopher Grebil, the naturall son of Agnes Grebil the Martyr.
	Iohn Grebil the younger, the naturall sonne of Agnes Grebil the Martyr.
Doctor Cuthbert Tonstal, Doctor of both Lawes and Chancellor of the Archbishop.	William Olbert of Godmersham.
	Laurence Chetenden.
	Tho. Harwood of Rowenden.
	Ioan Harwood his wife.
	Phil. Harwood.
	William Baker of Cranbrooke.
	Edw. Walker.
	Robert Reinold of Beninden.
	The Martyrs.
Doctor Sylvester, Lawyer.	William Carder, **of Tenterden, Weaver.**
D. Welles.	Agnes Grebil, **of Tenterden, wife of Iohn Grebil the elder, and mother to Iohn and Christopher Grebil, who with her owne husband accused her to death, being threescore yeeres of age.**
D. Clement.	
Browne.	
D. Ioh. Collet, Deane of Pauls.	Robert Harrison, **of Yalden, of the age of fifty yeers.**
	Iohn Browne, **of Allford.**
D. Wodington.	Edward Walker, **of Maidstone, Cutler.**

The Articles whereupon these five blessed Martyrs were accused and condemned by the foresaid Iudges and Witnesles, were these as follow.

FIrst, For holding that the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very true body of Christ, but onely materiall bread in substance.

2 That Auricular Confession was not to be made to a Priest.

3 That no power is given of God to priests, of ministring sacraments, saying Masse, or other Divine service, more then to lay-men.

4 That the solemnization of matrimony is not necessarie to salvation of soule, neither was instituted of God. (for a Sacrament they meant.)

5 That the sacrament of extreme Unction is not available nor necessary to soules health.

6 That the Images of the Crosse, of the Crucifix, of the blessed Virgin, and other Saints are not to be worshipped; and that they which worship them do commit idolatrie.

7 That pilgrimages to holy places, and holy Reliques be not necessary, nor meritorious to soules health.

8 That invocation is not to be made to Saints, but onely to God, and that he onely heareth their prayers.

9 That holy Bread and holy Water have no more vertue after their Consecration then before.

10 That they have believed, taught, and holden all and every of the same damnable opinions before; as they did at that present.

11 That where they now have confessed their errors, they would not have so done but onely for feare of manifest proofes brought against them, or else but for feare to be convicted by them, they would never have confessed the same of their owne accord.

12 That they have communed and talked of the said damnable errors heretofore with divers other persons, and have had Bookes concerning the same.

The order and forme of processe used against these five Martyrs aforesaid: and first of William Carder, Anno 1511.

WIlliam Carder being convented before William Warham Archbishop, and his Chancellor Cuthbert Tonkall, Doctor Sylvester, Doctor Welles, Clement, Browne, with other moe, the Notaries being William Potking, and David Couper, the articles and interrogatories above specified were laid unto him. Which Articles he there and then denied, affirming that he never did, nor doth hold any such opinions, otherwise then becometh that every Christian man should doe, readie to conforme himselfe in all points to their doctrine; and therefore to cleare himselfe the better against those interrogatories objected against him, he stood in denial of the same. The like also did every of the other foure martyrs after him.

The processe or Iudgement against William Carder, martyr.

All which notwithstanding, the uncharitable Archbishop seeking all advantage against him that he might, and more then right law would give, brought in against him such witnesses, as before were abjured, whom he knew, for feare of relapse, durst doe none other but disclose whatsoever they knew, to wit, Christopher Grebil, William Rich, Agnes Ive, John Grebil, Robert Hilles, and Steven Castelin. Whose depositions being taken, and the said Carder being asked what he could say for himselfe, he had nothing, he said, to produce against their attestations, but submitted him unto their mercy: saying moreover, that if he had ever any misbeliefe of the sacrament of the Church, contrary to the common holding of the Catholikes, he now was sorry and repented him thereof. Which being done, the Archbishop, this his submission notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the Register maketh no mention of any relapse, contrary to good law, at least contrary to all Christian charitie, proceeded to the reading of his blinde sentence, and so condemned him: who neither stood stubbornly to that which he did hold, neither yet did hold any thing contrary to the minde of holy Scripture, to the execution of burning.

The straight dealing of W. Warh. archb. of Canterbury. Witnesses against Wil. Carder.

Then after him was called forth Agnes Grebil, and examined of the said twelve articles above recited, which she in like manner denied, as the other had done before, putting her adversaries to their proofe. Then the archbishop called for John Grebil her husband, and Christopher and John Grebil her two sonnes (who before had been abjured) caused them upon their oath to depose against their owne naturall mother, and so they did.

First John Grebil the elder, her husband, examined by vertue of his oath, to say how Agnes his wife hath and doth beleeve of the Sacrament of the altar, of going in pilgrimage, offerings and wor-

The Catholik Clergy of the papists set the husband against the wife.

The Catholike papists set the children to accuse their owne mother.

shipping of Saints, Images, &c. and how long she hath holden thus, deposed; that first about the end of King Edwards daies the fourth, in his house, by the teaching of John Ive, she was brought to that beliefe, and so forth from thence daily, untill the time of detection, she hath continued.

And besides that, said he, when my children Christopher and John, being about seven yeers of age, were then taught of me in my house the said errour of the Sacrament of the Altar, and by the said Agnes my wife divers times, she was alwaies of one minde in the said misbeliefe against the Sacrament of the Altar, that it was not Christs body, flesh and bloud, but onely bread. Furthermore, being examined how he knew that she was stedfast in the said errour, he said that she alwaies without contradiction affirmed this teaching, and said the said opinion was good, and was well contented that her children aforesaid were of the same opinions against the Sacrament of the Altar, &c. Ex verbis Registri.

Christopher Grebill and John Grebill witnesse against Agnes Grebill their mother.

The Bishop, with his Catholike doctors, not yet contented with this, to set the husband against the wife, proceeding further in their catholike zeale, caused her two children, Christopher and John to be produced, one of the age of two and twenty, the other of nineteene, against their own naturall mother. Who likewise, being pressed with their oath, witnessed, & said, that the foresaid Agnes their mother held, beleeved, taught, and defended, that the sacrament of the altar was but bread, and not the very body of Christ flesh and bloud; That Baptisme was no better in the Fount, then out of the Fount; That Confirmation was of no effect; that the solemnization of Matrimony was no Sacrament; That Confession to God alone was sufficient; Also that going in pilgrimage and worshipping of Saints and Images was of none effect; &c. Item, That their father and the said Agnes their mother, held, taught, and communed of the said errors within their house divers times, by the space of those three yers past, as well on holydayes, as working daies, affirming and teaching that the said opinions were good & lawfull, and to be holden and maintained, and agreement was made amongst them, that none of them should discover or bewray either of these beliefes in any wise. Finally, that they never heard their said father and mother holding or teaching any other opinions, then be the said errors against the sacrament of the altar, and pilgrimages, offerings, worshipping of Saints and Images, as far as they could remember, &c. Ex verbis Regist.

Example of an unnaturall husband and of unnaturall children.

Here hast thou (Christian reader) before thine eies an horrible spectacle of a singular, yea of a double impietie, first of an unnaturall husband, witnessing against his owne wife; and of as unnaturall children, accusing and witnessing against their own naturall mother. Which although they had so done, the cause being of it selfe just and true, (as it was not) yet they had done more then nature would have led them to doe. Now the case being such, as which by Gods word standeth firme, sound, and perfect, what impiety were it for men to accuse a poore innocent in case of heresie, which is no heresie? Now besides all this, the husband to come in against his owne wife, and the children to bring in the knife wherewith to cut the throate of their own naturall mother that bare them, that nourished them, that brought them up, what is this, but impietie upon impietie, prodigious and horrible for all Christian eares to heare? And yet the greatest impietie of all resteth in these pretensed Catholikes and Clergy men, which were the authors and causers of all this mischiefe.

Great impietie of the husband toward the wife.

Greater impiety in the children against the mother.

Greatest impietie of all in the clergy men the authors hereof.

The cause why this good woman so stood (as she did in the deniall of these foresaid articles objected, was this, for that she never thought that her husband and her owne children, who onely were privy of her religion, would testifie against her. Whom notwithstanding after she perceived to come in, and to depose this against her, denying still (as shee did, before) that she did ever hold such manner of errors, and being now destitute of all friends, & comfort, brast out in these words openly (as the Register reporteth) that she repented the time that ever she bare those children of her body. And thus the Archbishop with his doctors having now the thing that they sought for, albeit she was ready to denie all errors, and to conforme her selfe to their religion, yet notwithstanding, they refusing her readinesse and conformity proceeded to their sentence, and so condemned her to death.

Ex Regist. Wa Warham. folio. 177.

Agnes Greb condemned by the sentence of the archbisho

After whose condemnation, next was brought to examination Robert Yarrison, who in like manner because he stood in his deniall, contrary witnesses against him were produced, to wit, Christopher Grebill, William Rich, William Dlberd, Agnes Ive, who a little before had been abjured, & therefore were so much the more apt and appliable to serve the Bishops humor for danger of relapse. After the deposition and conviction of which witnesses, although he submitted himselfe to repentance and conformitie, yet notwithstanding it would not be received, but sentence was read, and he condemned with the other two aforesaid to the fire.

Robert Yarrison examined W. Carder. Agnes Grebill Robert Yarrison Martyrs.

And thus these three were condemned and burned, and certificate given up of them together to the King, from Warham the archbishop, upon the same. Anno 1511. Maii 2. Ex Regist. Cantuarien sis. Arch.

The bishops certificate to the King.

Over and besides these three godly martyrs above recited, I finde in the foresaid registers of William Warham two other like godly martyrs also in the same yeere, and for the same twelve articles above specified, to be condemned upon the depositions of certain witnesses brought in against them, to wit, Thomas Harwood, Phil. Harwood, Steven Castelyn, William Baker, Robert Reynold, John Bampton, Robert Bright, William Rich, &c. Whereupon they were adjudged likewise for heretikes to be burned, the yeare aforesaid, 1511. The names of which two Martyrs were John Browne and Edward Walker. Ex Regist. W. Warh. fol. 179.

Jo. Browne, Edward Walker, Martyrs. Witnesses against these two Martyrs.

Now as you have heard the names of these blessed Martyrs, with their articles recited, let us also heare the tenor of the Bishops sentence, by the which they were condemned one after another. Their sentence containeth one uniforme manner of words in forme as followeth.

The tenor of the Sentence.

The condemnation of these five aforesaid Martyrs.

IN Nomine Dei, Amen. Nos Willielmus permissione divina Cantuarien sis Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas & Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, in quodam negotio hæreticæ pravitatis contra te Willielmum Carder de Tenderden nostr. Cantuar. Dioceseos laicum ac nostro imperio notorie subditum & subjectum, coram nobis in judicio personaliter comparentem, nobis super hæretica pravitate hujusmodi detectum & delatum, ac per nostram Dioceſim Cantuariæ antedictæ notorie & publice in ea parte apud bonos & graves diffamatum, ex officio mero ritè & canonicè procedentes, auditis & intellectis, visis & cognitis, rimatisque ac matura deliberatione discussis & ponderatis dicti negotii meritis, servatisque in omnibus, & per omnia in eodem negotio de jure servandis ac quomodolibet requisitis, pro tribunali sedentes, Christi nomine invocato, & solum Deum præ oculis habentes: Quia per acta actitata, deducta, probata & exhibita coram

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ram nobis in eodem negotio invenimus te per probationes legitimas coram nobis in hac parte judicialiter factas, nonnullos & varios errores, hæreses, & damnatas opiniones, juri divino & Ecclesiastico obviantes, contrarios, & repugnantes, contra fidem orthodoxam, determinatam & observatam, tenuisse, credidisse, affirmasse, prædicasse, & dogmatizasse, & præsertim contra Sacramenta Altaris, seu eucharistiæ, pœnitentiæ, ordinis, & alia sacramenta & sanctæ matris ecclesiæ dogmata: Et quamvis nos Christi vestigiis inhærendo, qui non vult mortem peccatoris, sed magis ut convertatur & vivat, sæpenumero conati fuimus te corrigere, ac viis & modis licitis, & canonicis, quibus potuimus aut scivimus, ad fidem orthodoxam per universalem catholicam & Apostolicam ecclesiam, determinatam & observatam, ac ad unitatem ejusdem sanctæ matris ecclesiæ reducere, tamen invenimus te adeo duræ cervicis, quod tuos errores & hæreses hujusmodi nolueris sponte & incontinenti confiteri, nec ad fidem catholicam & unitatem sanctæ matris ecclesiæ antedictas debite reverti & redire, sed tanquam iniquitatis & tenebrarum filius in tantum induraſti cor tuum, ut non velis intelligere vocem tui pastoris tibi paterno compatientis affectu, nec velis piis & paternis monitionibus allici, nec salubribus reduci blanditiis: nos verò nolentes quod tu qui iniquus es fias nequior, & gregem dominicum in futurum tuæ hæreticæ pravitatis labe (de quo plurimum timemus) inficias, idcirco de consilio Iurisperitorum nobis in hac parte assistentium cum quibus communicavimus, te Willielmum Carder prædictum de meritis atque culpis per tuam damnabilem pertinaciam aggravatis, de & super hujusmodi detestabili hæreticæ pravitatis reatu convictum, & ad ecclesiæ unitatem pœnitentialiter redire nolentem, hæreticum hæreticisque credentem, ac eorum fautorem & receptatorem prætextu præmissorum fuisse & esse, cum dolore & amaritudine cordis judicamus & declaramus finaliter et diffinitivè in his scriptis, relinquentes te ex nunc tanquam hæreticum judicio sive curiæ seculari, teque Willielmum Carder prædictum (ut præfertur) hæreticum nihilominus in majoris excommunicationis sententiam occasione præmissorum incidisse & incurrisse, nec non excommunicatum fuisse & esse pronuntiamus, decernimus & declaramus etiam in his scriptis.

Moreover, besides these five blessed Saints of God, whom they so cruelly by their sentence did condemne to death, we finde also in the same Registers of William Warham, a great number of other whom they for the same doctrine and like articles caused to be apprehended and put to open recantation; the names of which persons in the Catalogue here following be expressed.

Here followeth a Table containing the names of them which were abiured the same time under William Warham, Archbishop, in the diocesse of Canterburie, Anno, 1511.

A table or catalogue of them which were caused to abjure under W. Warham.

- John Grebill, the elder of Benynden.
- Christopher Grebill, his sonne.
- John Grebill, sonne of John the elder of Benynden.
- W. Olbert, the elder of Godmersham.
- Agnes Ive of Canterburie.
- Agnes Chytenden of Canterburie.
- Thomas Manning of Benynden.
- Ioan Colyn of Tenderden.
- Robert Hilles of Tenderden.
- Alice Hilles his wife.
- Thomas Harwood, Ioan Harwood his wife, } of Rowenden.
- Philip Harwood
- Steven Castelyn of Tenterden.
- W. Baker of Cranbroke.
- Margaret Baker his wife.
- William Olbert the younger of Godmersham.
- Agnes Reygnold of Cranbroke.
- Thomas Field, of Boxley.
- Ioan Olbert, wife to W. Olbert the elder, of Godmersham.
- Elizabeth White of Canterburie.
- Thomas Church of great Charte.
- Vincent Lynch of Halden.
- Iohn Rich of Wittisham.
- Ioan Lynch of Tenterden.
- Thomas Browne of Cranbroke.
- Iohn Franke of Tenderden.
- Ioyce Bampton, wife of Iohn Bampton, of Berstede.
- Rich Bampton of Boxley.
- Robert Bright of Maydstone.
- William Lorkyn of East Forley.
- Iohn Bannes of Boxley. 1512.
- Iohn Buckherst of Stapleherst.
- Ioane Dod, wife of Iohn Dod.
- Iohn Benet of Stapleherst.
- Rebecka Benet his wife.
- Ioan Lowes, wife of Thomas Lowes of Cranbroke.
- Iulian Hilles, wife of Robert Hilles of Tenterden.
- Robert Franke of Tenterden.

The Articles layd to these abjurers appeare in the Registers to be the same which before were objected to the other five martyrs aforesaid, which was for beleeving and defending,

Their articles.

1 FIrst that the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very body of Christ, but materiall bread.

2 That confession of sins ought not to be made to a priest.

3 That there is no more power given of God to a priest, then to a lay-man.

4 That the solemnization of matrimony is not necessary for the weale of mans soule.

5 That the sacrament of extreme unction, called aneyling, is not profitable nor necessary for mans soule.

6 That Pilgrimages to holy and devout places be not necessary nor meritorious for mans soule.

7 That images of Saints, or of the Crucifixe, or of our Lady, are not to be worshipped.

8 That a man should pray to no Saint, but onely to God.

9 That holy water and holy bread is not better after the benediction made by the priest, Ex verbis Regist. W. Warham. fol. 176. an. 1511.

Ex Regist. W. Warham.

The doctrine of the Gospel in England before M. Luther began.

By these articles and abjurations of the forenamed persons, thou hast to understand, Christian reader, what doctrine of religion was here stirring in this our realme of England before the time that the name of Martin Luther was ever heard of here amongst us.

Three divers sorts of judgements amongst the Papists, against heretikes as they call them.

Note what doctrine here reigned in England before the time of Luther.

Three sorts of proceedings of the papists against the heretikes.

AS touching the penance and penaltie enjoyned to these aforesaid, as also to all other such like, first here is to be noted, that the Catholike fathers, in their processes of hereticall pravitie, have three divers and distinct kindes of judgements and proceedings.

The processe of the papists in condemning heretikes.

For some they judge to be burned, to the intent that other being brought into terrour by them, they might therfore more quietly hold up their kingdom,

and reigne as they list. And thus condemned they these five aforesaid, and notwithstanding they were willing to submit themselves to the bosome of the Mother Church, yet could they not be received, as by the words of the Register, and by the tenour of their sentence above specified, may well appeare.

And this sort of persons, thus by them condemned, consisteth either in such as have beene before abjured, and fallen againe into relapse; or else such as stand constantly in their doctrine, and refuse to abjure; or else such as they intend to make a terror and example to all other, notwithstanding that they be willing and ready to submit themselves, and yet cannot be received: and of this last sort were these five martyrs last named. So was also I. Lambert, who submitting himselfe to the King could not be accepted. So was likewise Richard Bekins the silly lad, and the three women of Gerneley, whose submission would not serve to save their lives, with many other in like case. Against this sort of persons, the Processe which the Papists use is this. First, after they begin once to be suspected by some Promoter, they are denounced and cited; then by vertue of Inquisition they are taken and clapt fast in prons and prison; from thence they are brought forth at last to examination, if they be not before killed by famine, cold, or straightnesse of the prison. then be Articles drawne, or rather wrested out of their writings or preachings, and they put to their Oath, to answer truly to every point and circumstance articulated against them. Which Articles if they seeme to deny, or salve by true expounding, then are Witnesses called in and admitted, what Witnesses soever they are, be they never so much infamous, Usurers, Ribalds, Women, yea, and common harlots. Or if no other Witnesses can be found, then is the husband brought in and forced to sweare against the wife, or the wife against the husband, or the Children against the naturall Mother, as in this example of Agnes Grebil. Or if no such Witnesse at all can be found, then are they strained upon the rack, or by other bitter torments forced to confesse their knowledge, and to peach other. Neither must any be suffered to come to them, what need soever they have. Neither must any publike or quiet audience be given them to speake for themselves, till at last sentence be read against them, to give them up to the secular arme, or to degrade them, if they be priests, and so to burne them. Ex hist. Cochlæi, contra Hussitas.

Ex hist. Cochl. contra Hussitas lib.

And yet the malignitie of these adversaries doth not here cease. For after that the fire hath consumed their bodies, then they fall upon their bookes, and condemne them in like manner to be burned, and no man must be so hardie as to reade them, or keepe them, under paine of heresie. But before they have abolished these bookes, first they gather articles out of them, such as they list themselves, and so perversly wrest and wring them after their owne purpose, falsely, and contrary to the right meaning of the author, as may seeme, after their putting downe, to be most hereticall and execrable. Which being done, and the Books then abolished, that no man may conferre them with their articles, to spie their falsehood; then they divulge and set abroad those articles, in such sort as Princes and People may see what heritikes they were. And this is the rigor of their processe and proceeding against these persons whom thus they purpose to condemne and burne.

The use and manner how the Papists draw out articles of bookes after the authors be condemned.

To the second order belongeth that sort of Heretikes whom these papists do not condemn to death, but assigne them unto Monasteries, there to continue, and to fast all their life, In pane doloris & aqua angustiæ, that is, with bread of sorrow, and water of affliction; and that they should not remove one mile out of the precinct of the said monasterie so long as they lived, without they were otherwise by the Archbishop himselfe or his successours dispensed withall. Albeit many times the said persons were so dispensed withall, that their penance of bread and water was turned for them to woolward Wednesdaies and Fridayes every weeke, or some other like punishment, &c.

The punishment of them whom the papists condemne to perpetuall prison after their submission.

The third kinde of heretikes were those whom these Prelates did judge not to perpetuall Prison, but only enjoyned them penance, either to stand before the Preacher, or else to beare a fagot about the market, or in procession; or else to weare the Picture of a fagot bordered on their left sleeves, without any cloake or gowne upon the same; or else to kneele at the saying of certaine Masses, or to say so many Pater nosters, Aves, and Creeds, to such or such a Saint: or to goe in pilgrimage to such or such a place; or else to beare a Fagot to the burning of some heretike; or else to fast certaine Fridayes bread and water; or if it were a woman, to weare no smock on Fridayes, but to go woolward, &c. As appeareth, Regist. fol. 159.

The punishment of them which be enjoyned Penance after their recantation.

And thus much by the way out of the Register of Wil. Warham aforesaid, like as also out of other Bishops registers many mo such like matters and examples might be collected, if either leisure would serve me to search, or if the largenesse of this Volume would suffer all to be inserted that might be found. Howbeit, amongst many other things omitted, the story and martyrdome of Launcelot and his fellowes is not to be forgotten. The story of whom with their names is this.

The martyrdome of Launcelot one of the Kings Guard, Iohn a Painter, and Giles Germane.

Launcelot, Io. a Painter, Giles Germane, Martyrs.

ABout the yeare of our Lord 1539. one John a Painter, and Giles Germane were accused of heresie, and whilest they were in examination at London before the Bishop and other Judges, by chance there came in one of the Kings servants named Launcelot, a very tall man, and of no lesse godly minde and disposition, then strong and tall of body.

This man standing by, seemed by his countenance and gesture to favour both the cause and the poore men his Friends. Whereupon he being apprehended, was examined and condemned together with them. And the next day at five of the Clocke in the morning was carried with them into Saint Giles in the field, and there burned, there being but a small concourse or company of people at their death.

The story of one Stile, martyr.

One Stile, Martyr, burned in Smithfield with the Apocalyps. Ex testimon. D. Rob. Ouradi.

IN the company and fellowship of these blessed Saints and martyrs of Christ, which innocently suffered within the time of King Henries reigne, for the testimony of Gods Word and Truth, an other good man also cometh to my minde, not to be excluded out of this number, who was with like crueltie oppressed, and burned in Smithfield about the latter end of Cuthbert Tonstalls time, Bishop of London. Whose name was called Stile, as is credibly reported unto us by a worthy and ancient Knight, named Sir Robert Dutred, who was the same time present himselfe at his burning and martyrdome, and eie witnesse of the same. With him there was burned also a book of the Apocalyps, which belike he was wont to reade upon. This Booke when he saw fastened unto the stake, to be burned with him; lifting up his voyce, O blessed Apocalyps, said he, how happy am I, that shall be burned with thee? And so this good man and the blessed Apocalyps were both together in the fire consumed.

And

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AND thus (through the gracious suppoztation of Chriſt our Lozd) we have runne ober theſe ſeuen and thirty labozious yéres of King Henries reigne. Under whoſe time & gobernance, ſuch acts and recozds, troubles, perſecutions, recantations, practiſes, alterations and reformations as then happened in the Church, we have here diſcourſed, with ſuch ſtatutes, injunctions and proclamations, as by him were ſet forth in cauſes and matters to the ſaid Church appertaining: Albeit not comprehending all things ſo fully as might be, yet pretermitting ſo few things as we could, of ſuch matters as came to our hands; ſaue onely that certaine inſtruments, with a few other occurrents ſomewhat pertaining to the courſe of this Kings hiſtozie, have paſt our hands, as the falſe lying Bul of pope Leo the tenth, againſt M. Luther, with the ſozme alſo of the ſaid M. Luthers appeale from the pope unto a generall councel. All which, with other matters moe beſides omitted, we have deferred by themſelues hereafter to be exhibited and declared in the ſequell of this preſent Storp, as in his due place ſhall appeare.

pope Leo his bull againſt Luther.

M. Luthers appeale from the pope to a generall Counſel.

In the meane ſeaſon, amongſt other omiſſions here ouerpaſt, forſomuch as a certaine inſtrument of the popes ſentence definitiue againſt K. Henries firſt diuozce with Lady Katharine Dowager hath of late come to our hands, containing matter neither impertinent noz unmeet to be committed to Hiſtozy, I thought here preſently to place the ſame, to the intent that the Reader ſéeing the arrogant and impudent preſumption of the Pope in the ſaid ſentence, going about by fozce and authozitie ſo to conſtraine and compell Kings and Princes againſt their wils, and againſt right & Scripture to apply to his imperious purpoſe, may the better underſtand thereby what was the true cauſe & ground why the king firſt began to take ſtomacke againſt the pope, and to ſend him clean packing out of this Realme. But before I ſhall produce this aforeſaid ſentence definitiue of the pope, to make the matter more plaine to the reader, it ſhall not be amiſſe, firſt to decipher and rip up the originall of ſuch occaſions as ſhall induce the reader to the better underſtanding of this falling out betweene the King and the Pope.

The ſentence definitiue of Clement 7. againſt the diuorce of King Harie.

For ſo I finde by the Letters of Doctor Steuen Gardiner written to Cardinall Wolſey from Rome (at what time he and For were ſent Ambaſſadours by the King to Pope Clement the vij. about the expedition of the kings diuozce, an. 1532) that the ſaid pope Clement, with the counſell of the cardinall Sanctorum quatuor and other Cardinals at firſt was well willing and very inclinable to the accompliſhment and ſatisfaction of the kings deſire in that behalfe, and that for divers reſpects.

The cauſes moving the Pope at the firſt to fauour the cauſe of the Kings diuorce.

As firſt, for the great benefits received, and the ſingular deuotion of the king toward the Sée Apoſtolike, in taking war for the Churches cauſe, in ſurceaſing warre at the popes deſire, and eſpecially in procuring the Popes deliuerance, whereby the pope then thought himſelf with his whole ſée much obliged to the king in all reſpects, to paſſe by his authozitie whatſoeuer reaſonably might be granted in gratifying the Kings ſo ample merits and deſerts.

Secondly, for the euident reaſons and ſubſtantial arguments in the "Kings book contained, which ſéemed well to ſatisfie the Popes liking, and to remoue away all ſcruples.

This book called the kings booke, was a certaine treatiſe concerning the reaſons and arguments of divers learned men for the lawfull diſſolution of the Kings marriage, with answer alſo to the contrary obiections of Abel and others. And this booke the King here ſent to the pope.

Thirdly, for the good opinion and confidence that the pope had in the excellent Wiſdome, profound learning, and mature judgement of the king, which the pope (as he ſaid in formall wozds) would ſooner leane unto, then to any other learned mans minde oz ſentence, ſo that the kings reaſons, he ſaid, muſt néeds be of great efficacie and ſtrength of themſelues to order and direct this matter.

The fourth cauſe moving the pope to fauour the Kings requeſt, was, for the quiet and tranquillitie of his conſcience, which otherwiſe in that unlawfull marriage with his brothers wife could not be ſetled.

The firſt cauſe.

The firſt cauſe was for the conſideration of the perils and dangers, which otherwiſe might happen to the realme by the pretenſed titles of the King of Scots, and other, without an heire male to eſtabliſh the kings ſucceſſion: for the auoiding of which perils, and alſo for the other cauſes above rehearſed, the pope ſhewed himſelfe at that time propenſe and forward to promote and ſet forward the kings deſired purpoſe in that behalfe.

And thus much touching this by-matter I thought here to ſuggeſt and repeate to the reader, albeit the ſame is alſo ſufficiently expreſſed before: to the end that the ſtudious Reader pondering theſe firſt proceédings of the pope, and comparing them with this ſentence definitiue which under followeth, may the better underſtand what inconſtant levity, what falſe dealing, what craftp packing, and what contrarietie in it ſelf is in this holy Sée of Rome, as by this caſe of the pope may wel appeare; who in ſhort time, after all this, was ſo cleane altered from that he was, that whereas before he pretended to eſtéem ſo gratefully the kings travell and benefits exhibited to the Sée Apoſtolike, in his defence againſt the Emperour and the Spaniards, now he ſoyneth utterly with the Ceſarians againſt the King. And where before he ſo greatly magnified the kings profound learning, and mature judgement, eſtéeming his mind and ſentence above all other learned men, to be as a Iudge ſufficient in the direction of this caſe; now turning head to the tayle, he utterly refuſeth to bring the matter in judicium orbis, but will néeds detaine it at home.

The double dealing of the Pope with K. Henry.

The Pope falſe, double, and contrary to himſelfe.

Again, where before he pretended a tender proviſion for the ſtate of this realme, now he ſetteth all other Realmes againſt it: and finally where he before ſéemed to reſpect the quiet and tranquillitie of the Kings conſcience, now he goeth about to command and compell the King, againſt his will and conſcience, to doe clean contrary to that which he himſelfe before in his judgement had allowed, thinking to have the King at his becke, and to doe and undoe what he liſted and commanded; as by the tenour and true copy of this his Sentence definitiue ye may underſtand. Which as it came newly to our hands, I thought here to exhibit unto the world, that all men might ſée what ſuſt cauſe the King had, being ſo preſumptuouſly proboked by the Pope, to ſhake off his proud authozitie, and utterly to exile him out of his realme. Marke, I pray thée, the manner of the Popes proud ſentence how preſumptuouſly it procédeth.

The pope how preſumptuouſly he compelleth and commandeth Kings and Princes.

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Anglici Matrimonii

Sententia diffinitiva:

Ex Archetypo Rom. Pontificis ad Catherinam miſſo.

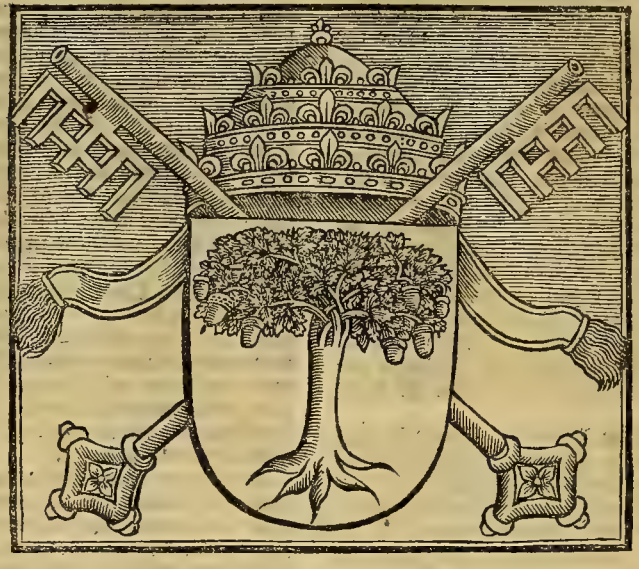
Lata per ſanctiſsimum Dominum noſtrum D. Clementem Papam *VII.* in ſacro Conſiſtorio de reverendiſsimorum, S. R. E. Cardinalium Conſilio, ſuper validitate Matrimonii inter Sereniſsimos Henricum *VIII.* & Catherinam Angliæ Reges contracti.

PRO

Eadem Sereniſsima Catherina Angliæ Regina,

CONTRA

Sereniſsimum Henricum VIII. Angliæ Regem.



Clemens Papa VII.

The tenour of the Popes ſentence definitive againſt King Henrie 8.]

CHriſti nomine invocato in Throno Iuſtitiæ pro Tribunali ſedentes, & ſolum Deum præ oculis habentes, per hanc noſtram diffinitivam ſententiam quam de Venerabilium Fratrum noſtrorum Sanctæ Ro. Ec. Car. Conſiſtorialiter coram nobis Congregatorum Conſilio & aſſenſu ferimus in his Scriptis, pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus in cauſa & cauſis ad nos & ſedem Apoſtolicam per appellationem, per chariſſimam in Chriſto Filiam Catherinam Angliæ reginam illuſtrem à noſtris & ſedis Apoſtolicæ Legatis in regno Angliæ deputatis, interpoſitam legitimè devolutis & advocatis, inter prædictam Catherinam Reginam, & chariſſimum in Chriſto filium Henricum VIII. Angliæ Regem illuſtrem, ſuper Validitate & Invaliditate, Matrimonii inter eoſdem Reges contracti & conſummati, rebuſque aliis in actis cauſæ & cauſarum hujuſmodi latiùs deductis, & dilecto filio Paulo Capiſſucho cauſarum ſacri palatii tunc decano, & propter ipſius Pauli abſentiam venerabili fratri noſtro Iacobo Simonetæ Epiſcopo Piſaurien. unius ex dicti palatii cauſarum Auditoribus locum tenenti, audiendis, inſtruendis, & in Conſiſtorio noſtro ſecreto referendis commiſſis, & per eos nobis, & eiſdem Cardinalibus relatis, & maturè diſcuſſis, coram nobis pendentibus, matrimonium inter prædictam Catherinam, & Henricum Angliæ Regis contractum, & inde ſecuta quæcunque fuiſſe & eſſe validum & canonicum validaque & Canonica, ſuoſque debitos debuiſſe & debere ſortiri effectus, prolemque exinde ſuſceptam & ſuſcipiendam fuiſſe & fore legitimam, & præfatum Henricum Angliæ Regem teneri, & obligatum fuiſſe & fore ad cohabitandum cum dicta Catherina Regina, ejus legitima conjuge, illamque maritali affectione & Regio honore tractandam, & eundem Henricum Angliæ Regem ad præmiſſa omnia & ſingula cum effectu ad implendum, condemnandum, omnibuſque juris remediis cogendum & compellendum fore, prout condemnamus, cogimus, & compellimus, moleſtationeſque & denegationes per eundem Henr. Regem eidem Catherinæ Reginæ ſuper invaliditate ac fœdere dicti matrimonii quomodolibet factas & præſtitas, fuiſſe & eſſe illicitas & injuſtas; & eidem Henrico Regi ſuper illis ac invaliditate matrimonii hujuſmodi perpetuum ſilentium imponendum fore, & imponimus, eundemque Henricum Angliæ Regem in expenſis in hujuſmodi cauſa pro parte dictæ Catherinæ Reginæ coram nobis, & dictis omnibus legitimè factis condemnandum fore,

&

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& condemnamus, quarum expensarum taxationem nobis in posterum reservamus.

Ita pronuntiamus. I.

Lata fuit Romæ in Palatio Apostolico publice in Consistorio, die xxiii. Martii, M. D. XXXIIII.

Blosius.

The effect in English.

THe effect of this sentence is as much to meane in English, That Pope Clement the seventh with the consent of his other brethren the Cardinals assembled together in the Consistorie, sitting there in the Throne of (a) Justice, calling upon the name (b) of Christ, and having God onely before his (c) eyes, doth pronounce, define, and declare in the cause and causes betweene his deare daughter Katherine Queene of England appealing to the See Apostolique, and his beloved (d) sonne Henrie the eighth King of England, concerning the validitie and invalidities of the Matrimonie heretofore contracted betweene them, and yet depending in the Consistorie Court of the said Pope Clement; that the said Matrimonie alwayes hath, (e) and still doth stand firme and Canonicall, and that the issue proceeding, or which shall proceed of the same, standeth and shall stand lawfull and legitimate; and that the foresaid Henrie King of England is and shall be bound and obstrict to the matrimoniall societie and cohabitation with the said Lady Katherine his lawfull wife and Queene, to hold and maintain her with such love and princely honour, as becometh a loving husband, and his kingly honour to do.

Also that the said Henrie King of England, if he shall refuse so to performe and accomplish all and singular the premisses, in all effectuall manner is to be condemned and compelled hereunto by all remedies of (f) the Law, and enforced, according as we do condemne, compell, and enforce him so to do, providing, that all molestations and refusals whatsoever made by the said King Henrie against the said Queene Katherine, upon the invaliditie of the said marriage, to have been and be judged unlawfull and unjust; and the said King from henceforth for ever to hold his peace, and not to be heard in any Court hereafter (g) to speak touching the invaliditie of the said Matrimonie: like as we also do here will and charge him to hold his peace, and do put him to perpetuall silence herein; willing moreover and adjudging the said King Henry to be condemned, and presently here we do condemne him in the expences on the said Queene Katherines behalfe here in our Court, expended and imployed in traversing the foresaid cause, the valuation of which expences we reserve to our selves to be limited and taxed, as we shall judge meete hereafter.

We do so pronounce. I,

At Rome in our Apostolicall Palace publiquely in our Consistory, 23. Mart. M. D. XXXIIII.

Blosius.

Now as you have heard the presumptuous and arrogant Sentence of Pope Clement, wherein he taketh upon him, contrary to the ordinance of God in his Levitticall Law (as is before shewed) and contrary to the best learned judgements of Christendome, to command and compell the King, against his conscience, to retain in Matrimony his brothers wife; here followeth in like order to be inferred, according to my promise, another like wicked, blasphemous, and slanderous Bull of Pope Leo against Martin Luther, with the full Appellation also of the said Martin Luther from the pope to a generall Councell. Wherein may appear to all men the lying spirit of the Pope, both in teaching most hereticall doctrine, derogating from the blood of Christ, and also falsely depraving and perverting the sound doctrine of Luther, falsely and untruly charging him with heresie, when he is the greater heretique himself. For what heretique would ever say that the Church of Rome was consecrate and sanctified by the blood of Peter, but onely the Pope? Or who would call this heresie, to refer all our salvation and sanctification onely and totally to the blood of the Son of God, unlesse he were an heretique of all heretiques himself?

Pope Leo his Bull against Luther, and the Appellation of M. Luther, from the pope by way of an appendix.

After the like dealing we read, 3 Reg. 18. of wicked king Achab, who being onely the disturber of Israel himself, crieth out upon Elias for troubling Israel. So here in semblable wise Pope Leo, with what heaps of tragicall words and exclamations doth he fare and rage against the true servant of God, poore Luther, for disturbing the Church of God, when it is the pope onely and his fathers house that troubleth, and long hath troubled the true Church of the Lord, as by his doings all the world may see enough and too much. In the meane time read, I beseech thee, with judgement this impudent and false slanderous Bull of the Pope, with the appeale also of Luther again from the said Pope. The copie whereof because it is rare to be gotten, and hath not been hitherto commonly seen, being before omitted, I thought to commit here to history, as I had it out of certain registers: the manner and tenor whereof is this as followeth.

The Pope playeth with Luther, as Achab played with Elias, saying, that he was the troubler of Israel, when it was he himself and his fathers house that so did.

A Copie of the Bull of Pope Leo the tenth no lesse slanderous then barbarous, against Martin Luther and his doctrine.

Leo Papa X.

LEo Episcopus servus servorum Dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam: Exurge Domine & judica causam tuam. Memor esto opprobriorum eorum quæ ab insipientibus fiunt tota die. Inclina aurem tuam ad preces nostras, quoniam surrexerunt Vulpes quærentes demoliri vineam, cujus tu torcular solus calcasti, & ascensurus ad patrem, ejus curam, regimen, & administrationem Petro tanquam capiti, & tuo Vicario, ejusque successoribus instar triumphantis Ecclesiæ commisisti, &c.

The bull of pope Leo against M. Luther.

Quæ sequuntur vide superiore editione.

The said slanderous and barbarous Bull of Pope Leo the tenth, against Luther, in English, with the answer of Luther joyned to the same.

LEo Bishop, servant of the servants of God, for a perpetuall memorie hereof: Rise up, O Lord, and judge thy cause; remember the rebukes wherewith we are scorned all the day long of foolish rebukers. Encline thine eare unto our prayers; for Fores are risen up, seeking to destroy thy vineyard, the vineyresse whereof thou onely hast troden, and ascending up to thy father hast committed the charge and regiment thereof unto Peter as chiefe head, and to thy Vicar and his successours. The wilds

The Popes bull in English.

Note here and mark good Reader, how the church of Rome holdeth by the blood of S. Peter, and not by the blood of Christ.

wilde Boze out of the wood seeketh to exterminate and root up the Vineyard. Rise up Peter, and for this thy Pastorall charge committed to thee from above, intend to the cause of the holy Church of Rome the mother of all Churches and of our faith, which thou by the commandement of God didst consecrate with thine own blood; against which (as thou hast foretold us) false liers have risen up, bringing in sects of perdition, to their own speedie destruction. Whose tongue is like fire, full of unquietnesse, and replenished with deadly poyson; who having a wicked zeale, and nourishing contentions in their hearts, do brag and lie against the verity.

Rise up Paul also, we pray thee, which hast illuminate the same Church with thy doctrine and like martyrdome. For now is sprung up a new Porphyrie, who, as the said Porphyry then unjustly did slander the holy Apostles, so semblably doth this man now slander, revile, rebuke, bite, and barke against the holy Bishops our predecessours, not in beseeching them, but in rebuking them. And where he distrusteth his cause, there he falleth to opprobrious checks and rebukes, after the wonted use of heretiques, whose uttermost refuge is this (as Hierom saith) that when they see their cause go to wrack, then like Serpents they cast out their venome with their tongue, and when they see themselves nere to be overcome, they fall to railing. For though heresies (as thou sayest) must needs be, for the exercise of the faithfull; yet lest these heresies should further increase, and these fores gather strength against us, it is needfull that by thy means and help they be suppressed and extinguished at the beginning.

Finally, let all the whole universall Church of Gods saints and doctors rise up, whose true expounding of holy Scripture being rejected, certain persons (whose hearts the father of lies hath blinded) wise in their own conceits (as the manner of heretiques is) do expound the Scriptures otherwise then the holy Ghost doth require, following onely their owne sense of ambition and vaine glory; yea rather do wrest and adulterate the Scriptures. So that, as Hierome saith, now they make it not the Gospel of Christ, but of man, or which is worse, of the devill.

Let all the holy church, I say, rise up, and with the blessed Apostles together make intercession to almighty God, that the errours of all schismatiques being rooted and stocked up, his holy Church may be conserved in peace and unity.

For of late (which for sorrow we cannot expresse) by credible information and also by publike fame it hath come to our eares, yea we have seene also and read with our eyes divers and sundrie errours, of which some have been condemned by Councels and Constitutions of our predecessours, containing expressly the heresies of the Greeks and of the Bohemians, some again respectively, either heretically, or falsely, or slanderous, or offensive to good eares, or such as may seduce simple mindes, newly to be raised up, by certaine false pretensed Gospellers; who, by curious pride, seeking worldly glory against the doctrine of the Apostle, would be more wise then becometh them, whose babling (as saint Hierome calleth it) without authority of the Scripture, would finde no credit, unlesse they should seeme to confirme their false doctrine even with testimonies of the Scripture, but yet falsely interpreted. Which worketh us so much the more griefe, for that those heresies be sprung in the noble nation of the Germanes, unto the which nation we with our predecessors have always born speciall favour and affection. For after the Empire was first translated by the Church of Rome, from the Greeks unto the Germanes, the said our predecessours and we have always had them as speciall

Respectively.

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The Germanes in old time most addicted to Poesie above all other nations.

sautors and defenders of this our Church, and they have always shewed themselves as most earnest suppressors of heresies; as witnesse whereof remain yet those laudable Constitutions of Germane Emperours, set forth and confirmed by our predecessors, for the liberty of the Church, and for expulsing heretiques out of all Germanie, and that under grievous penalty and losse of all their goods and lands. Which constitutions, if they were observed this present day, both we and they should now be free from this disturbance.

Furthermore, the heresie of the Hussites, Wicklevists, and of Hierome of Prage, being condemned and punished in the Councell of Constance, doth witnesse the same. Moreover, so much blood of the Germanes, spilt fighting against the Bohemians, doth witnesse the same. To conclude, the same also is confirmed and witnessed by the learned and true confutation, reprobation, and condemnation set forth by the Universities of Colen and Lovane in Germany, against the foresaid errors. Many other witnesses also we might alledge, which here (lest we should seem to write a storie) we pretermit.

Wherefore we, for the charge of our pastorall office committed unto us, can no longer forbeare or winke at the pestiferous poison of these foresaid errours: of the which errours we thought here good to recite certain; the tenour of which is this as followeth.

Articles of Luther.

It is an old heresie to say, that the Sacraments of the new Law do give grace to them, *qui non ponunt obicem*, (a) which have in themselves to the contrarie, no let.

To denie that sinne remaineth in a childe after his baptisme, is to tread downe Paul and Christ under foot.

The origine of sinne, although no actuall sin do follow after, doth stay the soule, leaving the body, from the entrance into heaven.

Unperfect charitie of a man departing must needs bring with it great feare, which of it selfe is enough to deserve the pain of purgatory, and stoppeth the entrance into the kingdome of heaven.

To say that Penance standeth of three parts, to wit, contrition, confession, satisfaction, is not founded in holy Scriptures, nor in ancient, holy, and Christian Doctors.

Contrition, which a man stirreth up in himselfe, by discussing, remembring, and detesting his sins, in revolving his former yeers in bitternesse of soul, and in pondering the weight, number, and filthinesse of his sins, the losing of eternall blisse, and getting of eternall damnation: this contrition maketh a man an hypocrite, and a great sinner.

It is an old proverbe, and to be preferred before the doctrine of all that have written hitherto of contrition: from henceforth to transgresse no more. The chiefest and the best penance is a new life.

Best repentance is a new life.

Neither presume to confesse thy veniall sinnes, nor yet all thy mortall sinnes, for it is impossible to remember all the mortall sinnes that thou hast committed, and therefore in the Primitive Church they confessed the mortall sinnes which onely were manifest.

While we seek to number up all our sinnes sincerely unto the Priest, we meane nothing else herein, but that we will leave nothing to the mercie of God to be forgiven.

In confession no man hath his sinnes forgiven, except he beleeve, when the Priest forgiveth, the same to be remitted: yea, otherwise his sinne remaineth unforgiven, unlesse he beleeve the same to be forgiven. For else remission of the Priest, and giving of grace doth not suffice, except beleefe come on his part that is remitted.

Thinke not thy sinne to be assoiled for the worthinesse

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thineſſe of thy contrition, but for the word of Chriſt, **Whatſoever thou loſeſt, &c.** When thou art abſolved of the Prieſt, truſt confidently upon theſe words, and beleeve firmly thy ſelf to be abſolved, and then art thou truly remitted.

Admit the party that is confeſſed were not contrite, (which is "impoſſible") or that the Prieſt pronounced the words of looſing not in earneſt, but in jeſt; yet if the party beleeve that he is abſolved, he is truly abſolved indeed.

"Impoſſible, becauſe it cannot be that the faith of the true confeſſor can be without contrition.

In the ſacrament of penance and abſolution, the Pope or Biſhop do no more then any inferiour prieſt can do: yea, and where a Prieſt is not to be had, there every Chriſtian man, yea or Chriſtian woman ſtandeth in as good ſtead.

"He meaneth this becauſe that no man knoweth all his ſins; ſo no man can be contrite for them ſufficiently.

"None ought to ſay to the Prieſt, that he is contrite; neither ought the Prieſt to aske any ſuch matter.

It is a great errour of them which come to the holy houſell truſting upon this, that they are confeſſed, that their conſcience grudgeth them in no deadly ſinne, that they have ſaid their prayers, and done ſuch other preparatives before; all thoſe do eat and drink to their owne judgement; but if they beleeve there to obtaine Gods grace, this faith maketh them pure and worthie.

It were good that the Church ſhould determine in a generall Councell, lay-men to communicate under both kindes; and the Bohemians ſo doing be therein neither heretiques nor ſchiſmatiques.

The treaſures out of which the Pope doth grant his Indulgences, are not the merits of Chriſt, nor of his Saints.

Indulgences and pardons be a devout ſeducing of the faithfull, and hinderance to good works, and are in the number of them which be things "lawfull, but not expedient.

"This he correcteth in his aſſertions of theſe articles, and ſaith that Indulgences be neither lawfull nor expedient. And likewiſe he correcteth & revoketh the Articles.

Pardons and Indulgences, to them which have them, availe not to remiſſion of the puniſhment due before God for actuall ſins committed.

They which thinke that Indulgences are wholſome and conducible to the fruit of the ſpirit, are deceived.

Indulgences are onely neceſſarie for publique tranſgreſſions, and are onely granted to them that are obſtinate and impatient.

Indulgences and pardons are unprofitable to ſix ſorts of perſons. Firſt, To them that be dead, or lie in dying. Secondly, To them that be weake and infirme. Thirdly, To ſuch as have lawfull impediments. Fourthly, To them that have not offended. Fifthly, To ſuch as have offended, but not publiquely. Sixthly, To thoſe that amend and do well.

Indulgences & pardons taken clean away.

Excommunications be onely outward puniſhments, and do not deprive a man of the publique ſpirituall prayers of the Church.

Chriſtians are to be taught rather to love excommunication, then to dread it.

The Biſhop of Rome, ſucceſſour of Peter, is not the Vicar of Chriſt, ordained by Chriſt and ſaint Peter, to have authoritie over all the Churches in the world.

The words of Chriſt to Peter, **Whatſoever thou loſeſt, &c. Matth. 16.** extend no further but onely to thoſe things which be bound of Peter himſelf.

It is not in the hands either of the Church or of the Pope to make articles of the Faith, yea, or laws either of manners or good works.

Albeit the Pope with a great part of the Church teaching ſo or ſo, do not erre therein; yet is it no ſin nor hereſie for a man to hold contrarie to them, namely, in ſuch things which are not neceſſary to ſalvation, ſo long as it is not otherwiſe condemned or approved by a generall Councell.

We have a way made plain unto us to infringe the authoritie of Councels, and freely to gainſtand their doings, and to judge upon their decrees, and boldly to ſpeak our knowledge whatſoever we judge to be true, whether the ſame be approved or reproved by any generall Councell.

Some of the Articles of Iohn Hus, condemned in the Councell of Conſtance, are chriſtian, moſt true and Evangelicall, whom the univerſall Church cannot condemne.

In every good work the juſt man ſinneth.

"Every good work of ours, when it is beſt done, it is a veniall ſin.

"This article is true if the work ſhould be brought to be tried by Gods judgement. And here alſo he correcteth himſelf in this word veniall, becauſe all ſins are damnable. "He meaneth that we ſhould ſpecially reform our lives, which deſerve the Turks to plague us. "Theſe articles alſo of Purgatory he correcteth and taketh purgatory clean away.

To burne Heretiques is againſt the will of the Spirit.

"To fight againſt the Turks is to repugne againſt God, viſiting our iniquities by them.

Freewill after ſin is a title and name onely of a thing, and while a man doth that which lieth in him, he ſinneth deadly.

Purgatorie cannot be proved out of holy Scripture, which is Canonicall.

Souls in Purgatory be not certain of their ſafetie, at leaſt not all, neither is it proved by reaſons or by Scriptures, that they be utterly out of the ſtate to deſerve, or increaſe charitie.

"Soules in Purgatorie do ſinne without intermiſſion, ſo long as they ſeeke reſt, and dread puniſhment.

The ſouls being delivered out of Purgatory by the prayers of the living be leſſe bleſſed, then if they had ſatisfied for themſelves.

Eccleſiaſticall Prelates and worldly Princes ſhould not do amiſſe, if they would ſcoure away all the bags of begging Friers.

All which errors there is no man in his right wits but he knoweth the ſame, in their ſeverall reſpects, how peſtilent they be, how pernitious, how much they ſeduce godly and ſimple mindes, and finally, how much they be againſt all charitie, and againſt the reverence of the holy Church of Rome, the mother of all faithfull, and miſtreſſe of the faith it ſelfe, and againſt the ſinews and ſtrength of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, which is obedience, the fountaine and Well-ſpring of all vertues, and without the which every man is to be convinced eaſily to be an Infidell.

We therefore deſiring to proceed in the premiſſes more earneſtly, as behoveth in things of moſt importance, and meaning to cut off the courſe of this peſtiferous and cankered diſeaſe, leſt it ſhould ſpread it ſelfe further in the Lords field, like hurtfull brambles or briars, and uſing upon the ſaid errors, and everie of them, diligent triall, debating, ſtreight examination, ripe deliberation: And further, weighing and thoroughly ſifting all and everie of the ſame together, with our reverend brethren the Cardinals of the Church of Rome, the Priors of the Orders regular, or miniſters generall, alſo with divers others Profeſſors and Maſters of Divinitie, and of both the Laws, and thoſe the beſt learned; do finde the foreſaid errors or articles, reſpectively, as is aforeſaid, not to be Catholique, nor to be taught as Catholique, but to be againſt the doctrine or Tradition of the Catholique Church, and againſt the true interpretation of holy Scripture, received by the ſame: to whoſe authority Auguſtine thought he ought ſo much to leane, that he would not (as he ſaid) have beleeved the Goſpel, if the authoritie of the Church had not thereunto moved him. *Concilium magnantium.*

For by theſe errors, or at leaſt by ſome of them, it followeth conſequently, that the ſame Church, which is guided by the holy Ghoſt, now doth, and ever hath erred: which is utterly againſt that which Chriſt at the time of his aſcenſion (as we read in the holy Goſpel of Matthew) promiſed to his diſciples, ſaying, I am with you untill the end of the world, &c. **And alſo againſt the determination of the holy Fathers, againſt the expreſſe ordinances**

of

or canons of Councels and head bishops, whom not to obey hath alwaies been the cause and nurse of all heresies and schismes, as Cyprian doth witnesse.

The articles of Luther condemned.

Wherefore by the counsell and assent of the said our reverend brethren, upon due consideration of all and singular the premisses, by the authority of almighty God, and of the blessed Apostles, of Peter and Paul, and our own, we do condemne, reprove, and utterly reject all and singular the Articles or errours aforesaid respectively, as some to be heretical, some to be slanderous, some to be offensive to godly eares, or else seducing simple mindes, and repugnant to the catholique truth, and by the tenour hereof we here decree, and declare that they ought of all Christian people, both men and women, to be taken as damned, reproved and rejected. And therefore forbidding here under pain of the greater curse and excommunication, losing of their dignities, whether they be Ecclesiasticall or Temporall, and to be deprived and made uncapable of all regular orders and privileges, given & granted by the See Apostolike, of what condition soever they be; also of losing of their liberties to hold generall schools, to read and professe any science and facultie; of losing also their tenures and feoffements, and of inhabilitie for ever to recover the same again, or any other; moreover, under paine of secluding from Christian buriall, yea and of treason also, and incurring such pains and punishments expressed in the Law, as are due for all heretiques and fautors of the same; we charge and command all and singular Christian people, both men and women, as well of the laitie, as of the Clergie, both secular and also regular, of what order soever they be, and briefly all other persons, of what degree or condition soever they be, or in what dignitie soever they are placed, either Ecclesiasticall or Temporall; as first the Cardinals of the holy church of Rome, Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, with the prelates and heads of the Churches Patriarchicall, Metropolitane, or other Cathedrall, Collegiate, and other small and inferiour Churches; also all Clerks and other persons Ecclesiasticall, as Abbots, Priors, or ministers generall or particular, brethren or religious men, exempt and not exempt; Also Universities of schools, and all other, as wel secular priests, as regular and religious persons of all orders, yea of the begging Friers also. Item, Kings, Electors of the Imperiall Crown, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Barons, Captains, Conductors and Servitours, and all Officers, Judges, Notaries, whether they be Ecclesiasticall, or Secular; Communalties, Universities, Dominions, Cities, Castles, Lordships, and places, with the inhabiters of the same; and finally all other persons whatsoever, Ecclesiasticall or Regular, dispersed in whatsoever places through the whole "Universall World, or which shall be hereafter dispersed, but especially in high Almanie, that they shall not presume publikely or privately under any manner of pretence or colour, colourably or expressely, or how else soever, to hold, maintain, defend, preach, or favour the foresaid errours or any of them, or any such perverse Doctrine.

Behold how Kings come after bags and wallets, and begging Friers.

"Here may be a doubt, whether the man in the Moon be eremited with his bush of thorns on his neck out of this Bull or not.

Over and besides, forsomuch as the foresaid errours, and many other are contained in the books or writings of the foresaid Martin Luther, therefore we condemne, reprove, and utterly reject, and hold for utterly condemned, reproved and rejected, the foresaid books, and all the writings of the said Martin, with his preachings, in what tongue soever they are found, wherein the said errours or any of them is contained, willing and commanding under the vertue of holy obedience, and incurring the penalties aforesaid, to all and singular Christian people, both men and women above rehearsed, that they presume not by any manner of wayes, directly, or indirectly, colourably or expressely, privily or apertly, either in their houses, or in other publique or private places, to read, hold, preach, print, publish, or defend, either by themselves or by others, but straightwayes after the publishing hereof, they do burn or cause to be burned the said errours, by their Ordinaries diligently being searched out, and solemnly presented in the light of the whole Clergy and the people, under all and singular the penalties aforesaid.

The books of M. Luther condemned.

Now as touching the said Martin, O good Lord, what have we left undone? what have we left unattempted? what fatherly charitie have we not shewed, whereby to have reduced him from these errours? For after that we did cite him, thinking to proceed with him more favourably, we invited and exhorted him as well by divers tractations had with our Legate, as by our owne letters, that he would relinquish the foresaid Errours, or else having safe conduct offered to him, with money necessary for his journey, to come to us without any feare or dread, which perfect charitie ought to cast out, and so after the example of our Saviour, and his Apostle saint Paul, he would speak, not in corners and in secret, but openly to our face. Which if he had done, of truth we think no lesse, but that reforming himself, he would have recognised his errours, neither should have found so many faults in the court of Rome, which he being seduced with the rumours of malicious people, more then he ought, doth so much reprehend. Where we would have taught him to see more clearly then the light day, that the holy fathers of Rome our predecessours, (whom he without all modesty most injuriously doth raile upon) did never erre in their canons and constitutions (which he so much depraveth.) For as saith the Prophet, Neither is there Rosin or Physitian lacking in Galaad. But he hath alwayes shewed himself disobedient, and refused at our citation to appeare, and yet to this present day, continuing still in his stubborn minde and heart indurate, hath remained now more then a yeer under our curse; yea and moreover, adding mischiefe to mischiefe, (which is worst of all) he hearing of this our citation, burst out into a presumptuous appellation from us, unto the next generall Councell, against the constitution both of Pope Pius the second, and Pope Julius the second, our predecessors, which so decreed, that all they which so did appeale should be punished as heretiques.

Let us see here what ye have not done: first Luther gently submitted him selfe; but you rejected him: he then referre him to the judgement of 4 Universities in Germany: it would not be taken: he then appealed from the Cardinal t the Pope: the Pope refused him: then he a pealed from th Pope to the Councel: neith did the Pope admit that: he required, to b convinced by t Scriptures; t Pope neither would not cou so do. And yet the Pope saith he left nothing undone.

Jerem. 8.

Here note, good reader, that Luther appealed from the Pope to the Counce two yeers befo this Bull whi was ann. 1518.

In vaine also he seeketh refuge to the generall Councell, which professeth himselfe not greatly to regard such Councels. So that now we might lawfully proceed against him, as against one notoriously suspected of his faith, yea a very heretique indeed, without any further citation or delay, to the condemnation of him, as of an heretique, and to the severitie of all and singular paines and censures afore written. Yet we notwithstanding by the counsell of our brethren aforesaid, following the clemency of Almighty God, which will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live, and forgetting all injuries heretofore done unto us and to the See Apostolique, have thought good to use all favourable means towards him that we might, and so to worke, (as much as in us lieth) that he, by this way of mansuetude, might be brought to reformation, so that he forsaking his former errours might be received as the lost childe, and return home again into the lap of his Mother the Church.

The Popes exhortation to Luther.

Wherefore in most heartie wise we exhort and beseech the said Martin and all his adherents, receivers and fautors, by the bowels of the mercie of our God, and by the sprinkling of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom, and by whom, is made the redemption of mankinde, and the edification of holy mother church, that they will cease to disturbe the peace, unity and verity of the said church; for

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for the which our Saviour so instantly prayed to his Father, and that they will abstain from such pernicious errors aforesaid. Who in so doing shall finde with us (if they shall obey, or shall certifie us by lawful witnesses to have obeyed effectually herein) the affection of fatherly charitie, and a full fountain opened of all mercie and clemencie; willing and charging the said Martine notwithstanding from henceforth, that he utterly desist in the meane time from all preaching and office of preaching. Or else if the love of justice and vertue shall not restrain the said Martin from sin, neither the hope of our Pardon shall reduce and bring him to repentance; to the intent that the terror of punishment and of discipline may bridle him, we require and admonish the said Martin and his adherents, Abettors, fautors, and receivers, by the tenor hereof, in the veritie of holy obedience, and under incurring all the penalties aforesaid, districtly charging and commanding that within fortie dayes (whereof twenty we assigne for the first, ten for the second, and the other ten for the third and peremptorie terme) immediately following after the setting up of these present letters, the said Martin, his Abettors, fautors, adherents, and receivers aforesaid, do surcease from the foresaid errors, and from the preaching, publishing, maintaining, and defending of the same; also from setting out of book or Scriptures upon the said errors, or any of them; and furthermore, that they burn or cause to be burned all and singular such books and Scriptures as containe the foresaid errors, or any of them, by any manner of way.

The Pope threatneth M. Luther with punishment.

Also that the said Martin do utterly revoke those errors and assertions, and so certifie us of the revoking thereof by publike testimony, in due forme of law, signed by the hands of two prelates, to be sent unto us within the terme of other like forty dayes or else to be brought by him unto us, if he himself will come (which would please us much rather) with a full safe conduct above mentioned, which from henceforth we are content to offer unto him, to the intent that no scruple of doubt, touching his true obedience, should hereafter remain.

The Popes safe conduct to Luther offered.

Contrariwise, if the said Martine (which God defend) his abettors, fautors, adherents, and maintainers aforesaid, shall otherwise do, or shall not fulfill, to every effect and purpose, all and singular the premisses within the terme aforesaid, we then following the doctrine of the Apostles, which teacheth us to avoid an hereticall person after the first and second correction, as well now as before, and as well before as now, declaring by our authoritie the said Martin, his abettors, fautors, adherents, maintainers, and receivers, as withered branches not remaining in Christ, but teaching and preaching contrary doctrine, repugnant to the Catholique faith, slanderous and damnable, to the great offence of Gods Majestie, to the detriment and slander of the universall Church and Catholique faith, and despising the keyes of the Church, to be, and to have bæn notorious: and obstinate heretiques, do condemne the same for such by the tenor hereof, willing and commanding them to be holden and taken for such of all Christian people aforesaid.

All the books of Luther both good and bad condemned by the Pope.

Over and besides, we forbid, under the incurring of all and singular the penalties afore expressed in so doing, that any man presume by any manner of way, directly or indirectly, secretly or expressly, privily or apertly, to read, hold, preach, praise, print, publish or defend, either by themselves or by any other, the said books and writings, not onely those wherein the errours aforesaid are contained, but also all others whatsoever have bæn or shall be set forth, written or made by the said Martin, vehemently suspected as a pernicious enemy of the Catholique faith, to the intent that his memory may utterly be rooted out from the fellowship of all Christian people, or rather with fire to consume them, as is before declared.

We admonish moreover all and singular Christs faithfull people, under the said paine of the great curse, to avoid or cause to be avoided, so much as in them doth lie, the foresaid heretiques not obedient to our commandement, and to have no fellowship nor any conversation or communion with them, or with any of them, neither to minister to them things necessarie.

And moreover, to the more confusion of the said Martin, with his abettors, adherents, and retainers aforesaid, thus being declared and condemned as heretiques, after the expiring of the terme aforesaid, we command all and singular Christs faithfull people both men and women, as Patriarches, Archbishops, Prelates of Churches, either Patriarchall, Metropolitane, and other Cathedrall, Collegiate, and other inferiour Churches; to Deanes and Chapters, and other Ecclesiasticall persons secular, and of all other orders, even of the begging Friers also, namely of that congregation, where the said Martin is professed, or hath his abode; also to regular, exempt, and not exempt; Item, to all and singular Princes, what dignitie or calling soever, either Ecclesiasticall or Temporall, they be of; to Kings, Princes Electors, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Barons, Captains, Conductors, servitors, Communalties, Universities, Dominions, Cities, Lands, Castles, and Places, or the Citizens and Inhabitants thereof; and briefly, to all and singular other aforesaid, through the universall world dispersed, specially in Almanie, that they, and everie of them, under all and singular penalties aforesaid, do personally apprehend the said Martin, his abettors, adherents, receivers, and fautors, and retain them being apprehended, at our instance, and send them unto us (who in so doing, for their good work, shall receive of us and the Sæ Apostolique condigne reward and recompence) or at least, that they utterly drive them and everie one of them out of their Metropolitane, Cathedrall, Collegiate, and other Churches, Houses, Monasteries, Covents, Cities, Dominions, Universities, Communalties, Castles, Lands, and places respectively, as well the Clergie men, as the regular and lay men, all and singular aforesaid.

Apoc. 13. And he shall have power and commandement upon every company, & people, and tongue, and nation, &c.

The Pope here dreameth of a dry summers thinking all the world to be subject unto him.

These Cities, Dominions, Lands, Castles, villages, Communalties, Holds, Towns, and places, wheresoever they be situate respectively, Metropolitane, Cathedrall, Collegiate, and other Churches, Monasteries also, Priories, Covents, and religious and devout places, or what Order soever (as is aforesaid) unto the which it shall chance the said Martin to come, so long as he or they shall there remain, and three dayes after their departing from thence, we here give over to the Ecclesiasticall interdiction.

And that the Premisses may be known to all men, we command moreover all Patriarchs, archbishops, Bishops, Prelates of the Patriarchal, Metropolitane, and other Cathedrall and Collegiate Churches, to Deans and Chapters, and other persons Ecclesiasticall, and of what Order else soever aforesaid, to regular Brethren, religious Monks, exempt and not exempt aforesaid, wheresoever they dwell, and especially within Almanie, that they and everie of them, under like censures and paines, do publiquely denounce, and cause and command to be denounced of others, the said Martin with all and singular his foresaid adherents, which shall not obey our commandements and monitions, within the terme aforesaid, upon everie Sunday, and other Festivall dayes, within their Churches, when as the greatest concourse of people shall resort to divine service, to be declared and condemned for heretiques, and that all Christs faithfull People shall avoid them under the said censures and penalties

nalties as be afore expressed, and that they do set up these presents, or cause to be set up, or the transcript of them made under the forme hereafter ensuing, in their Churches, Monasteries, houses, Covents, and other places there openly to be seene and read.

Item, we do excommunicate and curse all and singular persons, of whatsoever state, degree, condition, preheminence, dignity, or excellency they be, which shal procure, or cause to be procured, by themselves or other, privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, secretly or expressly, whereby these Presents, or the copies transcript, or the examples of them cannot be read, set up, and published in their lands and dominions, &c.

Let no man therefore be so bold to dare to infringe, or with rash presumption to contrarie this Writing of our damnation, reprobation, rejection, Decree, Declaration, Inhibition, will, Commandement, exhortation, beseeching, request, admonition, assignation, grant, condemnation, subjection, excommunication and Curse. And if any person and persons dare presume to attempt the same, let him know and be sure that he shall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and his blessed Apostles Peter and Paul.

Cujus contrarium verum est.

Given at Rome at Saint Peters, Anno 1520. 17 Calend. Iulii. And of our Popedome the eighth yeer.

W. Luther answering again to the Popes Bull.

Although it was somewhat long before this Bul aforesaid of Pope Leo, being sent and dispersed through all other places abroad, could come to the hands of Luther, yet so sone as he by means of his Friends might get a sight thereof, he shaped again an answer to the same; in such sort, as I am sure the Pope himself will say that his Bull was never so baited, and so well-favouredly shaken in all his dayes, as by the handling of the matter, and reading of his answer, may evidently appear. The contents and copy of the which answer I thought here, next after the said Bull, immediately to exhibite to the Christian Reader, that whoso is disposed to confer the one with the other, having them both at hand, may judge the better of the whole matter and cause, and also may see the true image of the Pope, out of his painted visour, appeare in his own perfect colours. The answer now to the Bull here followeth.

The Popes bul-baiting.

The Pope described in his colours.

I E S V S.

Martinus Lutherus Christiano Lectori, gratiam Christi in salutem æternam.

The answer of W. Luther to the Popes Bull in Latine.

FAma pervenit ad me, Christiane Lector, exiisse Bullam quandam adversum me, pene in omnem terram, priusquam ad me, in quem unicè fuerit, & cui maximè erat inferenda, veniret. Fortè, quòd noctis & tenebrarum scilicet filia, timet lucem vultus mei. Hanc tamen ipsam noctuam, vix tandem multum adjuvantibus amicis, in imagine sua, datum est videre, &c.

Quæ sequuntur vide superiore editione, p. 1465.

Here followeth the same answer of Martin Luther against the execrable Bull of Pope Leo in English.

The copy of W. Luthers answer to the Bull of Pope Leo in English.

MArtin Luther to the Christian Reader, wisheth the grace of Christ to eternall salvation. I heard a fame a far off (Christian Reader) that a certain Bull was past out against me, and sent almost over al the world before it came to me, against whom it was specially directed, and to whom it most chiefly appertained. For what cause I cannot tell, except peradventure it was for that the said Bull, like unto a night Crow, and as a Bird of darknesse hatched in the night, durst not flee in the day, nor abide to come in my sight. Notwithstanding the said night Fowl after long time, by help of Friends, was caught at length, and brought unto me in his own likenesse to behold. Which causeth me yet to be uncertain what to think, whether my Papists do daily and jest with me, in setting out such famous Libels without any name, against me; or whether in truth and earnest they play the mad men so against me at Rome, or no. For first, neither do I see here the stile (as it is called) nor the processe of the Court of Rome observed. And again (which maketh me more to doubt) herein be brought and condemned such articles, which it is plain and manifest to be most Christian: whereby it seemeth to me most like, the said monster to be hatched by John Eckius, a man wholly compact and framed altogether of lies, dissimulations, errors, and heresies.

{KING HEN. 8.}

The said suspition this also partly confirmeth, for that I hear it so bruted abroad, that the said Eckius is thought and said to be the Apostle of such a goodly Bull. And not unlike, when none could be more meet Apostle for such an apostleship then he. And indeed I heard no lesse long since, that a Bull was in working against me at Rome, partly by the workmanship of Eckius; which because (as the stile and composition thereof declareth) it displeaseth the good and learned men there, was therefore deferred, and should have been suppressed.

Eckius a false Apostle.

But whatsoever the matter be, it seemeth to me not unlike, whersoever this Apostle Eckius beareth rule, there to be the kingdome of Antichrist, and all kinde of madnesse there to reigne. In the mean time I will so deale, that I will not seeme to beleeve Pope Leo the tenth, with his learned Cardinals, to be the authors of this furious madnesse: Which I do not so much for the honour of the See of Rome, as because I will not be puft up too much with pride, and seeme to my self as one worthy to suffer such, so great, and so glorious things for the veritie of God. For if it were so indeed, that the Bishop of Rome did so furiously rage against me, who were then so happy before God as Luther, to be condemned for so manifest a Truth of such a proud Prelate? Wherein what were more to be wished for of me, then that I should never be absolved, reconciled, nor have any part with that so doltish and unlearned, wicked and furious Antichrist? Happie were that day, happie were that death, and to be received with all joy and thankfulnesse to God, if it might be my hap at any time, in such a cause as this is, to be apprehended and to suffer death. But give the honour of this cause unto others, and let this matter finde his Martyr worthie for the same; I for my sins am not worthy to come to that honour.

W. Luther thinketh himself not worthy to suffer in so good a cause.

Let other men therefore thinke of these Romanists what they list; thus I thinke, that whosoever was the author of this Bull he is a very Antichrist, and against Antichrist these things I write, to redeeme the veritie of Christ, so much as in me lieth, which he laboureth to extinguish. And first, that he shall obtain no part of his will in any thing against me, here I protest before God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and his holy angels, and all the world, that I dissent with all my heart from the condemnation of this Bull, which Bull I also do curse and execrate, as an enemie, a Church robber, and blasphemie against Christ the Son of God, our Lord, Amen.

W. Luthers protestation.

Furthermore, I hold, defend, and embrace with the full trust of my spirit, those Articles in the said Bull condemned and excommunicate, & affirm that the same ought to be holden of all faithfull Christians, under pain of eternall malediction, and that they

Mark here how Luther recanteth.

KING. HEN. 8.

they are to be counted for Antichrists, whosoever have consented to the said Bull, whom I also, together with the spirit of all them which know the truth, do utterly detest, and shun them, according to the precept of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen. And let this stand for thy revocation, O Bulla, verè Bullarum filia: (a) O thou Bull, which art the very daughter of all vaine "bubbles.

"Bulla in Latine signifieth as much in English, as a bubble in the water.

This my confession and protestation made (for witnesse whereof I take them all that shall reade these presents) before I proceed to defend & declare these foresaid Articles, I will first begin with certain arguments for the confutation of the said Bul; whereof the first I will take of the blind ignorance of this blockish Antichrist. For the Apostle Peter so commandeth, that we should be ready to render a reason of that faith and hope which is in us. And the Apostle Paul willeth a Bishop to be mighty to exhort in sound doctrine, and to refute the gainsayers. And these things be they which now three yeares agoe I have desired and looked for out of Rome, or from them which take part with Rome. Which things also we do reade to be observed most diligently amongst the ancient Fathers, whensoever they condemned heresies. Neither do we reade that the Apostles did ever decree any thing in their Councels, but they first alledged the holy Scripture. So I also when I waited that they would answer me with Grapes, and enforme me with true testimonies of the scripture, behold they bring to me sowre and wilde grapes, condemning me with nothing else but bare words, whereas I have fortified my matter with plaine Scriptures.

Tit. 1.

The Papists will not abide the triall of the Scripture.

I say unto thee, O thou most unlearned Antichrist, hast thou joyned such brainsicke rashnesse together with such barbarous ignorance, that thou wilt presume to thinke all men to be turned into stockes and blocks, and to thinke that thou with thy bare and naked words onely canst triumph against the invincible force and power of Gods holy Word? Hast thou learned this manner of condemning the Magistralities of Colen and of Louaine?

If this be the manner of the Church to damne errors, onely to say, I like it not, I deny it, I will not; what fowle, what patch, what asse, what block cannot condemne after this manner? Is not thy whorish face ashamed, in the publique sight of the Church to dare once to set the trifling vanities only of thy naked and bare words against the thunderbolts of Gods eternall Word? O impudent condemnation and right seemely for Antichrist, which hath not one sote or tittle to bring against such evident Scriptures inferred against him, but onely with one word cometh and saith, I condemne thee. And why then doe we not beleeve the Turke? Why doe we not admit the Jews? Why doe we not honour the heretiques which also condemne our writings as well as he, if it be enough onely to condemne? unlesse we doe not therefore peradventure give place unto them, because they condemn us not utterly without some Scriptures and reasons: but these men after a new found fashion, utterly without all Scriptures or reason, doe condemne us. What then shall I think to be the cause why they proceeded against me with their bul condemnatorie, so vaine, so ridiculous so trifling, but onely their meere blockishnesse, whereby they seeing my allegations to be true, and not able to abide, nor yet to confute the same, thought to terrifie me with their vaine ratling of their rotten parchment. But I tell thee Antichrist, that Luther, being accustomed to war, will not be terrified with these vaine Buls, and hath learned to put a difference betweene a piece of paper and the omnipotent Word of God.

The Popes vain terrours cannot make M. Luther afraid.

Of the like ignorance proceedeth this also, that they, against their owne conscience, durst not particularly digest all & singular the Articles in their orders; for they feared lest they should note him for an heretique, whom they were not able perhaps to convince either to be erroneous or offensive, and therefore they have found out this Adverbe respectivè: and after the numbring of the articles, then come they and say that some be respectively heretical, some erroneous, and some offensive, which is as much to say, as we suppose them to be heretical, some erroneous, and some slanderous, but we cannot tell qui, qualis, quanti, i. which, what manner, and how great they are. O dastardly ignorance, how slippery and cowardly art thou? how art thou afraid of the light? how dost thou turn and return all things, lest thou should be taken like a Proteus? and yet for all that thou shalt not so escape, yea in thy wilinesse thou shalt the rather be overtaken and subverted.

Respectively.

Proteus is a certaine Monster among the Poets, which turneth himselfe into all colours.

Come out therefore, O thou alleheaded Antichrist, and shew forth thy wisdome, and dispose thy matters in order. Tell us if thou canst, what sayest thou or meanest thou, when thou sayest this article is heretical, this is erroneous, this is offensive. For it becometh such a worshipfull condemner to know what he condemneth. And too shamefull it is to condemne an article for heretical, and yet cannot name the same. Neither will I be answered here with respectively, but I looke to be taught simply and plainly, for I am one of Occams faction which contemneth these respectives, and love to have all things simple and absolute.

Thou seest therefore (good Reader) the ignorant dotage of this Antichrist, how craftily, and yet grossely he thinketh to walke in a net under his adverbe, respectively, who not onely doth not teach the truth, and cause of his condemning, but neither also dare prove any errour, nor shew forth what it is that he condemneth, and yet must he needs condemne. Is not this trow you a proper kinde of damning, to damne and cannot tell what he damneth? Is not this a fine manner of loquution, passing all Rhetorike, to speake, and yet not to know what he speaketh? what purgatories might we with sufficient to purge the doltish braines of these Bull bragging Bedlems? with such blindnesse and doltishnesse are all the adversaries of Gods truth worthy to be plagued.

The dotage of Antichrist.

But I know whereupon all this griefe riseth. The origine whereof is this; Eckius mine old adversarie remembring how he was put to shame enough at Lypsia, when he rousing himself upon his stage, and frothing at the mouth like a Boze, with a furious mouth called me three hundreth times heretike, for the articles of Husse, and yet afterward was not able to prove the same, whereas the sentence condemnatorie of the Councell of Constance, alledged by me otherwise then Eckius looked for, noted there no certaine note for heretical; and also the same condemnation, much like to this of ours, with the like foolishnesse called some of his articles heretical, some erroneous, and some offensive; and Eckius hearing this, being confounded in himselfe for his impudent rashnesse, perceived that he had called me heretike falsely and untruely: he thought then to heale this wound againe at Rome, and there to stablish his false and impudent lying. But the lying sophister shall not prevaile by the helpe, I trust, of Christ: for I ask and require you still, that they absolutely and not respectively, distinctly and not confusedly, simply and not dissemblingly, plainly and not obscurely, particularly and not in generall, doe shew what is, and what is not heretical. But when will they so doe? when Christ and Belial, or when light and darknesse shall agree together.

Eckius.

Eckius taken with a lie.

And what shall I do then in the mean time? first I will contemne these dastardly dotipoles and unlearned

learned Papists and Apostles of Antichrist. And I will scorne them as Helias did, and say, If Baal be God, let him answer: peradventure he is drunke, or busie in his journey, cry out higher, for he is a God and peradventure sleepeth. For what other thing do these Bull-bragging Asses deserve else, which condemne that they know not, and confesse all their owne ignorance?

3 Reg. 18.

Secondly, I will not be troubled nor disquieted for the matter, neither am I to be counted heretike, erroneous or offensive, so long as I shall not be proved and plainly convicted with simple and manifest words in what article I am so judged. Neither do I here charge my papists, these blockheads, that I will put them to their proofes, but onely that they will shew me at least my errour, that is, that they wil shew me if they know what it is that they themselves do prattle of, or have any feeling of their owne doings. For so long as they alligne me no hereticall article, I am at free libertie to denie what article soeber they lay unto me to be hereticall, and say it is Catholike.

Offensive.

The like also is to be said touching the Articles offensive, which must be neither slanderous, neither erroneous, nor heretical, seeing they are made distinct by such great Rabbines. Who will not now marvell at the deepe and profound wisdome of these Papists, which could not finde out that to be offensive in the church, which is neither false, neither heretical, nor slanderous, but true, sound, Catholike & edifying, and yet must that also be condemned. And who would not now desire and covet to be condemned also of such haire-brained Ideots, who by their owne condemning, doe utter themselves to approve things damnable, and to condemne things justifiable, that is, which openly shew themselves, to their owne great ignominie and shame, to be more senseleste then stocks, rocks, or blocks. Go ye now therefore, O ye impious and brainlesse papists, and if ye will needs write, shew your selves more sober: for this Bull, it appeared, was either spued out in your night feasts, among drabs and harlots, or else huddled up in the Canicular daies, or mad Midsummer moone; for never were there any dizzards that would shew themselves so mad.

The brutish distinction of the papists between articles hereticall, erroneous, slanderous, and offensive.

Againe, what a rudenesse is it in this wicked and doltish Antichrist worthy to be laughed at, whereas these dromedaries doe distinguish hereticall Articles from those that be erroneous, & the erroneous from offensive, and those againe from slanderous? By the which subtile distinctiō of those grosse headed dolts this we doe gather, that that article which is erroneous is not hereticall, and if it be not hereticall, what doth it then appertaine to these Ecclesiasticall condemners, which ought to condemne those things onely which be hereticall? For that which is not heretical is Catholike, as Christ himselfe saith, He that is not against us is with us. Yea I would wish that these jolly spitters would shew me in all the Church an Article that is erroneous and not hereticall: for if it be erroneous, it differeth nothing from hereticall, but onely in stiffenesse of defending. For all things be equally either true or false, although affection, in some one thing which is true or false, may be greater or lesser. Ye see therefore againe, how these men for all their bragging Buls are not able to produce me one article which is erroneous and not hereticall, and yet, like wise brainsick men, they will needs babble they know not themselves what, condemning that which they finde erroneous and not hereticall, which cannot stand either in matter or in words, so that such as are the articles, such is the condemnation.

Luke 9.

Erroneous.

The popes durt cast in his own teeth.

Let us now returne this durt of Antichrist, and cast it in his owne teeth, and of his owne words let us judge him and condemne him, that hereafter he may learne to take better heed, and to be better advised in his lying. For as the Proverbe saith, A lyer had need to have a good memory. If some Articles be offensive, and other hereticall, and thou condemnest him which is no heretike, and consequently a true catholike, although he be six hundreth times offensive; Doth not thy shamelesse mouth then condemne thy selfe, not onely of heresie, but of extreme impietie, blasphemy and treason against Gods holy truth, shewing thy selfe to be the man in deed which is the adversary, & is extolled above all which is called God, or is worshipped: Art not thou then the man of sinne, the son of perdition, which denieth God his Redeemer, and taketh away the love of truth, to stablish the setting forth of his errour, for men to beleeve iniquitie, as Paul foretold? for if the article be not hereticall, it cannot be offensive or slanderous, but onely to such heretikes as Antichrist is, and Sataniists of all pietie. See therefore how his shamelesse and most foolish Bul, whiles it condemneth in me one thing to be hereticall, and another offensive, doth manifestly declare the authors thereof to be true heretikes and the enemies of God indeed. So that now it may appeare that there is no knowledge nor counsell against the Lord, seeing blinde impietie is thus caught in the words of his owne mouth; so truely it is said, that he which casteth up a stone on high, it falleth down againe upon his owne pate.

Scandalous.

2 Thes. 2.

Prov. 12.

The like wisdome also they shew in affirming that to be scandalous, which is neither heretical nor erroneous. That article I would faine see either in my bookes, or in the words and works of any writer else from the beginning of the world to the latter end. What made my papists then to excogitate these so prodigious Monsters, but onely their monstrous fury and madnesse? Unlesse peradventure they mean those articles so to be scandalous, as commonly all true and Catholike articles are wont to be. For what is more scandalous then verity? Yea onely truth and veritie is scandalous to all proud and senselesse persons, as it is said of Christ, 1 Cor. 1. Luke 2. We preach, saith Saint Paul, Christ crucified, a stumbling stone to the Iews, and to the Gentiles foolishnesse. And in Luke 2. He is set to be the fall and rising up of many in Israel. Wherefore, whereas my papists do distinguish scandalous articles from hereticall and erroneous, & forsomuch as that which is not hereticall or erroneous must needs be catholike and true; it followeth thereof, that these scandalous articles be understood & condemned of them for such as be very Catholike and sound. O worthy commendations and meet for the Papists.

1 Cor. 1. Luke 2.

The pope utterly his owne wickednesse.

And (which is chiefest of all) by this their wicked contradiction it cometh to passe, that the cogitations of their owne hearts be revealed, and that they themselves chiefly do utter and disclose their owne wickednes which they covet most to conceale, that all men may see how ready they are to condemne all veritie even at once. For when they affirme such articles to be heretical which neither they can, nor know, nor yet dare shew or name to be hereticall, what have we thereby to understand, but that they are adversaries of Christ from the bottome of their hearts, and ready to impugne all truth, & yet notwithstanding with their damnable hypocrisie they pretend themselves to be condemners of heresies:

Marke here good Reader the impietie of these blinde Buzzards, whither they roll themselves, how they deride and mock themselves, how easily they are taken in their owne words, how fond and foolish they are in their studies, not onely in not proving any error or slander in these articles, but also in going about onely to expresse them, how they cast out things impossible and most foolishly repugnant to themselves. Where is then, thou most presumptuous and shameless Bul, thy doltish respective now become? whither respectedst thou? Verily into the bottomlesse pit of impiety, and thine owne brutish foolditie.

{King Hen.8.} Luke. 2.

{1 Pet. 2.}

The popes bul condemneth also such bookes of M. Luthers which have no error.

The papists pretend to know and maintaine the veritie of Christ, and yet cannot abide it.

The Pope condemneth as well the good bokes of M. Luthers as the bad, per, without respect of truth, or of the use.

lies? Learne, learne, ye beetle headed Asses with your bluttering Buls, learn, I say, what it is, Christ to be a sign of contradiction, and a stone of offence. How soon and easily is all your inward impietie, and your ignominie disclosed with the same covert of words, wherewith in vaine you went about to cloke the same? Thus then have we here proved by this first and manifest argument, that the foresaid Bull proceedeth from none other, then very Antichrist himselfe, the chiefest adversary of God and of all godlinesse. And now let either Eckius or the Pope acknowledge if he dare, and then consider what opinion we ought to have of him, or what name to give him; in whom all cursed names, as in one heape, doe concurre together and agree, as impietie, blasphemie, ignorance, foolishnesse, hypocrisie, lying, yea briefly Satan himselfe with his Antichrist.

Neither doth this impiety any thing lesse appear in that also which I will now say. For this worshipfull Bull decreeth in plain and most impudent words that those bookes also of mine ought to be burned, in the which are no errors contained, to the end that the memory of me may be utterly rooted out.

Canst thou, O Christian Reader, now doubt that the great Dragon of hell himselfe speaketh in this Bull? It is an old Proverbe, That the Asse singeth therefore evill favouredly, because he taketh his note too high. So this Bull in like manner should have piped more tuneable, if he had not set out his blasphemous throat so open against heaven, so impudently and devillishly condemning also the manifest and evident truth. For hitherto Satan, whensoever he oppressed the truth, did it under the colour of truth; but this man of sinne, the adversarie which is extolled above God, without all colour, not privily but apertly, and that in the open church of God, without all shame taketh upon him to condemne, and commandeth to be burned the sincere veritie of Christ, knowne and allowed both of him and of all others. What could be more done amongst the Turkes? what place is this worthy of, I pray thee, but the deep dungeon of hell? And are ye not afraid ye Antichrists with your brutish Buls lest stones and trees should sweat with bloud, at the most horrible sight of this your execrable impietie and blasphemy.

Where art thou now good Emperour Charles? Where are ye Christian kings & princes? Ye have given your names to Christ in Baptisme, and can ye now abide these infernall voyces of such an Antichrist? Where be ye Bishops, Where be ye Doctors, Where be all ye that confesse Christ? Can ye hold your peace at these horrible and prodigious Monsters of the Papists? O miserable Church of God, which art made now so great a scorne, and a very mocking stock of Satan. O miserable are all they which live in these times. The wrath of God is finally come upon the Papists, enemies to the Crosse of Christ and verity of God, resisting all men, & forbidding the truth of Christ to be taught and preached, as Saint Paul said of the Jews. Admit I pray you that I were such a one indeed, as that cursed and malicious Bull doth make me to be, an heretike, erroneous, schismaticall, offensive, scandalous, in certaine of my bookes; yet why should the other books of mine be condemned which are catholike, Christian, true, edifying and peaceable. Where have these wretched Papists learned this religion, that, for the persons cause being evil, they should damne and burne the holy & sound veritie of God? Can ye not destroy men, but you must also destroy the truth? Will ye pluck up the good Wheate also with the Cocle? Will ye also scatter the Corne away together with the chaffe? And why then receive ye Origen in his Catholike bookes, and doe not utterly reject him altogether? Yea, why suffer ye wicked Aristotle (in whom is nothing taught but errors) and doe not at least in some part condemne him? Why burne ye not and set on fire the wicked, barbarous, unlearned, and heretical Decretals of the Pope? Why doe ye not all this I say? but onely for that ye are set in this holy place for none other cause but onely to be the abomination spoken of in Daniel, which should put downe truth and set up lies, and the operation of error. For this thing, and none other, becometh the seat of Antichrist. Dan. 9.

Wherefore this I say to thee (Pope Leo the tenth, and to you Lord Cardinals, and all other whosoever is in any part or doing in that court of Rome) and this I speak boldly unto your faces, if this Bull hath come out in your name, and by your knowledge, and if you will so acknowledge it for your owne, then will I likewise use my power, by the which I am made in my baptisme the Sonne of God, and Co-heire with Christ, being founded upon a sure rocke, which neither feareth the gates of Hell, nor Heaven, nor Earth, and say, monish, and exhort you in the Lord, that you will reforme your selves and take a better way, and refraine hereafter from those Diabolicall blasphemies, and too much exceeding presumptuous impieties, and this I allege; That unlesse ye so doe, know it for certaine, that I with all them that worship Christ do recount your Seate, possessed and oppressed of Satan himselfe, to be the damned Seat of Antichrist, which we not onely doe not obey, and will not be subject, nor corporate unto, but also doe detest and abhorre the same, as the principall and chiefest enemie of Christ, being ready in this our Sentence and Profession, not onely to suffer gladly your fond foolish censures, but also do pray you heartily that you will never absolve us againe, nor ever number us in your fellowship, and moreover, to fulfill your bloudie tyranny, we doe willingly offer our selves to die for the same. And according to the power and might, that the spirit of Christ and efficacie of our Faith can doe in these our writings, if ye shall persist so still in your fury, we condemne you, and together with this Bull, and all the decretals, we give you to Satan, to the destruction of the flesh, that your spirit in the day of our Lord may be delivered, in the name which you persecute, of Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen. M. Luthers warning to the pope. M. Luther curseth the Pope.

For our Lord Jesus Christ yet liveth and reigneth (in whom I doe nothing doubt) who I firmely trust will shortly come and slay with the Spirit of his mouth, and destroy with the brightnesse of his coming, this man of sinne, and sonne of perdition; forsomuch as I cannot deny, if the pope be the authour and doer of these misshapen and monstrous doings, but he is the true, finall, most wicked and that famous Antichrist, that subverteth the whole World by the operation of his delusions, as we see it in all places fulfilled and accomplished. The Pope the true Antichrist.

But whither doth the burning zeale of Charitie carry me? neither am I as yet fully perswaded this to be the popes Bul, but to proceed from his wicked Apostle Eckius, who with his fautors, furiously gaping at me like a Gulfe, would swallow me cleane up, singing with the wicked thus, Let us swallow him up quicke and whole like Hell, and like one descending downe into the pit. For little careth this furious madbraine how the veritie of God bee extinguished, (yea, he would count that for a lucre) so hee might fill his malicious desire withe the bloud of his brother. O miserable state of the Church at this time, worthy to be bewayled with teares of bloud. But who heareth our gronings? or who comforteth our wæpings? The fury of the Lord seemeth to be inexorable against us. Eckius. Prov. 1.

Over and besides, what a ridiculous toy or prettie figment have they invented, whereby belike to sport themselves with some merry matter amongst their earnest businesse, writing, That besides other great friendship which they have shewed unto me, they have also offered to support me with money, & to beare my charges with their liberality, in my journey to Rome. Will ye see what a charitie is newly come upon the Citie of Rome, which after it hath pilled & polled the whole world of their money, and hath consumed and wasted the same by intollerable tyrannie, now cometh, and to me onely offereth money. But this impudent lie I know with whose hammer it was coined: Cajetanus the Cardinall, a man borne and formed to lie for the whetstone, after his worshipfull Legacy depeached in Germany, coming home to Rome, there forged and feigned that he promised me money, whereas he being at Auspurge, was there in such miserable penurie, and so pinching in his house, that it was thought he would have famished his family. But thus it becometh the Bull to be verè Bulla, that is, a thing of nought, void of all truth and wit.

The Pope lieth in his Bull, where he saith that he offered money to Luther to come to Rome.

And so these great Judges and condemners, after all this, yet have authoritie to command us to beleeve them to say truth, when they doe nothing but lie; and that they are good Catholiques, when they be starke heretiques; and that they are true Christians, when they play the very Antichrist; and all by the vertue of this universall, *Quodcunque ligaveris, &c.* (1) Whatsoever thing thou bindest, &c. So that where nothing is excepted, they thinke they may doe all things. Who not onely doe lie most loudly and manifestly, but also (which passeth all impudencie) doe vaunt and commend their liberalitie before the people, to bring me more in hatred, making men fully to beleeve that they offered friendship and money unto me: Whereas these tyrants of Rome, if they had had any truth, goodnesse, or godlinesse in them, should have taken some better heed in their doing and speaking, so that no adversarie might conceive any suspition or evill against them. But now if there were no other matter else to bring this Bull out of credit, onely this grosse and foolish lie were sufficient to declare, how light, vaine, and false this Bull is? What? Would Rome (thinke ye) offer money to me? And how then cometh this (which I know to be most certaine) that out of the Banke (as they call it) two or three hundreth Crownes were assigned in Germanie to be disposed and given to Ruffians and Catchpoles, to murther Luther? For these be the reasons and arguments whereby now fighteth, reigneth, and triumpheth the holy Apostolike See, the mistresse of Faith, and Mother of all Churches, which long since should have beene proved to be the very seat of Antichrist, and manifold waies hereticall, if she had fought with the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, whereof she her selfe is nothing ignorant, and therefore because she would not be brought to that issue, thus she fareth and taketh on like as she were mad in the Church of Christ, confounding and consuming all things, with wars, murders, bloudshed, death, and destruction, and yet for all this they must needs be counted most holy Fathers in God, Vicars of Christ, and Pastors of his Flock.

The Pope by the vertue of this universall Quodcunque ligaveris, can doe all things.

Men hired by the Papists to kill Luther.

The Popes church fleeth the triall of the Scripture.

But goe to (that I may also dally with them a while) let them yet send me the money they speake of; for as touching their promise and safe conduct (because I will not overcharge them) that I gladly resign to them again, seeing I have no great need thereof, so that the money may come to my hands. But heere I must require so much as may suffice me, to wit, that I may be furnished with fifty thousand Footmen & ten thousand horsemen to conduct me safe to Rome, and so, for any other promise of safe conduct I will not trouble them. And this I require because of the danger that is in Rome, which devoureth up her Inhabitants neither keepeth nor ever did keepe promise with any; where these most holy fathers do slay their beloved children in the charity of God, and Brethren destroy their Brethren, to do service to Christ, as their manner is, and stile of Rome. In the mean time I wil keep my selfe free and safe from the citation of this most reverend bull. O ye miserable Varlets, which are so confounded with the truth, and with your owne conscience, that neither ye can lie handsomely, neither dare ye speake the truth, and yet neither can ye so keep your selves quiet, to your perpetuall ignominie and confusion.

What safe conduct M. Luther requireth of the Pope.

Furthermore, here in this Bull is brought in a strange fashion of stile not heard of before. For where Augustine would have said, that he would not beleeve the Gospel, except he had been moved by the authoritie of the Church, now cometh in this goodly Bull, and maketh this Catholike Church to be a few reverend Cardinals his brethren, & priors of regular orders, Maisters of divinitie, & Doctors of the Law, out of whose counsel the said bull boasteth her selfe to be borne and brought forth; blessed Babe, forsooth, of such an universall Church. O happy travel (no doubt) of this Catholike Church, never seene nor heard of before, and such as Augustine the valiant impugner of sects, if he did see it, would not doubt to call it the synagogue of the Devill. See therefore the madnesse of these Papists: the universall Church is a few Cardinals, priors, and Doctors, scarcely perhaps twenty persons in al, when also it is possible enough, that never a one of them all is the member of one Chappell or Altar. And whereas the church is the cõmunion of saints, as we say in the Creed; out of this communion of saints, that is, out of this universall Church, all they then must needs be excluded, whosoever be not in the number of these twenty persons; & so whatsoever these holy men do think or judge, by and by the universall Church must needs hold and beleeve the same, albeit they be liers, heretikes, and Antichrists, thinking and judging nothing but that which is abominable.

A new Antichristall church of the Popes making.

The universall church bound to twenty persons

Would there ever any man think such doltishnesse and madnesse to be in Rome? Is there any braine in these mens heads, think ye, or hearts in their bodies? Austen speaketh of the church dispersed throughout the whole world, confessing the Gospel with one cõsent. Neither would God that any book els should be received with such cõsent of the whole world as the holy scripture (as the said Augustine in his confessions affirmeth) lest by the receiving of other books schismes might take occasion to rise, according as the wicked See of Rome hath long sought by her decrees, and hath for a great part brought the same to passe already. But yet the Universall Church did never agree therto. For in the East, West, & South there have beene Christians, which being content onely with the Gospel, have not regarded how Rome hath gone about of a particular Church to make her selfe an universall Church, and accuseth other Churches as schismaticall, when as she hath cut off her selfe from the universall Church, and striveth in vaine to draw the whole universall Church to her, being the mother and Fountaine of all schismes, and all by the meanes of this tyranny.

What Augustine calleth the Universall Church.

No universall Catholike Book but one the Scripture

Let no man therefore ever think, that this true Catholike Church aforesaid will beleeve or maintaine those things which this detestable Bull here prateth, whe as neither that which is the very true Church of Rome indeed doth her selfe so think, neither taketh that by and by to be Catholike, whatsoever is known to proceed from the church of Rome. For as I said, there is no book which shall be called Catholike hereafter, as neither it hath bin heretofore,

The Catholik Church and the Church of Rome are two things.

{KING HEN.8.}

fore, besides onely the holy scripture. For the church of Rome it may suffice to glory her selfe to be a little parcell or piece of the universall Church; and so let her ber her selfe onely with her owne Decrees.

Neither let any man think this to be the Bull of the Catholike Church, but rather to proceed out of the Court of Rome. For such wisdome and religion may well beseeme that seat of Satan, which seeketh to be counted for the whole universall Church, and obtrudeth her foolish & wicked Buls most arrogantly and bainly to the whole world, in the stead of sincere Catholike doctrine. Whose pride and presumption hath grown so far, that she trusting upon her owne power, without all learning and holinesse of life, proudly taketh upon her to prescribe lawes to all men, of all their doings and sayings, as though for dominion onely and loftinesse of spirit she were to be counted the house and Church of Christ; whereas by this meanes Satan also the Prince of the World, or the Turke might be counted the Church of Christ. Again, neither can the Monarchies of the Gentiles abide mightie Princes to reign over them without wisdome and goodnesse. Furthermore, In the church the spirituall Man onely judgeth all things, and is judged of no man, and not the Pope alone, or the Court of Rome, unlesse they be spirituall.

The pride and presumption of the Church of Rome.

Dominion and power maketh not the Church. 1 Cor. 2.

But against all this their rash presumption I boldly set the invincible Champion of the Church Saint Paul, who, 1 Cor. 14. saith; If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first man hold his peace. Here have ye plainly, that the Pope or any other Elder whatsoever he be, ought to keep silence, if any thing be revealed to other in the Church that is inferiour. I therefore upon his authority, contemning the presumptuous proceeding of this swelling Bull, doe confidently take upon me to defend the Articles, caring nothing for the bare condemnation of any person, yea of the Pope himselfe with his whole church, unlesse he shall informe me by the Scriptures. Whereof the first article is this.

1 Cor. 14.

The first Article.

1 Article.

It is an hereticall sentence, and also common, to say, That Sacraments of the new Law do give grace to them which have no obstacle in themselves to the contrary.

The Answer.

Answer of M. Luther to the first sentence.

I acknowledge this article to be mine, and I ask of you good maisters Respectivists, which make these articles respectively, some to be hereticall, some erroneous, some slanderous, &c. whither respected this article I pray you? To heresie, to error, to slander and offence? Or else whither respected you in condemning the same? To the holy Scripture? To the holy fathers? To faith? To the Church? To which of these I beseech you tell me? Neither do I here put you to the labor of proving, but onely require you to shew your judgement what you thinke, that I may know wherein I say amisse. Will you that I should tell you (you babish infants and noddies) whither this article respecteth? I will. This article hath two respects. Whereof the one respecteth the papists the condemners hereof, amongst whom it respecteth some to be mules, some to be horses, which have no understanding and to be void of all sense, and yet notwithstanding they will needs condemne all things. Another respect it hath to the holy Scripture, which saith, Romans cap. fourteene, Whatsoever is not of faith, is sinne. Whereupon consequently it followeth, that the sacraments of the new law can give no grace to the unbelievers (forsomuch as the sinne of infidelitie is the greatest obstacle) but onely to the beleevers. For onely faith putteth no obstacle; all other things be obstacles, although they put not the same obstacles which the Sophisters understand, meaning onely of the actuall purpose of eternall sinne. I confesse therefore this article not onely to be mine, but also to be the article of the Catholike and Christian veritie; and the Bull which condemneth the same, to be twise hereticall, impious and blasphemous, with all them which follow the same. Who, little regarding the sinne of incredulitie, foolishly and madly doe hold that the obstacle is taken away, if a man cease from sinning, although the unbeleever can think no good thing. But these things I have discussed more at large in my bookes, and will more discusse, if those prating Romanists dare at any time prove their opinion and confute mine.

Two respects noted in this Article. Rom 14.

The obstacle letting sacraments to give grace is the actuall purpose of sinning, say the Papists. The onely obstacle letting sacraments to give grace, is unbeleefe, saith Luther, speaking after his sort. But the truth is that Sacraments neither with obstacle, nor without obstacle, doe give grace to the Beleevers or Unbeleevers, but onely doe signifie grace given by Christ.

The second Article.

To deny that sinne remaineth in a childe after his Baptisme, is as much as to tread down Christ and Paul together under foot.

The Answer.

Answer of M. Luther to the 2. Article.

I would require of them to shew the cause why this article is condemned, if they were not so blinded in their fantasticall respects, that they are not able to perceive why they would have this article condemned. And yet I cannot tell whether it be hereticall or erroneous. And no marvell when as the condemners themselves cannot tell me. I hold therefore this article by the Apostle, Rom. 7. I my selfe in my minde doe serve the law of God, and in my flesh the law of sinne. Here the Apostle confesseth plainly of himselfe, that in his flesh he serveth sin. And also 1 Cor. 1. Christ is made to us of God our righteousnes, our wisdome, sanctification and redemption. And how then doth he sanctifie them that be sanctified already? unlesse it be as the Apoc. saith, He that is holy let him be holy still. To be sanctified, is as much as to be purged from sin. But what have these our respectivists to doe with the Apostle Paul, seeing they are the whole universall Church, by whose authority Paul either standeth or falleth, being but a member onely, and a part of the Church? The Lord rebuke thee Satan, and these thy Satanicall Papists.

Rom. 7.

1 Cor. 1.

Apoc. 22.

The third Article.

The originall roote of sin, although no actuall sinne doe follow, stoppeth the soule departing out of the body from entrance into heaven.

The Answer.

The answer of M. Luther to the 3. Article.

As touching this matter, I never defined any thing hither to, but largely and probably I have disputed hereof, neither yet to this day am I fully certaine what is done with such a soule. But our Papists, more blinde then Buzzards, when they are nothing able to perceive what cause this article hath worthy to be condemned, yet dare they take upon them to pronounce that which the whole universall Church is ignorant of: I yet notwithstanding, contemning this foolish and fond condemnation aforesaid, doe hold this article probably to be true. For seeing this originall root, which I speake of, is truely sinne, as I have proved, Rom. 7. and Gal. 5. and seeing that sinne letteth a man from entring into heaven; as it is written, No polluted thing shall enter: I suppose therefore that originall sinne with-holdeth a man from entring into heaven. Neither doe I any thing at all esteeme the fantasticall dreames of them, whereby they extenu-

Sap. 7.

ating originall sin do call it openly the pain of sin, and imperfections, plain against the manifest Scriptures, which call it sinne, and teach the same to be cured by grace, which is the medicine of true and of fained sinne.

The fourth Article.

The imperfect charitie of a man departing necessarily carrieth with it great feare, which of it selfe is enough to make the paine of Purgatorie, and letteth the entrance into the kingdome of heaven.

The Answer.

The answer of M. Luther to the 4. Article.

This followeth of the other going before; which in like manner I did not determinately affirme although very probably I do yet hold the same, asking before a dispensation after mine own arbitrement, even in defiance of the Bull, which is not able to bring forth any other probation but this: We are the highest powers in the Church, yea we are the Church it selfe. Ergo, we are the best learned, most holiest, full of the holy ghost, which cannot erre, although we stinke like a filthy puddle to the whole world, polluted with all kinde of sins, and drowned in ignorance. But all these reasons prevaile nothing with me; peradventure they may with them, which feare lest if my sentence should prevaile, then purgatory should be taken out of the popes hands, and then priests & religious men, having lost their gainefull offices of vering (of releasing I would have said) of the dead, should be pinched by the bellies and brought to penurie. It was time therefore for their greedy avarice here to wake and looke about, and not to suffer these their fridolous opinions, but yet very gainfull, to be overcome with truth, and so to be overthrowne.

The Popes doctrine gainefull to the purse.

The fifth Article.

Where they say penance standeth of three parts, to wit contrition, confession, and satisfaction, it is not founded in holy Scripture, nor in ancient, holy, and Christian Doctors.

The Answer.

The answer of M. Luther to the 5. Article.

This Article, in what respect it is condemned, I do right well perceive. For the respect thereof is to greedy covetousnes, and therefore I know that the probation thereof hath the like respect, which is this; If this article were true, then men would give nothing for satisfaction and indulgences, neither should we have any more wherewith to vere them with confessions, cases reserved, restricted, or ampliated for our gaine, and so should we become beggers, and Gods service should be minished, in Vigils and Masses. But it is wicked that Gods service should be minished; therefore Luther is an heretike. This consequence holds a respectu Bullæ ad Papistas, Id est, From the Bull to the Papists and contrariwise.

I beseech thee by the Lord Jesus, whatsoever grave and learned reader shalt read these things, that thou wilt pardon this my lenity, and, as it may seeme, my childishnesse. For thou seest how I have to doe with such men as be twise children, and yet do brag themselves to be peeres and principall pillars of all men. I assure you I know it most certainely to be true, that there be many and great Governors of the people, which this so ridiculous & foolish reason above recited hath moved to the condemnation of my bookes. Unlesse I perceived (with teares I speake it) the anger of God sharpe and fierce against us, in bringing us under subjection of such effeminate children, and such dregs of the earth, and vile refuse of all other people of the whole world, it would make me to burst for very griefe and sorrow.

{KING HEN. 8.}

My sentence is and hath beene this, that that satisfaction, which the keies are able to dispense withall, standeth not by the law of God. For if it did, then could it not be dispensed withall by the keies. If these Bull founders doe charge me with any other thing besides in this article, they doe nothing else but as they are wont to doe. For what matter or marvell is it if Antichrist doe lie?

The sixth Article.

Contrition which is gotten by examining, remembring and detesting our sinnes, whereby a man calleth to minde his yeares past in the bitternesse of his soule, in pondering the greatnesse, the multitude and filthinesse of his sinnes, the losing of eternall blisse, and purchasing of eternall damnation; this contrition maketh an hypocrite, yea rather a man to be more a sinner.

The Answer.

The answer of M. Luther to the 6 article.

O the incredible blindenesse and bruitishnesse of these Romish Bulls. This article is truly mine, and very Christian, which I wil not suffer to be wrested from me, for all the Popes and papists in the world. For this I meant by that doctrine, that repentance is of no force, unlesse it be done in faith and charitie, which thing they also teach themselves, but that they doe neither know nor teach, neither what faith nor charitie is. And therefore in condemning my doctrine, they condemne also their owne, foolishly repugning against themselves in their owne contradiction. I say therefore that he which teacheth repentance in such wise and manner, that he hath not a greater regard to the promised mercy of God and faith in the same, then to this afflicting and vering of the minde, he teacheth the repentance of Judas Iscariot, he is pestilent, a devill to mens soules, and a tormentor of consciences. Reade the bookes of these Sophisters, where they write of repentance, and thou shalt see there no mention made either of promise or faith. For these lively parts of repentance they cleane omit, and only do vere men with these dead contritions. But hereof we have, and will hereafter intreat more at large.

But what should I here stand upon every article, seeing my bookes be abroad, wherein I have given a reason of all sufficiently, and more would have done, if mine adversaries also had brought to light theirs? For what foolishnesse is this, that they think to answer me with this one saying, that they count all my sayings as damned, whereas I did write to this end onely, that they should acknowledge their errors, wherewith they have so long bewitched the people of God. Neither did I look that I should be condemned, which understanding and knowing the same right well, have justified those things, which they have condemned, before with sufficient authoritie both of Scripture and reason. Neither looked I that they should tel me what they thought (for I knew all that well enough) but that which I sought of them, was, to know whether they thought right therein or not. Here looked I to be taught, and behold, none of them all durst once put forth his head. Wherefore I see these Asses nothing to understand either in things that I say, or yet themselves. But they be such blinde Buzzards, that they perceive not what it is that I seeke in my bookes: for they dreame that I have such an opinion of them, as though they had the truth of their side, when there is nothing that I lesse think to be true. For I, foreseeing that they had condemned all these things before, came forth and shewed my selfe as

The purpose of Luther in setting forth his articles.

one

{KING HEN.8.}

one not to be condemned, but as alreadie condemned of them, to accuse their condemnation to be wicked, heretical, and blasphemous, and so openly to denounce them as heretiques and erroneous, unlesse they shewed some better reason and ground of their doings and doctrine; whereas they on the other side, like foolish Minstrels harping all on one string, have nothing else in their mouthes, but we condemne that we have condemned, proving, after a new kinde of Logick, the same thing by it self. O most idiot huddipeakes, and blockish condemners, where is the saying of Peter? Be alwayes readie to render an account of that faith and hope which is in you.

1. Pet. 3.

Wherefore seeing these ignorant Papists, being thus confounded, do so flie away from the face of the manifest veritie, that they dare not once open their mouthes in defence of themselves, or of their cause, and have blasted out with much ado this timorous Bull of theirs; I being comforted with the slight of these mine adversaries, do account this their dastardly damnation instead of full allowing and justifying of my cause, and so rebound again their owne damnation upon their owne heads: for how could they more condemne themselves, then whiles they (fearing to be found themselves culpable of heresie, if they should be driven to give account of their doctrine) do flie to this miserable and desperate refuge, willingly to shut their eyes, and stop their ears, and to say I will not, I damne thee, I hear thee not, I allow thee not: If I should have played any such mad part, how would they (I pray you) have triumphed against me? This dastardly fear declareth what cowards they are.

Wherefore not to burthen the Reader with any tedious prolixity of matter in prosecuting every article, I here protest by these presents, that I "confesse all these things here condemned by this miserable Bull, for pure, clear, and Catholike doctrine; whereof I have sufficiently given account in my bookes, which be extant abroad.

2. Note here good Reader that amongst these articles certain there be which because they seemed somewhat to bear with the Pope and his pardons, Luther coming after to a more knowledge that the Pope was Antichrist, confesseth himself in his assertions, that he utterly calleth back the same, nor revoking them as the Pope would have had him, but rather aggravating them against the pope.

Furthermore, I will also that the said my bookes being extant abroad shall be taken as a publike accusation against these wicked Sophisters and seducers of the people of God; so that unlesse they shall give an account of their doctrine, and shall convict me with good ground of Scripture, I do here, as much as in me lieth, denounce them as guiltie of errour, heresie, and sacriledge, admonishing, desiring, and in the Lord exhorting all them which truly confesse Christ, that they will beware and take heed of their pestiferous doctrine, and not to doubt, but that the true Antichrist reigneth by them in the world amongst us.

And if any shall contemne this my brotherly admonition, let him know that I am pure and cleane from his blood, and excused from the last judgement of Christ. For I have left nothing undone, which Christian charitie did binde me to do.

Finally, if there be no other way whereby I may resist these babling and trifling condemners, the uttermost and last which I have I will give and bestow in the quarrell, that is, this life and blood of mine. For better it were for me a thousand times to be slain, then to revoke one syllable of these articles, which they have condemned. And now as they do curse and excommunicate me for their damnable heresie, so I again likewise do curse and excommunicate them for the holy veritie of God. Christ, which is onely the judge of all, judge and determine this matter betweene us, whether of these two excommunications, his or mine, shall stand and prevail before him. Amen.

In storying the life of Luther, before, it was declared how the said Luther in the beginning, first being rejected of the Cardinall Cajetanus, appealed from the Cardinall unto the Pope. When that would not serve, neither could any tolerable submission of Luther to the Pope be received, but that the Pope with his Cardinals, contrary to all equity and conscience, would needs proceed against him, and against the expresse truth of Gods word, thinking by meer authoritie to bear down the veritie as he had used before to do; Luther, following the justnesse of his cause, was then compelled to appeale from the Pope to the next generall Councell, and so did, as before you may read: Which was two yeers before the Popes Bull against Luther came out. The tenour of which appellation, before omitted, I thought here to exhibite: whereby the reader, considering the great change of Religion, and state of the Church which since hath ensued, may also perceive the true originall cause and occasion how it first began, by what order and degrees it after increased, what humilitie and submission first on Luthers part was shewed, and again, what insolencie, wrong and violence on the Popes part was declared. And further where pope Leo, in his Bull above prefixed, seemeth to pretend certain conditions of favour, charitie, and mercy offered to Luther in the beginning, how false and vain that is, by this present appeal may appeare. The copie whereof, as it was drawn by the publike notarie, and exhibited, is this as in forme here followeth.

Read afore.

The tenour and forme of the appeale of Martine Luther, from Pope Leo to the next Generall Councell.

The appeal of M. Luther from the Pope to the next generall Councell.

IN nomine Domini, Amen. Anno a nativitate ejusdem, 1518. indictione sexta, die vero solis vigesima octava mensis Novembris. Pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo Patris & Domini nostri, Domini Leonis, divina providentia Papæ, decimi, anno sexto in mea Notarii publici testiumque infra scriptorum ad hoc specialiter vocatorum & rogatorum præsentia constituta, &c.

The effect of the said appeale of Luther, in English.

Luthers appeal from the Pope in English.

THe effect of the appeale aforesaid is this, That forsomuch as the libertie of appealing is provided for a remedie to releeve the oppressed from injurie and violence of the superiour, it was therefore lawfull for Martin Luther so to do, especially being manifold wayes injured and molested by the See of Rome, and other the Popes confederates, as he in the said appeale declareth. For at first whereas he modestly disputing of the errours and abuses of the Popes pardons, did somewhat withstand the impudent ravine and blasphemies of them that came about with the Popes pardons to poll and rob the people, he was therefore openly railed upon and defamed by them in their publike sermons to be an heretike, and consequently upon the same accused to Pope Leo for an heretike, by Marius the Popes Proctor and others.

Then was obtained of the Pope a commission to cite up the said Luther to appeare at Rome before the Cardinals, by Hieronymus, and Sylvester Prierias, his mortall enemies; whereas he could by no way appeare without manifest danger of his life, both by the way, and also in the Citie of Rome.

For the consideration whereof, Duke John Frederick, Prince Elector, and the Lantgrave intreated for him to have his cause indifferently to be heard, & to be committed to two parties that were equall, and not partiall: yet notwithstanding the earnest sute of these Princes, the contrary labours of the Cardinals, which were his capitall adversaries, so prevailed at Rome, that the cause of Luther was still detained in their own hands, and contrary

trarie to all indifferencie, was committed to the hearing of the Popes Legate then in Germanie, called Cardinalis sancti Sixti. Who being no lesse Enemie against Luther then the other, and notwithstanding that Luther obediently appeared at his call, and with humble protestation submitted himself to be answered by the Scriptures, and referred himself to the judgement of the sée of Rome, and of four Universities, to wit, Basil, Friburge, Lovaine, and Paris, yet contrarie to all equitie, shewing forth no Scripture nor reason, rejecting his gentle protestation, submission, and honest offer, with all other his requests and suits, he would néeds forthwith have him to revoke his errours, threatning and menacing him most cruelly, and commanded him no more to come in his sight.

Cardinal. sancti Sixti, Enemy to Luther.

Whereupon Luther, being thus proudly rejected of the Cardinall, made his appeale from the said Cardinall to Pope Leo, being better informed.

Luther appealeth from the Cardinall to the Pope.

This appellation also being contemned of the Pope, who would neither come to any agréement, nor take any reasonable condition, nor shew Luther his errors by the Scripture, nor yet refer the matter by learning to be decided, but would néeds perforce proceed against him by mére authoritie and oppression at Rome; Luther then séeing there was no other refuge or remedie for his own defence, and séeing moreover the truth of Gods word to lie under foot, by might and authoritie oppressed, so that none durst almost confesse the same, and that the poore flock was so moulded in errors and vain opinions, to the seduction of their souls; for these and other such causes, he being necessarily thereunto compelled, commenced this appeal from the Pope misinformed to the next generall Councel that should be, calling for the help of the publike Notarie, and testimonie also of sufficient witnesses, requisite in that behalf accordingly.

M. Luther appealeth from the Pope, to the next generall Councell.

The death of King Henry the eighth, with the manner thereof.

AND thus closing up this eighth book with the death of King Henry the eighth, I will now (the Lord Christ assisting me with his grace) proceed next to the time and reign of King Edward his sonne, after that first I shall interpose a few words touching the death of the said King Henrie his father, and the manner of the same. Who after long languishing, infirmitie growing more and more upon him, lay from S. Stevens day (as is above mentioned) to the latter end of January. His Physicians at length perceiving that he would away, and yet not daring to discourage him with death, for fear of the Act past before in Parliament, that none should speak any thing of the kings death (the Act being made onely for soothsayers, and talkers of prophecies) moved them that were about the King to put him in remembrance of his mortall state and fatall infirmitie. Which when the rest were in dread to do, M. Dennie, who was specially attendant upon him, boldly coming to the King, told him what case he was in, to mans judgement not like to live, and therefore exhorted him to prepare himself to death, calling himself to remembrance of his former life, and to call upon God in Christ betime for grace and mercie, as becometh every good Christian man to do.

The order and manner of the Kings death.

Of the Act that none should speak of the Kings death. Vide Statut. Ann. Hen. 8.

Although the King was loth to hear any mention of death, yet perceiving the same to rise upon the judgement of his Physicians, and féeling his own weaknesse, he disposed himself more quietly to hearken to the words of his exhortation, and to consider his life past. Which although he much accused, yet (said he) is the mercie of Christ able to pardon me all my sins, though they were greater then they be. Walter Denny being glad to heare him thus to speak, required to know his pleasure, whether he would have any learned man sent for to conferre withall, and to open his minde unto. To whom the King answered again, that if he had any, he would have Doctor Cranmer, who was then lying at Croydon. And therefore maister Denny asking the King whether he would have him sent for, I will first, said the King, take a little sléep, and then as I féele my self I will advise upon the matter.

The King at his death chuseth to talk with Cranmer.

After an houre or two, the King awaking, and féeling féeblenesse to increase upon him, commanded Doctor Cranmer to be sent for; but before he could come, the King was speechlesse, and almost senselesse. Notwithstanding, perceiving Doctor Cranmer to be come, he reaching his hand to Doctor Cranmer, did hold him fast, but could utter no words unto him, and scarse was able to make any signe. Then the Archbishop exhorting him to put his trust in Christ, and to call upon his mercy, desired him, though he could not speak, yet to give some token with his eyes or with his hand, as he trusted in the Lord. Then the King, holding him with his hand, did wring his hand in his as hard as he could, and so shortly after departed, after he had reigned in this land the terme of thirty seven yéers and nine moneths, leaving behinde him three Children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth.

D. Cranmer cometh to the King.

The Kings Children.

Moreover, forsomuch as mention is inserted in this place of the good inclination of King Henrie in his latter dayes to the reformation of Religion, by the occasion hereof it cometh also to mind, somewhat likewise to adde by way of appendix touching the talk betwéen the Archbishop of Canterburie Thomas Cranmer, and the Duke of Suffolke Charles Brandon, as concerning the Kings purpose and entent conceived against the Bishop of Winchester Steven Gardinar, in that he could never allow any reformation in Religion in this Realm, and, namely, being offended with this, that men should use in their talk, The Lord, as well as our Lord; the said Duke said unto the said Archb. We of the Counsell had him once at a good lift, and should well have dispatched him from his authoritie, if the Kings Majestie our Maister had staied himself from admitting him to his presence, as then his Highnesse was content that we should thoroughly have sifted and tried him. It was my lord (quoth the Duke to the Archbishop) at that time when Gardiner his secretarie was attached, and suffered for defending the Popes authoritie. For then I and certain of the Counsell having conference with the Kings Majestie for that matter, his Highnesse was fully perswaded, that the Bishops secretarie, being in such speciall favour with his Maister, would never stand so stiffe in defence of the Bishop of Romes usurped power and authoritie, without his said Maisters both advice, knowledge, and perswasion. For alreadie (quoth the King) he played but an homely part with me, when he was Embassadour to the Pope concerning my cause of divorce. And therefore (quoth the King to me) send for him my Lord incontinently, and by assistance of two or three more of the Counsell, whom you think good, let him be committed to the Tower, to answer to such things as may be objected against him. This communication was in the evening, so that we purposed to have executed the Kings pleasure and commandement the next morning. Howbeit our talke was not so secret, but that some of his friends of the Privy Chamber (where he had many friends then) suspecting the matter, sent him word thereof. Who incontinently repaired to the Kings presence, and finding some matter to minister unto the King, his Highnesse said to the Bishop, We do marvell that your Secretarie hath thus notoriously offended against us and our Laws. It is surely thought that you are not all cleare.

Talk betweene Th. Cranmer Archb. of Cant and the D. of Suffolk, about St. Gardiner.

St. Gardiner appointed by the King to be had to the Tower.

St. Gardiner privily cometh to the King.

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{KING HEN. 8.} K. Henry layeth to Winchesters charge.

in this offence, but that you are of the same opinion with him, and therefore my Lord be plain with me, and let me know if you be that way infected or no. If you will tell me the truth, I will rather pardon the fault; but if you halt or dissemble with me, look for no favour at my hand.

Winch. confesseth his popery to the King.

With this monition Winchester fel down upon his knees, and besought his Majesty of mercie and pardon, manifestly confessing that he had long time been of that opinion with his said Secretarie; and there bewailing himself promised from that day forward to reform his opinion and become a new man. Well, quoth the King, this way you have of me that which otherwise you should never have obtained. I am content to remit all things past, and pardon you upon your amendment.

The nert morning I had word how the matter was handled, whereupon I came to his Highnesse and said; your Majestie hath prevented our commission, which I and other had from your grace concerning my Lord of Winchesters committing to the Tower. What you what, quoth the King: He hath confessed himself as guiltie in this matter as his man, and hath with much sorrow and pensivenesse sued for my pardon; and you know what my nature and custome hath been in such matters, ever more to pardon them that will not dissemble but confesse their fault.

K. Henries nature to pardon them that come to him, and confesse their fault.

Thus wililie and politikely he got himself out of our hands. But if I had suspected this, I would have had him in the Tower ever night, and stopped his journey to the Court. Well, said my Lord of Canterburie, he was evermore too good for you all.

Moreover as touching this foresaid Bishop of Winchester, forsomuch as he in King Edwards time braggedso much of his old Master of famous memorie King Henrie the eighth, to the intent that the glorious vanity of this Bishop, and of all other like unto him, may appeare more notoriously to all men, here is to be noted by the testification as well of master Dennie, as also of sir Henry Nevil, who were there present witnesses of the matter, whose record was this, that King Henrie before the time of his sicknesse, taking his horse upon the tarras at Windsor to ride out on hawking, saw standing before him the Lord Wriothsley Lord Chancellour, with divers other Counsellors, and amongst them the Bishop of Winchester. Whereupon he called the Lord Chancellor, and said, Did not I command you he should come no more amongst you (meaning the Bishop?) Whereunto the Lord Chancellour answered, That his coming was to bring his Majesty word of a benevolence given unto him by the Clergie. Whereat the King said, Ah, let him come hither, and so he did his message, and the King went straight away.

Winch. commanded no more to come in the Kings sight.

Item, another time the King immediately after his repaire to London fell sick, and caused divers times his whole Counsell to come unto him about his Will, and other his grave affairs. At what time the Bishop also would come up with them into the utter privy chamber, and there remain untill the Counsell came from the King, and then go down with them again, to the end (as then was thought) to blinde the world withall.

Winch. though he were excluded, yet would seem still to be of the Kings counsell.

Furthermore, as the King grew more in sicknes, he considering upon his will and testament made before, at his going over to Bullein, willed the same to be drawn out again, with leading out and excluding the Bishop of Winchester by name from amongst his executors. Which being to him no small sorrow, and a cutting off of all their purposes, a way was found, that sir Anthonie Brown a principall pillar of Winchesters side, pretending unto the King, as though by the negligence of the writer the Bishops name had been left out of the Kings will, kneeled down to the Kings Majestie lying in his bed, and said, My Lord of Winchester I think by negligence is left out of your Majesties will, who hath done your Highnesse most painfull, long and notable service, and one without whom the rest shall not be able to overcome your great and weighty affairs committed unto them.

Winch. excluded out of the Kings Will.

Hold your peace, quoth the King, I remembred him well enough, and of good purpose have left him out. For surely if he were in my Testament, and one of you, he would cumber you all, and you should never rule him, he is of so troublesome a nature. Marie, quoth the King, I my self could use him, and rule him to all manner of purposes, as seemed good unto me, but so shall you never do, and therefore talke no more of him to me in this behalfe. Sir Anthonie Browne, perceiving the King somewhat stiffe herein, gave place to the Kings words at that time. Howbeit, seeking further occasion upon more perswasions put into his head, he took in hand once again to move the King to have the Bishop one of his Executors. When the King perceived that this instant sute would not cease; have you not yet done, quoth the King, to molest me in this matter? If you will not yet cease to trouble me, by the faith I owe unto God, I will surely dispatch thee out of my Will also, and therefore let us hear no more of this matter. All this sir Anthonie Denny was heard to report to the Archbishop of Canterburie Thomas Cranmer, of the said Archbishops Secretarie who is yet alive, and witnesse unto the same.

King Henries opinion of the bish. of Winc.

Sir Anthony Brown a great friend to Winchester.

Witnesse.

And thus much touching the end of King Henry, who if he had continued a few moneths longer (all those obites and masses, which appeare in his will made before he went to Bullein notwithstanding) most certain it is, and to be signified to all posteritie, that his full purpose was to have repurged the estate of the church, and to have gone through with the same, so that he would not have left one masse in all England. For the more certain intelligence whereof, two things I have to lead me. The one is, the assured report and testimonie of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterburie, hearing the King declare the same out of his own mouth, both to himself, and to Mounsieur de Annebault Lord Admirall the French Embassadour, in the moneth of August a little before his death; as above may appeare more at large. The other cause which leadeth me thereunto is also of equall credit, grounded upon the declaration of the Kings own mouth after that time, more nere to his death, unto Bruno Embassador of John Frederick, Duke of Saxonie. Unto the which Embassadour of Saxonie the King gave this answer openly, that if the quarrell of the Duke of Saxonie were nothing else against the Emperour, but for Religion, he should stand to it strongly, and he would take his part, willing him not to doubt nor fear; and so with this answer he dismissed the Embassadour unto the Duke, openly in the hearing of these four sufficient witnesses, as the Lord Seymer Earle of Harford, Lord Lelley then Admirall, the Earle of Wedford Lord Privie Seale, and Lord Paget. But the secret working of Gods holy providence, which disposeth all things after his own wisdom and purpose, thought it good rather by taking the King away to reserve the accomplishment of this reformation of his Church to the peaceable time of his sonne Edward and Elizabeth his daughter, whose hands were yet undefiled with any blood, and life unspotted with any violence or crueltie.

The purpose of the King if he had lived, was to make a perfect reformation of religion.

Credit of this narration that it is true.

The Kings answer to the D. of Saxonies Embassadour, a little before his death.

And thus to finish this book, I thought here to close up King Henries reign. But because a little vacant space of emptie paper remaineth behinde needfull to be filled up, to imploy therefore & to replenish the same with some matter or other, I thought to anner hereunto one story which happened in this King Henries reign. Which albeit it serveth not

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to the purpose of this our matter now in hand, yet nevertheleſſe to ſupply the room it may ſtand in ſome place, either to refreſh the trabelled minde of the Reader wearied with other ſtories, or elſe to diſcloſe the deteſtable impietie of theſe counterfeit ſects of Monks and Friers, who, under the hypocriticall viſour of pretenſed religion, have ſo long ſeduced and deceived the world. Although the deceitfull parts and practiſes of theſe fantaſticall orders be ſo many and in all places ſo notorious, that they are not able to be expreſſed; yet amongſt many, one you ſhall hear that chanced in this Kings dayes in the citie of Orleance in France, by the Gray Friers, about the yeer of our Lord, 1534. The ſtorie is this.

A tragicall hiſtorie of certain Friers in France, in the City of Orleance, *Anno* 1534.

Ex Comment. Ioan. Sleid. A ſtory of certain Friers in Orleance.

THe Maiors wife of the city of Orleance provided in her Will to be buried without any pomp or ſolemnitie. For when any departeth there, in ſome places the Belmen are hired to go about the citie, and in places moſt frequented to aſſemble the people with the ſound of the Bell, and there to declare the names and the titles of thoſe parties deceaſed, alſo where and when they ſhall be buried, exhorting the people to pray for them. And when the coarſe is carried forth, the moſt part of the begging Friers go withall to the Church, with many torches and tapers carried before them, and the more pomp and ſolemnitie is uſed, the more is the concourſe of people. But this woman (as I ſaid) would have none of all this geare done for her. Wherefore her huſband, which loved her well, followed her minde herein, and gave unto theſe greedy cormorants the Friers which waited for their prey (in whoſe Church ſhe was buried beſides her father and her grandfather) ſix Crowns for a reward; whereas they gaped for a great deal more. And afterward when he cut down a wood and ſold it, the Friers craving to have part thereof freely and without money, he denyed them: this took they wonderfull grievouſly, and whereas they loved him not before, they deviſed now a way to be revenged, ſaying, that his wife was damned everlaſtingly.

The workers of this tragedie were Colyman and Steven of Arras, both Doctors of Divinitie; and the firſt indeed was a conjurer, and had all his trinkets and his furniture concerning ſuch matters in readineſſe, and they uſed the matter thus.

They ſet a young man which was a novice, above over the vaut of the Church, and when they came to mumble up their Mattins at midnight, after their accuſtomed manner, he made a wonderfull noiſe and ſhriking aloft. Then went this Colyman to croſſing and conjuring, but the other above would not ſpeak. Being charged to make a ſigne to declare if he were a dumbe ſpirit, he ruſſeled and made a noiſe againe, and that was the ſigne and token.

When they had laid this foundation, they went to certain of the chiefeſt in all the Citie, and ſuch as favoured them moſt, and told them what an heavie caſe was chanced, yet did they not utter what it was, but intreated them to take the paines to come to their ſervice at night. When they were come, and the ſervice was begun, he that was aloft made a great noiſe. Being demanded what he would, and what he was, he ſignified that he might not ſpeak, then was he commanded to anſwer to their interrogatories by ſignes and tokens. Now, there was a hole made for the purpoſe, whereby, laying to his eare, he might heare and underſtand what the conjurer ſaid unto them. There was alſo a table at hand, and when any queſtion was aſked, he ſtroke and beat upon the Table, ſo that he might be heard beneath. Then firſt the conjurer demanded whether he were any of them that had bæn buried there. After that, reckoning up many of their names in order, whoſe bodies had bæn buried there, at the laſt he named the Maiors wife. Here he made a ſigne that he was the ſpirit of that woman. Then he aſked whether ſhe were damned, and for what deſert or offence? Whether it were for covetouſneſſe, pride, or lecherie, or not doing the works of charity, or elſe for this new ſprung up hereſie and Lutheraniſme? Moreover, what was the cauſe that he made ſuch a noiſe, and was ſo unquiet? Whether it were that the bodie being buried within holy ground ſhould be digged up again, and carried to ſome other place? To all theſe things he anſwered by ſignes in like caſe as he was commanded; whereby he affirmed, or denied everie thing, ſtriking twice or thrice upon the Table.

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The conjurer what he demanded of the Spirit.

Luthers hereſie a great bug among the Friers.

When he had thus ſignified that Luthers hereſie was the cauſe of her damnation, and that her body muſt be taken up, the Friers deſired the citizens that were preſent, to beare witneſſe of ſuch things as they had ſeen and heard, and ſet their hands to it in writing. But they taking adviſement leſt they ſhould both offend the Maior, and bring themſelves in trouble, refuſed to ſubſcribe. Notwithſtanding, the Friers took the pixe with the hoſt and the Lords body (as they call it) and all their ſaints reliques, and carried them to another place, and there they ſaid their maſſes; which they are wont to do by the Popes law, when a Church is ſuſpended and muſt be hallowed again: and when the Biſhops officiall heard of this, he came thither to underſtand the matter better, and aſſociating to him certaine honeſt men, he commanded the Frier to conjure in his preſence, and would have appointed certaine to go up to the vaut, to ſee if any ſpirit did there appeare. But Steven of Arras was ſore againſt it, and exhorted them earneſtly that they ſhould not ſo do, ſaying, that the ſpirit ought not to be moleſted. And albeit the Officiall did earneſtly urge them to conjure before him, yet could he not bring them to it. In the meane time the Maior, making his friends privie what he would do, went to the King, and informed him of the whole matter. And becauſe the Friers, truſting to their immunities and priviledges, refuſed to come in judgement, the King choſe certain out of the Court of Parliament at Paris, to examine the matter, and gave them full authoritie ſo to do. Whereupon they were carried to Paris, and conſtrained to make anſwer, but they would confeſſe nothing.

The Maior complaineth to the King of the Friers.

Then they were ſent again to priſon, and kept apart, one from another; and the Novice was kept in Fumeus houſe a Senatour, and being oftentimes examined, he would confeſſe nothing, fearing leſt he ſhould after be murthered of them for ſlandering their order. But when the Judges promiſed him that he ſhould have no harm, and ſhould come no more in the Friers hands, he declared to them the whole matter in order, and being brought before the others, he avouched the ſame. But they, albeit they were convicted, and in manner taken with the deed, yet refuſed they their judges, and bragged of their priviledges: but it was altogether in vaine, for they were condemned in open judgement, that they ſhould be carried again to Orleance, and committed to priſon, and afterwards brought openly to the Cathedrall Church, and ſo to the place of puniſhment where malefactors are executed, and there ſhould make open confeſſion of their wickedneſſe.

The Friers condemned to priſon and to puniſhment.

But even at the ſame time chanced a perſecution againſt the Lutherans, which was the cauſe that this ſentence, albeit it was too gentle for ſo great offence,

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offence, was not put in execution. For becauſe the name of the Lutherans was moſt odious, they feared leſt the puniſhment of theſe men ſhould not have been ſo much thought to be due for their offence, as done in reproach of the order: and many thought that whatſoever ſhould be done to them, it would be to the Lutherans a pleaſant ſpectacle, and cauſe them much to reſoyce.

The Friers eſcaped, and the Lutherans puniſhed.

This order of the Franciſcans was eſteemed of the common people very holy; ſo that what time they were carried out of Paris, certain women moved with pity followed them unto the gate of the Univerſity, with many tears and ſighs.

After they came to Orleance, and were beſtowed in ſeverall Priſons, they began to boaſt again of their liberties and priviledges: and at length, after long impriſonment, they were diſcharged and ſet at liberty without any further puniſhment. Had not theſe perſecutions before mentioned letted the matter, the King had determined, as it was certainly reported, to plucke down their houſe, and make it even with the ground. Ex Ioan. Sleid. lib. 9.

Perſecution for the Goſpel before M. Luthers time.

But to leave the memory of this idolatrous generation, not worthy any further to be named, let us occupie the time with ſome better matter, in remembring the ſtory of a good and conſtant martyr of the Lord before overpaſt, which ſuffered in Kent for the word of God before Luthers time, about the ſecond yeer of this Kings reign, as here in ſtorie followeth.

John Browne a bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt Ieſus burned at Aſhford by Archbiſhop Warham, and Doctor Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter, about the ſecond yeer of King Henry the eighth. Anno 1511.

The ſtory of Io. Brown martyr.

Perſecuters.

Wil. Warh. Archb. of Canterbury.

Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter.

A chauntry prieſt.

Walter More gentleman.

Wil. More his brother.

Chilten of Wye,

Baily arrant.

Beare of Wiſeborough.

Two ſervants of W. Warham.

THe firſt occaſion of the trouble of this Io. Browne, the bleſſed ſervant of God, was by a certain Prieſt, who paſſing down to Graves end in the common Barge (where the ſaid Io. Browne was amongſt divers other paſſengers more) and diſdaining that he ſo lawcily ſhould ſit ſo neer unto him in the Barge (who belike ſeemed not much to paſſe upon the Prieſt) began to ſwell in ſtomacke againſt him. At length burſting forth in his prieſtly voyce and diſdainfull countenance, he aſked him in this manner, Doeſt thou know, ſaid he, who I am? Thou ſitteſt too neere me, and ſitteſt on my clothes. No ſir, ſaid the other, I know not what you are. I tell thee, quoth he, I am a Prieſt. What ſir, are you a Parſon or Vicar, or ſome Ladies Chaplaine? No (quoth he again) I am a ſoule Prieſt, I ſing for a ſoul. Do yo ſo ſir, ſaid the other, that is well done. I pray you ſir, ſaid he, where finde you the ſoule when you go to Maſſe? I cannot tell thee, ſaid the Prieſt. I pray you, where do you leave it ſir when the Maſſe is done? I cannot tell thee, ſaid the Prieſt. Neither can you tell where to finde it when you go to Maſſe, nor where you leave it when the Maſſe is done, how can you then ſave the ſoule, ſaid he? Go thy wayes, ſaid the prieſt, I perceive thou art an Heretike, and I will be even with thee.

Talk between Io. Brown and a proud prieſt in Graves end Barge.

So at the landing, the Prieſt taking with him Walter More and William More two gentlemen and brethren, rode ſtraightwaies to the Archbiſhop, who at that time was William Warham. Whereupon the ſaid John Browne, within three dayes after, was ſent for by the Archbiſhop. His bringers up were Chilten of Wye Baily Arrant, and one Beare of Wiſeborough, with two of the Biſhops ſervants. Who, with certain other being appointed for the ſame, came ſuddenly into his houſe upon him, the ſame day when his wife was churched, as he was bringing in a meſſe of pottage to the boord ſerving his gueſts: and ſo laying hands upon him, they ſet him upon his own horſe, and binding his feet under the horſes belly, carried him away to Canterbury, neither he nor his wife nor any of his friends knowing whither he went, nor whither he ſhould: and there continuing the ſpace of fourtie dayes, from Low Sunday till the Friday before Whitſonday, through the cruell handling of the ſaid Archbiſhop and the Biſhop of Rocheſter Doctor Fiſher, he was ſo pitiouſly intreated, that his bare feet were ſet upon the hot burning coals, to make him deny his faith, which notwithſtanding he would not do, but patiently abiding the pain, continued in the Lords quarrell unremoveable. At length after all this cruelty ſuſtained, his wife yet not knowing where he was become, on Friday before Whitſonday he was ſent to Aſhford where he dwelt, the next day there to be burned.

Walter More, Wil. More, Chilten and Beare, perſecuters.

Io. Brown ſuddenly taken and carried away.

His bare feet ſet upon the hot coals to make him deny the truth.

In the meane time, as he was brought to the town over night, there to be ſet in the ſtocks, it happened as God would, that a young maid of his houſe coming by, and ſeeing her maiſter, ran home and told her miſtreſſe.

Brown brought to Aſhford to be burned.

Then ſhe coming to him, and finding him in the ſtocks appointed to be burned the next morning, ſat by him all the night long. To whom he then declared the whole ſtory or rather tragedie how he was handled, and how his feet were burned to the bones, by the two Biſhops aforeſaid, that he could not ſet them upon the ground, (he thanked God therefore) and all to make me, ſaid he, to denie my Lord, which I will never do, for if I ſhould denie him, ſaid he, in this world, he would denie me hereafter. And therefore I pray thee, ſaid he, good Eliza-beth, continue as thou haſt begun, and bring up thy children vertuouſly in the fear of God.

Brown ſet in the ſtocks at Aſhford.

And ſo the next day, which was on Whitſon Even, this godly Martyr was burned, where he ſtanding at the ſtake ſaid this prayer which followeth, holding up his hands.

The prayer of Iohn Browne at his death.

O Lord I yeeld me to thy grace,
Grant me mercie for my treſpaſſe,
Let never the Fiend my ſoule chaſe.
Lord I will bow and thou ſhalt beat:
Let never my ſoul come in hell heat.
Into thy hands I commend my ſpirit, thou haſt redeemed me O Lord of truth.

The prayer of Io. Brown at his death.

And ſo this bleſſed Martyr ended his life in peace, ann. 1511.

This ſtory the ſaid Elizabeth Browne his wife did oft times repeat to Alice her daughter, who dwelling yet in the pariſh of S. Pulchers, teſtified the narration hereof unto me and certain other, upon whoſe credible information I have recorded the ſame.

Witneſſe to this ſtory.

Furthermore, it is to be noted, that the ſaid John Browne bare a fagot ſeven yeers before this, in the dayes of King Henry the ſeventh. Whoſe ſonne alſo named Richard Browne, for the like cauſe of religion, was impriſoned at Canterbury likewiſe, in the latter time of Queen Marie, and ſhould have been burned with two more beſides himſelfe the

Ric. Brown eſcaped burning by the coming in of Queen Elizabeth.

the next day after the death of Quéene Marie, but that by the proclaiming of Quéene Elizabeth they escaped.

Amongst other Injunctions and letters of King Henry the eighth, written and set forth for reformation of Religion, he wrote one Letter to Edmund Boner, for abolishing of Images, pilgrimages, shrines, and other monuments of idolatrie. Which letter being before expressed, we should also have annexed to the same the letter or mandate of Boner, directed in Latine to Richard Cloney his Sumner, appertaining to the due execution thereof. Which Letter because we have omitted before, the defect thereof I thought here in this vacant space to supply. The Letter written to Cloney in Latine thus beginneth.

Boners Letter to Cloney Keeper of the cole-house, for the abolishing of Images.

This Cloney could neither understand the Latin, nor yet scarce read in English, and yet here he is called literatus.

EDmundus permissione Divina Lond. Episc. Dilecto nobis in Christo Richardo Cloney literato, Apparitori nostro generali salut. grat. & benedictionem. Cum nos 13 die mensis instantis Octob. circa noctem, literas sereniſſimi, &c.

The same in English.

FOrasmuch as the thirteenth day of this present, we have received the letters of our Soveraign Lord, by the grace of God King of England, &c. to us directed, and containing in them the commandement of his Majestie, by us to be executed in tenour of words which here I send unto you: We therefore willing and desiring, according as our duty bindeth us, to put the same in execution with all diligence possible, according to the effect and tenour hereof, in the Kings behalf, and for the fidelitie which we have in you assuredly approved, that you incontinent upon the receit hereof, do effectually warne all and singular Parsons and Vicars of this city of London, and of all our Dioceſſe, that they immediately upon the sight and intimation of these present articles and interrogatories here under written, do cause diligent and effectuall inquisition thereof to be made, to wit: {KING. HEN. 8.

Had Boner none to do th weighty thing but Cloney, keeper of the Cole-house?

Whether there be used and continued any superstition, hypocrisie, or abuse within any their Parishes or Cures, contrary to any Ordinance, Injunction, or commandement given and set forth by the Kings Majestie, or by his authoritie.

Item, Whether they have in their Churches, or within their Parishes, any shrines, coverings of shrines, tables of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, images, and bones resorted and offered unto, and other monuments and things wherewith the people have been illuded, or any offering or setting up of lights or candels, other then be permitted by the Kings Majesties Injunctions; or whether the said Injunctions be duely observed and kept in their Parishes or Cures, or else transgressed and broken, and in what part.

And further, after the said Inquisition thus by them and everie of them respectively being made, that you do certifie us, or our Vicar generall, what is done in the premisses, upon the Even of Simon and Iude, or thereabout, under the perill thereof following.

Dat. 14. die Oct. Anno 1541. & nostræ translat. 2.

The end of the eighth Book.

KING EDW. 6.

The Ninth Book, containing the Acts and things done in the reign of KING EDWARD the sixth.

ng Edward livering the ible to the elates.

Anno. 1547. he reign and rs of King dward.

NExt after the death of King Henry succeeded King Edward his son, being of the age of nine yeers. He began his reign the eight and twentieth day of January, and reigned five yeers and eight moneths, and eight dayes, and deceased, An. 1553. the fifth day of July.

Of whose excellent vertues and singular graces wrought in him by the gift of God, although nothing can be said enough to his commendation, yet 70 because the renowned fame of such a worthy Prince, shall not utterly passe our Storie without some gratefull remembrance, I thought in few words to touch some little portion of his praise taken out of great heaps of matter, which might be inferred. For to stand upon all that might be said of him, it would be too long: and yet to say nothing, it were too much unkinde. If Kings and Princes, which have wisely and vertuously governed, have found in all ages Writers to solemnise and cele-

Commendation of King Edward.

brate their Acts and memorie, such as never knew them, nor were subject unto them, how much then are we English men bound not to forget our dutie to K. Edward, a Prince although but tender in yeers, yet for his sage and mature ripenesse in wit and all princely ornaments, as I see but few to whom he may not be equall, so again I see not many to whom he may not fully be preferred.

And here to use the example of Plutarch in comparing Kings and Rulers, the Latines with the Grecks together, if I should seeke with whom to match this noble King Edward, I finde not with whom to make my match more aptly, then with good Josias. For as the one began his reigne at eight yeeres of his age, so the other began at nine. Neither were their acts and zealous proceedings in Gods cause much discrepant. For as milde Josias pluckt down the hill altars, cut down the groves, and destroyed all monuments of Idolatry in the Temple: the like corruptions, drosse and deformities of Popish idolatry, crept into the church of Christ of long time, this Evangelicall Josias King Edward removed, and purged the true temple of the Lord: Josias restored the true worship and service of God in Jerusalem, and destroyed the idolatrous priests; King Edward in England, likewise abolishing idolatrous Masses and false invocation, reduced again religion to a right sinceritie, and more would have brought to perfection if life and time had answered to his godly purpose. And though he killed not, as Josias did, the idolatrous sacrificers, yet he put them to silence, and removed them out of their places.

{ Anno. 1547. }

Comparison between King Josias and K. Edward.

Moreover, in king Josias daies the holy Scripture and book of Gods word was utterly neglected and cast aside, which he most graciously repaired and restored again. And did not King Edward the like with the self same book of Gods blessed word, and with other wholesome books of Christian doctrine, which before were decayed and extinguished in his fathers daies by sharp laws and severe punishments here in England? Briefly in all points and respects, betweene him and this our godly King no odds is to be found, but only in length of time and reign. Who if he might have reached (by the sufferance of God) to the continuance of Josias reign; proceeding in those beginnings which in his youth appeared, no doubt but of his acts and doings some great perfection would have insued to this Church and Realme. But the manifold iniquities of Englishmen deserved another plague as after fell amongst us; as in sequele of the storie hereafter (God willing) shall be declared.

K. Josias and K. Edward only differ in continuance of reign.

In the meane time, to proceed in the excellent vertues of this christian young Josias, as we have begun, although neither do we know, nor will leisure serve us to stand upon a full description of all his acts; yet will we (God willing) give a little taste of the noble nature and Princely qualities of this King, whereby the reader may esteeme with himself what is to be thought of the rest of his doings, though they be not here all expressed.

K. Edward beloved of his Subiects.

And first to begin with that which is the chiefest propertie of all other externe things in a Prince to be considered, that is, to be loved of his subjects; such were the hearts of all English people toward this K. inclined, and so toward him still continued, as never came Prince in this Realm more highly esteemed, more amply magnified, or more dearely and tenderly beloved of all his subjects; but especially of the good and the learned sort, and yet not so much beloved, as also admirable by reason of his rare towardnesse and hope both of vertue & learning, which in him appeared above the capacitie of his yeers. And as he was intirely of his subjects beloved, so with no lesse good will he loved them again; of nature and disposition meek, and much inclined to clemencie. He alwaies spared and favoured the life of man; as once appeared in a certain dissertation of his had with master Cheeke in favouring the life of heretiks; in so much that when Joane Butcher should be burned, all the counsell could not move him to put to his hand, but were faine to get Doctor Cranmer to perswade with him, and yet neither could he with much labour induce the king so to do, saying; What my Lord? Will ye have me to send her quick to the Devill in her errour? So that D. Cranmer himself confessed, that he had never so much to do in all his life, as to cause the King to put to his hand, saying that he would lay all the charge thereof upon Cranmer before God. There wanted in him no promptnesse of wit, gravitie of sentence, ripenesse of judgement. Favour and love of Religion was in him from his childhood; Such an organe given of God to the Church of England he was, as England had never better. Over and besides these notable excellencies, and other great vertues in him, adde moreover skill and knowledge of tongues and other sciences, whereunto he seemed rather born than brought up.

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The meek nature of King Edward.

King Edward well skilled in the tongues.

Moreover, there wanted not in him to this felicitie of wit and dexteritie of nature, like happinesse of institution of good instructors. Neither did there lack again in him any diligence to receive that which they would teach him: in so much that in the middest of all his play and recreation he would alwaies observe and keep his houre appointed to his study; using the same with much intention, till time called him again from his book to pastime. In this his study and keeping of his houres he did so profit, that Doctor Cranmer, the Archbish. then of Canterbury beholding his towardnesse, his readinesse in both tongues in translating from Greeke to Latine, from Latine to Greeke again, in declaiming with his schole-fellows without help of his Teachers, and that extempore, would weep for joy, declaring to Doctor Cox his schole-master, that he would never have thought that to have been in him, except he had seen it himself.

The readine of King Edw to his book.

D. Cox King Edwards schoole-maste

To recite here his wittie sentences, his grave reasons, which many times did proceed from him, and how he would sometimes, in a matter discoursed by his Counsell, adde therennto of his own moe reasons and causes touching the said matter, than they themselves had or could devise, it was almost incredible in that age to see, and tedious here to prosecute.

This in him may seeme notorious and admirable, that he in these immature yeers could tell and recite all the ports, havens, and creekes, not within his own realme only, but also in Scotland, and likewise in France, what coming in there was, how the tyde served in every haven or creek, moreover, what burthen and what wind served the coming into the haven.

Also of all his Justices, Magistrats, Gentlemen that bare any authoritie within his Realme, he knew their names, their housekeeping, their religion, and conversation what it was. Few sermons or none in his Court, especially in the Lord Protectors time, but he would be at them. Again, never was he present at any commonly, but he would exercise them or note them with his own hand.

King Edward knew the names and religion of all h Magistrates.

Besides and above all other notes and examples of his commendation, as touching the chiefest point which ought most to touch all men, for maintaining, promoting, preferring, embracing, zealing, and defending the true cause and quarrell of Christs holy Gospel, what was his study, his zealous fervency, his admirable constancie therein, by this one example following, amongst many other, may notably appear.

The singular constancy of K Edward in maintaining true religion.

In the daies of this King Edward the first, Carolus the Emperour made request to the said king and his Counsell, to permit Lady Mary, who after succeeded

KING EDW. 6.

succéded in the Crowne) to haue Masse in her house without prejudice of the law. And the Councell on a time, sitting upon matters of policy, having that in question, sent Cranmer then Archbishop of Canterburie, and Ridley then Bishop of London, to entreat the King for the same. Who coming to his Grace, alledged their reasons and perswasions for the accomplishing thereof. To the King, hearing what they could say, replied his answer againe out of the Scriptures, so groundedly, gravely, and fully, that they were enforced to give place to his replication, and grant the same to be true. Then they, after long debating in this manner with his Majestie, labored politikely in another sort, and alledged what dangers the denying thereof might bring to his grace, what breach of amitie of the Emperours part, what troubles, what unkindnesse, and what occasions sundrie waies it would enforce, &c. Unto whom the King answered, willing them to content themselves, for he would (he said) spend his life and all he had, rather then to agree and grant to that he knew certainly to be against the Truth. The which when the Bishops heard, notwithstanding they urged him still to grant, and would by no meanes haue his Nay: then the good King seeing their importunate suite, that néeds they would haue his Maiestie to consent thereto, in the end his tender heart bursting out into bitter weeping and sobbing, he desired them to be content. Whereat the Bishops themselves, seeing the Kings zeale and constancy, wept as fast as he, and took their leave of his Grace; and coming from him, the Archbishop took Walter Cheke his schoolemaster by the hand and said, Ah, M. Cheke, you may be glad all the dates of your life that you haue such a scholler, for he hath more divinitie in his little finger, then all we haue in all our bodies. Thus the Lady Maries Masse for that time was staied.

The zealous part of King Edward.

The Lady Maries masse staied by the cares of King Edward.

Over and besides these heavenly graces and vertues, most chiefly to be required in all faithfull and Christian Magistrates which haue governance of Christs Flock, neither was he also unprovided of such outward gifts and knowledge as appertain to the governance of his realme politique. Insomuch that neither he was unexpert or ignorant of the Exchange, and all the circumstances of the same touching doings beyond the sea, but was as skilfull in the practises thereof, & could say as much therein, as the chiefest doers in his affaires. Likewise in the entertaining of Embassadours, to whom he would give answer, and that to every part of their Oration, to the great wonder of them that heard him, doing that in his tender yeeres by himselfe, which many Princes at their mature age seldome are wont to doe but by other. And as he was a great noter of things that pertained to princely affaires, so had he a chest severally to himself for every yeere, for the keeping of such records and matters as past and were concluded by the Councell. Of whom also he would require a reason and cause of every thing that should passe their judgements. And of this Chest he would evermore keep the key about him. His notes also he cyphered in Greek letters, to the end that those that waited upon him should not reade nor know what he had written.

King Edward skilfull in the Exchange.

King Edwards chest for keeping of acts and doings of the councell.

He had moreover great respect to Justice, and to the dispatch of poore mens suites, and would appoint houres and times with Walter Cor, then Walter of his Requests, how and by what order they might be sped in their causes without long delay and attendance, and so also debate with him, that their matters might be heard and judged with equitie accordingly.

What Hieronymus Cardanus saith of him, concerning his knowledge in liberall Sciences, I thought here to expresse in his owne words, both in Latine and English, so much the rather, because he speaketh of his owne experiment, and upon the present talke which he had with the King himselfe. The words of Cardanus first in Latine be these.

Hier. Card. de Genituris.

Ex Hieronym. Cardan. in lib. de Genituris.

ADerant enim illi gratiæ. Linguas enim multas adhuc puer callebat, Anglicam natalem, Latinam, Gallicam, non expers (ut audio) Græcæ, Italicæ, & Hispanicæ, & forsan aliarum. Propriam, Gallicam & Latinam exacte tenebat, & ad omnia docilis erat. Non illi dialectica deerat, non naturalis Philosophiæ principia, non musica. Humanitas, mortalitatis nostræ imago, gravitas Regiæ majestatis, indoles tanto principe digna. In universum magno miraculo humanarum rerum, tanti ingenii, & tantæ expectationis puer educabatur. Non hæc Rhetoricè exornata veritatem excedunt, sed sunt minora.

Decimum quintum adhuc agebat annum. Interrogabat (Latinè non minus quam ego politè & promptè loquebatur) quid continent libri tui de rerum veritate? hos enim nomini Majestatis suæ dedicaveram. Tum ego Cometarum primùm causam diu frustra quæsitam in primo capite ostendo. Quænam, inquit ille? Concursus, ego aio, luminis erraticorum syderum. At Rex, Quomodo, cum diversis motibus astra moveantur, non statim dissipatur aut movetur eorum motu. At ego, movetur equidem, sed longè celerius illis ob diversitatem aspectus, velut in Crystallo & Sole cum iris in pariete relucet. Parva enim mutatio magnam facit loci differentiam. At Rex, & quonam pacto absque subjecto illud fieri potest, iridi enim paries subjectum est? Tum ego, velut in lactea via, & luminum reflectione, cum plures candelæ prope accensæ medium quoddam lucidum & candidum efficiunt. Itaque ex ungue Leonem, ut dici solet. Fuit hic in maxima omnium aut bonorum aut eruditorum expectatione ob ingenuitatem atque suavitatem morum. Priùs cæperat favere artibus quam nosceret, & noscere antequam uti posset. Conatus quidam humanæ conditionis, quem non solum Anglia, sed orbis ereptum immaturè deflere debet. O quam benè dixerat ille,

Immodicis brevis est ætas & rara senectus.

Specimen virtutis exhibere potuit, non exemplum. Ubi gravitas Regia requirebatur, senem vidisses; ut blandus erat, & comis, ætatem referebat. Cheli pulsabat, publicis negotiis admovebatur, liberalis animo, atque in his patrem æmulabatur, &c.

Hæc *Cardanus.*

The same in English.

The words of of Cardanus in the commendation of King Edward.

THere was in him a towardly disposition and pregnancie apt to all humane literature; as who being yet a Childe, had the knowledge of divers Tongues, first of the English his owne naturall Tongue, of the Latine also and of the French; neither was he ignorant (as I heare) of the Greeke, Italian, and Spanish Tongues, and of other Languages peradventure moe. In his owne, in the French, and in the Latine Tongue singularly perfect, and with the like facilitie apt to receive all other. Neither was he ignorant in Logicke, in the principles of naturall Philosophie, or in Musick. There was in him lacking neither humanitie, the Image of our mortalitie, a Princely gravitie and majestie, nor any kind of towardnesse beseeming a noble King. Briefely, it may seeme a miracle of nature, to behold the excellent wit and forwardnesse that appeared in him being yet but a childe. This I speake not rhetorically, to amplifie

things, or to make them more then truth is, yea the truth is more then I do utter.

Being yet but fifteen yeers of age he asked of me in Latine (in which tongue he utterred his minde no lesse readily and eloquently then I could doe my selfe) what my bookes which I had dedicated unto him, De varietate rerum, did containe? I said that in the first chapter was shewed the cause of Comets, or blazing Starres, which hath beene long sought for, & yet hitherto scarce fully found. What cause, said he, is that? The concourse or meeting, said I, of the light and wandring planets and Starres. To this the King thus replied againe: Forsomuch, said he, as the motion of the Starres keepeth not one course, but is divers and variable by continuall alteration, how is it then that the cause of these Comets either doth not quickly vade and vanish, or that the Comet doth not keepe one certaine and uniforme course and motion with the said Starres and Planets? Whereunto I answered, that the Comet hath his course and moving, but much more swifter then they, because of the diversitie of aspect, as we see in Crystall, and in the Sun when the forme of the Rainbow reboundeth on the wall. For a little mutation maketh a great difference of place. Then said the King, and how can that be, having no subject: for of the Rainbow the wall is the subject? Like, said I, as in Lactea via, or in reflection of lights, as where many Candles be lighted and set nere together, in the middle they cause a certain bright and white light semelle to appeare, &c.

The cause of Comets.

Lactea via is a white and bright part of the firmament, like a long white cauſle or way appearing in the night among the thicke starres.

And so by this little triall a great guesse may be given what was in this King. In whom no doubt was a great hope and expectation amongst all good and learned men, both for the ingenious forwardnesse and amiable sweetnesse which in his conditions appeared. First he began to love and favour liberall Arts and Sciences, before he knew them, and to know them before he could use them, whose mortall condition and sudden decease and decay in those tender and unripe yeers, not onely England, but all the world hath cause to lament. O how truely is it said of the Poet.

Things that be exceeding excellent,
Be not commonly long permanent.

A shew or sight onely of excellency he could give us; example he could not give. Where a Kingly Majestie required gravitie, there you should have seen him a sage and an old man, and yet gentle and pleasant also, according as the condition of his age then required. He played well upon the Lute. He had also to do in handling of weighty affaires of the realm. He was liberall and bountifull in heart, and therein he imitated his father, &c.

Carmen Epitaphium Cardani, in obitum Reg. Edwardi.

Flete nefas magnum, sed toto flebitis orde
Mortales; vester corruit omnis honor.
Nam regum decus, & juvenum flos, spesq; bonorum,
Deliciæ secli, & gloria gentis erat.
Dignus Apollineis lachrymis doctæq; Minervæ
Flosculus, heu misero! concidit ante diem.
Te tumulo dabimus musæ, supremaque flentes
Funera, Melpomene tristia fata canet.

Ex Hier. Cardano.

Thus after the godly disposition and properties of this king briefly in this wise declared, now, God willing, we will intermeddle something to describe the order and procedings which he followed in his administration and government of both the states, as well Politike as especially Ecclesiastick. Who after the decease of his father coming unto the Crowne, because he was of young and tender age, he was committed to sirteene governours. Amongst whom, especially the Lord Edward Semer Duke of Somerset his Uncle was assigned and adjoyned to him as Protectour and overseer of him and of the Commonwealth, a man not so highly advanced for his consanguinitie, as also for his noble vertues, and especially for his favour to Gods Word, worthy of his vocation and calling. Through the indeavor and industry of which man first that monstrous Hydra with sir heads, the sir Articles I mean (which devoured up so many men before) was abolished and taken away. By reason whereof the counsels and proceedings of Winchester began to decay, who, storming at the same matter, wrote to the Lord Protectour in the cause thereof, as by his Letters is to be seene.

{ King Edw. 6.

Commendatio of the Lord Protector.

The holy Scriptures he restored to the mother tongue, masses he extinguished and abolished. Furthermore, after softer beginnings, by little and little, greater things followed in the reformation of the Churches. Then such, as before were in banishment for the danger of the truth, were againe received to their countrey. To be short, a new face of things began now to appeare, as it were in a stage new players coming in, the old being thrust out. For the most part the bishops of Churches & Dioceses were changed. Such as had beene dumbe Prelats before were compelled to give place to other then, that would preach and take paines.

Reformation by K. Edward.

Besides other also, out of forreine countries men of learning and notable knowledge were sent for and received, among whom was Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phagius. Of whom the first taught at Oxford; the other two professed at Cambridge, and that with no small commendation of the whole Universitie. Of the old Bishops some were committed to one ward, some to another. Boner bishop of London was committed to the Marshalsey, and eftsones for his contempt and misdemeanour deposed from his bishoprick, as in further processe followeth to be seen. Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, with Tonstall Bishop of Duresme, was cast into the tower for his disobedience, where he kept his Christmas three yeers together, more worthy of some other place without the Tower, if it had pleased God otherwise not to have meant a further Plague to this Realme by that man.

{ Anno. 1547.

Peter Marty Martin Buce Paulus Phagius.

Edm. Boner B. of London committed to the Marshals

Gardiner and Tonstall committed to the Tower.

But these meeke and gentle times of King Edward, under the government of this Noble Protector, have this one commendation proper unto them, that amongst the whole number of the popish sort, of whom some privily did steale out of the realm, many were crafty dissemblers, some were open and manifest adversaries, yet of all that multitude there was not one man that lost his life. In sum, during the whole time of the sir yeers of this King, much tranquillitie, and as it were a breathing time was granted to the whole church of England: so that the rage of persecution ceasing, and the sword taken out of the adversaries hand, there was now no danger to the godly, unlesse it were onely by wealth and prosperity, which many times bringeth more damage in corrupting mens mindes, then any time of persecution or affliction.

Briefly, during all this time, neither in Smithfield nor any other quarter of this realme, any was heard to suffer for any matter of religion, either papist or protestant, either for one opinion or other, except onely two, one an Englishwoman, called Joan of Kent, and the other a Dutchman, named George, who died for certaine articles not much necessary here to be rehearsed.

Besides these two, there was none else in all K. Edwards reign, that died in any cause of religion, but one Tho. Dobbe, who in the beginning of this kings reign was apprehended and imprisoned for speaking against the idolatry of the Masse, & in the same prison died; as in story here insueth to be seen.

Tho. Dobbe imprisoned, & in prison died.

This Thomas Dobbe, being a student and a maister of Art in Cambridge, was brought up in the College

The Lord Ed. Semer made L. Protector.

{King Edw. 6.}

Doves as philosophers doe write, naturally have no gall.

Colledge called S. Johns Colledge, and fellow of the same, where he increased in the studie of good Letters, among his equals very forward, of nature and disposition simple and modest, of zeale toward God fervent, patient in injuries, injurious to no man, of much like sort and condition as in doves, which without all bitternes of gall are more apt to receive injurie then to worke wrong to any. At length this godly man, intending with himselfe and addicting his minde to the Christian state of Matrimony, resorted to a certain Maiden not farre off where he dwelt. For the which cause he was greatly molested, and wickedly abused by three of that colledge, whose names were Hutchinson, Pindare, and Tayler, who with their malicious handling, scornfull dealing, opprobries, rebukes, and contumelies, so much vexed the vertuous simplicitie of the man, that they never left him, til at length they wearied him out of the Colledge. Who there having no rest nor quietnesse, by reason of the unreasonable and virulent handling of his adversaries, was compelled to seek some other place wherein to settle himselfe. Upon the occasion whereof coming up unto London, it chanced him to passe through Pauls Church, where it happened that at the Southside of the Church at the same time there was a priest at masse, more busie then well occupied, being at the elevation as he passed by. The young man replete with godly zeale, pitying the ignorance and idolatrie of the people, in honouring that so devoutly which the priest lifted up, was not able to forbeare, but opening his mouth and turning to the people, he exhorted them not to honor the visible bread as God, which neither was God, nor yet ordained of God to be honored, &c. with such other words moe of Christian information. For which cause straightway he was apprehended by the Maior, and afterward accused to the bishop of Canterburie, and committed to the Counter then in Breadstreet, where he not long continued, but falling into a sicknesse, how or whereupon I cannot tell, shortly upon the same changed this mortall life. Whose pardon notwithstanding was obtained of the Lord Protector, and should have beene brought him, if he had continued. And thus much concerning Thomas Dobbe and other.

Over and besides, I finde, that in the first yeere of the reign of King Edward, which was Anno 1547. there was one John Hume, servant to Master Lewnar of Wrexell apprehended, accused, and sent up to the Archbishop of Canterburie, by the said M. Lewnar his master and Margaret Lewnar his mistresse, for these articles.

1 First, for denying the Sacrament (as it was then called of the Altar) to be the reall flesh and bloud of Christ.

2 For saying that he would never vaile his bonet unto it, to be burned therefore.

3 For saying that if he should heare Masse, he should be burned.

For this was he sent up by his master and mistresse aforesaid, with speciall letters unto the archbishop, requiring him severely to be punished by the Law for the same. But because I finde no execution following thereupon, I therefore passe over this story of him.

These things premised, when this vertuous and godly young prince (indued as you have heard with speciall graces from God) was now peaceably stablished in his kingdome, and had a Counsell above him, grave, wise, and zealous in Gods cause, especially his uncle the Duke of Somerset, he then most earnestly likewise desired, as wel the advancement of the true honor of almighty God, and the planting of his sincere religion, as also the utter suppression and extirpation of all Idolatry, superstition, hypocrisie, and other enormities and abuses, throughout his realmes and dominions: and therefore following, as is afore expressed, the good example of king Josias, he determined forthwith to enter into some reformation of religion in the Church of England.

And forasmuch as at his first entry (notwithstanding his fathers good beginning in abolishing the usurped power of Antichrist) he yet found most of his lawes greatly repugning against this his zealous enterprise, he therefore purposed by the advise of his said wise and honorable Councel, and of his owne regall power and authoritie, somewhat to prosecute his godly purpose, untill such time as by the consent of the whole estate of Parliament he might establish a more free, perfect, and uniforme order therein.

Order taken by K. Ed. for reforming of religion.

Whereupon intending first a generall visitation over all the bishopricks within his realme, (thereby as well to understand, as also to addresse the abuses in the same) he chose out certaine wise, learned, discreet and worthipful personages to be his Commissioners in that behalfe, and so dividing them into severall companies, assigned unto them severall dioceses to be visited; appointing likewise unto every companie one or two godly learned preachers, which at every Session should in their preaching both instruct the people in the true doctrine of the Gospel of Christ, and in all love and obedience to the same, and also earnestly dehort them from their old superstition and wonted Idolatrie. And that they might be more orderly directed in this their Commission, there were delivered unto them certaine Injunctions and Ecclesiasticall orders drawn out by the Kings learned Councell, the which they should both inquire of, and also command in his majesties behalfe to be thence forth observed of every person, to whom they did severally appertaine within their sundry circuits.

Learned preachers appointed by K. Edward.

In the which amongst other things, it was first injoyned that all Ecclesiasticall persons should themselves observe, and cause to be observed of other, all such statutes as were made for the abolishing of the bishop of Romes usurped power, & establishing of the Kings supreme authoritie, and that they should every one, foure times in the yeere at the least, in their publike Sermons declare unto the people, that the one, being most arrogantly usurped against the word of God, was now justly taken away, and the other (according to the very true meaning of the same word) was of most loyall dutie onely to be obeyed of all his graces subjects.

Ecclesiasticall persons must preach against the popes usurped power.

And againe, that every the foresaid Ecclesiasticall person, having cure, should preach, or cause to be preached within their severall cures, one sermon every quarter of the yeer. In the which they should sincerely set forth the word of God, and exhort the people unto the workes of faith and mercy prescribed in the same word, and not unto workes devised by mans fantasie, as going on pilgrimages and other like Idolatrous superstitions; the which they should also to the uttermost of their powers reprove and speake against, declaring that all grace and goodnesse ought onely to be sought for at Gods hand (as the alone giver thereof) and not at any other creature: And that they should not only forthwith take downe and destroy all such Images as had beene theretofore abused by pilgrimage or offerings, within their said cures; but also should not thencefoorth suffer any lights or other Idolatrous oblation to be made or set up before any other Image then was yet suffered in the Church.

Sermons quarterly to be made.

Difference between workes commanded of God, and workes devised of men.

Images abused with pilgrimage to be destroyed.

Anno 1547.

Also that every holy day (having no sermon in their church) they should immediately after the Gospel distinctly read in the pulpit the Lords prayer, the belefe and the ten commandements of almightie God in the English tongue; exhorting the people not only to learn them their selves, but also to teach them

The ten Commandements and the Lords prayer in English, to be read.

them to their children and families, and also should charge all parents and governors of households, to bring up their youth in some good exercise or occupation, whereby they might afterwards serve the Commonwealth, and not runne about like Vagabonds and idle Loyterers, and thereby incurre the danger of the Lawes.

Parents and masters charged in training up of their children.

Sacraments to be reverently ministred.

And furthermore, that the said persons, having cure, should see the holy Sacraments of Christ reverently ministred within their Cures, and that if any of them (by speciall licence or other cases expressed in the statutes of this Realme) should be at any time absent from their Benefices, that then they should leave in their roomes some godly, learned, and discreet Curate, that were able to instruct the people in all truth and godlinesse, not seeking themselves, but rather the profit of their Flock.

And likewise, that they should see provided and set up in some most convenient and open place of every their severall churches, one great Bible in English, and one book of the Paraphrases of Erasmus upon the Gospels, both in English, that the people might reverently, without any argument or contention, reade and heare the same at such times as they liked, and not to be inhibited therefrom by the Parson and Curate, but rather to be the more encouraged and provoked thereto.

The Bible in English of the largest volume to be set up in every Church with the Paraphrases of Erasmus.

Ecclesiastcall persons not to haunt Taverns, or play at unlawfull game.

And that the said Parsons and Curates should not at any time but for necessarie causes) haunt any Taverne or Alehouse, neither should spend their time idlely in unlawfull games, but at all their convenient leisures should give themselves to the reading or hearing of the holy Scriptures.

Moreover, that in the time of confession every Lent they should examine their parishioners, whether they could say the Lords Prayer, the ten Commandements, and the Articles of the Christian faith: and that if they could not, they should then reprove them, declaring further unto them, that they ought not to presume to come unto the Lords table, without the true knowledge thereof, and earnest desire to fulfill the same.

None to preach but sufficiently licenced.

Also that they should not admit any man to preach within their Cures, but such as were lawfully licensed thereunto; and that they having at any time before extolled and praised any idolatrous pilgrimage, or other superstition, should now openly recant the same before the people.

That all hinderers of Gods word, and favourers of the contrary proceedings should be detected.

And if there were any open hinderer or disturber of the reading or preaching of the Word of God within their parishes, that then they should forthwith detect the same unto the Kings Councell, or unto some Justice of Peace to them next inhabiting.

Ecclesiastically and beneficed persons, what they must give to the poore.

Every benefice of 100 pounds, to finde a scholler at the Universitie.

And further, that learning and knowledge might be the better maintained, it was also ordained herein, that every beneficed person that might yerly dispend twenty pounds or upward, and not reident upon their Cures, should pay, towards the relefe of the poore within their parish every yer, the fortieth part of their fruits and profits: and likewise that every such as might dispend one hundreth pounds yerely, or more, should for every hundreth pound give a competent exhibition to some poore scholler within one of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge, or else in some other Grammer-schoole of the Realme.

Certain things to be provided for of the Churchmen.

And also that every Priest, being under the degree of a Bachelor of Divinity, should have of his own one new Testament in English and Latine, with the paraphrases of Erasmus upon the same, and should diligently reade & study thereupon, and should collect and keep in memory all such comfortable places of the scripture, as do set forth the mercie, benefits, and goodnesse of Almighty God towards all penitent and beleeving persons, that they might thereby comfort their flock in all danger of death, despaire, or trouble of conscience: and that therefore every Bishop in their Visitations should from time to time trie and examine them how they had profited in these their studies.

And although the Masse was then still by the Law retained, yet was it enjoyned, that at every high Masse the sayer or singer thereof should openly and distinctly reade the Gospel and the Epistle in English, in the Pulpit, or in some other convenient place that the people might heare the same. And in like place and manner should reade every Holyday and Sunday at Mattins one chapter of the New Testament in English, omitting therefore three of their nine Latine Lessons, with there Responds; and at Evensong likewise, immediately after Magnificat, one chapter of the Old Testament in stead of their wonted Responds and memories.

The Gospel and Epistle to be read in the hearing of the people.

Furthermore, because of the vaine contentions that often fall among the people for going on procession, it was ordained that thenceforth the Preists and Clarkes should kneele in the middest of the Church, and there distinctly sing or reade the Letanie in English set forth by the authoritie of King Henry the eight, and that no person should depart the Church in the time of reading the Scripture or the Letany, or during the time of any Sermon, without just and urgent cause.

Processions laid down.

Likewise that the people should spend the holydayes in hearing the Word of God, in private and publike prayers, in knowledging their offences unto God and amendment of the same, in reconciling themselves charitably to their neighbors where displeasure hath been, in often receiving the Communion of the body and bloud of Christ, in visiting the poore and sick, and in all sober and godly conversation; and not in vanitie, idlenesse, or drunkennesse, neither yet in any bodily labour, otherwise then in the time of harvest, to save the fruits of the earth, if necessitie so require; and that no Curate should admit unto the receiving of the holy Communion any person who had maliciously and openly contended with his neighbours, unlesse the same did first also openly reconcile himselfe againe, and remit all rancor and malice whatsoever.

The true using of the holy Sacrament.

Diligent preparation to be had before the coming to the Communion.

Moreover it was ordained that every Deane, Archdeacon, Master of Collegiate Churches or Hospitals, and Prebendaries (being Preists) should himselfe personally preach twice every yeer at the least, in some such place where he had jurisdiction and living; and that they and all other curates should teach the people, that no man of any private affection ought maliciously to violate any ceremonie in the Church, then not abrogated by the Kings authoritie; so likewise they ought not on the other side to use them superstitiously or idolatrously, in attributing to them remission of sinnes, driving away of evill spirits, and other such like dreames and fantasies of men, or else in putting any confidence of salvation or healthy in them. And further that they should utterly take away and destroy all Shrines and Monuments of fained miracles, pilgrimages, and other Idolatrous superstition, as well in their Churches, as within their private houses.

A godly charge given to every beneficed Minister to preach personally twice at least in the yeer and what to preach.

All monuments of Idolatry to be taken away out of Churches, houses, and windowes.

Also that they should see provided within their Churches a strong and fit chest for the safe keeping of the peoples benevolence given towards the relefe of the poore, and that the said Curates should earnestly exhort and move their parishioners (especially at the making of their Testaments) that as they had been theretofore willing to bestow much of their substance upon vaine, superstitious and blinde devotions contrary to Gods word, so now they would be much more ready to give some portion thereof unto their poore and needy brethren, knowing the same to be not onely commanded in the

A chest to be provided upon publike charge to receive the almes of the poore, and the Curates to call upon their Parishioners to give to the same chest.

{KING EDW. 6.}

the word of God, but also promised to be rewarded. And for the better relefe of the poore, it was also appointed that all money and profits rising upon Fraternities, guilds, stocks of Churches, or given to the finding of Idolatrous lights, should be converted for that present unto the same use. Last of all, for the want of learned Curates and other good Preachers, it was enjoyned that the Curates (having no Sermon) should every Sunday read unto the people in their Churches one of the Homilies which should be shortly set forth for the same purpose by the Kings authority; and that when any homily or sermon should be preached or read, then the Prime and Houres should be omitted.

Homilies to be read every sunday when there is no sermon.

There were also divers other articles in the same Injunctions appointed for comelinesse and due order in the churches; as for repairing of Chancels, and priests houses, for keeping of a Register book of weddings, christnings and burials, for reading of these Injunctions every quarter, for due paying of tithes, for forbidding of any other alteration of service in the Church, or fasting dayes, for making of comely pulpits for the preachers, for avoiding of simonie in buying and selling of Benefices, for the charitable using of priests, for praying onely upon the English and Latine primers set forth by King Henry the eighth, for the teaching of his Grammer in the common schools. And lastly, that the Chantry priests should teach young children either to write and read, or else some other good and profitable exercises; as it doth more fully and amplie appeare in the same Injunctions at large set forth in the 684. page of the first book of the Acts and Monuments of the Church heretofore imprinted.

Read the former edition of the book of Acts & Monuments, pag. 684.

Besides these generall Injunctions for the whole estate of the Realm, there were also certain others particularly appointed for the Bishops onely, which being delivered unto the commissioners were likewise at their Visitations committed unto the said Bishops with charge to be inviolably observed and kept upon pain of the Kings majesties displeasure; the effect whereof is as in manner followeth.

{ANNO 1547.}

Injunctions given to the Bishops.

First that they should, to the uttermost of their wit and understanding, see and cause all and every singular the Kings Injunctions theretofore given, or after to be given from time to time, in ech through their Diocesse, duely, faithfully, and truly to be kept, observed, and accomplished, and that they should personally preach within their Diocesse, every quarter of a yer once at the least, that is to say, once in their Cathedrall Churches, and thrice in other severall places of their Diocesses, whereas they should see it most convenient and necessary, except they had a reasonable excuse to the contrary. Likewise, that they should not retain into their service or houshold any Chaplain, but such as were learned, or able to preach the word of God, and those they should also cause to exercise the same.

Moreover, that they should not give orders to any person, but such as were learned in holy Scripture; neither should denie them that were learned in the same, being of honest conversation and living. And lastly, that they should not at any time or place preach or set forth unto the people any doctrine contrary or repugnant to the effect and intent contained and set forth in the Kings Highnesse homilies, neither yet should admit or give licence to any to preach within their Diocesse, but to such as they should know (or at the least assuredly trust) would do the same. And if at any time by hearing, or by report proved, they should perceive the contrary, they should then incontinent not onely inhibite that person so offending, but also punish him and revoke their licence.

Now during the time that the Commissioners were occupied abroad in their circuits about the spedy and diligent execution of these godly and zealous orders and decrees of the King and his Counsell, his Majestie (with the advise of the same) yet still desiring a further reformation as well in this case of religion, as also in some others of his civill government, appointed a Parliament of the three estates of his Realm to be summoned against the fourth day of November, in the first yer of his reign, and the yer of our Lord one thousand five hundred fortie and seven, which continued unto the twentie foure day of December then next following. In the which session, forasmuch as his Highnesse minded the governance and order of his people to be in perfect unity and concord in all things, and especially in the true faith and religion of God, and therewithall also duely weighed the great danger that his loving subjects were in for confessing the Gospel of Christ, through many and divers cruell statutes made by sundry his predecessors against the same, (which being still left in force might both cause the obstinate to contemne his Graces godly procedings, and also the weak to be fearfull of their Christianlike profession) he therefore caused it among other things by the authority of the same Parliament to be inacted, that all Acts of Parliament and Statutes, touching, mentioning, or in any wise concerning Religion or opinions, (that is to say, as well the Statute made in the first yer of the reign of King Richard the second, and the Statute made in the second yer of the reign of King Henry the fifth, and the statute made in the five and twentieth yer of the reign of King Henry the eighth, concerning punishment and reformation of heretiques and Lollards, and every provision therein contained, and the statutes made for the abolishment of diversitie of opinions in certain articles concerning Christian Religion, commonly called the six articles, made in the one and thirtieth yer of the reign of King Henry the eighth, and also the statute made in the Parliament begun the thirtenth day of January in the three and thirtieth yer of the reign of the said King Henry the eighth, and after prorogued unto the one and twentieth day of January in the foure and thirtieth yer of his said reign, touching, mentioning, or in any wise concerning books of the old and new Testament in English, and the printing, uttering, selling, giving, or delivering of books or writings, and retaining of English books or writings, and reading, preaching, teaching, or expounding the Scriptures, or in any wise touching, mentioning or concerning any of the said matters; and also one other Statute made in the five and thirtieth yer of the reign of the said King Henry the eighth, concerning the qualification of the statute of the six articles, and all and every other Act or Acts of Parliament, concerning doctrine or matters of Religion, and all and every branch, article, sentence, matter, paines, or forfeitures contained, mentioned, or in any wise declared in any of the same acts and statutes) should from thenceforth be utterly repealed, made void, and of none effect.

A Parliament called in the first yeer of K. Edward.

Stat. An. 1. Reg Edw. 6. cap 12.

The Statute made anno 1. Reg. Rich. 2. an. Reg. Hen. 5. An. 25. Reg. Hen. 8.

Item an. 32. Hen. 8. an. 34. Hen. 8. an. 35. Hen. 8. repealed.

Item note for the statute, an. 2. Reg. Hen. 4. cap. 15. because that statute was repealed by a statute made, 25. an. H. 8. therefore the same is here omitted.

The bloody statute of the 6. articles repealed.

By occasion whereof, as well all such his godly subjects, as were then still abiding within the realm, had free liberty publikely to professe the Gospel; as also many learned and zealous preachers, before banished, were now both licensed freely to return home again, and also incouraged boldly and faithfully to travell in their function and calling, so that God was much glorified, and the people in many places greatly edified.

Moreover, in the same Session his Majestie with the Lords spirituall and temporall, and the Commons in the same parliament assembled, throughly understanding by the judgement of the best learned, that it was more agreeable unto the first institution of the sacrament of the most precious bodie and blod of our Saviour Christ, and also more conformable to the common use and practise both of the Apostles, and of the primitive Church, by the space of

of five hundred yeers and more after Chriſts aſcenſion, that the ſaid holy ſacrament ſhould be miniſtred unto all Chriſtian people under both the kindes of bread and wine, then under the forme of bread onely, and alſo that it was more agreeable unto the ſaid firſt inſtitution of Chriſt, and the uſage of the Apoſtles and primitive Church, that the people being preſent ſhould receive the ſame with the prieſt, then that the prieſt ſhould receive it alone; did by their authoritie moreover enact, that the ſaid holy ſacrament ſhould be from thenceforth commonly delibered and miniſtred unto the people, throughout the Churches of England and Ireland, and other the Kings dominions, under both the kindes of bread and of wine, except neceſſity otherwiſe required: and alſo that the prieſt, that ſhould miniſter the ſame, ſhould at the leaſt one day before exhort all perſons which ſhould be preſent, likewiſe to reſort and prepare themſelves to receive the ſame. And at the day prefixed, after ſome godly exhortation made by the Miniſter, wherein ſhould be further expreſſed the benefit and comfort promiſed to them which worthily receive this holy ſacrament, and the danger and indignation of God threatened to them which preſume to receive the ſame unworthily, to the end that every man might try and examine his own conſcience before he ſhould come thereunto; the ſaid Miniſter ſhould not without a lawfull cauſe deny the ſame to any perſon that would devoutly and humbly deſire it; any law, ſtatute, ordinance, or cuſtome contrary thereunto in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

The Communion under both kindes.

The aſſembly of Biſhops and others at Windſor.

After which moſt godly conſent of the Parliament, the King being no leſſe deſirous to have the form of adminiſtration of the Sacrament truly reduced to the right rule of the Scriptures and firſt uſe of the primitive church, then he was to eſtabliſh the ſame by the authoritie of his own regall lawes, appointed certain of the moſt grave and beſt learned Biſhops, and other of his realme, to aſſemble together at his Caſtle of Windſor, there to argue and intreat upon this matter, and conclude upon and ſet forth one perfect and uniform order according to the rule and uſe aforeſaid.

And in the meane time while that the learned were thus occupied about their conferences, the Lord Protector and the reſt of the Kings Councell, further remembring that that time of the yeer did then approach, wherein were practiſed many ſuperſtitious abuſes and blaſphemous ceremonies againſt the glory of God, and truth of his word (determining the utter aboliſhing thereof) directed their letters unto the godly and reverend Father Thomas Cranmer, then Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and Metropolitan of England, requiring him that upon the receit thereof he ſhould will every Biſhop within his Province, forthwith to give in charge unto all the Curates of their Dioceſſes, that neither candles ſhould be any more born upon Candlemas day, neither yet aſhes uſed in Lent, nor palmes upon Palm Sunday.

Candles not to be born on Candlemaſſe day. Aſhes forbidden on Aſh-wednesday.

Whereupon the Archbiſhop, zealouſly favouring the good and Chriſtianlike purpoſe of the king and his Councell, did immediately in that behalf write unto all the reſt of the Biſhops of that Province, and amongſt them unto Edmund Boner then Biſhop of London. Of whoſe rebellious and obſtinate contumacy for that we have hereafter more to ſay, I thought not to ſtand now long thereupon, but onely by the way ſomewhat to note his former diſſimulation and cloaked hypocriſie, in that he outwardly at the firſt conſented as well unto this, as alſo unto all other the Kings proceedings, but whether for feare or for any other ſubtile fetch I know not, howbeit moſt like it is, rather for one of them or both, then for any true love. And therefore receiving the Archbiſhops letters, as one of them ſeeming to allow the contents thereof, he did

Edm. Boner.

preſently write unto the Biſhop of Weſtminſter, and to others to whom he was appointed, requiring them to give ſuch knowledge thereof in their Dioceſſes, as thereunto appertained; as more plainly appeareth by theſe his own letters here inſerted which here do follow. {KING EDW. 6.}

A Letter miſſive of Edmund Boner, ſent to the Biſhop of Weſtminſter, with the tenor of the Archbiſhops Letter for aboliſhing of Candles, Aſhes, Palmes, and other ceremonies.

Boners Letter for the aboliſhing of aſhes, palmes, &c. {Anno 1548.}

MY very good Lord, after moſt hearty commendations, theſe be to advertiſe your good Lordſhip, That my Lord of Canterburies Grace this preſent 28. day of Ianuary ſent unto me his Letters miſſive, containing this in effect, That my Lord Protectors Grace, with the adviſe of other the Kings Majeſties moſt honorable Councell, for certain conſiderations them moving, are fully reſolved that no candles ſhall be borne upon Candlemaſſe day, nor alſo from henceforth aſhes or Palmes uſed any longer: requiring me thereupon by his ſaid Letters, to cauſe admonition and knowledge thereof to be given unto your Lordſhip and other Biſhops with celeritie accordingly. In conſideration whereof I do ſend at this preſent theſe Letters unto your ſaid Lordſhip, that you thereupon may give knowledge and advertiſement thereof within your dioceſſe as appertaineth. Thus I commit your good Lordſhip to Almighty God, as well to fare as your good heart can beſt deſire.

Written in haſte at my houſe in London, the ſaid twenty eighth day of Ianuarie, 1548.

Your good Lordſhips to command,
Edmund Boner.

Contention amongſt the people for Images.

Now about that preſent time credible and certain report was made unto the Lords of the Councell, that great contention and ſtrife did daily ariſe among the common people in divers parts of this Realme, for the pulling down and taking away of ſuch Images out of the Churches, as had been idolatrouſly abuſed by Pilgrimages, offerings or otherwiſe (according to the tenor of one of the Injunctions given by the King in his late Viſitation) ſome affirming that that Image was abuſed, others that this, and moſt that neither of them both; ſo that if ſpeedy remedie were not had therein, it might turn to further inconvenience. Wherefore they, by one adviſe thinking it beſt (of good experience) for avoiding of all diſcord and tumult, that all manner Images ſhould be clean taken out of all Churches, and none ſuffered to remain, did thereupon againe write their letters unto the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, requiring his ready aid therein; in manner following.

Another Letter of the Councell ſent to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for the aboliſhing of Images.

Letters from the Comcell to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for aboliſhing of Images.

AFter our right hearty commendations to your good Lordſhip, where now of late in the Kings Majeſties viſitations, among other godly Injunctions commanded to be generally obſerved through all parts of this his Highneſſe Realme, one was ſet forth for the taking downe of all ſuch Images as had at any time been abuſed with pilgrimages, offerings, or cenſings, albeit that this ſaid Injunction hath in many parts of this Realme been quietly obeyed and executed, yet in many other places much ſtrife and

conten-

{KING EDW. 6.} contention hath risen and daily riseth, and more and more encreaseth about the execution of the same; some men being so superstitious, or rather wilfull, as they would by their good will retain all such Images still, although they have been most manifestly abused. And in some places also the Images, which by the said Injunctions were taken down, be now restored and set up again; And almost in every place is contention for Images, whether they have been abused or not. And while these men go on both sides contentiously to obtain their mindes, contending whether this or that Image hath been offered unto, kissed, censed, or otherwise abused, parts have in some places been taken in such sort, as further inconveniences be like to ensue, if remedie be not found in time. Considering therefore, that almost in no place of this Realme is any sure quietnesse, but where all Images be cleane taken away and pulled down alreadie, to the intent that all contention in every part of the Realme for this matter, may be cleerly taken, and that the lively Image of Christ should not contend for the dead Images, which be things not necessarie, and without the which the Churches of Christ continued most godly many yeers; we have thought good to signifie unto you, that his Highnesse pleasure, with the advice and consent of us the Lord Protector and the rest of the Councell, is, that immediately upon the sight hereof, with as convenient diligence as you may, you shall not onely give order that all the Images remaining in any Church or Chappell within your Dioceese, be removed and taken away, but also by your Letters signifie unto the rest of the Bishops within your Province, that his Highnesse pleasure, for the like order to be given by them and everie of them within their severall Dioceses. And in the execution hereof, we require both you and the rest of the said Bishops to use such foresight as the same may be quietly done, with as good satisfaction of the people as may be. Thus fare your good Lordship heartily well.

From Somerset place the eleventh of Februarie, 1541.

Your Lordships assured loving friends,

Edward Somerset.
Henry Arundel.
Anth. Wingfield.
John Russell.
Thomas Semer.
William Paget.

The Archbishop writeth to Boner.

When the Archbishop had received these letters, he forthwith directed his precept unto Boner Bishop of London, requiring, and in the Kings Majesties name commanding him, that with all spæd he should aswell give in charge unto the rest of the Bishops within the Province of Canterbury, to look immediately without delay unto the diligent and carefull execution of the contents of the said letter through all places of their Dioceese; as also that he himselfe should do the like within his owne City and dioceese of London. Whereupon he seeming then, with like outward consent as before, to allow these doings, presently (by vertue of the said precept) did send out his Mandatum **as well unto the rest of the Bishops, as also again unto the Bishop of Westminster, in form following.**

The Letter of Edmund Boner sent with the Archbishops Mandate, to the Bishop of Westminster, for abolishing of Images.

Boners letter to the Bishop of Westminst. for abolishing of Images.

EDmundus permissione Divina London. Episcopus per illustrissimum in Christo principem & Dominum nostrum, Dominum Edwardum sextum, Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hyberniæ Regem, fidei Defensorem, & in terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ & Hybernicæ supremum caput, sufficienter & legitimè authorisatus, Reverendo in Christo confratri nostro Domino Thomæ eadem permissione West. Episc. salutem & fraternam in Domino charitatem. Literas reverendissimi in Christo patris & Domini D. Tho. permissione divina Cantuar. Archiepiscopi, totius Angliæ Primatis, & Metropolitani, tenorem literarum missarum clarissimorum & prudentissimorum dominorum de privatis consiliis dicti illustr. dom. Regis in se continen. nuper cum ea qua decuit reverentia humilitér recepimus exequend. in hæc verba. Thomas permissione divina Cantuar. &c. **And then making a full recitall as well of the Archbishops Precept, as also of the Councels Letters above specified, he concluded with these words**; Quocirca nos Edmund. Episcop. antedictus, literis prædictis pro nostro officio obtemperare, uti decet, summopere cupientes; vestræ fraternitati tam ex parte dicti excellentissimi Domini nostri Regis, ac præfatorum clarissimorum dominorum de privatis suis consiliis, quam prædicti Reverend. Patris Domini Cantuar. Archiepiscopi, tenore præsentium committimus & mandamus, quatenus attentis & per vos diligenter consideratis literarum hujusmodi tenoribus, eos in omnibus & per omnia, juxta vim, formam, & effectum earundem; cum omni qua poteris celeritate accommoda, per totam Dioces. vestram West. debité & effectualitér exequi faciatis & procuretis;

Datum in ædibus nostris London. viceſimo die Febr. anno Dom. 1548. Et regni dicti illustrissimi domini nostri Regis, Anno secundo.

Now by the time that these things were thus determined, the learned men which the King had appointed (as ye have heard before) to assemble together for the true and right manner of administring the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ according to the rule of the Scriptures of God, and first usage of the Primitive Church, after their long, learned, wise, and deliberate advises, did finally conclude and agree upon one godly and uniforme order of receiving the same, not much differing from the manner at this present used and authorised within this Realme and Church of England, commonly called the Communion. Which agreement being by them exhibited unto the King, and of him most gladly accepted, was thereupon publiquely imprinted, and by his Majesties Councel particularly divided and sent unto every Bishop of the Realme, requiring and commanding them by their letters on the Kings Majesties behalfe, that both they in their own persons should forthwith have diligent and carefull respect to the due execution thereof, and also should with all diligence cause the books which they then sent them, to be delivered unto every Parson, Vicar, and Curate within their Dioceese, that they likewise might well and sufficiently advise themselves for the better distribution of the same communion (according to the tenor of the said book) against the feast of Easter then next insuing, as more fully appeareth by these their letters here following.

An uniform order of the Communion.

Letters missive from the Councell, to the Bishops of the Realme, concerning the Communion to be ministred in both kindes.

AFter our most heartie commendations unto your Lordship, where in the Parliament late holden at Westminster, it was amongst other things most godly established, that according to the first institution and use of the Primitive Church, the most holy

{Anno. 1548.}

holy Sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Iesus Christ should be distributed to the people under the kindes of bread and wine, according to the effect whereof the Kings Majestie minding, with the advice and consent of the Lord Protectors grace and the rest of the Counsell, to have the said Statute well executed in such sort, or like as is agreeable with the word of God (so the same may be also faithfully and reverently received of his most loving Subjects, to their comforts and wealth) hath caused sundrie of his Majesties most grave and well learned Prelates, and other learned men in the Scriptures, to assemble themselves for this matter: who, after long conference together, have with deliberate advise finally agreed upon such an order to be used in all places of the Kings Majesties Dominions in the distribution of the said most holy Sacrament, as may appeare to you by the booke thereof, which we send herewith unto you. Albeit, knowing your Lordships knowledge in the Scriptures, and earnest good will and zeale to the setting forth of all things, according to the truth thereof, we be well assured, you will of your owne good will, and upon respect to your dutie, diligently set forth this most godly order here agreed upon, and commanded to be used by the authoritie of the Kings Majestie: yet remembring the craftie practise of the devil, who ceases not by his members, to work by all wayes and meanes, the hinderance of all godlinesse; and considering furthermore, that a great number of the Curates of the Realme, either for lacke of knowledge cannot, or for want of good minde will not be so ready to set forth the same, as we would wish, and as the importance of the matter and their owne bounden duties requires, we have thought good to pray and require your Lordship, and nevertheless, in the Kings Majesties our most dread Lords name, to command you to have an earnest diligence and carefull respect both in your owne person, and by all your Officers and Ministers also, to cause these books to be delivered to everie Parson, Vicar, and Curate within your Diocesse, with such diligence as they may have sufficient time well to instruct and advise themselves, for the distribution of the most holy Communion, according to the order of this book, before this Easter time, and that they may by your good meanes, be well directed to use such good, gentle and charitable instruction of their simple and unlearned Parishioners, as may be to all their good satisfactions as much as may be, praying you to consider, that this order is set forth, to the intent there should be in all parts of the Realme, and among all men one uniforme manner quietly used. The execution whereof, like as it shall stand verie much in the diligence of you and others of your vocation; so do we estsoones require you to have a diligent respect thereunto, as ye tender the Kings Majesties pleasure, and will answer for the contrary. And thus we bid your Lordship right heartily farewell. From Westminster the thirteenth of March. 1548.

The communion in both kinds to be ministred.

Your Lordships loving friends,

Tho. Canterbury.
R. Rich.
William Saint Iohn.
Iohn Russell.
Henry Arundel.
Anthony Wingfield,
William Peter.
Edward North.
Edward Wootton.

By meanes as well of this Letter, and the godly order of the learned, as also of the statute and Act of Parliament before mentioned, made for the stablishing thereof, all private blasphemous Masses were now by full authoritie fully abolished throughout this Realme of England, and the right use of the sacrament of the most precious body and blood of our Saviour Iesus Christ truly restored in stead of the same. But nevertheless, as at no time any thing can be so well done of the godly, but that the wicked will finde some meanes subtilly to deface the same: so likewise at this present, through the perverse obstinacie and dissembling frowardnesse of many the inferior priests and ministers of the Cathedrall, and other Churches of this realm, there did arise a marvellous schisme and variety of fashions in celebrating the common service and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church. For some, zealously allowing the Kings procedings, did gladly follow the order thereof; and others, though not so willingly admitting them, did yet dissemblingly and patchingly use some part of them; but many, carelesly contemning all, would still exercise their old wonted Poperie.

{KING EDW. 6.}

Privie hinderers of the Gospel.

Division amongst the priests about the Kings procedings.

Whereof the King and his Councel having good intelligence, and fearing the great inconveniences and dangers that might happen through this division, and being therewithall loth at the first to use any great severitie towards his subjects, but rather desirous by some quiet and godly order to bring them to some conformitie, did by their prudent advises again appoint the Archbishop of Canterbury, with certain of the best learned and discreet Bishops and other learned men, diligently to consider and ponder the premisses: and thereupon, having as well an eye and respect unto the most sincere and pure Christian Religion taught by the holy Scriptures, as also to the usages of the primitive church, to draw and make one convenient and meet order, rite, and fashion of Common Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, to be had and used within this his realme of England, and the Dominions of the same. Who after most godly and learned conferences, through the aid of the holy Ghost, with one uniforme agreement did conclude, set forth, and deliver unto the Kings Highnesse, a book in English, intituled, A Booke of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England. The which his Highnesse receiving, with great comfort and quietnesse of minde, did forthwith exhibite unto the Lords and Commons of the Parliament then assembled at Westminster, about the fourth of November, in the second yeer of his reign, and in the yeer of our Lord 1548. and continuing unto the 14. day of March, then next insuing.

One uniform order of common prayer.

A parliament assembled the 2. yeer of King Edward.

{Anno 1548.}

Whereupon the Lords spirituall and temporall, and the Commons of the said Parliament assembled, well and throughly considering, as well the most godly travell of the Kings Highnesse, of the Lord Protector, and other of his Majesties Councell, in gathering together the said Archbishop, Bishops, and other learned men, as the godly prayers, orders, rites, and ceremonies in the said book mentioned, with the consideration of altering those things which were altered, & retaining those things which were retained in the same book; as also the honour of God, and great quietnesse, which by the grace of God should ensue upon that one and uniforme rite and order in such common prayer, rites, and externe ceremonies to be used throughout England, Wales, Calice, and the Marches of the same, did first give unto his Highnesse most lowly and hearty thanks for the same, and then most humbly prayed him that it might be ordained, and enacted by his Majestie with the assent of the Lords and Commons in that parliament assembled, and by the authoritie of the same, that not onely all and singular person and persons that had hithertofore offended concerning the premisses others then such as were

Statut. an. 2. & 3. Reg. Edw. cap. 1.

Petition of the Lords & Commons in the parliament to the King.

KING EDW. 6.

were then remaining in Ward in the Tower of London, or in the Fleet) might be pardoned thereof, but also that all and singular ministers in any Cathedrall or Parish Churches or other places within the realm of England, Wales, Calice, and the Marches of the same, or other the Kings dominions, should from and after the feast of Pentecost next coming, be bound to say and use the mattins, Evensong, celebration of the Lords Supper, and administration of each of the Sacraments, and all other common and open prayer, in such order and form as was mentioned in the said book, and none other or otherwise. And albeit that they were so godly and good, that they gave occasion unto every honest and conformable man most willingly to imbrace them; yet lest any obstinate persons, who willingly would disturbe so godly an order and quiet in this Realm, should go unpunished, they further requested, that it might be ordained and enacted by the authoritie aforesaid, that if any manner person, vicar, or whatsoever other minister that ought or should say or sing common prayer, mentioned in the said book, or minister the sacraments, should after the said Feast of Pentecost, then next coming, refuse to use the said common prayer, or to minister the Sacraments in such Cathedrall or parish Churches, or other places, as he should use or minister the same, in such order and form as they were mentioned, and set forth in the said book; or should use wilfully, and obstinately standing in the same, any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of Masse, openly or privily, or mattins, Evensong, administration of the Sacraments, or other open prayer then was mentioned, and set forth in the said book; or should preach, declare, or speak any thing in the derogation or depraving of the said book, or any thing therein contained, or of any part thereof, and should be thereof lawfully convicted according to the Laws of this Realm by verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, should lose and forfeit, unto the Kings Highnesse his heirs and successors, for his first offence one whole yers profit of such one of his benefices or spirituall promotions, as it should please the Kings Highnesse to assigne and appoint; and also for the same offence should suffer imprisonment by the space of six moneths without bail or mainprise. But if any such person, after his first conviction, should eftsoons offend again, and be thereof in form aforesaid lawfully convicted, then he should for his second offence suffer imprisonment by the space of one whole yer, and should also be deprived, Ipso facto, of all his spirituall promotions for ever, so that it should be lawfull for the Patrons and Doners thereof to give the same again unto any other learned man, in like manner as if the said partie so offending were dead. And if any the said person or persons should again the third time offend, and be thereof in form aforesaid lawfully convicted, then he should for the same third offence suffer imprisonment during his life. If any such person or persons aforesaid, so offending, had not any benefice or spirituall promotion, that then he should for his first offence suffer imprisonment by the space of six moneths without bail or mainprise, and for his second offence, imprisonment during his life. Which request, or rather actuall agreement of the Lords and Commons of the Parliament, being once understood of the King, was also soone ratified and confirmed by his regall consent and authority, and thereupon the said book of Common Prayer was presently imprinted, and commanded to be exercised throughout the whole Realm and dominions thereof, according to the tenor and effect of the said Statute.

Anno 1548. Penalties.

Moreover in the same Session of the said Parliament it was enacted and established by the authoritie thereof; that for as much as great, horrible, and not to be rehearsed inconveniences had from time to time risen amongst the Priests, ministers, and other officers of the Clergy, through their compelled chastitie, and by such laws as prohibited them the godly and lawfull use of marriage, that therefore all and every law and laws positive, canons, constitutions, and ordinances theretofore made by the authority of man onely, which did prohibite or forbid marriage to any ecclesiasticall or spirituall person or persons, of what estate, condition or degree soever they were, or by what name or names they were called, which by Gods Law may lawfully marrie, in all and every article, branch and sentence concerning onely the prohibition of the mariage of the persons aforesaid, should be utterly void and of none effect. And that all manner of forfeitures, pains, penalties, crimes or actions which were in the said laws contained, and of the same did follow, concerning the prohibition of the marriage of the said Ecclesiasticall persons, should be thencefoorth also clearly and utterly void, frustrate and of none effect. By occasion whereof, it was thence after right lawfull for any Ecclesiasticall person, not having the gift of chastitie, most godly to live in the pure and holy estate of matrimonie according to the Laws and word of God.

Laws and constitutions against Priests marriage abrogated.

Marriage of priests set free.

But if the first Injunctions, Statutes, and Decrees of the Prince were of many but slenderly regarded, with much lesse good affection were these (especially the book of Common Prayer) of divers now received; yea, and that of some of them, which had alwayes before in outward shew willingly allowed the former doings, as appeareth most plainly (amongst others) by Boner the Bishop of London. Who although, by his former letters, and other mandates, he seemed hitherto to favour all the Kings procedings; yet did he at that present (notwithstanding both the first Statute for the Establishing of the Communion, and the abolishing of all private Masses, and also this Statute of the ratifying and confirming of the book of common Prayer) still suffer sundrie Idolatrous private Masses of peculiar names (as the Apostles Masse, the Ladie Masse, and such like) to be daily solemnly sung within certain peculiar chappels of the Cathedrall Church of Pauls, cloking them with the names of the Apostles communion, and our Ladies communion, not once finding any fault therewith, untill such time as the Lords of the Councell, having intelligence thereof, were fain by their letters to command and charge him to work better thereunto. And then being therewith somewhat pricked forwards (perhaps by fear) he was content to direct his letters unto the Deane and Chapter of his Cathedrall church of Pauls, thereby requesting them forthwith to take such order therein, as in the tenor of the Councels said letters, therewithall sent unto them, did import. Both which letters I have, for the more credit, here following inserted.

Ed. Boner B. of London.

A Letter directed from the Kings Councell to Edmund Boner Bishop of London, for abrogating of private Masses, namely, the Apostles Masse, within the Church of Saint Paul, used under the name of the Apostles Communion.

Another letter to Boner for abrogating private masses.

AFter hearty commendations: having very credible notice that within that your Cathedrall Church there be as yet the Apostles masse, and our Ladies masse, and other masses of such peculiar names, under the defence and comination of our Ladies communion, and the Apostles communion, used in private chappels and other remote places of the same, & not in the Chancell,

The Apostles masse put down in Pauls.

Chancell, contrarie unto the Kings Majeſties proceedings, the ſame being for the miſuſe diſpleaſing to God; for the place Pauls, in example not tolerable; for the fondneſſe of the name, a ſcorn to the reverence of the communion of the Lords body and blood: we for the augmentation of Gods honour and glorie, and the conſonance of his Majeſties Laws, and the avoyding of murmure, have thought good to will and command you, that from henceforth no ſuch Maſſes in this manner be in your Church any longer uſed, but that the holy bleſſed Communion, according to the Act of Parliament, be miniſtred at the high Altar of the Church, and in no other places of the ſame, and onely at ſuch time as your high Maſſes were wont to be uſed, except ſome number of people deſire for their neceſſarie buſineſſe to have a Communion in the morning, and yet the ſame to be executed in the Chancell at the high Altar, as it is appointed in the book of the publike Service, without cautele or digreſſion from the common order. And herein you ſhall not onely ſatisfie our expectation of your conformitie in all lawfull things, but alſo avoid the murmure of ſundrie that be therewith juſtly offended. And ſo we bid your Lordſhip heartily farewell. From Richmond, the 24. of Iune. Ann. 1549.

Your loving friends,

Edward Somerſet.
William Saint Iohn.
Edmund Montague.
R. Rich. Chancellour.
Francis Shrewsbury.
William Cecil,

To my right Worſhipfull friends, and moſt loving good brethren, maſter Deane of Pauls, with all the Canons, Reſidentaries, Prebendaries, Subdeans and Miniſters of the ſame, and every of them with ſpeed.

Bonners letter to the Dean and Chapter of Paris.

RIght worſhipfull, with moſt heartie commendations. So it is, this Wedneſday the 26. of Iune, going to dinner, I received letters from the Kings Councell by a Purſevant, and the ſame I do ſend now herewith unto you, to the intent you may peruſe them wel, and proceed accordingly; praying you in caſe all be not preſent, yet thoſe that be now reſident and ſupplying the places, may in their abſence call the company together of the Church, and make declaration hereof unto them: Thus committing you to God, right well to fare. Written with ſpeed this ſix and twentieth of Iune, at one of the clock.

Your loving brother, Ed. London.

An exhortation or admonition unto the Iuſtices of peace.

OVer and beſides all this, the Lord Protectour, with the reſidue of the Kings priVie and learned Councell aſſembling together in the Starchamber about the ſame matter, that is, for the advancement and ſetting forward of the Kings ſo godly proceedings, called before them all the Iuſtices of peace, where was uttered unto them by the Lord Rich, then Lord Chancellor, an eloquent and learned admonition, the tenour whereof enſueth.

IT hath bẽn uſed and accuſtomed before this time, to call at certain times the Iuſtices of Peace before the Kings Majeſties Councell, to give unto them admonition or warning, diligently (as is their dutie) to look to the obſerving of ſuch things as be committed to their charges, according to the truſt which the Kings Majeſtie hath in them. Howbeit, now at this time we call you before us, not onely of cuſtome but rather of neceſſity. For hearing daily, and perceiving of neceſſitie, as we do, the great negligence, and the little hæd which is taken and given to the obſerving of the good and wholſome lawes and orders in this realm, whereupon much diſorder doth daily enſue, and the Kings Majeſties Proclamations and orders taken by the Councell (as we are advertiſed) not executed, the people are brought to diſobedience, and in a manner all his Majeſties ſtudy and ours, in ſetting a good and moſt godly ſtay, to the honour of God and the quiet of the realm, is ſpent in vain, and come to nothing: The which as we have great hope and truſt not to be altogether ſo, yet ſo much as it is, and ſo much as it lacketh of the kæping of the Realm in a moſt godly order and ſtay, we muſt nœds impute and lay the fault therof in you which are the Iuſtices of peace in every Shire, to whom we are wont to direct our writings, and to whoſe truſt and charge the Kings Majeſty hath committed the execution of all his Proclamations, of his Acts of Parliament, and of his Lawes. { KING EDW. 6.

Iuſtices ſlack in furthering of Religion.

We are informed that many of you are ſo negligent and ſo ſlack herein, that it doth appeare you do look rather, as it were, through your fingers, then diligently ſee to the execution of the ſaid lawes and Proclamations. For if you would, according to your duties, to your Oath, to the truſt which the Kings Majeſtie hath in you, give your diligence and care toward the execution of the ſame moſt godly Statutes and Injunctions, there ſhould no diſobedience, nor diſorder, nor evil rule be begun or riſe in any part of the Realm, but it ſhould by and by be repreſſed, kept down and reformed. But it is feared, and the thing it ſelf giveth occaſion thereto, that divers of you do not onely not ſet forth, but rather hinder, ſo much as lieth in you, the Kings Majeſties procædings, and are content that there ſhould ariſe ſome diſobedience, and that men ſhould repine againſt godly orders ſet forth by his Majeſtie, you do ſo ſlackly look to the execution of the ſame, ſo that in ſome Shires, which be further off, it may appear that the people have never heard of divers of his Majeſties Proclamations, or if they have heard, you are content to wink at it, and to neglect it, ſo that it is all one as though it were never commanded. But if you do conſider and remember your duties firſt to Almighty God, and then to the Kings majeſty, the wealth of the whole Realm, and the ſafeguard of your own ſelves; you muſt nœds ſee, that except ſuch orders as the kings Majeſtie hath ſet, and hereafter ſhall appoint, be kept, neither can the Realm be defended, if the enemie ſhould invade, nor can it in peace ſtand, but upon the contempt of good and wholſome lawes all diſorder and inconveniences will come, the people will be wilde and ſavage, and no man ſure of his owne.

The fruit of obedience in a Realm.

If at any time there was occaſion and cauſe to be circumſpect and diligent about the ſame, there was never more time then now. How we ſtand in Scotland you know, and that there forrain power maketh great preparation to aid them, and indeed doth come to their aid; whereof we are ſurely informed and certified. Wherefore if there ſhould not be good order and obedience kept in the realm, the realm were like utterly to be deſtroyed. Never forrain power could yet hurt, or in any part prevail in this realm, but by diſobedience and miſorder within our ſelves. That is the way wherewith God will plague us, if he mind to puniſh us. And ſo long as we do agree among our ſelves, and be obedient to our Prince, and to his godly orders and laws, we may be ſure that God is with us, and that forrain powers ſhall not prevail againſt us, nor hurt us.

Wherefore once again, and ſtill we muſt and do lay this charge upon you that are the better of the Shire, and Iuſtices of Peace, that with ſo conve-

nient

{King Ed.6.}

nient speed as you can, you do repaire downe into your Countries, and you shall give warning to the Gentlemen of the shire, which have not necessary businesse here, that they repaire downe each man to his Countrey, and there both you and they, who be reckoned the stay of every shire, to see good order and rule kept: You, that your Sessions of goale delivery and quarter sessions be well kept, and therein your meetings be such, that justice may be well and truly ministred, the offenders and malefactors punished according to the lawes of this realme without any feare of any man, or that for favour you should suffer these to escape, which with their evill example might bring other to the like mishap, and that all vagabonds and lewd and light tale tellers, and seditious bearers of false newes of the Kings Majestie or of his Councell, or such as will preach without licence, be immediately by you repressed and punished.

Orders taken for Justices.

And if there should chance any lewd or light fellowes to make any rowtes or riots, or unlawfull assemblies, any seditious meetings, uproares, or uprisings in any place by the seditious and devillish motion of some privie Traitors, that you and they appease them at the first, and apprehend the first authour and causer thereof, and certifie us with speed. The lightnesse of the rude and ignorant people must be repressed and ordered by your gravitie and wisdome. And here you may not (if any such thing chance) dissemble with those such lewd men, and hide your selves, for it shall be required of you if such misorder be; and surely without your aide and helpe, or your dissembling, such misorder cannot be. Nor do we say that we feare any such thing, or that there is any such thing likely to chance; but we give you warning before, lest it should chance.

Provision against privie conspiracie and rebellion.

We have too much experience in this Realme, what inconvenience cometh of such matters. And though some light persons in their rage doe not consider, yet we do not doubt but you weigh it and know it well enough. And if it should chance our enemies (who are maintained by other forreign power, and the Bishop of Rome) should suddenly arrive in some place in England, either driven by tempest, or of purpose to doe hurt, ye should see such order kept by firing of the beacons, as hath already been written unto you by our letters, to repulse the same in so good aray as you can, as we do not doubt but you will for the safegard of your Countrey, so that the enemie shall have little joy of his coming: and for that purpose you shall see diligently that men have horse, harnesse, and other furniture of weapon ready, according to the Statutes and good orders of the realm, and the kings Majesties commandements. And so for this time ye may depart.

Provision against forraine power.

What zealous care was in this young King, and in the Lord Protectour his Uncle, concerning reformation of Christs Church, and sincere religion, by these injunctions, letters, precepts, and exhortations, as well to the Bishops, as to the Justices of the realme above premised, it may right well appeare. Whereby we have to note, not so much the carefull diligence of the King & his learned Councell; as the lingring slacknesse and drawing back, on the other side, of divers the said Justices, and lawyers, but especially of bishops and old popish curates, by whose cloaked contempt, wilfull winking, and stubborne disobedience, the booke of the common prayer was, long after the publishing thereof, either not knowne at all, or else very irreverently used through many places of the Realme. Which when the King by complaint of divers perfectly understood, being not a little agrieved to see the godly agreement of the learned, the willing consent of the Parliament, and his graces owne zealous desire to take so small effect among his subjects; he decreed presently, with the advice of his whole Councell, againe to write unto all the bishops of his realme, for speedy and diligent redresse therein; willing and commanding them thereby, that as well they themselves should thenceforth have a more speciall regard to the due execution of the premisses, as also that all others, within their severall precincts and jurisdictions, should by their good instructions and willing example be the more ofter, and with better devotion, moved to use and frequent the same. As further appeareth by the contents of this letter here insuing.

The singular zeale of King Edward and his Uncle, in reforming religion.

The slacknesse of popish Curates in furthering the Kings proceedings.

Another letter directed by the King and his Councell, to Boner Bishop of London, partly rebuking him of negligence, partly charging him to see to the better setting out of the service booke within his Dioceſſe.

Another Letter to Boner bishop of London.

Right reverend Father in God, right trusty and welbeloved, we greet you well: and whereas after great and serious debating and long conference of the Bishops and other grave and well learned men in the holy Scriptures, one uniforme order for common prayers and administration of the sacraments hath bin, and is most godly set forth, not onely by the common agreement and full assent of the nobilitie and commons of the late session of our late Parliament, but also by the like assent of the Bishops in the same Parliament, and of all other the learned men of this our realme in their Synods and convocations provinciall: like as it was much to our comfort, to understand the godly travell then diligently and willingly taken for the true opening of things mentioned in the said book, whereby the true service and honour of almighty God, and the right ministration of the Sacraments being well and sincerely set forth, according to the Scriptures and use of the Primitive Church, much Idolatry, vaine superstition, and great and slanderous abuses be taken away: so it is no small occasion of sorrow unto us, to understand by the complaints of many, that our said booke so much travelled for, and also sincerely set forth (as is aforesaid) remaineth in many places of this our Realme, either not knowne at all, or not used, or at the least if it be used, very seldome, and that in such light and irreverent sort, as the people in many places either have heard nothing, or if they heare, they neither understand, nor have that spirituall delectation in the same, that to good Christians appertaineth. The fault whereof, like as we must of reason impute to you and other of your vocation, called by God, through our appointment, to due respect to this and such like matters; so considering that, by these and such like occasions, our loving subjects remaine yet stil in their blindnesse, and superstitious errors, and in some places in as irreligious forgetfulnesse of God, whereby his wrath may be provoked upon us and them; and remembring withall, that amongst other cures committed to our Princely charge, we thinke this the greatest, to see the glory and true service of him maintained and extolled, by whose clemency we knowledge our selves to have all that we have, we could not but by advice and consent of our dearest Vncle, Edward Duke of Somerset, governour of our person, and Protector of our Realme, dominions and subjects, and the rest of our Privie Councell, admonish you of the premisses. Wherein, as it had beene your office to have used an earnest diligence, and to have preferred the same in all places within your Dioceſſe, as the case required; so have we thought good to pray and require you, and nevertheleſſe straightly to charge and command you, that from henceforth ye have an earnest and speciall regard to the reduce of these things, so as the Curates may doe their duties more often and in more reverent sort, and the people be occasioned by the good advices and exam-

The Kings booke neglected.

{Anno. 1549.}

Boners negligence noted.

ples of your selfe, your Chancellor, Archdeacons, and other inferior Ministers, to come with oftner and more devotion to their said common prayers, to give thanks to God, and to be partakers of the most holy communion. Wherein shewing your selfe diligent, and giving good example in your owne person, you shall both discharge your duty to the great Pastor, to whom we all have to account, and also doe us good service: and on the other side, if we shall hereafter (these our letters and commandement notwithstanding) heare eftsoones complaint, and finde the like fault in your Diocesse, we shall have just cause to impute the fault thereof, and of all that insueth thereof, unto you, and consequently be occasioned thereby to see otherwise to the redresse of these things; whereof we would be sory. And therefore we doe eftsoones charge and command you, upon your allegeance, to look well upon your dutie herein, as ye tender our pleasure.

Given under our signet at our manour of Richmond, the three and twentieth day of July, the third yeare of our reigne, 1549.

The Bishop of London, amongst the rest of the Bishops, receiving these letters, did (as alwaies before) in outward shew willingly accept the same; and therefore immediately with the said letters directed this his precept unto the Deane and Chapter of his Cathedrall Church of Pauls, commanding them to look to the due accomplishing thereof accordingly.

A letter of Boner, to the Deane and Chapter of Pauls.

A letter of Boner to the Deane of Pauls.

EDmund by the grace of God, &c. To my welbeloved brethren the Deane and Chapter of the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul in London, and to the other ministers there and every of them doe send greeting. And where it is so, that of late I have received the said Soveraign Lord the Kings Majesties letters, of such tenor as is hereunto annexed, and according to my most bounden dutie am right well willing, and desiring that the said letters should be in all points duely executed and observed according to the tenour and purport of the same, as appertaineth: these therefore are to require, and also straightly to charge you and every of you on his Majesties behalfe, &c. that you doe admonish and command or cause to be admonished or commanded, all and singular Parsons, Vicars, and Curats of your jurisdiction, to observe and accomplish the same from time to time accordingly; furthermore requiring and likewise charging you, and every of you to make certificate herein to me, my Chancellour or other my officers in this behalfe, with such convenient celeritie as appertaineth, both of your proceedings in the execution hereof, and also the persons and names of all such, as from henceforth shall be found negligent in doing their duties in the premisses or any of them.

Given at my house at Fulham, the 26 of July, in the yeare of our Lord, 1549. and in the third yeare of our said Soveraigne Lord the Kings Majesties reigne.

Slackenesse of Boner in furthering good proceedings.

Moreover, forsomuch as the king at that instant hearing the muttering of certaine rebellion then stirring, (whereof more shall be said the Lord willing hereafter) and also being credibly informed by divers, that through the evill example, slackenesse of preaching and administring the sacraments, and careless contempt of Boner Bishop of London, not onely many of the people within the Citie of London, and other places of his diocesse, were very negligent and forgetfull of their duties to God, in frequenting the Divine service then stablished and set forth by the authoritie of parliament, but also that divers other, utterly despising the same, did in secret places of his Diocesse often frequent the popish Masse and other forreine rites not allowed by the lawes of this Realme, he thought it therefore good (having thereby just cause to suspect his former dissembling doubleneslle) to appoint the Lord Protector and the rest of his Privie Councell to call the said Bishop before them, and according to their wise and discreet judgements to deale with him for the same.

{ KING EDW. 6.

Popish Masse privily frequented in places, against the law.

{ Anno 1549.

Whereupon the eleventh day of August, Anno. 1549. they sent a messenger for him, and upon his appearance made first declaration of such informations and complaints as had been heretofore made against him. And then, after sharpe admonitions and reproofes for his evill demeanors in the premisses, they delivered unto him from the King (for his better reformation and amendment) certaine private injunctions to be necessarily followed and observed of himselfe. And whereas, in the first branch of the said injunctions, he was personally assigned to preach at Pauls Crosse the Sunday three weeks then next ensuing (because both the dangerous and fickle estate of the time, and also partly his owne suspicious behaviour so required) they further delivered unto him in writing such articles to intreat upon in his Sermon, as they thought then most meet and necessary for the time and causes aforesaid. All which Injunctions and Articles, for the further manifestation thereof, I have here inserted as followeth.

Boner called before the councell.

Certaine private Injunctions given to Boner by the Councell.

Boner assigne by the Counce to preach at Pauls Crosse.

Certaine Injunctions and Articles given to Boner by the Councell.

FOrasmuch as we are advertised, that amongst other disorders of our subjects at this present there be divers of our Citie of London, and other places within your diocesse, which being very negligent and forgetful of their duty to Almighty God, of whom all good things are to be looked for, do assemble themselves very seldome, and fewer times then they were heretofore accustomed, unto common prayer and to the holy Communion, being now a time when it were more needfull with heart and minde to pray to our heavenly father for his aid and succour; whereof as we be right sory, so we do understand that through your evill example, and the slackneslle of your preaching and instructing of our said people to doe their duties, this offence to God is most generally committed. For where heretofore upon all principall feasts, and such as were called Majus duplex, you your selfe were wont to execute in person, now since the time that we by the advice of our whole parliament have set a most godly & devout order in our Church of England and Ireland, ye have very seldome or never executed upon such or other dayes, to the contempt of our procedings and evill example of others. And for somuch as it is also brought to our knowledge, that divers as well in London, as in other places of your Diocesse, do frequent and haunt forreine rites of Masses, and such as be not allowed by the orders of our Realme, and doe contemne and forbeare to praise and laud God, and pray unto his Majestie after such rites and ceremonies, as in this Realme are approved and set out by our authoritie; and further that adulterie & fornication is maintained and kept openly and commonly in the said City of London and other places of your Diocesse, whereby the wrath of God is provoked against our people;

Admonition given to Boner by the Counce.

Boner refraine to execute all principall feast contrary to his wonted manne

Boner noted of slackneslle in his duty and of contempt of publike lawes.

KING EDW. 6.

ple; of the which things you being heretofore admonished, yet hitherto have made no redresse, as to the pastorall office, authoritie and cure of a Bishop doth appertaine: We therefore, to whom the supreme cure and charge of this Church doth appertaine, to avoide from us the high indignation of Almightie God, by the advice of our most entirely beloved Uncle the Lord Protector and the rest of our privy Councell, have thought it no lesse then our most bounden dutie, now at this present, and ectsones peremptorily to admonish, charge, and warne you, that you do most straightly looke upon the premisses, and see them so reformed that there may appeare no negligence on your behalfe, upon such paine as by our lawes ecclesiasticall and temporall we may inflict upon you, unto deprivation or otherwise, as shall seeme to us for qualitie of the offence reasonable. And to the intent you should the better see to the reformation of the said abuses, we have thought good to give you these Injunctions following.

Certain private Articles enjoyned to Boner by the Councel. Boner admonished to preach every Quarter at Pauls crosse.

1 First ye shall preach at Pauls Crosse in London, in proper person, the Sunday after the date hereof three weekes, and in the same Sermon declare and set forth the articles hereunto annexed: and ye shall preach hereafter once every quarter of the yeare there, exhorting in your Sermon the people to obedience, prayer, and godly living; and ye shall be present at every Sermon hereafter made at Pauls Crosse, if sicknesse or some other reasonable cause do not let you.

2 Secondly, you your selfe in person shall from henceforth every day which heretofore was accounted in this Church of England a principall feast, or Majus duplex, and at all such times as the Bishops of London your predecessors were wont to celebrate and sing high Masse, now celebrate and execute the Communion at the high altar in Pauls, for the better example of all other, except sicknesse doe let.

3 Thirdly, ye shall your selfe, according to your dutie and the office of a Bishop, call before you all such as doe not come unto and frequent the common prayer and service in the Church, or doe not come unto Gods bord, and receive the Communion at the least once a yeare, or whosoever doe frequent or go unto any other right or service then is appointed by our book, either of Mattins, Evensong, or Masse in any Church, Chappell, or other private places within your Dioceese, and ye shall see all such offenders convented before you and punished, according unto the Ecclesiasticall lawes, with severe and strait punishment therefore. Likewise ye shall see one onely order used in your Dioceese according to our said booke and none other.

4 Fourthly, ye shall both by your selfe, and all your officers under you, search out and convent before you more diligently then heretofore ye have done, (as appertaineth to your office all adulterers, and see the same punished according to the Ecclesiasticall lawes, and the authoritie given you in that behalfe.

5 We have heard also complaints, that the Church of Pauls and other Churches of London are of late more neglected, as well in reparation of the Glasse, as other buildings and ornaments of the same, then they were heretofore wont, and that divers and many persons in the Citie of malice denie the payment of their due tithe to their curates, whereby the Curates are both injured and made not so well able, and in manner discouraged to doe their duties. The which thing also our will and commandment is, ye shall diligently look unto, and see redressed as appertaineth.

Boner Bishop of London commanded to keep his own house.

6 And for so much as all these complaints be made, as most done and committed in London, to the intent you may looke more earnestly, better, and more diligently to the reformation of them, our pleasure is that you shall abide and kéep residence in your house there, as in the Citie, sea, and principall place of your Dioces, and none other where for a certain time, untill you shall be otherwise licensed by us.

And thus having brought bishop Boner home to his owne house, there to leave him a while to take his ease in his owne lodging till we returne to him againe, we will in the mean time make a little intercourse into Cornwall and Devonshire, to discourse some part of the disordered and disloyal doings of those men against their so meeke and excellent a Prince, having no cause ministred thereunto; yea having cause rather to yeeld praise and thankes to the Lord for such a quiet and peaceable Prince in his mercy given to them. But such is the condition of unquiet natures, that they cannot skil of peace. And where due discretion lacketh, there lewd disposed persons cannot tell when they be well: againe some be so crooked and so perversly given, that the more courteously they be intreated, the worse they are; and when by honest diligence they lift not to get their living, by publike disturbance of common weales they thinke to thrive. And so séemed it to fare with this seditious people of Cornwall and Devonshire, who having so good and vertuous a King, that if they should have sought him as Diogenes, they say, did seeke for a man with a candle, a mæker and better Soveraign they could not have found, a crueller they well deserved; yet were they not with him contented, but contrary to all order, reason, nature, and loyaltie, advanced themselves in a rebellious conspiracie against him, and against his procéedings through the pernicious instigation, first (as it seemeth) of certaine popish Priests, who grudging and disdaining against the Injunctions and godly order of reformation set forward by the King, and specially mourning to see their old Popish Church of Rome to decay, ceased not by all sinister and subtile means, first under Gods name and the Kings, and under colour of religion to perswade the people, then to gather sides and to assemble in companies, to gather Captains, and at last to brast out in rank rebellion. Neither lacked there among the lay sort some as seditiously disposed as they to mischiefe and madnesse, as well Gentlemen as other.

The rebels in Cornwall and Devonshire.

Popish priests first stirrers of this rebellion.

All wickednes first beginneth under faire pretences.

Of whom the chiefe Gentlemen captains were, Humfrey Arundell Esquire, Governor of the Mount, James Rosogan, John Rosogan, John Payne, Thomas Underhill, John Soleman, William Segar. Of Priests which were principall stirrers, and some of them governors of the camps, and after executed, there were to the number of eight, whose names were Robert Wochim, John Tompson, Roger Baret, John Wolcocke, William Asa, James Mourton, John Barow, Richard Benet, besides a multitude of other popish Priests, which to the same faction was adjoyned. The number of the whole rebellion, speaking with the least, mounted to little lesse then ten thousand stout traitors.

Captaines of the Rebels in Devonshire.

Priests Rebels and traitors against the king.

These hearing first of the commotions which began about the same time in other parts to broile, as in Oxfordshire, Yorkshire, and especially in Northfolke and Suffolke, began to take therein some courage, hoping that they should have well fortified the same with quarrell. But afterward perceiving how the mischievous mutterings and enterprises of their conspiracy did suddenly faile, either being prevented by time, or revelled by power, or that their cause being but onely about plucking downe of enclosures, and enlarging of commons, was divided from theirs, so that either they would not or could not joyne their aide together, then began they again to quail, and their courage to abate. Notwithstanding, for so much as they

Divers commotions in king Edwards time suppressed.

had gone ſo farre, that they thought there was no ſhrinking back, they fell to new devices and inventions, for the beſt furtherance of their deſperate purpoſes.

The Citie of Exceſter invaded by the rebels.

Their firſt intent was, after they had ſpoiled their owne countrey moſt miſerably, to invade the citie of Exceter, and ſo conſequently all other parts of the Realme. But firſt for Exceter they gaped, the gates whereof otherwiſe they burned, but gained nothing ſaving onely gunſhot, whereof they lacked no plenty. Being put from Exceter, they fell on ſpoyling and robbing, where or whatſoever they might catch. At length laying their traiterous heads together, they conſulted upon certain articles to be ſent up. But herein ſuch diverſitie of heads and wits was amongſt them, that for every kinde of braine there was one manner of Article; ſo that there neither appeared any conſent in their diverſitie, nor yet any conſtancie in their agreement. Some ſeemed more tolerable. Other altogether unreaſonable. Some would have no juſtice. Some would have no ſtate of Gentlemen. The prieſts ever harped upon one ſtring, to ring in the biſhop of Rome into England againe, and to hallow home Cardinall Poole their countreyman.

Diverſitie of wits amongſt the rebels.

After much adoe and little to the purpoſe, at laſt a few ſory articles were agreed upon to be directed unto the King, with the names of certain ſet thereunto, the copy whereof here inſueth.

The Articles of the Commons of Devonſhire and Cornewall ſent to the King; with anſwer afterward following unto the ſame.

The Articles of Devonſhire men, to the king and his councel.

FIrſt foraſmuch as man, except he be borne of water and the holy ghoſt, cannot enter into the kingdome of God, and foraſmuch as the gates of heaven be not opened without his bleſſed Sacrament of Baptiſme, therefore we will that our Curates ſhall miniſter this ſacrament at all times of nede, as well in the weeke dayes, as on the holy dayes.

1 Sacrament of Baptiſme.

Item, we will have our children confirmed of the biſhop, whenſoever we ſhall within the dioces reſort unto him.

2 Confirmation.

Item, forſomuch as we conſtantly beleve that after the prieſt hath ſpoken the words of conſecration being at Maſſe, there celebrating and conſecrating the ſame, there is very really the Body and bloud of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt God and man, and that no ſubſtance of bread and wine remaineth after, but the very ſelfe ſame body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and was given upon the Croſſe for our redemption; therefore we will have Maſſe celebrated as it hath beene in times paſt, without any man communicating with the prieſts, forſomuch as many, rudely preſuming unworthily to receive the ſame, put no difference betweene the Lords body and other kind of meat, ſome ſaying that it is bread before and after, ſome ſaying that it is profitable to no man except he receive it, with many other abuſed termes.

3 Conſecration of the Lords body.

Item, we will have in our churches reſervation.

4 Reſervation of the Lords body conſecrated.

Item, we will have holy bread and holy water in remembrance of Chriſt his precious Body and bloud.

5 Holy bread, and holy water.

Item, we will that our Prieſts ſhall ſing, or ſay with an audible voyce Gods ſervice in the quire of the pariſh churches, and not Gods ſervice to be ſet forth like a Chriſtmas play.

6 The ſingle life of Prieſts.

Item, forſomuch as prieſts be men dedicated to God, for miniſtring and celebrating the bleſſed ſacraments and preaching Gods word, we will that they ſhall live chaſte without marriage, as S. Paul did, being the elect and choſen veſſel of God, ſaying unto all honeſt Prieſts, Be ye followers of me.

Item, we will that the ſix articles, which our Soveraigne Lord King Henry the eighth ſet forth in his later dayes, ſhall be uſed and ſo taken as they were at that time. {KING ED. 6.} 7

The 6 Articles to be renued.

Item, we pray God ſave King Edward, for we be his, both body and goods.

A meſſage ſent by the Kings Majeſtie, to certaine of his people aſſembled in Devonſhire.

The anſwer of the King to the Articles of the rebels in Devonſhire. {Anno. 1549.}

ALthough knowledge hath been given to us and our deareſt uncle Edward Duke of Sommerſet, Governor of our perſon, and Protector of all our Realmes, Dominions and Subjects, and to the reſt of our Privie Councel, of divers aſſemblies made by you, which ought of dutie to be our loving ſubjects, againſt all order, law, and otherwiſe then ever any loving and kinde ſubjects have attempted againſt their naturall and Liege Soveraign Lord: yet we have thought it meet at this very firſt time not to condemne or reject you as we might juſtly doe, but to uſe you as our ſubjects, thinking that the devil hath not that power in you, to make you of naturall borne Engliſhmen ſo ſuddenly become enemies to your owne native Countrey or of our ſubjects to make you traitors, or under pretence to relieve your ſelves, to deſtroy your ſelves, your wives, children, lands, houſes, and all other commodities of this your life. This we ſay, we truſt that although ye be by ignorance ſeduced, ye will not be upon knowledge obſtinate. And though ſome amongſt you, (as ever there is ſome Cockle amongſt good corne) forget God, neglect their Prince, eſteem not the ſtate of the realme, but as careleſſe deſperate men delight in ſedition, tumult, and wars: yet nevertheleſſe the greater part of you will heare the voyce of us your naturall Prince, and will by wiſdome and counſel be warned, and ceaſe your evils in the beginning, whoſe ends will be, even by Almightie Gods order, your own deſtruction. Wherefore, as to you our ſubjects by ignorance ſeduced we ſpeake, and be content to uſe our princely authority like a father to his children for this time, to admoniſh you of your faults, not to puniſh them, to put you in remembrance of your duties, not to avenge your forgetfulneſſe.

Firſt, your diſorder to riſe in multitudes, to aſſemble your ſelves againſt other our loving ſubjects, to array your ſelves to the war, who amongſt you all can anſwer the ſame to almighty God, charging you to obey us in all things? Or how can any Engliſh good heart anſwer us, our lawes, and the reſt of our very loving and faithfull ſubjects, who indeed by their obedience make our honor eſtate and degree?

Unlawfull aſſemblies.

Ye uſe our name in your writings, and abuſe the ſame againſt our ſelfe. What injurie herein do you us, to call thoſe which love us, to your evill purpoſes by the authoritie of our name? God hath made us your king by his ordinance and providence, by our bloud and inheritance, by lawful ſucceſſion and our coronation: but not to this end, as you uſe our name. We are your moſt naturall Soveraigne Lord and King, Ed. the firſt, to rule you, to preſerve you, to ſave you from all your outward enemies, to ſee our lawes well miniſtred, every man to have his owne, to ſuppreſſe diſordered people, to correct traitors, theeves, pirats, robbers, and ſuch like; yea, to keepe our Realmes from forraine Princes, from the malice of the Scots, of Frenchmen, of the B. of Rome. Thus, good ſubjects, our name is written, thus it is honored and obeyed, this majeſtie it hath by Gods ordinance, not by mans. So that of this your offence we cannot write too much: and yet doubt not but this is enough from a Prince to all reaſonable people, from a King to all kinde hearted and loving ſubjects, from a puiſſant King of England, to every naturall Engliſhman.

The Kings name abuſed.

Your

{KING EDW. 6.} Your pretenſes which you ſay move you to doe this, and wherewith you ſeeke to excuſe this diſorder, we aſſure you, be either all falſe, or ſo vaine, that we doubt not but, after ye ſhall hereby underſtand the truth thereof, ye will all with one noyſe knowledge your ſelves ignorantly led, and by error ſeduced; and if there be any that will not, aſſure you the ſame be ranke Traitors, enemies of our Crowne, ſeditious people, hereticks, papiſts, or ſuch as care not how they ſeek to provoke an inſurrection ſo they may do it; nor indeed can war ſo rich with their owne labours, and with peace, as they can doe with ſpoyles, with warres, with robberies, and ſuch like, yea, with the ſpoile of your owne goods, with the living of your labors, the ſweat of your bodies, the food of your own houſholds, wives, and children. Such they be, as for a time uſe pleaſant perſwaſions to you, and in the end will cut your throats for your own goods.

Their falſe cauſes.

Baptiſme.

You be borne in hand, that your children, though neceſſity chance, ſhall not be chriſtened but upon the holy daies. How falſe this is, learne you of us. Our book which we have ſet forth by the free conſent of our Parliament, in the Engliſh tongue, teaching you the contrary, even in the firſt leafe, yea the firſt ſide of the firſt leafe of that part which intreateth of Baptiſme. Good ſubjects (for to others we ſpeake not) looke and be not deceived. They which have put this falſe opinion into your eares, they meane not the Chriſtening of Children, but the deſtruction of you our chriſtened ſubjects. Be this knowne unto you, our honour is ſo much that we may not be found faulty of our word. Prove it, if by our lawes ye may not chriſten your Children upon neceſſitie every day or hower in the weeke, then might you be offended: but ſeeing you may doe it, how can you beleeve them which teach you the contrary? What thinke you they meane in the reſt, which move you to breake your obedience againſt us your King and ſoveraigne, upon theſe ſo falſe tales and perſwaſions in ſo evident a matter? Therefore you all which will knowledge us your ſoveraigne Lord, and which will heare the voice of us your naturall King, may eaſily perceive how yee be deceived, and how ſubtilly Traytors and Papiſts with their fallhood ſeeke to atchieve and bring their purpoſe to paſſe with your helpe. Every Traitour will be glad to diſſemble his treaſon and feede it ſecretly, every Papiſt his poperie and nouriſh it inwardly, and in the end make you our ſubjects partakers of treaſon and Poperie, which in the beginning was pretended a common wealth and holineſſe.

The falſe ſurmiſe of the rebels touching Baptiſme refuted.

2. Sacrament.

And how are you ſeduced by them, which put in your heads that the bleſſed ſacrament of Chriſts body ſhould not differ from other common bread? If our lawes, proclamations, & ſtatutes be all to the cõtrary, why ſhall any private man perſwade you againſt the? We do our ſelves in our own heart, our counſell in all their profeſſion, our laws and ſtatutes in all purpoſes, our good ſubjects in all their doings, moſt highly eſteeme that ſacrament, and uſe the communion thereof to our moſt comfort. We make ſo much difference thereof from other common bread, that we think no profit of other bread, but to maintaine our bodies; But of this bleſſed bread we take the very food of our ſoules to everlaſting life. How think you good ſubjects, ſhall not we being your Prince, your Lord, your King by Gods appointment, with truth more prevaile, then certaine evill perſons with open fallhood? Shall any ſeditious perſon perſwade you, that the ſacrament is deſpiſed, which is by our lawes, by our ſelfe, by our counſell, by all our good ſubjects eſteemed, uſed, participated, and dayly received? If ever ye were ſeduced, if ever deceived, if ever traytors were beleeved, if ever papiſts poiſoned good ſubjects, it is now: It is not the Chriſtening of Children, not the reverence of the Sacrament, not the health of your ſoules that they ſhoot at, good ſubjects. It is ſedition, it is high treaſon, it is your deſtruction they ſeeke, how craftily, how pitiouſly, how cunningly ſoever they do it. With one rule judge ye the end, which of force muſt come of your purpoſes. Almighty God forbiddeth, upon paine of everlaſting damnation, diſobedience to us your King; and in his place we rule in earth. If we ſhould be ſlow, would God erre? If your offence be towards God, thinke you it pardoned without repentance? Is Gods judgement mutable? Your paine is damnation, your judge is incorruptible, your fault is moſt evident:

Likewiſe are ye evill informed in divers other articles, as for confirmation of your children, for the maſſe, for the manner of your ſervice of Mattens and Evenſong. Whatſoever is therein ordered, hath been long debated and conſulted by many learned Biſhops, Doctors, and other men of great learning in this realme concluded; in nothing was ſo much labor and time ſpent of late time, nothing ſo fully ended:

3. Mattins and ſervice in Engliſh.

As for the ſervice in the Engliſh tongue, it hath manifeſt reaſons for it. And yet perchance it ſeemeth to you a new ſervice, and indeed is none other but the old. The ſelf ſame words in Engliſh which were in Latine, ſaving a few things taken out, which were ſo fond that it had been a ſhame to have heard them in Engliſh, as all they can judge which lift to report the truth. The difference is, we meant goodly, that you our ſubjects ſhould underſtand in Engliſh, being our naturall countrey tongue, that which was heretofore ſpoken in Latine, then ſerving onely for them which underſtood Latine, and now for all you which be born Engliſh. How can this with reaſon offend any reaſonable man, that he ſhall underſtand what any other ſaith, and ſo conſent with the ſpeaker? If the ſervice in the Church was good in Latine, it remaineth good in Engliſh; for nothing is altered, but to ſpeake with knowledge that which was ſpoken with ignorance, and to let you underſtand what is ſaid for you, to the intent you may further it with your own devotion. An alteration to the better, except knowledge be worſe then ignorance. So that whoſoever hath moved you to diſlike this order, can give you no reaſon, nor anſwer yours, if ye underſtood it.

Alteration of Service from an unknowne Tongue to a known tongue.

Wherefore you our ſubjects remember, we ſpeak to you, being ordained your Prince and King by almightie God; If any wiſe we could advance Gods honour more then we doe, we would doe it: and ſee that ye become ſubject to Gods ordinances, obeying us your Prince, and learne of them which have authoritie to teach you, which have power to rule you, & will execute our juſtice if we be provoked. Learn not of them whoſe fruits be nothing but wilfulneſſe, diſobedience, obſtinacie, diſſimulation, and deſtruction of the realme.

4. The Maſſe.

For the Maſſe, we aſſure you, no ſmall ſtudy nor travell hath been ſpent, by all the learned Clergy, therein, and to avoid all contention, it is brought even to the very uſe as Chriſt left it, as the apoſtles uſed it, as holy Fathers delivered it, in deed ſomewhat altered from that the Popes of Rome, for their lucre brought to it. And although ye may heare the contrary of ſome Popiſh evill men, yet our Majeſtie which for our honor may not be blemiſhed nor ſtained, aſſureth you, that they deceive you, abuſe you, and blow theſe opinions into your heads, to finiſh their own purpoſes.

The falſe ſurmiſe of the rebels touching the ſacrament of the Lords ſupper reſolved.

5. Confirmation. Baptiſme laveth without any Biſhoping.

And ſo likewiſe judge you of confirmation of children; and let them anſwer you this one queſtion: Thinke they, that a childe chriſtened is damned, becauſe it dieth before Biſhoping? They be confirmed at the time of diſcretion, to learne that which they profeſſed, in the lacke thereof, by baptiſme; taught in age, that which they received in infancy;

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infancie; and yet no doubt but they be ſaved by Baptiſme, not by confirmation; and made Chriſtes by Chriſtening, and taught how to continue by confirmation. Wherefore in the whole, marke good Subjects, how our Doctrine is founded upon true Learning, and theirs upon ſhameleſſe Erroꝛs.

To conclude, beſide our gentle manner of information to you, whatſoever is contained in our Booke, either for Baptiſme, Sacrament, Maſſe, Confirmation, and Service in the church, is by our Parliament eſtabliſhed, by the whole Clergy agreed, yea by the Biſhops of the Realme deviſed, and further, by Gods woꝛd confirmed. And how dare ye truſt, yea, how dare ye give eare, without trembling to any ſingular perſon, to diſallow a Parliament, a ſubject to perſwade againſt our Majeſtie, a man of his ſingular arrogancie againſt the determination of the Biſhops, and all the Clergie, any invented argument againſt the woꝛd of God?

But now you our ſubjects, we reſoꝛt to a greater matter of your blindneſſe, of your unkindneſſe, and great unnaturalneſſe, and ſuch an evill, that if we thought it had not begunne of ignoꝛance, and continued by perſwaſion of certaine traitoꝛs amongſt you, which we thinke few in number, but in their doings buſie; we could not be perſwaded but to uſe our ſwoꝛd, and do juſtice, and, as we be oꝛdained by God, to reꝛeſſe your erroꝛs by avengement. But love and zeale yet overcometh our juſt anger, but how long that will be God knoweth, in whoſe hand our heart is; oꝛ rather foꝛ your owne cauſes, being our chriſtened ſubjects, we would ye were perſwaded then vanquiſhed, informed then foꝛced, taught then overthꝛowne, quietly pacified then riguꝛouſly perſecuted.

The Rebels require the ſix Articles.

Ye require to have the ſtatute of the ſix articles revived, and know ye what ye require? oꝛ know ye what eaſe ye have with the loſſe of thē? They were lawes made, but quickly repented, too bloody they were to be boꝛne of our people, & yet at the firſt indeed made of ſome neceſſitie. Oh ſubjects, how are ye trapped by ſubtill perſons? We of pity, becauſe they were bloudy, took them away, and you now of ignoꝛance will ask them again. You know ful wel, that they helped us to extend riguꝛ, and gave us cauſe to dꝛaw our ſwoꝛd very often, they were as a whetſtone to our ſwoꝛd, and foꝛ your cauſes we left to uſe them. And ſince our mercy moved us to write our lawes with milke and equitie, how be ye blinded to ask them in bloud?

The ſix articles taken away by Parliament.

But leaving this manner of reaſoning, and reſoꝛting to the truth of our authoꝛitie, we let you wit, the ſame hath beene annulled by our Parliament, with great reſoycing of our Subjects, and not now to be called by ſubjects in queſtion. Dare then any of you with the name of a ſubject ſtand againſt an Act of Parliament, a Law of the whole Realme? What is our power, if laws ſhould be thus neglected? yea what is your ſuretie, if laws be not kept? Aſſure your ſelves moſt ſurely, that we of no earthly thing under the heaven make ſuch a reputation, as we do of this one thing, to have our Law obeyed, and this cauſe of God, which we have taken in hand, to be thꝛoughly maintained, from the which we will never remove a haires bꝛeadth, noꝛ give place to any creature living, much leſſe to any ſubject, but therein will ſpend our own Royall Perſon, our crowne, treaſure, realme, and all our ſtate; whereof we aſſure you of our high honoꝛ. Foꝛ herein indeed reſteth our honoꝛ, herein ſtandeth our kingdome, herein doe all kings knowledge us a king. And ſhall any of you dare bꝛeath oꝛ thinke againſt our honoꝛ, our kingdome, oꝛ crowne?

A notable zeale and a princely woꝛd of a King.

The Kings age.

In the end of this your requeſt (as we be given to underſtand) ye would have them ſtand in foꝛce untill our full age. To this we thinke, if ye knew what ye ſpake, ye would never have uttered that motion, noꝛ ever given bꝛeath to ſuch a thought. Foꝛ what thinke you of our kingdome? be we of leſſe authoꝛitie foꝛ our age? Be we not your king now, as we ſhall be? Oꝛ ſhall ye be ſubjects hereafter, and now are ye not? Have not we the right we ſhall have? If we would ſuſpend and hang our doings in doubt untill our full age, ye muſt firſt know, as a king, we have no difference of yeares noꝛ time, but as a naturall man and creature of God, we have youth, and by his ſufferance ſhall have age: we are your rightfull King, your liege Loꝛd, your King anointed, your King crowned, the ſoveraigne King of England, not by our age, but by Gods oꝛdinance, not onely when we ſhall be of 21. yeares, but when we are of ten years. We poſſeſſe our crowne, not by yeares, but by the bloud and deſcent from our father King Henry the eight. You are our ſubjects, becauſe we be your King; and rule we will, becauſe God hath willed. It is as great a fault in us not to rule, as in a ſubject not to obey.

A King poſſeſſeth his crowne not by yeares but by Gods oꝛdinance.

If it be conſidered, they which move this matter, if they durſt utter thēſelves, would deny our kingdome. But our good ſubjects know their pꝛince, and will increaſe not diminiſh his honour, inlarge not abate his power, knowledge not deferre his kingdome to certaine yeares: all is one, to ſpeak againſt our Crowne, and to denie our kingdome, as to require that our lawes may be bꝛoken unto 21. years. Be we not your crowned, anointed, and eſtabliſhed King? Wherein then be we of leſſe majeſty, of leſſe authoꝛitie, oꝛ leſſe ſtate, then were our pꝛogenitoꝛs kings of this realme, except your unkindneſſe, your unnaturalneſſe will diminiſh our eſtimation. We have hitherto, ſince the death of our father, by the good advice and Counſell of our deare and entirely beloved uncle, kept our ſtate, maintained our realme, pꝛeſerved our honour, defended our people from our enemies; we have hitherto bin feared and dꝛead of our enemies; yea, of Pꝛinces, Kings, and Nations; yea, herein we be nothing inferiour to any our pꝛogenitoꝛs (which grace we acknowledge to be given us from God) and how elſe, but by good obedience of our people, good counſell of our Magiſtrates, due execution of our Lawes? By authoꝛitie of our Kingdome England hitherto hath gained honour: during our reigne, it hath won of the enemie, and not loſt.

Young yeares hinder not the royall gouernment of a realme.

It hath beene marvelled, that we of ſo young yeares have reigned ſo nobly, ſo royally, ſo quietly. And how chanceth it, that you our ſubjects of that our countrey of Devonſhire, will give the firſt occaſion to ſlander this our realme of England, to give courage to the enemie, to note our realme of the evill of rebellion, to make it a pꝛey to our old enemies, to diminiſh our honour, which God hath given, our father left, our good uncle and Counſell pꝛeſerved unto us? What greater evill could ye commit, then even now, when our foꝛraine enemy in Scotland and upon the ſea ſeeketh to invade us, to riſe in this manner againſt our Law, to pꝛovoke ſo juſtly our wꝛath, to aſke our vengeance, and to give us an occaſion to ſpend that foꝛce upon you which we meant to beſtow upon our enemies, to begin to ſlay you with that ſwoꝛd which we dꝛew againſt the Scots and other enemies, to make a Conqueſt of our owne people, which otherwiſe ſhould have beene of the whole Realme of Scotland.

Thus farre ye ſee we have deſcended from our high Majeſtie foꝛ love, to conſider you in your baſe and ſimple ignoꝛance, and have beene content to ſend you an inſtruction like a fatherly pꝛince, who of juſtice might have ſent you your deſtruction like a king to rebels; and now let you know, that as ye ſee our mercy abundant, ſo if ye pꝛovoke us farther, we ſweare to you by the living God, by whom we reigne,

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reign, ye ſhall fæl the power of the ſame God in our ſword; which how mightie it is, no ſubject knoweth, how puiſſant it is, no private man can judge; how mortal it is, no Engliſh heart dare think. But ſurely ſurely, as your Lord and prince, your onely king and maſter, we ſay to you, repent your ſelves and take our mercie without delay, or elſe we will forthwith extend our princely power, and execute our ſharp ſword againſt you, as againſt very infidels and Turks, and rather adventure our own royall perſon, ſtate and power, then the ſame ſhall not be executed.

And if ye will proue the example of our mercie, learn of certain which lately did ariſe, pretending ſome griefs, and yet, acknowledging their offences, haue not onely receiued moſt humbly their pardon, but fæl alſo by our order, to whom all publike order onely pertaineth, redreſſe deuiſed for their griefs. In the end we admoniſh you of your duties to God, whom ye ſhall anſwer in the day of the Lord, and of your duties towards us, whom ye ſhall anſwer by our order, and take our mercy whileſt God ſo inclineth us, leſt when ye ſhall be conſtrained to aſk, we ſhall be too much hardened in our heart to grant it you; and where ye ſhall now hear of mercy, mercy, and life, ye ſhall then hear of juſtice, juſtice, and death.

Given at Richmond, the eight day of Iuly, the third yeer of our reign.

A ſupplication of the rebels to the king, with the kings anſwer to the ſame.

Beſides the Articles of theſe Deuonſhire men above mentioned, the ſaid rebels ſent up alſo not long after a ſupplication to the king, whereunto anſwer againwas made by the kings learned counſell, which here, to make ſhort, leiſure ſerueth not to rehearſe.

Falſe bruits and rumors by popiſh prieſts ſtirred up againſt the king.

Over and beſides, to behold the malicious working of thoſe popiſh prieſts, to kindle more the ſpark of ſedition in the peoples hearts, what bruits and rumors did they raiſe up againſt the king and his Counſell, making the vulgar multitude to beleeue, that they ſhould be made to pay, firſt for their ſheep, then for their geeſe and pigges alſo, and ſuch other things like; and whatſoeuer they had in store, or ſhould put in their mouths, they muſt fine therefore to the king: Of all which matter neuer a word was either thought or meant. But this ſeemed matter fit for ſuch prieſts whereby to ſet the prince and his ſubiects together by the ears.

Sir Io. Ruſſel L. priuie Seal Lieutenant Generall of the kings army in the Weſt.

Againſt this ſeditious companie of Rebels was appointed and ſent by the King and his Counſel, ſir John Ruſſel knight, Lord priuie Seal, as Lieutenant Generall of the kings army, of whom chiefly depended the charge and atchieuance of that voiage in the Weſt parts. To him alſo were adioyned as in part of ordinarie counſell in thoſe affairs under him, ſir William Parbert, ſir Io. Pawlet, ſir Hugh Pawlet, ſir Tho. Speck, with the L. Gray, and other beſides.

The rebels of Deuonſhire diſcomfited.

Thus the ſaid L. priuie Seal, accompanied with the Lord Gray, aduancing his power againſt the rebels, although in number of ſouldiers not equally furniſhed like to the other, yet through the gracious aſſiſtance of the Lords help fighting in his cauſe, and giuing the aduenture againſt the enemie, about the latter end of July, Anno. 1549. gaue them the repulſe: who notwithſtanding, recouering themſelues again with ſuch ſtomacks as they had, incountred the ſecond time with the foreſaid Lord Priuie Seal, about the beginning of Auguſt following, of whom, through the Lords mightie power, they with their whole cauſe of falſe Religion were vtterly banquiſhed and quite ouerthrowne.

In the which victory a great work of Gods mightie power vndoubtedly did appear. For although the number of the rebels did ſurmount, in great quantitie, the power and ſtrength of the Lord priuie Seal, and their ſtomacks were ſo fiercely ſet vpon all deſperate aduentures; and though the power of ſir William Parbert (being the ſame time at Briſtow) was not yet preſently come, which ſhould haue ioyned with the Lord priuie Seal: yet all this notwithſtanding, the goodneſſe of the Lord ſo wrought on the kings behalf, more then any induſtry of man (which in all reſpects in handling that matter was very raw and far behinde) that the victory fell to the kings part, vnder the valiant guiding of the foreſaid Lord priuie Seal, ſo that the popiſh rebels not onely loſt the field, but a great part of them alſo loſt their liues; lying there ſlain miſerably in the chaſe, to the compaſſe of two miles ſpace. Where alſo were taken and apprehended the chieftains and ringleaders of that miſchieuous dance, whereof the principall were Humfry Arundell, Berry, Thomas Vnderhill, Iohn Soleman, William Segar, Tempſon & Barret two prieſts, Henry Bray, and Henry Lee, two Maiors, with diuers other mo aboue ſpecified, all which accordingly afterward were executed.

The great goodneſſe of God in the victory againſt the rebels.

The laudable ſeruice of the Lord priuie Seal.

Falſe truſt of the Deuonſhiremen in their popiſh tools diſappointed.

The ſacrament in the pixe brought to the battell in a cart.

Theſe rebels, to make their part more ſure by the help and preſence of their conſecrated God and maker, brought with them into the battell the Pixe vnder his Canopie, and in ſtead of an Altar, where he was hanging before, ſet him now riding in a Cart. Neither was there lacking maſſes, croſſes, banners, candleſticks, with holy bread alſo, and holy water plentie, to defend them from deuils, and all aduerſary power; which in the end neither could help their friends, nor yet could ſaue themſelues from the hands of their enemies, but eftſoons both the conſecrated God, and all the trumperie about him, was taken in the Cart, and there lay all in the duſt, leauing to them a notable Leſſon of better experience, how to put their confidence hereafter in no ſuch vain Idols, but onely in the true liuing God, and immortall maker, to be ſerued according to his preſcribed Word, and that onely in the faith of his Sonne, and not after their own dreaming fantaſies.

Muſcleborough field in Scotland.

The ſtorie whereof putteth me alſo in remembrance of another like popiſh field, (called Muſcleborough field) fought in Scotland the yeer before this, where the Scots likewiſe incamping themſelues againſt the Lord Protector, and the Kings power ſent into Scotland, did in ſemblable wiſe, bring with them to the battell the conſecrated gods of their altars, with maſſes, croſſes, banners, and all their popiſh ſtuffe of idolatrie, hauing great affiance by vertue thereof to haue a great day againſt the Engliſh army, as indeed in mans iudgement it might ſeem not vnlike. For the number of the Scots army ſo far exceeded ours, and they were ſo appointed with their pikes in the firſt front againſt our horſemen (which gaue the firſt onſet) that our men were fain to recule, not without the loſſe of diuers gentlemen. Notwithſtanding, the mighty arm of the Lord ſo turned the victory, that the Scots in the end with all their maſſes, Pixes, and idolatrous trinkets were put to the worſe. Of whom in that field, were ſlain betweẽ thirteen and fourteen thouſand, and not paſſing a hundred Engliſh men. The cauſe of this was the promiſe of the ſaid Scots made before to king Henry, for the marriage of the young Scottiſh queen to king Edward, which promiſe the ſaid Scots afterward brake, and payed thereafter.

Gods mighty arm fighting with K. Edw. in Scotland.

The vain truſt of the Scots in their maſſes and ſacrament of the altar.

A notable victory through the Lords power of King Edward in Scotland.

In the which victory this is alſo to be noted, that the ſame day and hour when the images were burned openly in London, the Scots were put to flight in Muſcleborough, as is credibly noted in Records.

During this hurly burly amongſt the Popiſh rebels in Cornwall and Deuonſhire, the like commotion

A stir in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire.

tion at the same time, by such like popish priests as Homes and his fellows, began to gender in the parts of Oxford and Buckingham; but that was soon appeased by the Lord Gray, who coming down that way into Devonshire, chased the rebels to their houses. Of whom two hundred were taken, and a dosen of the ringleaders delivered unto him, whereof certain were after executed.

Rebellion in Norfolke.

In Northfolke and parts thereabout, albeit the originall of their tumultuous stirring was not for the like cause, yet the obstinate hearts of that unruly multitude, seemed no lesse bent upon mischief, to disturbe publique peace, which was also in the moneth of July, the yeer above said. For repression of which rebellion, first was sent the Lord marquesse of Northhampton, with especiall instruction to avoid the sight, and so by order was appointed with a number of horse to keep the field and passages, whereby they being stopped from victual might the sooner be brought to acknowledge their folly, and to seek their pardon. Who then following other policie than by order was given, came and pinned himself within the city of Norwich, which afterward they were fain to abandon, the rebels pressing upon the city so on every side, that at length they obtained the same. Nevertheless in all that conflict there was but an hundred on both sides slain, and otherwise no great losse, but onely the losse of the Lord Sheffield.

Instructions given to the L. Marques.

The L. Sheffield slain at Norwich.

Then was sent down against them the Earl of Warwick, with sufficient force and number of souldiers, besides the convoy of two thousand Almaines; by whom the rude and confused rabble was there overthrown and slain, to the number, as is supposed, at the least of four thousand. And in fine, both the Kets, chief stirrers and authors of that commotion, were taken and put to execution, and one of them hanged up in chains.

The rebels of Northfolke suppressed.

Moreover, besides these inordinate uprores and insurrections above mentioned, about the latter end of the said moneth of July the same yeer, which was 1549. another like stir or commotion began at Semer, in the Northriding of Yorkshire, and continued in the Eastriding of the same, and there ended. The principall doers and raisers up wherof were one William Ombler of Eastheslerton yeoman, and Thomas Dale Parish clerk of Semer, with one Stevenson of Semer, neighbour to Dale, and nephew to Ombler. Which Stevenson was a mean or messenger betweene the said Ombler and Dale, being afore not acquainted together, and dwelling seven miles one from the other. Who at last, by the travell of the said Stevenson and their own evill disposition, inclined to ungraciousnesse and mischief, knowing before one the others minde by secret conference, were brought to talk together on S. James his day, Anno 1549.

Another rebellion or tumult began in Yorkshire.

The chief stirrers of this rebellion in the North.

The causes moving the Yorkshire men to rebellion.

The causes moving them to raise this rebellion were these; first and principally their traiterous hearts, grudging at the Kings most honourable procedings, in advancing and reforming the true honour of God, and his religion. Another cause also was, for trusting to a blinde and a fantasticall prophecie, wherewith they were seduced, thinking the same prophecie should shortly come to passe, by hearing the rebellions of Northfolke, of Devonshire, and other places.

A blinde prophesie amongst the Northren men.

The tenor of which prophecie and purpose together of the traitors was, that there should no king reign in England, that the Noblemen and gentlemen should be destroyed, and the realme should be ruled by foure governours, to be elected and appointed by the Commons holding a Parliament in commotion, to begin at the South and North Seas of England, &c. supposing that this their rebellion in the North, and the other of the Devonshire men in the West meeting (as they intended) at one place, should be the mean how to compasse this their traiterous divellish device.

{KING Ed. 6.}

The device of the rebels how to compasse their purpose.

And therefore laying their studies together, how they might finde out more companie to joyn with them in that detestable purpose, and so set forward to stir, this device they framed, to stir in two places, the one distant seven miles from the other, and at the first rush to kill and destroy such gentlemen and men of substance about them, as were favourers of the Kings procedings, or which would resist them. But first of all, for the more speedy raising of men, they devised to burn beacons, and thereby to bring the people together, as though it were to defend the sea coasts, and having the ignorant people assembled, then to poure out their poyson: first beginning with the rudest and poorest sort, such as they thought were picked with povertie, and were unwilling to labour, and therefore the more readie to follow the spoil of rich mens goods, blowing into their heads, that Gods service was laid aside, and new inventions neither good nor godly put in place; and so feeding them with fair promises to reduce into the Church again their old ignorance and idolatrie, thought by that means soonest to allure them to rage, and run with them in this commotion. And furthermore, to the intent they might give the more terrour to the gentlemen at their first rising, lest they should be resisted, they devised that some should be murthered in churches, some in their houses, some in serving the King in Commission, and others as they could be caught, and to picke quarrels with them for alteration of service on the holy dayes. And thus was the platform cast of their device, according as afterward by their confession at their examinations it was testified, and remaineth in true record.

{Anno 1549.}

False lies forged of Gods true religion.

Thus they being together agreed, Ombler and Dale, and other by their secret appointment, so laboured the matter in the parish of Semer, Wintringham, and the towns about, that they were infected with the poyson of this confederacie, in such sort that it was easie to understand whereunto they would incline if a commotion were begun. The accomplishment whereof did shortly follow: for although by the words of one drunken fellow of that conspiracie named Calvered, at the alehouse in Wintringham, some suspition of that rebellion began to be smelled before by the Lord President and gentlemen in those parts, and so prevented in that place where the Rebels thought to begin; yet they gave not over so, but drew to another place at Semer by the sea coast, and there by night rode to the beacon at Sarton, and set it on fire; and so gathering together a rude rout of rascals out of the towns neer about being in a stir, Ombler, Thomas Dale, Barton, and Robert Dale, hasted forthwith with the rebels to master Whites house, to take him, who notwithstanding being on horseback minding to have escaped their hands, Dale, Ombler, and the rest of the rebels took him, and Clopton his wives brother, one Savage a merchant of Pozke, and one Bury servant to sir Walter Wilmay, which foure without cause or quarrell, saving to fulfill their seditious prophesie in some part, and to give a terrour to other gentlemen, they cruelly murthered, after they had carried them one mile from Semer towards the Wolde, and there after they had stripped them of their clothes and purses, left them naked behinde them in the plain field for crows to feed on, untill Whites wife and Savages wife, then at Semer, caused them to be buried.

The conspiracie of the rebels uttered in Drunkennesse.

Foure men cruelly murthered by the rebels in the North.

Long it were and tedious to recite what revell these rebels kept in their raging madnes, who ranging about the countrey from town to town, to enlarge their ungracious and rebellious band, taking those with force which were not willing to go, and leaving in no Town where they came any man above the age of sixteen yeers, so increased this number,

KIN G. D. 6.

The rebels in Yorkshire gathered to three thousand persons.

The Kings free pardon not to the rebels.

Dimbler refused the Kings pardon.

Dimbler captaine of the rebels taken.

The names of the rebels taken & executed at Yorke.

Exactis judiciarius registro excepiis & notatis.

The stirring & trilling of the French King against King Edward.

Ex literis D. Protectoris.

Ex literis D. Clinton.

The wonderfull protection of the Lord in defending K. Edward.

number, that in short time they had gathered three thousand to favour their wicked attempts, and had like to have gathered moe, had not the Lords goodnesse through prudent circumspection interrupted the course of their furious beginning.

For first came the Kings gracious and free pardon, discharging and pardoning them and the rest of the rebels of all treasons, murders, felonies, and other offences done to his Majestie, before the one and twenty of August, an. 1549. Which pardon although Dimbler contemptuously refused, persisting still in his wilfull obstinacy, dissuading also the rest from the humble accepting the Kings so loving and liberall pardon, yet notwithstanding with some it did good.

To make short, it was not long after this, but Dimbler as hee was riding from towne to towne, twelve miles from Hummanby, to charge all the Constables and inhabitants where he came, in the kings name, to resort to Hummanby, by the way he was espied, and by the circumspect diligence of John Wood the yonger, James Allaby, Raphe Twinge, and Thomas Constable Gentleman, he was had in chase, and at last by them apprehended, and brought in the night in sure custody unto the Citie of Yorke, to answere to his demerites.

After whom within short time, Thomas Dale, Henry Barton, the first chieftaines and ringleaders of the former commotion, with John Dale, Robert Wright, William Pecocke, Wetherell, and Edm. Buttry, busie stirrers in this sedition, as they travelled from place to place to draw people to their faction, were likewise apprehended, committed to ward, lawfully convicted, and lastly executed at Yorke the one and twentie of September, an. 1549. Ex actis Iudicii publici registro receptis & notatis.

To these pestiferous commotions raised up against King Edward by his owne subjects in this yeare aforesaid within the Realme, I might also adjoyne the busie stirring and raging of the French King, against our young and innocent Prince, without the Realme. Who hearing of these tumults and violent insurrections of the Kings subjects, in divers and sundry quarters of the Realme, supposing to take the time for his most advantage, thought likewise for his part, not to be unoccupied. Who after he had by his Embassadour made open breach with the King, immediately after the revocation of the said Embassadour from hence, entending to annoy the King, and make his first invasion against the Iles of Jersey, and Gernsey, thought to have surprised our ships and the said Iles with a certain number of his ships and gallies. In the which his assault he was so hotly saluted by the Kings ships and the Iland, that by the confession of them that saw it, and by the report written unto the Lord Protector, the French men lost at least a thousand men, their ships and galleys were so spoiled, as being forced to return home they were not able then to set out again.

Furthermore, out of France credible word was brought to the Lord Protector (which yet in letters appeareth) that into one town in one vessell were brought at least three score gentlemen to be buried; and also an inhibition specially given out by the King, not to speak of the successe in that journey. This was about the beginning of August, 1549.

The like also might be noted of the losses of the said French King at Bullenburgh, the eight day of August, the same yeer, as by the Lord Clintons letters may well appear; but for spending of time I passe it over. What the meaning of the French King was in these voyages, or how he intended further to proceed, I have not herein to deale. This is certain and evident, that the mighty arm of God mercifully fought for King Edward his servant, to defend and deliver him from so many hard dangers, so dangerous and sundry commotions stirred up in so many quarters within this realm, and also without the realm, and all within the compasse of one yeer, and yet the Lord above fighting for his true servant dispatched them all, as in story here ye have heard declared, and is no lesse worthy of all posterity to be noted.

Matter concerning Edmund Boner B. of London, with declaration of the acts and processe entred against him in King Edwards time.

And thus much hitherto having discoursed touching the manifold troubles and tumults raised up on every side against King Edward, by his unkinde and unnaturall subjects, and yet notwithstanding the gracious goodnesse of the Lord ever giving him the victorie; now let us return again to Boner Bishop of London, where we left him before, that is, in his own house, where he was by the Councell commanded to remain, as is above signified.

And now for somuch as we have to enter into the storie of the said Boner, for the better understanding of the whole order thereof, it shall be requisite to rip up and declare the matter with the circumstances and occasions thereof from the first beginning of King Edwards time. Where is to be understood, that King Edward in the first yeer of his reigne, Anno 1547. the first day of September, for the order of his visitation, directed out certaine Commissioners, as sir Anthonie Cooke, sir John Godsalue, Knights, Master John Godsalue, Christopher Nevinson, Doctors of the law, and John Hadew Doctor of Divinitie. Who sitting in Pauls Church upon their Commission, the day and yeare aforesaid, there being present at the same time Edmund Bishop of London, John Royston, Polydore Virgill, Peter Van, and others of the said Cathedrall Church, after the sermon made and the commission being read, ministred an oath unto the said Bishop of London, to renounce and deny the bishop of Rome, with his usurped authoritie, and to sweare obedience unto the King, according to the effect and form of the statute made in the thirty first yeer of King Henrie the eight: also that he should present and redresse all and singular such things as were needfull within the said Church to be reformed.

Sitting of the Kings Commissioners in Pauls Church.

An oath ministred to Boner to forswear the Pope.

Whereupon the said Bishop humbly and instantly desired them that he might see their Commission onely for this purpose and intent (as he said) that he might the better fulfill and put in execution the things wherein he was charged by them or their Commission. Unto whom the Commissioners answering, said, they would deliberate more upon the matter, and so they called the other Ministers of the said church before them, and ministred the like oath unto them, as they did to the Bishop before. To whom moreover there and then certain interrogatories and articles of inquisition were read by Peter Lilly the publique Notarie. Which done, after their oaths taken, the said Commissioners delivered unto the Bishop aforesaid certain Injunctions, as well in print as written, and Homilies set forth by the King. All which things the said Bishop received, under the words of this protestation as followeth.

Boner requireth to see their Commission.

Anno 1547.

Peter Lilly the publike Notary.

I Do receive these Injunctions and Homilies with this protestation, that I will observe them, if they be not contrary and repugnant to Gods law, and the statutes and ordinances of the Church. And immediately he added with an oath, that he never read the said Homilies and Injunctions.

Boners protestation before the Commissioners receiving the Kings Injunctions.

The which Protestation being made in manner and

and forme aforesaid, the said Edmund Bishop of London instantly desired and required Peter Lillie, the Register aforesaid, there and then to register and enact the same. And so the said commissioners delivering the Injunctions and Homilies to master Bellassere Archdeacon of Colchester, and Gilbert Bourne archdeacon of London, Esser, and Middlesex, and injoyning them in most effectuous manner, under pains therein contained, to put the same in speedie execution, and also reserving other new Injunctions to be ministred afterward, as wel to the Bishop, as to the Archdeacons aforesaid, according as they should see cause, &c. did so continue the said visitation till three of the clock the same day in the afternoon.

Note the corrupt life of these unmarried priests and popish Notaries.

At the which houre and place assigned, the Commissioners being set, and the Canons and priests of the said Church appearing before them, and being examined upon vertue of their oath, for their doctrine and conversation of life; first one Joh. Painter, one of the canons of the said cathedrall church, there and then openly confessed, that he vitiously and carnally had often the companie of a certaine married mans wife, whose name he denied to declare. In the which crime divers other Canons and Priests of the foresaid Church confessed in like manner, and could not denie themselves to be culpable.

And after the Commissioners aforesaid had delivered to master Roiston Prebendary, and to the Proctor of the Deane and of the Chapter of the said cathedrall Church of saint Paul, the Kings Injunctions, and the book of Homilies, injoyning them to see the execution thereof, under paine therein specified, they prorogued their said Visitation untill seven of the clocke the next day following.

Things in this Visitation to be noted.

By this Visitation, above specified, it appears, gent e Reader, first how Boner made his protestation after the receiving of the Kings Injunctions, and also how he required the same to be put in publike record. Furthermore, thou hast to note the unchaste life and conversation of these Popish Notaries and Priests of Pauls. Now what followed after this protestation of the Bishop made, remaineth further in the sequell of the story to be declared; wherein first thou shalt understand that the said Bishop shortly after his Protestation, whether for fear, or for conscience, repenting himselfe, went unto the King, where he submitted himselfe, and recanting his former protestation, craved pardon of the King for his inordinate demeanour toward his Graces Commissioners, in the former Visitation. Which pardon notwithstanding it was granted unto him by the King, for the acknowledging of his fault, yet for the evill example of the fact it was thought good that he should be committed to the Fleet, as by the tenour of the Councels Letter sent to the Commissioners may appeare, which together with the forme also of the Bishops Protestation and of his Recantation, here under followeth.

Boner repenteth his evill demeanor in his protestation.

Boner sent to the Fleet.

To our very loving friends, Sir Anthonie Cook Knight, and the rest of the Commissioners for the Visitation at London, in haste.

The Kings letter to the Commissioners concerning the recantation and pardoning of Boner.

After our heartie commendations: This shall be to signifie unto you, that we have received your letters, and in the same inclosed the Copie of the protestation made by the Bishop of London in the time of your visitation at Pauls; your wise proceedings wherein, and advertisements from you, we take in very thankfull part towards us. And because the said Bishop, which being here before us hath acknowledged his indiscreet demeanour, did at that time at Pauls require the Register of your Visitation to make record and enter of his protestation, and now upon better consideration of his dutie maketh meanes to have the same revoked, as shall appeare unto you by the true copie of his writing enclosed, the originall whereof remaining with us he hath subscribed; we pray you to cause the Register to make enter of this his revocation, according to the tenour of this his said writing: Further signifying unto you, that in respect of his offence, and the evil ensample that might thereupon ensue, we have thought meet to send him to the prison of the Fleet, whither he hath been conveyed by master Vice-chamberlain. And whereas sundrie things for the Kings Majesties service do now occurre here, which require the present attendance of you sir Iohn Godsaul, as well for your office of the Signet, as of the Protonotariship, we pray you that leaving the execution of the Visitation to the rest of your Collegues, you make your repaire hither with convenient diligence. Thus fare you right heartily well. From Hampton Court the 12. of September. 1547.

{KING Ed. 6.}

Boner recanteth his protestation.

Your assured loving friends.

Thomas Canterbury.
William Saint Iohn.
Iohn Russell.
Thomas Semer.
William Paget.
Anthonie Browne.
William Peter.
Anthonie Dennie.
Edward North.

The forme of Boners recantation.

Boner requireth his recantation to be registred. The copie of Boners recantation.

VVHereas I Edmund Bishop of London, at such time as I received the Kings Majesties Injunctions and Homilies of my most dread Soveraign Lord, at the hands of his Highnesse Visitours, did unadvisedly make such protestation, as now upon better consideration of my duty of obedience, and of the evil ensample that might insue unto others thereof, appeareth to me neither reasonable, nor such as might well stand with the dutie of an humble subject: forsomuch as the same protestation at my request was then by the Register of that Visitation enacted and put in Record, I have thought it my dutie not onely to declare before your Lordships that I do now upon better consideration of my dutie, renounce and revoke my said protestation, but also most humbly beseech your Lordships, that this my revocation of the same may be likewise put in the same Records for a perpetuall memory of the truth, most humbly beseeching your good Lordships, both to take order that it may take effect, and also that my former and unadvised doings may be by your good mediations pardoned by the Kings Majestie.

Edmund London.

Ex registro Petri Lilli.

The Registers of these affaires of Boners remain in the hands of Peter Lillie, then being Register to the foresaid Commissioners.

The order of Boners doings in the beginning of K. Edward.

Thus far thou hast heard, loving Reader, first the popish protestation of Boner, then how he calling himself home again solemnly recanted the same, requiring further the said his revocation to be committed to publique record, for a perpetuall remembrance. Also how he upon his humble submission received his pardon of the King, and yet for example sake was commanded to the Fleet. Where he nevertheless did not long continue, but according to the effect of the Kings pardon afore granted was restored both to house and living again, which was in the first yeer of the King, ann. 1547.

After

{KING ED.6.} After this, ye have heard also in the story above, in the second yer, and a great part of the third yer of the King, how he demeaned himself, although not most forward in advancing the Kings procedings; yet in such sort as no great advantage by any Law could be taken against him, both in swearing his obedience to the King, and in receiving his Injunctions: also in consenting his assent and consent touching the state of Religion then; and furthermore, in directing out his letters according to the Archbishop of Canterburies precepts, to Cloney his Sumner, to the Bishop of Westminster and other Bishops, for abolishing of Images, for abrogation of the Masse, for Bibles to be set up, and for ministring in both kindes, with such other like matters of reformation: till at length he hearing of the death of the Lord Admirall the Lord Protectors brother, and after that of the stirring and rising of the Kings subjects in sundrie tumults against the King, began somewhat as he durst to draw back and slack his pastorall diligence, so that in many places of his Diocesse, and in London, the people not onely were negligent in resorting to Divine Service, but also did frequent and haunt forrein rites of masses, and other orders then in this realm appointed, and he also himselfe, contrary to his wonted manner, upon principall Feasts refused in his own person to execute. Whereupon he being {Anno. 1549.} suspected and complained of, and convented before the Kings Councel (as ye heard before) after sharp admonitions and reprofs, had certain private Injunctions to him enjoyned.

Boner beginneth to slack in his diligence.

Matters put to Boner to repeate.

1 First, That he should personally preach within three weeks after at Pauls Crosse.

2 That according as his predecessours were wont to celebrate Masse, he at such wonted times should execute and administer the Communion.

3 That he should call before him and correct more diligently such transgressours as absented themselves from the order of Service, and ministration of the Lords Boord, appointed then in Churches by the Kings ordinance.

Boner enjoyned to preach at Pauls crosse.

4 That he should see more carefully and vigilantly to the punishment of Adulterers and Fornicatours.

5 That he in the meane while should be resident within his own house during the time, whiles he should make his Sermon at Pauls above mentioned, which was Ann. 1549. In the which Sermon certaine speciall points were prefixed unto him, whereupon he should entreat. Which here in order follow, and are these.

Speciall points and articles to be entreated of by Boner Bishop of London in his Sermon.

1 That all such as rebell against their prince get unto them damnation, and those that resist the higher power, resist the Ordinances of God, and he that dieth therefore in rebellion, by the word of God is utterly damned, and so loseth both body and soul. And therefore those Rebels in Devonshire and Cornwall, in Northfolke, or elsewhere, who take upon them to assemble a power and force against their King and Prince, against the laws and statutes of the realme, and go about to subvert the state and order of the commonwealth, not onely do deserve therefore death as Traitors and Rebels, but do accumulate to themselves eternall damnation, even to be in the burning fire of hell, with Lucifer, the father and first authour of pride, disobedience, and rebellion, what pretences soever they have, and what Masses or holy water soever they pretend, or go about to make among themselves, as Chore, Dathan, and Abiram, for rebellion against Moses, were swallowed downe alive into hell, although they pretended to sacrifice unto God.

What things be necessary to be joyned in all Gods service.

2 Likewise in the order of the Church, and extern rites and ceremonies of divine service, forsomuch as God requireth humility of heart, innocencie of living, knowledge of him, charitie and love toward our neighbours, and obedience to his word, and to his Ministers and superior powers, these we must bring to all our praiers, to all our service, and this is that sacrifice which Christ requireth, & these be those that make all things pleasant unto God. The externe rites and ceremonies be but exercises of our religion, and appointable by superior powers; in chusing whereof we must obey the Magistrates: The which things also we do see ever have bin and shall be (as the time and place is) divers, and yet all hath pleased God, so long as these before spoken inward things be there. If any man shall use the old rites, and thereby disobey the superiour power, the devotion of his ceremonies is made naught by his disobedience: so that which else (so long as the law did so stand) might be good, by pride and disobedience now is made naught; as Sauls sacrifice, Chore, Dathan, and Abiram, and Aarons two children were. But whoso joyneth to devotion obedience, he winneth the garland. For else it is a zeale, sed non secundum scientiam; a will, desire, zeale, and devotion, but not after wisdome; that is, a foolish devotion, which can require no thanks or praise. And yet again, where ye obey, ye must have devotion, for God requireth the heart more then the outward doings, and therefore he that taketh the communion, or saith or heareth the service appointed by the Kings Majesty, must bring devotion and inward prayers with him, or else his prayers are but vain, lacking that which God requireth, that is, the heart and minde to pray to him.

Externe rites and ceremonies how far they serve.

Ceremonies made naught by disobedience.

Foolish devotion.

The heart maketh true devotion.

3 Further, ye shall for example on sunday come seventh night after the foresaid date celebrate the Communion at Pauls Church.

4 Ye shall also set forth in your sermon, That our authority of royall power is (as of truth it is) of no lesse authoritie and force in this our yong age, then is or was of any our predecessours, though the same were much elder, as may appeare by example of Josias and other young Kings in Scripture, and therefore all our subiects to be no lesse bound to the obedience of our precepts, Laws, and Statutes, then if we were of thirty or fortie yers of age.

Boners preaching much looked for of the people.

The deliverie of these Injunctions and Articles unto the Bishop (with the time of his appointed preaching) was soon after known abroad among the citizens and other the Commons within the citie of London, so that every man expected the time thereof, wishing to hear the same. Which time being once come, the Bishop, according to the tenor of the Injunctions, publiquely preached at the crosse of Pauls the first day of September. Howbeit as hypocrisie never lurketh so secretly in the hearts of the wicked, but that at one time or other God in his most righteous judgement maketh it open unto the world: so at this present was that long coloured perverse obstinacy, and the infettered hatred of this double faced dissembler against the Kings godly procedings, most plainly manifested by his disobedient demeanor in this his sermon.

For wheras he was commanded to entreat onely upon such speciall points as were mentioned in his articles, he yet, both besides the Councels commandment, to the withdrawing of the mindes of the common people, in as much as in him lay, from the right and true understanding of the holy sacrament ministred in the holy Communion then set forth by the authoritie of the Kings Majesty (according to the true sense of the holy Scripture) did spend most

The disobedient rybbornnesse of Boner in his sermon at Pauls crosse.

most part of his sermon about the grosse, carnall, and papisticall presence of Christs bodie and blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, and also contrarie thereunto did not onely slenderly touch the rest of his articles, but of a rebellious and wilful carelesnesse did utterly leave out unspoken the whole last Article, concerning the as effectuall and as lawfull authority of the Kings highnesse during his young age, as if he were thirtie or fourty yeers old; notwithstanding the same (because it was the traiterous opinion of the popish rebels) was by speciall commandement chiefely appointed him to entreat upon.

M. Latimer and John Hooper against Boner.

This contemptuous and disobedient dealing as it greatly offended most of the Kings faithfull and loving subjects there present, so did it much mislike the mindes, and was far from the good expectation, as well of that faithfull and godly Preacher maister John Hooper, afterwards Bishop of Worcester and Glocester, and lastly a most constant martyr for the Gospel of Christ, and also of M. Wil. Latimer, Bachelour of Divinitie: and therefore they well weighing the foulnes of the fact, and their bounden allegeances unto their Prince, did thereupon exhibite unto the Kings Highnesse, under both their names, a bill of complaint or denunciation against the said Bishop in form following.

The denunciation of Iohn Hooper and William Latimer against Boner to the Kings Maiestie, for leaving undone the points aforementioned, which he was charged to preach upon.

The denunciation of M. Latimer and John Hooper denouncers against Boner.

IN most humble wise sheweth unto your Majesty William Latimer and Joh. Hooper, that where of late, as we be certainly informed from your Majestie, by the hand of the right high and noble prince Edward Duke of Somerset, Governour of your Royall person, and Protector of all your Highnesse Realms, Dominions and Subjects, and the rest of your privie Councell, there were certain Injunctions given to the Bishop of London that now is, with Articles to be insinuated and preached unto your Subjects at a certain day limited, the which Injunctions and Articles did onely tend to the honour of God, and the better instructions of your Highnesse people to obedience and hatred of rebellion and mutine, wherewith of late this your Majesties Realm hath been marvellously vexed, to the danger of your Highnesse person, and the state of the whole realm, and therefore a thing at this time most necessary to be taught unto the people, that they might know their duty unto your Majesty, and unto almighty God, and especially to acknowledge your Majesty in these yeers and age to be a perfect high and Soveraigne Lord, and King, and supreme head, whose laws, proclamations, and commandements we are bound to obey, as wel as any Princes subjects are bound to obey the laws, proclamations, and commandements of their naturall and Soveraign Lord, notwithstanding that nature hath not yet given unto your person such age as I trust she shall, nor so many yeers, which we wish to be so many as any Prince ever had, the which yeers do not make you King or Prince, but the right of your birth, and lawfull succession whatsoever it be, so that we all must as well acknowledge your Majestie to be our King and Prince, at these yeers, as if you were at the age of thirtie or fourtie yeers, and your Laws and Statutes no lesse to be feared and obeyed, then if your Highnesse were fifty or an hundred yeers old, (the which thing not onely is most certainly true, but also at this time most necessarily to be taught, especially when divers rebels have openly declared, that they would not obey your highnesse laws, nor acknowledge the Statutes made by your Majestie to be available till you come to the age of twentie yeers) and this not onely being so, but the same thing being commanded by your said Majestie, amongst other Injunctions and Articles given in writing to the said Edmund Boner, to be preached in his last sermon, as by the same Injunctions may appear, of the which the true copie we have when need is to be shewed: yet all this notwithstanding, the said Boner, of what zeal or minde we cannot tell, whether favouring the opinion of the said rebels, or contemning your Highnesse commandement declared unto him, hath not onely left out to declare the said Article, which we most and chiefly expected and looked for, but also in all the rest of his sermon did not so fully and apertly declare the said Injunctions and Articles, as to our judgement did appeare they ought to have been declared, and was of no light ground looked for, intreating of other far distant and divers from the Articles upon the which he was commanded to intreat; and such as most should move and stir up the people to disorder and dissension, willingly leaving out those things which should have made quiet and obedience. Wherefore not moved of any malice, grudge, envy, or evil will to the person of the Bishop, but constrained by the love and zeale which we bear towards your Highnesse, and of our duty and allegeance to your Majestie, whose honour and safetie with tranquillity, quietnesse, and good governance of this your realme, we do most desire, and for the discharge of our most bounden duties, to avoid all the dangers that might ensue of the concealment thereof, we most humbly do denounce and declare the same to your Highnesse, to the intent that your Majestie, by the advise aforesaid, may, if it please your Highnesse, at this our humble denunciation, call the said Bishop to answer to the premisses, the which we are ready to avow and prove, and then your Highnesse may take further order herein, as to your princely wisdome shall seem most convenient; whose long life and most prosperous government God almighty long continue, for the which we shall pray during our lives.

Boner left out of his sermon the article of the Kings authority

The Kings majesty having thus, by the information of these two credible persons, perfect intelligence of the contemptuous and perverse negligence of this Bishop, in not accomplishing his Highnesse commandement given him by injunction, thought it most necessary with all convenient speed (for the avoiding of further inconveniences) to look more severely unto the due punishment of such dangerous rebellious obstinacie, and therefore by the advise of the Lord Protector, and the rest of his honourable Councell, immediately he directed forth his commission under his broad Seal unto the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Rochester, and to other grave and trusty personages and Counsellors) appointing and authorising all them, or certain of them, by vertue of the same, to call before them, as well the Bishop of London, as also the foresaid denouncers, and upon due examination and proofe of the premisses, or any other matter otherwise to be objected, further to proceed against him summarily & de plano, according to law and justice, either to suspension, excommunication, committing to prison, or deprivation (if the qualitie of the offence so required) or otherwise to use any other censure Ecclesiasticall, which, for the better hearing and determining of that cause, might to their wisdoms seem more pertinent, as appeareth more amply by the tenour of the commission here insuing.

Commission directed down by the king against Boner. Commissioners appointed.

Peers and age do not make a King, but the right of succession.

The copy of the Kings commission sent down upon the denunciation aforesaid, for the examination of Boner Bishop of London.

The copy of the kings commission for Boners examination.

EDward the sixth, &c. To the most reverend Father in God Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitane

KING ED. 6.

Metropolitane and Primate of England, the right reverend Father in God Nicolas Bishop of Rochester, our trusty and right welbeloved Counsellors, Sir William Peter and Sir Thomas Smith, Knights, our two principall Secretaries, and William May, Doctor of the Law Civil, and Deane of Pauls, greeting. It is come to our knowledge, that where we by the advice of our most entirely beloved Vncle Edward Duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and Protector of all our Realmes, dominions, and subjects, and the rest of our Privie Councell, did give to the right reverend Father in God Edmund Bishop of London, upon certain complaints before made unto us, and other great considerations, certaine Injunctions to be followed, done, and executed, and in a sermon appointed to him to preach by us with certain articles, and for the more sure knowledge, keeping, and observing, did exhibite the same in writing unto him by the hands of our said Vncle, in the fulfilling of our counsell: all this notwithstanding, the said Bishop hath in contempt of us (as it may appeare) overslipped and not observed certaine of the said things so by us enjoyned, and other so perversly and negligently done, that the things minded of us to reformation, and for a good quiet of our subjects and our whole Realme, be converted by the wilfull negligence or perversitie of him to a great occasion of slander, tumult, and grudge amongst our people, as it hath beene denounced to us in writing by certaine honest and discreet persons, and otherwise called. The which things if they be so, we tendering the health, quietness, good order, and government of our people, have not thought convenient to be let past unpunished and unreformed, and therefore by the advice aforesaid, have appointed you five, foure, or three, upon whose fidelities, wisedomes, dexterities, and circumspections we have full confidence, to call before you as well the denouncers of the said faults, as also the said Bishop, and with due examinations and processe, according to the Law and Iustice, to heare the said matter, and all other matters, of what kinde, nature, or condition soever they shall be, objected against the said Bishop, summarily *(& de plano)* or otherwise as to your discretions shall be thought most meet, with full power and authoritie to suspend, excommunicate, commit to prison, or deprive the said Bishop, if the offence shall so appeare to merit, or to use any other censure Ecclesiasticall, which for the better hearing and determining of the cause shall be requisite and appertaine, any Law, Statute, or Act to the contrarie notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents.

Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the eighth of September, in the third yeare of our reigne.

The Commission delivered.

This Commission being sealed with the Kings broad seale, was by his highnesse Councell forthwith delivered at the Court unto Tho. Cranmer Archbishop of Canterburie and the rest of the commissioners mentioned in the same, being there all together present. Who upon the receit thereof, determined by vertue of the same to sit at the Archbishops house at Lambeth the Wednesday then next ensuing, which was the tenth day of that present moneth of September, and therefore appointed the Bishop of London to be summoned to appeare before them, as at that time and place. The manner of whose behaviour at his appearance, because it both declareth the froward nature and stubborne condition of the person, & also what estimation and authoritie he thought the Commissioners to be of, I thought it unmeet first, before I enter into the processe, somewhat to note and describe unto you.

At his first entry into the place within the archbishops house at Lambeth, where the Archbishop and other of the Commissioners sate, he passed forth directly by them with his cap upon his head (making as though he saw them not) untill one plucked him by the sleeve, willing him to doe reverence unto the Commissioners. Whereat he laughingly turned himselfe, and spake unto the Archbishop on this wise; What, my Lord, are you heare? by my troth I saw you not. No, said the Archbishop, you would not see. Well (quoth he) you sent for me, have you any thing to say to me? Yea, said the Commissioners, we have here authority from the Kings highnesse to call you to account for your sermon you made lately at Pauls Crosse, for that you did not there publish to the people the article which you were commanded then to preach upon. At which words the Bishop, either for that he did not greatly delight to heare of this matter, or else because he would make his friends beleeve that he was called to account onely for his opinion in religion (as afterward in the sequel of this processe it more plainly appeareth) began to turne his talke unto other matters, and said unto the Archbishop: In good faith my Lord I would one thing were had in more reverence then it is. What is it, said the Archbishop? The blessed Masse, quoth he. You have written very well of the sacrament: I marvell you doe no more honour it. The Archbishop of Canterburie therewith perceiving his subtiltie, and seeing his grosse blindnesse, to commend that which was utterly contrary to his opinion, said unto him again: If you think it well, it is because you understand it not. The other then adding unto his former grosse ignorance an obstinate impudencie, answered; I think I understand it better then you that wrote it. Unto which words the Archbishop replied, Truely I will easily make a childe that is but ten yeares old understand therein as much as you. But what is this to the matter?

The stubborne behaviour of Boner before the Commissioners.

Boner speaketh for the Masse. The Archb. Boner. The Archb.

Moreover, at what time as they began to enter the judiciall prosecuting of their Commission, and had called forth the denouncers to propound such matter as they had to object against him, he hearing them speake, fell to scorning and taunting of them, saying to the one, that he spake like a Goose; and to the other, that he spake like a Woodcock, utterly denying their accusations to be true. Whereupon the Archbishop, seeing his pevish malice against the denouncers, asked him, if he would not beleeve them, whether he would credit the people there present; and therewithall (because many of them were also at the Bishops sermon at Pauls) he stood up and read the article of the kings authoritie during his young age; saying unto them, How say you my masters, did my Lord of London preach this article? Whereunto they answered, No, no. At which words the Bishop turning himselfe about, deriding said, Will you beleeve this fond people?

Anno. 1549.

Boner falleth to scorning and taunting of his denouncers.

Boners judgement of the people.

Besides this, at all his appearings he used many irreverent, uncomely, obstinate, and froward words and behaviours towards the Commissioners and others (in defacing their authoritie with the termes of pretensed Commissioners, pretensed Witnesses, and unjust, unlawfull, and pretensed proceedings, with recusation of some, and terming others Dawes, Woodcocks, Fooles, and such like) which I will here omit, for they do more manifestly appeare in the sequell of the story in the time and place as they happened; adding yet this much by the way, that although such stoutnesse of heart and will, if it had beene in a cause true and rightfull, might have perchance seemed in some mens judgement to be somewhat sufferable, yet to say the truth, in what case soever it be, being immoderate, as this shall appeare, it beseemed no wise man, and therefore much lesse one of his calling. For if his cause had beene good, why did he not take the wrong patiently and meekely, as the true Canon Law of the Gospel doth teach him? If it were (as it was indeed) naught and wrong, whereto served so bold sturdy stoutnesse, but to shew the impudencie of

Boner full of his pretenses, Dawes, Woodcocks, fooles, and such like.

Boners demeanor not tolerable for his calling, though meet for his birth.

Boners fribolous shifts.

the person, and to make the case worse which was bad enough before? But belike he was disposed to declare, if need were, what he was able to doe in the Law, in shifting off the matter by subtill dilatories, and fribolous cavilling about the Law. And if that would not helpe, yet with facing and braling, and railing upon the Denouncers with furious words, and irreverent behaviour toward the Kings Commissioners, he thought to countenance out the matter before the people, that something might seeme yet to be in him, whatsoever was in the cause. For, to conclude, for all his craftie cautels and tergiversations alleadged out of the Law, yet neither his Cause could be so defended, nor his behaviour so excused, but that he was therefore both justly imprisoned, and also in the end most lawfully deprived; as by the sequell of this Processe may wel appeare, the manner whereof is as followeth.

The first Action or Session against Boner.

The first appearance of Boner before the kings commissioners the tenth day of September.

The Iudges delegate, the Archbishop of Canterburie, the Bishop of Rochester, Sir Wil. Peter, D. Way Deane of Pauls.

VPon Wednesday the tenth day of September, in the yeare of our Lord 1549. and in the third yeare of the reigne of King Edward the sixth, Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterburie, Metropolitane and Primate of all England, associate with Nicolas Ridley then Bishop of Rochester, Sir William Peter Knight, one of the Kings two principall Secretaries, & Walter Williams May, Doctor of the Civill Law and Deane of Pauls, by vertue of the Kings Commission, sate Judicially, upon the examination of Edmund Boner Bishop of London, within the Archbishops Chamber of Presence, at his house in Lambeth, before whom there then also personally appeared the said bishop. At which time the Commissioners, first shewing forth their Commission, requested Sir William Peter that he would openly publish and reade the same. Which done, the Archbishop in the name of the rest declared unto the Bishop, that a grievous complaint had been heretofore made and exhibited against him in writing, unto the Kings Majestie and his most honourable Councell, & that therefore his Highnesse, with their advice, had committed the examination thereof unto him and other his Colleagues there present, as also unto sir Tho. Smith Knight, the other of his Majesties two principall Secretaries, though then absent, and therewithall shewed also forth a Bill of complaint exhibited unto the King by William Latimer and John Hooper Ministers, which they likewise requested Sir William Peter to reade.

Sir Thomas Smith then absent.

These things ended, the Bishop like a subtill lawyer, having most like some secret intelligence before of these matters (whatsoever he pretended to the contrary) pulled out of his bosome a solemne protestation readie written, which he then exhibited unto the Commissioners, requesting that the same might be there openly read; the copy whereof is this in tenor and forme as followeth.

The tenor and forme of Edmund Boner Bishop of London his Protestation, exhibited to the Kings Commissioners at his first appearing.

The forme and copy of Boners protestation.

EDmundus Lond. Episcopus primò & ante omnia protestor quod per hanc meam comparitionem seu per aliqua per me hic dicta seu dicenda, allegata seu alleganda, proposita seu proponenda, exhibita seu exhibenda, gesta seu gerenda, objecta seu objicienda, exercita seu exercenda, facta seu fienda, petita seu petenda, non intendo in vos dominos Iudices præsentes tanquam in judices mihi in hac parte competentes & idoneos aliquo modo consentire, vestram jurisdictionem presentem in hac parte aliquatenus prorogare, nisi prout ac quatenus de jure ad hoc tenear & astringar rationique consonum videatur: & sub protestatione prædicta & ea semper mihi salva (à qua recedere non intendo, sed eandem in omnibus & singulis deinceps in hoc negotio prætenso per me agendis, pro repetita haberi volo) dico & allego quod literæ commissionales prætensæ vobis (ut dicitur) in hac parte directæ, seu earum vera & legitima copia nunquam antehac mihi ostensæ aut monstr. fuerunt, nec à me aliquo modo visæ, lectæ aut cognitæ, vel mihi traditæ. Itaque contra formam & tenorem earundem, vel contra personas aliquorum vestrûm, ea quæ de jure ac naturali ratione mihi competunt in hac parte, cum reverentia (qua decet) objicere, ac in debita juris forma proponere non possum in præsenti ut deberem. Quare ut defensio congrua, quæ nulli hominum deneganda est, mihi reservetur, liquidóque sciam cujusmodi exceptiones mihi in hac parte competere possint, ac debeant, utque eas suis loco & tempore juxta juris exigentiam, pro necessaria defensione mea proponam contra vel prætensas literas commissionales hujusmodi, vel contra personas aliquorum vestrûm, quatenus liceat & expediat sub protestatione prædicta, facultatem dictas prætensas literas commissionales in forma originali inspiciendi, ac earum veram, integram, & fidelem copiam debitè exinde mihi fieri humilitèr peto & postulo prout juris est in hac parte, tenore præsentium: nihilominus testatum manifestè relinquens, quod obsèrvantiam & reverentiam, ac obedientiam & honorem, ac cætera quæcunque serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Domino meo supremo has literas prætensas vobis (ut dicitur) committenti qualitercunque decet in omnibus & per omnia perpetuò humilimè recogniturus sum, habiturus & præstiturus, & his exceptionibus, & defensionibus legitimis mihi de jure & natura competentibus ad defensionem meam necessariam & legitimam ac non aliter in hac parte usurus.

This protestation being read, he requested the Commissioners that he might have the bill of complaint delivered him. Which when he had wel perused, he said, that the same was very generall, and so generall, as that he could not directly answer thereunto. Whereunto the Archbishop answered, that the speciall cause of the complaint against him was, for that he had transgressed the Kings commandement, given unto him by his Councell, in that he in his late sermon made at Pauls Crosse did not set forth unto the people the kings highnes royall power in his minoritie, according to the tenor of the article delivered unto him by them for that purpose; and for proof thereof called forth William Latimer and John Hooper preachers, who before that time had put up the Bill of complaint unto the King against him.

Boner inveyeth against his denouncers.

Upon whom when the B. had earnestly looked, & well beheld them, he said, As for this merchant Latimer, I know him very well, and have borne with him, and winked at his doings a great while, but I have more to say to him hereafter. But as touching this other merchant Hooper, I have not seene him before, howbeit, I have heard much of his naughty preaching. And then turning himselfe againe unto the Archbishop (of purpose most like to make his friends thinke that he was not called thither to answer for his contemptuous disobedience, but for matters of religion) said unto him; Ah my Lord, now I see that the cause of my trouble is not for the matter that you pretend against me, but it is for that I did preach & set forth in my late sermon the true presence of the most blessed body and bloud of our Saviour Jesus Christ to be in the sacrament of the Altar. For as for these my Accusers, as they be evill, infamed, notorious, and criminous persons, so are they manifest and notable heretikes and seducers of the People, especially touching the Sacrament of the Altar: and most of all this Hooper. For where in my late Sermon at Pauls Crosse I preached, That in the blessed Sacrament of the

Boner[] translateth his cause to the matter of the Sacrament.

Boner maketh exception of his accusers.

KING. EDW. 6. Boners grosse opinion of the Sacrament of the Altar. Anno. 1549.

the altar, after the words of consecration, there is the true body & bloud of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the selfe same in substance that was hanged & shed upon the crosse; he the same day at afternoone, having a great rablement with him of his damnable sect, openly in the pulpit within my Dioces, did preach erroneously to the people against it; and malitiously inveying against my sermon, denied the veritie and presence of Christs true body and bloud to be in the same sacrament, and also falsly and untruely interpreted and expounded my words. And especially, where I preached and affirmed the very true body and bloud of our Saviour Jesus Christ to be in the said Sacrament, the selfe same in substance that was hanged and shed upon the Crosse, he like an asse (as he is an Asse indeed) falsely changed and turned the word that into as, like an Asse, saying, that I had said as it hanged, and as it was shed upon the Crosse.

Boner raileth against M. Cooper.

The Archbishop hereupon perceiving the bishops drift, and hearing him talke so much of the presence of Christs body and bloud in the sacrament, said unto him: My Lord of London, ye speake much of a presence in the Sacrament: what presence is there, & of what presence doe you meane? Wherewith the bishop being somewhat stirred and moved in minde (as appeared by his cholerick countenance) spake againe to the Archbishop very earnestly and said, What presence my Lord? I say and beleeve that there is the very true presence of the body and bloud of Christ. What beleeve you, and how doe you beleeve my Lord? Upon which words the Archbishop, because he saw his answer darke and subtill, and minding somewhat to nip the grosse absurditie of the Papists, asked him further whether he were there, face, nose, mouth, eies, arms, and lips, with other lineaments of his body: Whereat the Bishop shaking his head, said, Oh, I am right sorry to heare your grace speake these words, and therwith boldly urged the Archbishop to shew his minde therein. Who wisely weighing the fond presumption of the party, with the place and occasion of their assembly, refused then so to do, saying, that their being there at that time was not to dispute of those matters, but to prosecute their Commission committed to them by their Prince, and therefore willed him to answer them unto such things as were objected against him.

Talk betweene the Archbishop & Boner about the Sacrament.

Whereupon, under his protestation, he required to have a copie both of the Commission, and also of the Denunciation given unto him, with time to answer thereto. Which the Commissioners willingly granted, assigning him there to appeare againe before them upon Friday then next following, at eight of the clock before noone, and then to answer the tenour of the denunciation. And so for that day (he complaining somewhat of the shortnesse of his time to answer) they all together departed.

Question to Boner.

Leave given to Boner to answer for himselfe.

The second appearance of Boner in the Chappell of Lambeth, before the Archbishop and other foure Commissioners, the Bishop of Rochester, secretary Peter, secretary Smith, and the Deane of Pauls.

The second appearance of Boner before the Kings commissioners.

UPon Fryday the thirteenth of September aforenamed, foure Commissioners, associated then also with Sir Thomas Smith knight, the other of the Kings two principall Secretaries, and joynt Commissioner with them, sate judicially in the Archbishops chappel within his house at Lambeth. Before whom, according to their former assignment) there and then appeared the Bishop of London. To whom the Archbishop, in the name of the rest, first said, My Lord of London, the last time you were before us, we laid certaine Articles and matter to your charge touching your disobedience to the Kings Majestie, and you have this day to make your answer thereunto, wherefore now shew us what you have to say for your defence.

"Whereto the Bishop first asking the Archbishop if he had all said and done, and he again saying yea, made this answer: My Lord, the last day that I appeared before you, I remember there sat in the kings majesties commission, your Grace, you my Lord of Rochester, you Maister Secretary Peter, and you M. Dean of Pauls, but now I perceive there sitteth also M. Secretary Smith. Who because he sate not at the beginning, nor took there the Commission upon him, ought not so to doe: for by the law, they which beginne must continue the Commission. Whereupon the Archbishop first answered, that he was no Lawyer, and therefore could not certainely shew what the law willeth in that case, but, saith he, if the law be so indeed, surely I take it to be an unreasonable Law.

"Boners answer to the Archbishop of Canterbury. A precise point of the law, whether a new Commissioner may sit afterward, which sate not at the beginning.

Well, said the Bishop, there be here that know the law, and yet I say not this to the intent to stand or stick much in this point with you, but to tell it you as it were by the way; for I have here mine answer ready.

Then said maister Secretary Peter to the bishop: My Lord, in good soth I must say unto you, that although I have professed the Law, yet by discontinuance and disuse thereof, and having beene occupied a long time in other matters from studie of the law, I have perhaps forgotten what the Law will do precisely in this point: but admit the Law were so as you say, yet your selfe knoweth, my Lord, that this is our certaine rule in law, Quod Consuetudo est iuris interpres optimus, and I am sure you will not, nor cannot deny, but that the custome is commonly in this realme in all iudgements and Commissions used to the contrary; and in very deed we all together at the Court, having the Commission presented unto us, tooke it upon us; and therefore for you to stick in such trifling matters you shal rather in my judgement hurt your selfe and your matter, then otherwise.

The words of Secretary Peter to Boner.

Truly maister Secretary, said the bishop, I have also of long while been disused in the studie of law, but having occasion, partly by reason of this matter to turne my bookes, I finde the law to be as I say, and yet, as I said, I tell you hereof by the way, not minding to stick much with you in that point.

The answer of Boner to Secretary Peter.

At which words, Maister Secretarie Smith said also unto the Bishop: Well my Lord of London, as cunning as you make your selfe in the Law, there be heere that know the Law as well as you: and for my part I have studied the Law too, and I promise you, these be but quiddities and quirks invented to delay matters, but our Commission is to proceede summarily, & de pleno, and to cut off such frivolous allegations.

The words of Secretary Smith to Boner.

Well (said the Bishop againe) looke well on your Commission, and you shall finde therein these words, To proceede according to the Law and Justice, and I aske both Law and Justice at your hands.

The answer of Boner to Secretary Smith.

Then Maister Secretary Peter willed him to stand no more thereupon, but to proceede unto his answer. Whereupon he took forth a writing, wherein was contained his answer to the denunciation exhibited the day before by Latimer and Hooper, and delivering it unto the Archbishop, said, that it was of his own hand writing, and for lack of sufficient time written so hastily and cursorily, that it could scarcely be read of any other, and therefore he desired to reade it himselfe; and so taking it again, read it openly, the copie whereof here followeth.

The words of Secretary Peter.

The answer of the said Bishop, made to the Denunciation aforesaid.

I Edmund Bishop of London, concerning William Latimer and John Hooper, the pretensed Denunciators of this matter here now before you, and for answer unto the unlawfull, untrue, and uncharitable pretensed denunciation of them, lately, in deed contrary to Justice and good reason, exhibited here and read before you, under protestation heretofore made by me, and read unto you, remaining in the acts of this Court, unto which I referre me, and have the same here againe for repeated and rehearsed to all purposes agreeable to the Law, doe for my necessarie defence and helpe alledge and say as followeth.

Allegations, or rather cavillations of Boner against his denunciators.

1 First I doe alledge and say, That the said William Latimer and John Hooper, or either of them, were not, nor now are to be admitted in any wise, by vertue of this or any other Commission, as denunciators against me their bishop: specially, for that they and either of them have as well before the time of their pretensed denunciation, and also then and since been and be vile and infamed, notorious criminous persons, and also open and manifest notable heretiques, especially concerning the sacrament of the Catholique Church, and namely concerning the blessed sacrament of the Altar, by reason of which their heresies, they were and be by the order of the said Catholique church, here in this realme of England, fully and duly excommunicated and accursed, and have divided themselves thereby from the unitie and integritie of Christ Catholike Church, & for such persons they have been and are named, reputed, and taken openly, notoriously and commonly amongst the Catholique People of this realme of England, and especially of this city of London, familiarly haunting and conversant with sacramentaries, and openly knowne condemned heretiques, and favourers and abettors of the same, and their detestable and pestilent doctrine and heresie.

How faine would this man finde a fault if he could tell how.

2 Item, that the said John Hooper, amongst other his poysoned and venomous doctrine, and amongst other his erroneous, detestable, and abhominable errors and heresies taught and spread abroad here within this Realme, infecting and poisoning the Kings subjects therewith, hath before the time of the said pretensed denunciation, damnably and detestably made divers erroneous and heretical books, especially one, entituled a declaration of Christ and of his Office, printed (as he falsly surmiseth) in Zurick, by Augustine friers, where he in many places heretically and damnably denieth the true presence of Christs body in the blessed sacrament of the altar, and also in effect denieth the veritie of Christs blessed body upon the Crosse, calling it mathematicall, and excluding thereby the true and very substance thereof.

This terme Mathematicall is referred of Hooper not to the substance of the body upon the Crosse, but to Papisticall accidents without substance upon the Altar.

3 Item, that the said Jo. Hooper doth persevere and continueth still in his said poisoned and wicked venomous doctrine, in all points maintaining and defending the same and every part thereof all the waies he can, specially against the presence of Christs blessed body in the sacrament of the Altar; and his said bookes, especially the said declaration of Christ and of his Office, he doth yet allow and maintaine as good and Catholique, where indeed it is heretical, wicked and damnable: the contents of which doctrine and book so intituled, the said Latimer, especially touching the heresie against the veritie of Christs body and his true presence in the sacrament of the Altar, hath heard, taught, read, preached, beleeved, holden, maintained & kept, & so at this present doth yet beleeve, hold, maintaine, and keep, contrary to the faith of Christs catholike Church, and the unity of the same observed amongst all true Christian people, incurring thereby heresie, excommunication, and Schisme, to the losse both of their soules and of their beleevers.

If all truth were away, he had spoken most truly.

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4 Item, that the said Latimer and Hooper, and either of them, being of these vile and detestable qualities, and consequently by the ordinance of the Catholique Church of Christ, as wel of this realm, as also throughout all Christendome, being so excommunicate and cast out thereby from the said Church, are not to this pretensed denunciation against me their Bishop, nor to any judiciall act, to be admitted, ne yet to be accompanied withall, or answered unto, but are by Scripture, and the order of Christs Catholique Church here in this realme, utterly and truely to be excluded, avoided, detested, eschewed, and abhorred, in all manner of wise, of all faithfull and true Christian people, fearing God, and desiring the advancement of the Truth.

5 Item, that where the said Latimer and Hooper, in their said pretensed denunciation, amongst other things, doe untruly deduce that they have made their said pretensed denunciation, not moved of any malice or evill wil, but for the good tranquillitie and governance of this realme, which, as they pretend in their gay and glorious proheme, they would seeme to have a great care and solicitude of, where in very deed they and such as they are by sundrie waies, and specially by their corrupt doctrine, and heretical naughtie preaching and infecting of the Kings Majesties people, have disturbed and greatly inquieted the good tranquillitie and governance of this realme, as evidently and notoriously it is well knowne; the truth is, that this their saying is evident and plaine false: for notorious it is, and lawfully shall be proved, that the said Hooper, conspiring with the said Latimer and other heretiques of their factious sect and damnable opinion, did the first day of September last past, after that I the said Bishop of London had made the sermon at Pauls Crosse, assemble maliciously, uncharitably, and unlawfully, a great rabblement of such as himselfe is, within my dioceese and jurisdiction, and under the colour of reading, did openly and manifestly raile and inveigh against me the said Bishop, for my said sermon, not for any such matter, pretense, or cause, as is falsely and untruly surmised in the said pretensed denunciation, but onely and chiefly for that I the said Bishop, as became a Christian man, and especially him that had and hath cure and charge of his flock, faithfully and truely to teach them, did, taking occasion of the Communion not frequented nor reverenced, but neglected and contemned, confesse and declare my faith and beliefe openly before my audience, touching the blessed sacrament of the altar ministred in the same communion, affirming as the Catholique Church affirmeth and teacheth, That in the blessed sacrament of the altar there is the very true body of our Saviour Christ, the self same in substance that hanged upon the Crosse, and the very true bloud of our Saviour Christ, the self same in substance that was shed upon the Crosse. Against which affirmation & assertion, being Catholique and true, the said Joh. Hooper (albeit now colourably and falsly, & foolishly he pretendeth another matter more plausible in his opinion and judgement in sundry places of the City and suburbs of London) hath since that time maliciously inveighed and taught, learning and teaching his audience heretically (being many in number, and assembling in great routs) to reprove, contemne and despise the said blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and not to have a true and faithfull beliefe of it, as hitherto alwaies the Catholike church hath "ever had, the said William Latimer, and the rabblement of his complices, conspiring and agreeing in points therein, and inducing other to doe the same, not making any such pretence at all (as they in their said pretensed denunciation doe falsely surmise and deduce) but onely and chiefely offended for my said assertion, and affirmation of

But what and where were your proofes?

As though he could not both confute your errour then, and also say the truth now, without all malice or affection.

"Ever, that is since Pope Innocentius the third, his time, 400. yeeres agoe.

the

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though the ill of articles are no seale a signet; yet ou be but a willer, knowing that you ere sent for, nd in the prence of the L. Protector, in e Counsell amber received the copie of e Iniunctions, with the rticles proised to be nt to you in iting, as ey were in ed: neither re ye able to ny the same, ough ye lift shift out the latter with aine termes incertainty nd obscurity, hen the purse of the ing maketh eane against ou, according s it appeareth in the articles hereafter unisbred against you the cond time.

the veritie of Christs body and bloud in the sacrament of the altar.

Item, that where the said William Latimer and John Hooper in their said pretensed denunciation do further reduce and falsly surmise that I the said Bishop of London had delivered to me from the Kings Majestie, by the hands of the Lord protectors grace, and the rest of the Kings Majesties Counsell, certaine Injunctions with articles to be insinuated and preached to the Kings Majesties subjects at a certaine day limited, and after such sort, forme, and manner, as is in the said pretensed denunciation surmised untruely, and deduced; It is notorious and evident, as well by the tenour and continue of that writing which was to mee the said Bishop of London delivered by the hands of Sir Thomas Smith Knight, one of the two principall Secretaries to the Kings Majestie, as otherwise, that the said surmise, in such sort and fashion as it is deduced and made, is not true in this behalfe, referring me to the tenour of the said writing, which neither was signed with the Kings Majesties hand, nor sealed with any his Majesties Seale or Signet, ne yet subscribed by any of the said Counsell, or delivered after such sort as is alledged and pretended, as more evidently hereafter shall appeare, and sufficiently be proved for my lawfull and necessary defence in this behalfe.

6 Item, that in case any such Injunctions with articles, after such forme and fashion, had so beene delivered unto me as is surmised and pretended, yet false and untrue it is that I the said Bishop either left out, or refused to declare the same for any such cause or causes, falsely and untruely surmised in the said pretensed denunciation, or else so perversly and negligently did, as likewise in the said pretensed denunciation is deduced, which thing may well appeare in the discourse of my said Sermon, where in substance and effect I declared faithfully and truely these points specially following; that is to wit, that all such as rebell against their Prince get unto them damnation, and those that refuse the higher power resist the ordinance of God, and he that dieth therefore in rebellion is by the word of God utterly damned, and so loseth both body and soule, alleadging for this purpose the thirteenth Chapter of Saint Paul to the Romanes, and it at large declaring unto the audience: furthermore, speaking of the rebels in Devonshire, Cornewall, Northfolke, and elsewhere within this Realme, standing in doubt whether I might put them in the place of those that put trust in themselves and despised all other, or in the place of both, doing as they did, forgetting God, not duely considering the Kings majestie their supreame head next & immediately under God, forgetting their wives, their Children, their kinsfolke, their allianee, acquaintance, and friends, yea themselves, and their native Countrey, and most unnaturally rebelling against their soveraigne Lord and King, whom by Gods law they were bound to love, serve, and faithfully obey; I did to the best of my power dissuade Rebellion, and exhort the audience unto true obedience being thus commanded; and all Rebellion being in like manner forbidden under paine of eternall damnation, all these Rebels in Cornwall, Devonshire, Northfolke, or elsewhere, who take upon them to assemble a power and force against their King and Prince, against the lawes and statutes of the Realme, and went about to subvert the order of the commonwealth, did not onely deserve therefore death, as Rebels and Traitours, but also did accumulate unto themselves eternall damnation, even to be in the burning fire of Hell, with Lucifer the Father and first author of pride, disobedience and rebellion. And heere I did aske who had induced the said Rebels thus to doe? To which I answered by another question, demanding who moved and induced Eve to take the Apple and breake her obedience against Gods commandement? who moved also and induced Cain to kill his brother Abel? yea, who moved Judas the Apostle to betray his Maker Christ: was it not the divell? yes truely, and he it is, said I, that of his great malice and hatred to men and good order hath moved and induced these Rebels to this unnaturall rebellion against their Prince and Soveraigne Lord. Whereupon I asked what pretenses they had, & answering thereto, said; that amongst other they had Malles and holy water, upon which I exclaiming against them, said, good Lord; is not this a marvellous thing, to palliate, colour, excuse, and maintaine Rebellion and inobedience, to pretend Malle or holy water, as who saith, that these things had been instituted and ordained to defend, maintaine, and excuse rebellion, treason, and inobedience, which I told the audience they could not doe. And thereupon I brought foure texts of scripture to prove this thing that I said, alledging the thirteenth Chapter of the book of Numbers, the fifteenth Chapter of the first book of Kings, the tenth Chapter of Leviticus, and the fourth that my selfe added also, the thirteenth of Saint Luke, joyned with the fifth of the Acts, setting them forth the best I could, as one not much exercised in preaching, but restrained therefrom. And here I concluded, that whatsoever pretenses these Rebels had of Malles, holy water, or such other, it could not in any wise excuse or defend their rebellion and inobedience, referring my selfe herein to the indifferent hearers in the said audience. And here pulling out a writing, sent from the Kings Majesties privy Counsell unto me, touching the victorie against the said Rebels, which for brevitie of time my memory would not serve to declare without booke, I did rehearse it in writing word by word. In doing whereof it well appeared, that I did not favour the opinion of the said rebels, nor maintain their enterprise, but contrariwise did detest them and all their doings, declaring obedience to be better then sacrifice; And that in disobedience and rebellio nothing could or did please Almighty God. Further, taking occasion of the proud Pharisie and the humble Publican ascending into the Temple to pray, and noting the outward and externe doing of them both, with the successe thereof, I declared to the audience touching the order of the Church and the extern rites and ceremonies of the divine service, that for as much as God requireth humilitie of heart, innocency of living, knowledge of him, charitie and love to our neighbour, and obedience to his word, to his ministers, and to the superiour powers, we must bring all these things to all our prayers, to all our service, and that this is the sacrifice that Christ requireth, and that these be the things that make all other things pleasant to Almighty God; further saying, that the externe rites are but exercises of religion, and appointed by superiour powers, and that in the chosing thereof we must obey the magistrates, and that wee also doe see that those things ever have beene and shall be divers, as the time and place is, and yet all hath pleased God, so long as humility of heart, innocencie of living, knowing of God, charitie and love to our neighbour, with obedience to Gods word, Gods ministers, and superiour powers, are concurrent and present therewith.

7. Moreover, I then said, that if any man should use rites, & disobey thereby the superior powers, the devotion of his ceremony was made evill by his disobedience. Insomuch that that which, standing the law, might be good, was by pride, disobedience, and rebellion, made evill and unprofitable, putting example in the fact of Saul, reserving the fat Sheep for sacrifice, and in Chore, Dathan, and Abyron, and also in Nadab and Abihu Aarons two children,

and in the Galileans, whose blond Pilate did mire with their sacrifices. And therupon I told the audience that they must do herein especially two things: the first, they must joyn to and with their devotion faithfull obedience, and then they shall winne the garland, and otherwise have but a zeale, Sed non secundum scientiam, deserving no thanke or praise of God; and also they must with and to their obedience joyne devotion, knowing that God more doth require and consider the heart, then the outward doing. And thereupon I exhorted the audience, that when they came to take the Communion, or to heare or say the service, appointed by the kings majestie, they must bring devotion and inward prayer with them, or else their prayers shall be but vaine, as wanting and lacking that thing which God requireth, that is, the heart and minde to pray to him. And herein because I marvelled that the Communion was no more frequented now adaies, and lamenting the unreverent coming to it and using of it, fearing that it proceeded of an evill opinion and beleefe touching the sacrament of the Altar, ministred and distributed at the same communion, and to the intent to make the people have better opinion of it then they seemed to have, I did faithfully, truly and plainly declare my beliefe of the said Sacrament, wherewith the said Latimer and Hooper, with their complices, were so much offended and agrieved.

But where was any mention made of the Kings power in his minoritie, as it was injoyned you to intreat of.

8 Item that where the said William Latimer and John Hooper doe further in the said pretensed denunciation untruly, and uncharitably deduce and alledge, that I in my said sermon did intreat of such things, as most should move and stirre up the people to disorder and dissension, it doth hereby evidently and clearely appeare, that either the said pretensed denunciatours doe take and esteeme a declaration faithfully made of the loyall obedience of subjects to the Kings majestie, the supreame & Soveraigne Lord, and the great perill and danger of Rebellion committed by subjects against their King and prince and Soveraigne Lord, to be a moving, provoking and stirring up of people to discord and dissension, or else that the affirmation and assertion Catholike of the veritie of Christs body and bloud in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, set forth by me as afore, doth effect and work such disorder and dissension: for evident it is to all those which indifferently heard my said sermon, that I (grounding my selfe upon Scripture, and taking occasion of the Sunday then occurrent) did speak specially and earnestly of these two things, without taxing of any man specially by name, or other circumstance, to slander them thereby, and I did both set forth the obedience and dutie of al subjects, generally to their king, and specially of Subjects of this Realme to the Kings Majestie that now is, whose minoritie to all people of this Realme is more then manifest, and is also apparant, or evidently knowne to all the whole world beside: and also, I did then declare and lay open the imminent danger & great perill of rebellion in Subjects against the high powers and authoritie, and also specially of the rebellion late committed by them of Devonshire, Cornwall, Northfolke, and elsewhere, against the kings majesty that now is, which I would not have done, except I both had believed that all the Kings Subjects without exception were bound to obey the Kings Majestie even as he now is, was, and shall be, during his life, which our Lord long preserve to all our comforts and wealth, and also that the Rebellion of late so committed against his majestie was damnable, and utterly detestable and condemned by Gods law; and herein I referre me to the indifferent hearers of this my Sermon, wishing that this Latimer, and Hooper, with all the rest of these new Preachers, did mean as faithfully, truly, obediently and Catholikely, as I alwaies have done toward the Kings Majestie, his honour, authoritie, royall power, and suretie of his person & realme, and did not more move, incourage, and stir the kings majesties subjects to sedition, tumult, and inobedience, by their erroneous doctrine and teaching, then I did at any time incourage, move, or stir any of them in any wise, or give occasion to any of the same.

If ye did believe it, why did ye not fully approve and declare the same to the people?

9 Item, where the said William Latimer and John Hooper do falsely surmise in their pretensed denunciation, that it was of no light ground looked for, that I the said Bishop of London should more apertly have declared the Injunctions & articles aforesaid, and that it did so appeare unto their judgements; I doe say that their judgements are corrupted and onely set to slander and picking of quarrels in this behalfe, being well assured and so credibly informed that all the worshipfull & honest Catholike persons of my said audience were fully satisfied both as touching obedience to the Kings Majestie in his tender age and minoritie, and also touching the penaltie and great perill of punishments for the Rebellion so lately committed against the said Majestie by the foresaid rebels. And moreover I doe say, that before my Lord Protectors grace, & the rest of the Kings Majesties most honorable Counsell then present, I made my excuse, and alledged many impediments for my not preaching at the Crosse, & did not further promise but to do the best I could, which of my fidelitie and conscience I did, not omitting any thing of purpose or evill will, that might be to the satisfaction of all people both good and bad in every condition and point, specially in this behalfe, collecting and gathering together, with all diligent studie, all that might make, in my judgement and opinion, for the better setting forth of the same.

Ergo, by your owne confession it appeareth that these injunctions were given you by my Lord Protectors owne mouth, though not with his owne hands & which article you will not grant.

Thus have you Boners answer to the denunciation aforesaid: wherein first he alledged (or rather shamelesly and slanderously cavilled) that those his denouncers were vile, infamed and notorious criminous persons, and also open and manifest heretikes, as well against the rest of the Sacraments of the church, as chiefly against the sacrament of the Altar; and were for the same by the orders of the Church excommunicated and accursed, and were so taken of all the Catholikes of this Realme, and especially Hooper; who, besides other his poisoned doctrine and heresie amongst the people, had also before the time of the denunciation made divers erroneous and heretical bokes against the true presence of Christs body in the sacrament of the Altar, and did also continue in the same, allowing and maintaining it as good & Catholike. Which bokes and doctrine (chiefly against the sacrament of the Altar) William Latimer had and then likewise did allow, believe, & teach, to the losse of both their owne soules, and also their believers, and therefore were not now nor ought at any time to be admitted either in this their denunciation against him, or in any other judiciall act; and that the rather also, because that although they pretend in their denunciation, that they made not the same of any malice or evill will towards him, but for the good tranquillitie and quiet governance of this Realme, yet was it notoriously knowne, that as well the same day at afternoone in which he the said Bishop preached at the Crosse of Pauls, as also at sundrie other times, they two, conspiring with other of their faction, did maliciously and unlawfully within his Diocesse assemble together a great rabblement of such as themselves were, and there under the color of reading did openly raile and inveigh against him, not for any the causes pretended in their denunciation, but because he had in his sermon declared (as the Catholike Church taught) that in the Sacrament of the Altar there was the very true body and bloud of Christ, the same in substance that was hanged and shed upon the Crosse.

Exceptions laid by Boner against master Hooper his denouncer.

The frivolous quarrelling of Bonner against his denouncer.

Then

{King Edw. 6.}

Boner put to a bare shift.

Then after these vain and frivolous allegations against the denouncers, he cometh and answereth to the substance of their denunciation, and saith, that where they in the same do falsely surmise that there were delivered unto him from the Kings majestie, by the hands of the Lord Protectour and the rest of his Highnesse Councel, certain Injunctions and articles to be published and declared unto the people, at a day limited in the same, their information, in such sort as it was deduced, was most false and untrue, for that the articles delivered unto him by sir Thomas Smith, one of the Kings Secretaries, were neither signed with the kings own hand, neither sealed with his Highnesse Seal or signet, nor yet subscribed by any of his Counsell, &c.

Boners vain cavillation to no purpose.

Where mark, I beseech you, the subtiltie of a dissoiall Papist, who, because the articles were not sealed by the King and his Councell, would make them therefore not to be of any such force, as that the breach thereof should cause him to incurre the danger of contemptuous disobedience. But admit they were not signed nor sealed (of which thing by the way in the denunciation there is no mention yea or nay) yet it is manifest by the second bill of Articles ministred unto him by the Commissioners, in the fourth Act of his processe, that at such time as he was before the Councell, those articles were by the commandment of the Lord Protectour, openly there read unto him by one of the Secretaries, and after addition of the Article concerning the Kings lawfull power and authoritie during his young yeers, were also delivered unto him by the hands of the Lord Protectour, in the presence of the rest of the Councell; who thus receiving them promised there faithfully to accomplish all the contents thereof. After which, they were again delivered unto Secretary Smith, to amend such things therein as the Lord Protectour and the rest of the Councell had there appointed. Which being accordingly done (as the Bishop himself at the last receipt thereof confessed) were finally delivered unto him by the Secretary; and therefore was this but a poore shift.

{Anno 1549.}

Boners supposition.

Now after this, he maketh a supposition, that in case it were true, that the Injunctions were delivered him according to their information: yet was it untrue that he did omit or refuse to declare the same for any such causes as they had alledged against him, and that did well appeare in the discourse of his sermon, which tendred principally (as he said) to the disallowing and condemnation of all Rebels, and chiefly of the Rebels in Northfolke, Southfolke, Devonshire, and Cornwall, or elsewhere within this Realme of England: Who forgetting their allegiance and dutie unto their Prince, alligned them by Gods word as their supreme head, their naturall love and care for their countrey, wives, children, and kinsfolke, did both deserve death bodily as Traitors, and also accumulate unto themselves damnation of body and soul eternally with Satan the father and first mover of all rebellion and disobedience; and herewithall further exclaiming against the pretenses of those rebels, who amongst other things pretended the Masse and holy water, with such like, which were never ordained for the purpose to colour and maintain Rebellion (as he said he then proved out of the 16. of Numbers, 1. Reg. 15. Levit. 10. and 4. Luke 13. and Acts 5. in the best manner that he could, as one not exercised greatly in preaching, but restrained therefrom) but having humility of heart, innocency of living, knowledge of God, love to our neighbours, with obedience to Gods word, Ministers, and superiour powers concurrent with them, they being externall rites and ceremonies of the Church, were exercises of religion, and appointable by superiour powers; and yet that, which (standing the law) might be good, was by pride and disobedience made evill and unprofitable.

Boner against the Rebels.

Externall rites and ceremonies.

And here he further said because he saw the people slack in coming to the Communion and Divine service set forth by the Kings Majestie, and to the intent he would make them have a better opinion in the Sacrament then he thought they had, he then faithfully did declare his belief therein. Wherewith his denouncers being offended, they uncharitably and untruly deduced in their pretensed denunciation, that in his sermon he did intreat of such things as most should stir up unto dissension and tumult; whereby it appeared unto him, that his denouncers either took his Catholike assertion of the verity of Christs body and blood in the Sacrament of the altar, or else his faithfull declaration made of the obedience of subjects unto the Kings Majestie their supreme and soveraign Lord, with the perill and danger of rebellion committed against him, to be the cause of disorder and dissension; for that, saith he, of these two points he chiefly spake, and especially of obedience to the King; whose minoritie was more then manifestly known, as well amongst the people of this Realm, as elsewhere throughout the world besides; which he would not have done, except he had believed, that both all his subjects were bounden to obey him, even as he then was and should be during his life, and also that the rebellion of late committed against him was detestable and condemned by Gods word: and therefore he wished that his two denouncers, with all the rest of the new preachers, did mean as faithfully, obediently, and Catholikely towards the Kings honour, royall power, and surety of person, as he did, and had not more moved the people to tumults and disobedience by their erroneous doctrine and teaching, then he had at any time given any occasion thereunto.

As fully they might, the same being hereticall and blasphemous against the humanitie of Christ.

Boner flieth still to the sacrament of the altar.

Boners purgation of himself for his sermon.

Then finally he concluded and said, That where as his aforesaid Denouncers surmise, That it was of no light ground looked for, as it appeared in their judgements, that he should more apertly have declared the contents of the Injunctions and articles then he did, that their judgements were in that behalf corrupted and set to slander and picking of quarrels; for he was well assured, and credibly enformed, that all his honest and Catholique audience were fully satisfied, both touching their obedience to the Kings Majestie in his tender age, and also concerning the great penaltie and perill that the late rebels incurred by their disobedience. And besides that, when he was before the Lord Protector and the rest of the Councell, after he had made his excuse, and alledged many impediments for his not preaching at the Crosse, he did not then further promise but to do the best he could, which he hath of his fidelitie & conscience accomplished, not omitting any thing of purpose or evill will, that might satisfie the people in any point concerning the premises.

Whilest he was thus reading these answers, objecting against his denouncers such causes & quarrels as he before alledged, for which he would have earnestly had the denouncers to be repelled of the Commissioners; the Archbishop of Canterbury replied, That if there were any such law, he thought it not to be a good or godly law, but a law of the Bishop of Rome. For, said he, if my matter and cause be good, what should I care who accuse me, yea although he were the devill of hell.

The Archbishop repleth against Boner.

The law of the Bishop of Rome reproved.

The Popes laws fathered upon the King.

No sir, said the Bishop of London, it is the kings law used in the realme.

Well, my Lord (said the Archbishop) ye be too full of your law: I would wish you had lesse knowledge in that law, and more knowledge in Gods law, and of your duty.

The archbishop.

Well, answered the Bishop againe, seeing your Grace falleth to wishing, I can also with many

Boner.

many things to be in your person.

Then spake Secretary Peter to the Bishop as touching these denouncers; we are not so straited in this matter, but that we may proceed against you, either at their promotion, or without them at our pleasure.

A Gods name then (said Boner) put them by, and then do as your pleasure shall be, so you do me right, for I ask but right.

Secretary Smith. Nay, said Secretary Smith, you ask you wot not what: you would have us follow your minde in these quiddities and quirks; and all is nothing else but to delay justice. And you do herein as Theeves, murtherers, and traitors, not to have the truth known.

Boner. Say you so to me, quoth the bishop? I thank you. Well, I could say somewhat to you also, were ye not in the place ye be, but let it passe. As for my matter, I fear it not, it is not so evil as you make it; for I have your own hand-writing for my discharge, which when I shall see time, I shall shew forth.

Secretary Smith. Boner. Secretary Smith. Boner. Well craked M. Boner. My hand? quoth the Secretary. Let me see it, and let it be read openly. So it shall, said the Bishop, when I shall see time.

Then said M. Smith, you do use us thus to be seen a cunning Lawyer.

Indeed, quoth the bishop, I knew the law, ere you could read it.

With that, Secretarie Peter willed the bishop to proceed in reading of his answers; who so did, and when he had finished, Latimer delivered up a writing in paper unto the archbishop and the rest of the Commissioners; who then said unto the Bishop of London, here be certain articles which we intend to minister unto you.

Articles delivered up against Boner. The bishop therewith said, do you minister them of your office, or at the promotion of these men? (pointing to Latimer and Hooper) for I perceive they gave them unto you.

Secretary Peter. Boner requireth respite to answer. Nay, said Secretary Peter, we will minister them unto you, Ex officio mero, and thereupon took an oath of the bishop de fideliter respondendo. Who, desiring a copie of the articles, required also a competent time to be given unto him to make answer thereunto.

Secretary Peter. To whom Secretary Peter replied, saying, My Lord, here be certain of the articles touching your own fact, which you may answer unto forthwith, as whether you wrote your sermon or not before you preached it.

Boner. Whereunto the Bishop answered, that he wrote it not, but he drew certain notes of it.

Secretary Peter. Then whose counsell, said he, and advise used you in making your sermon?

Boner. To which he also answered, that he had therein used his own counsell and books, and yet my chaplains, quoth he, be much suspected for my doings in many things, and sometimes I for theirs, when there is no cause why.

These words ended, the Commissioners assigned him Munday the fifteenth of September then next following, to appear before them, and to make his full answers unto all the articles ministred unto him by them this day; the contents whereof are as followeth.

The forme and tenour of the Articles ministred unto the Bishop of London, by the Kings Commissioners.

The third Session or appearance of Boner. Anno 1549.

MUnday the fifteenth of September, the Archbishop associated with the bishop of Rochester, Secretarie Smith, and Doctor Day Deane of Pauls, sat judicially within his Chappell at Lambeth: before whom there and then appeared the Bishop of London, according as he was assigned in the last Session: at which time he exhibited unto the commissioners in writing his answers unto the last former articles.

The form of the articles ministred against Boner. But before the same were there read, the Archbishop said unto him, that his late answers, made the thirteenth of September unto the denunciation were very obscure, and therewith also contained much matter of slander against Latimer and Hooper, and much untruth, and therefore they desired there to purge themselves.

Boners answer to the articles in writing. Hooper and Latimer desire to purge themselves against Boners slanders. Whereupon Latymer, first obtaining leave to speak, said, that the bishop of London had most falsely, untruly, and uncharitably accused him, laying to his charge many fained and untrue matters in his former answers to the denunciation, and such as he should never be able to prove. For where in his said answer he alledged, that Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, with other heretiques conspiring against him, did the first day of September after the Bishops sermon assemble themselves together unlawfully against the said Bishop, that saying of his was most untrue. For neither that day, nor yet before that day, nor untill certain dates after he ever knew or spake with Hooper. And as touching his own preaching there, openly accused by the bishop, he said he never held, taught, or preached any thing concerning the blessed sacrament, otherwise then he ought to do, nor otherwise then according to the scriptures, and true Catholike faith of Christs Church; and therefore offered himself to be tried by the Archbishop, or other such learned men as it should please the kings majestie, or the said Commissioners to appoint; and further to suffer, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, if the bishop could justly prove true the things that he had there shamefully laid to his charge. Then Master Hooper, upon like licence obtained, said to this effect.

Purgation of Latimer. Boner reproved of untruth. M. Latimer purgeth himselfe against Boner. This ungodly man (pointing to the bishop) hath most uncharitably and ungodly accused me before your grace and this audience, and hath laid to my charge that I am an heretique. Whereas I take God to record, I never spake, read, taught, or preached any heresie, but onely the most true and pure word of God. And where he saith, I frequent the companie of heretiques, I do much marvell of his so saying: for it hath pleased my Lord Protectors Grace, my singular good Lord and Master, and my Ladies Grace, to have me with them, and I have preached before them, & much used their company, with divers other worshipfull persons, and therefore I suppose this man meaneth them. And further, whereas he saith that I have made heretical books against the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, calling it Mathematicall, I perceive that this man knoweth not what this word Mathematicall there meaneth, and therefore understandeth not my book: which, I take God to be my judge, I have made truly and sincerely, and according to his holy word: and by the same his holy word and scriptures I am alwayes and shall be ready to submit my self to your graces judgement and the superior powers to be tried, with many such more words of like importance. Which ended, the Archbishop, to shorten this matter, asked the bishop how he could prove that Hooper and Latimer assembled together against him the first of September, as he had alledged, seeing they now denied it, and therefore willed him to answer forthwith thereunto.

M. Hooper cleereth himselfe against the false slander of Boner. This term Mathematicall, is referred of M. Hooper not to the substance of Christs body upon the crosse but to the Papisticall accidents, without substance upon the Altar. The archbishop.

Boner. The bishop then answered that he would duely prove it, so that he might be admitted to do it according to law, and with that he pulled out of his sleeve certain books, saying, I have this Varlets books which he made against the blessed sacrament which you shall hear. Then as he was turning certain leaves thereof, Hooper began again to speak: but the bishop, turning himself towards him, tauntingly said, Put up your pipes, you have spoken for your part, I will meddle no more with you, and

Boner chargeth M. Hooper of heresie.

there-

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therewith read a certain sentence upon the book. Which done, he said, Lo here you may see his opinion, and what it is. At which words the people standing behinde, and seeing his unreverent and unseemly demeanour and rayling, fell suddenly into great laughing. Whereat the bishop being moved, and perceiving not the cause wherefore they did laugh, turned him towards them in a great rage, saying, Ah woodcocks, woodcocks.

The people laugh Boner to scorn.

Boner calleth the people woodcocks.

Then said one of the Commissioners, why say you so my Lord? Mary, quoth he, I may well call them woodcocks, that thus will laugh, and know not whereat, nor yet heard what I said or read.

The Archbishop

Well my lord of London, said the Archbishop, then I perceive you would perswade this audience, that you were called hither for preaching of your belief in the Sacrament of the Altar, and therefore you lay to these mens charge (meaning Hooper and Latimer) that they have accused you of that. Howbeit, there was no such thing laid to your charge, and therefore this audience shall hear openly read the denunciation that is put up against you, to the intent they may the better perceive your dealing herein. And therewithall he said unto the people, My lord of London would make you beleeve, that he is called hither for declaring and preaching his opinion touching the Sacrament of the Altar: But to the intent you may perceive how he goeth about to deceive you, you shall hear the denunciation that is laid in against him read unto you, and thereupon he delivered the denunciation unto sir John Mason knight, who there read it openly. Which done, the Archbishop said again unto the audience, Lo, here you hear how the Bishop of London is called for no such matter as he would perswade you.

The words of the Archbishop to the people.

Sir J. Mason readeth the denunciation to the people.

With this the Bishop being in a raging heat, as one clean void of all humanity, turned himself about unto the people, saying, Well, now hear what the Bishop of London saith for his part. But the Commissioners, seeing his inordinate contumacie, denied him to speak any more, saying, that he used himself very disobediently, with more like words.

Boner in a rage.

Boner for his contumacy not suffered to speak to the people.

Notwithstanding, he still persisting in his unreverent manner of dealing with the commissioners, pulled out of his sleeve another book, and then said unto the Archbishop; My Lord of Canterbury, I have here a note out of your books that you made touching the blessed Sacrament, wherein you do affirm the veritie of the body and blood of Christ to be in the Sacrament, and I have another book also of yours of the contrary opinion; which is a marvellous matter.

Boner chargeth the Archbishop with contrarie-ty in his own books.

To the which the Archbishop answered, that he made no books contrary one to another, and that he would defend his books, howbeit he thought the Bishop understood them not: For I promise you, quoth he, I will finde a boy of ten yers old, that shall be more apt to understand that matter then you my lord of London be.

The Archbishop urgeth himself and his books.

Thus after much multiplying of like words, the Commissioners, thinking not good to spend any more vaile time with him, willed him to shew forth his answers unto the articles objected the last day against him. Whereupon, he having them ready did read the same openly to them. Wherin, after many words of his former protestation recited, with a marvellous lamentation to see that one of his vocation, at the malicious denunciation of vile heretikes, should be used after such a strange sort, having nevertheless done the best he could to declare his obedience unto the Kings Majestie for the repressing and discouraging of rebellion and rebels, and also for the advancement of the verity of Christs true body and his presence in the sacrament of the Altar, for which onely the malicious denouncers with their complices had studied to molest and trouble him, he then cometh to answering the Articles and saith, that to the first, second, and fourth, he hath already in his former answers to the denunciation sufficiently answered, and therefore was not bound by law to answer any further.

Boner answereth to the articles.

As to the third, and fifth, he said, he began to write his Sermon, but being soon weary, he did onely make certain notes thereof, without help of any other, saving that he shewed them to his chaplains, requiring them to put him in remembrance thereof. Amongst the which, for the better setting forth of the Kings majesties power and authority in his minority, he had collected as well out of Hystories, as also out of the Scriptures, the names of divers young kings, who notwithstanding their minorities were faithfully and obediently honoured, and reputed for very true and lawfull kings; As Henry the third, being but nine yers old, Edward the third being but thirteen yers, Richard the second being but eleven yers, Henry the sixth being not fully one yer, Edward the fifth being but eleven yers, Henry the eight being but eighteen yers of age. And out of the old Testament, Osias and Achas who were but sixteen yers old, Solomon and Hanalles being but twelve yers, Josias, Joachim, and Joas, being but eight yers of age when they entred their reigns. All which notes with many other he had purposed to declare, if they had come into his memorie, as indeed they did not, because the same was disturbed, partly for lack of use of preaching, and partly by reason of a bill that was delivered to him from the Kings Counsell, to declare the victory then had against the rebels in Norfolke and Devonshire, which being of some good length confounded his memorie; and partly also for that his book in his Sermon time fell away from him, wherein were divers of his notes which he had collected for that purpose: so that he could not remember what he would, but yet in generality he perswaded the people to obedience to the Kings Majestie, whose minority was manifestly known to them and to all other.

Examples of kings that were young, and yet sufficient kings.

Boner confesseth his oblivion. A good Prelate that had lost his memory for lack of preaching.

Boners book of notes fell from him at his sermon, as he confesseth.

Then as to the sixth he said he knew not the Rebels opinion, and therefore could not answer thereunto. And as for answer to the seventh, eighth, ninth, and eleventh articles which touched his pastorall office, he said, that notwithstanding his manifold and great troubles, as well by his own business and his families sickness, as also by uncharitable informations made against him, yet he hath not failed to give order unto his officers straitly to look unto such matters, and such as he hath known, which were very few or none, he caused to be punished according to the laws. All which answers, with other written with his own hand, hereunder follow.

Boner knew not the rebels opinion if you will beleeve him.

The answers of Boner unto the Articles objected to him by the Kings Commissioners, the first time.

I Edmund Bishop of London, under protestation heretofore by me made, exhibited and repeated before you, which in all my sayings and doings I intend to have for repeated and rehearsed again to all lawfull effects and purposes for my honest and necessarie defence, with protestation also of the nullitie and iniquitie of your processe I had made in this behalf, and likewise of the generality, incertainty, obscurity, contrariety, repugnancie, variety, insufficiencie, and invaliditie of the things alledged and deduced before you against me, as well in the Commission and denunciation in divers parts, as also touching the articles and interrogatories so ministred unto me; Lamenting not a little, that one of my vocation, at the malicious denunciation of vile hereticall and detestable persons, should be used after this strange sort, having done the best I could

He meaneth the B. of Can.

could to declare mine obedience unto the Kings most excellent Majestie, for the repressing and discouraging of rebellion and rebellious persons, and for the advancement of the veritie of Christs true bodie and his presence in the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar. For which onely the malicious denunciators with their complices have studied to molest and trouble me; although colourably they would be seen to pretend other causes, especially the good and tranquillitie of this Realme, which our Lord God knoweth they care nothing for, but contrariwise do let and impeach the same, corrupting and infecting with their poisoned and false doctrine, and teaching the Kings subjects in this Realme, to the great perill and danger thereof many wates; do answer unto certain pretensed articles and interrogatories ministred by you indeed unto me the said Bishop the thirteenth day of September, 1549, as followeth.

After his long period well blown up with much waste winde of words, at length he beginneth to answer to the articles before objected.

TO the first article objected against me, beginning thus; First it is reported, &c. and ending thus, to observe and follow the same; I do say and for answer do refer me unto my former answers heretofore, that is to wit, the thirteenth day of September made and exhibited by me before you unto the said pretensed denunciation, touching this matter; alledging withall, that a report of things doth not absolutely prove, nor necessarily infer things to be in very deed true after such a sort, fashion, manner, and form, as sometimes they be reported and rehearsed.

Answer to the 2. article.

To the second, beginning thus; Item, whether that you, &c. and ending thus; as they were put unto you; I do answer and say, That this article doth depend on the first article next before, which after such sort, fashion, manner, and form as it is deduced, was fully by me, in my answer made unto the same, denied, and I therefore now not bounden by the law effsones to make other answer thereunto.

Answer to the 3. article.

To the third, being an interrogatorie, and beginning thus; Item, whether, &c. And ending thus, ye did preach; I do answer and say, That I began to write a piece of my sermon, and being soon wearie thereof, I did leave off, and did make onely certain notes of my said sermon, and put the same notes in writing of mine own hand, without help or counsel of any other, and the same notes did shew unto my Chaplains Master Gilbert Bourne and M. Jo. Harpsfield, both before and also since my said sermon, onely desiring them to put me in remembrance of my said notes, and processe to be made thereupon, and also to search out for me the names of such kings as were in their minoritie when they began to reign.

To the 4. article.

To the fourth article beginning thus; Item, that ye have not declared, &c. and ending thus, as it is in your article; I do answer and say, That this article doth depend upon the first and second articles here before denied, deduced in such sort, manner, and form, as is expressed in the same, and moreover I say, that already answer is made hereunto by me, in my former answers made to the said pretensed Denunciation.

To the 5. article.

To the fifth article beginning thus; Item, That ye have not, &c. And ending thus, declared it; I do answer and say, That this article also doth depend upon the first and second articles, and that answer is made thereunto by me already in my former answers made unto the said pretensed denunciation. And moreover I do say, That for the better advancement and setting forth of the Kings Majesties royall power and authoritie even in his minoritie, and for the due obedience of his Majesties subjects unto his Highnesse, even during the said minoritie, I had collected together as well out of histories, as also out of the Scripture of the old Testament, the names of divers Kings being in minoritie, who notwithstanding their said minoritie were faithfully, duly, and reverently obeied, honoured, served, taken and reputed for verie true and lawfull Kings, as Henry the third, being but nine yeers old when he entred to reign and govern as King. Edward the third, being but thirteen yeers of age. Richard the second, being but eleven yeers of age. Henrie the sixth, being not fully one yeer of age. Edward the fifth, being but eleven yeers old. Henrie the eight, being about eightéen yeers old; and so all these Kings being in their minoritie as the Kings majestie that now is, and yet having authoritie and power regall, as appertaineth; and in the old Testament, Ozias and Achaz were very true Kings in their minoritie, being but sixteen yeers of age; Solomon and Manasses being but twelve yeers of age; Josias and Joachim being but eight yeers of age, and Joas being but eight yeers old: all which things I say I had collected in notes, communicating the same with my said two Chaplains, and praying them to put me in remembrance, if in numbring of them, or in setting forth my other notes at the time of my Sermon, I did faile, or have default of memorie in any wise. And all these things I would have specially set forth in my said Sermon if they had come to my memory, as indeed they did not, partly for disturbance of my memorie not accustomed to preach in that place, partly also by reason of a certaine writing that was sent to me from the Kings Majesties privie Councell, being of good length, to declare unto the people touching the victorie against the Rebels, specially in Norfolke, Devonshire, and Cornwall, confounding my memorie in things which before I had set in good order, and partly also for the falling away of my book in the time of my said Sermon, in which were contained divers of my said notes touching the Kings Majesties minoritie, as is aforesaid, having yet nevertheless otherwise, in generalitie and specialitie, perswaded the people to obedience, unto the Kings said Majestie, whose minoritie to them and all other is notoriously and manifestly known, and his Majestie, saving of these late Rebels, faithfully, truly, and reverently obeied of all the rest of his subjects.

Boner pleadeth oblivion.

To the 6. article.

To the sixth, which beginneth, whether ye will, &c. And ending thus, the opinion or no; I do answer and say, that not knowing certainly of which Rebels the article meaneth, ne yet what their opinion is indeed, I ought not to be driven to make answer hereunto, ne yet can make good and perfect answer therein though I would.

To the 7. article.

To the seventh Article, beginning thus; Item, that ye know, &c. And ending thus, The Kings Majesties book; I do answer and say, that albeit I have by the space of these five weeks last past and more, bin in manner continually in businesse and trouble, aswell in providing for my said sermon, as otherwise, specially by reason of my familie, much vexed with sicknesse, to my great disquietnesse and charge, and also by reason that I have béene so much troubled and cumbred by informations and complaints unjustly and uncharitably made against me, over and besides the having of divers and sundry persons, which daily resort and come unto me for their suits and businesse, both in matters of justice and otherwise, yet I have not omitted to send forth to my Archdeacons and other my officers, to inquire and search diligently in this behalf, and to certifie me accordingly, and yet I cannot heare certainly of any that have heard, béene at, or celebrated Masses or Evensong in the Latine tongue, after the old rite and manner, except it be in the house of my Ladie Maries Grace, or in the houses of the Ambassadors, ne yet there nor in any of them, but by flying and not assured report, and without knowing the names and persons that so have

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have heard, bèn at, or celebrate the same, and in this behalf how far I can and ought to prœcèd and after what sort, I do refer me unto the statute late made in that behalf.

To the eighth Article.

To the eighth article beginning thus, Item, that ye have, &c. And ending thus, punishment unto them; I do answer and say, that this article doth depend of the next article going before, and so consequently answer is already thereunto made.

To the ninth Article.

To the ninth article beginning thus, Item, that ye know, &c. And ending thus, nor see them punished; I do answer and say, that touching such as either have bèn denounced or detected for such criminous and culpable persons to me or my officers, there hath bèn prœcesse alreadie made before my said officers, as it appeareth in my register, and the acts of my Court: and moreover, I have given expresse commandement to my said Officers, to inquire and search for more such offenders, and to certifie me thereof, that I may prœcèd against them accordingly.

To the tenth Article.

To the tenth article beginning thus, Item ye were, &c. And ending thus, The Kings Majesties authority in his minority; I do answer and say, That as touching the time mentioned in the article, and the declaration to be made by doctor Cor, I do not well remember either the same time, or yet the speciall points and substance of the said doctor Cores declaration: truth it is, I was at a sermon made at Pauls crosse by the said doctor Cor, wherein he invеyed against my L. of Winchester, and as far as I can now call to my remembrance, it was touching disobedience, wherwith my Lord of Winchester by the said doctor Cor sèmed to be charged, and for a sermon also that my Lord of Winchester was sèming to have made before the Kings Majestie in the Court of Westminster.

To the II. Article.

To the eleventh article being by it self delivered unto me the fourtèenth of this present September, 1549, in the night at my house of London beginning thus, Item, that the rites, &c. and ending thus, The misuses thereof; I do answer and say, that I have already given commandement to my officers to make diligent search and inquirie herein, and to certifie accordingly, to the intent I may prœcèd therein as appertaineth, and would before this time my self have also inquired and prœcèded, had I not so bèn of all sides oppressed and pestered with multitude of other necessary businesse, as I have bèn, to my great disquietnesse and trouble.

The 5. article insufficiently answered of Boner.

When he had ended the reading of these answers, the Commissioners said unto him that he had in the same very obscurely answered unto the fifth article ministred the thirtèenth of September; wherefore they willed him there expresly to answer by mouth, whether he had, according to the Injunctions delivered unto him, declared the Article beginning thus, You shall also set forth in your Sermon that our authority, &c. Whereunto he again answered, That he had alreadie made as full and sufficient an answer in writing, as he was bound to make by law.

Boners obscure and indirect answer.

The Judges then replyed, that the answers already made in that part were obscure and insufficient, so that it appeared not certainly whether he had preached indeed according to the same Injunction or not; and therefore they eftsoons willed him, as before, directly to answer whether he had so accordingly preached or no, the Bishop still yet answering as before.

Boners froward contumacy noted.

The Judges again demanded of him, whether he would otherwise answer or no. To the which he said, no, unlesse the law did compell him. Then they asked him whether he thought the law did compell him to answer more fully or no? He answered, no; adding further that he was not bound to make answer to such positions.

The Commissioners, then sèing his froward contumacie, told him plainly, that if he persisted thus in his frowardnesse, and would not otherwise answer, they would according to law take him pro confesso, and ex abundanti receive witnesse against him, and there withall did recite again to him six of the first and principall Articles, demanding his finall answer thereunto. Who said, as before, that he had already fully answered them by writing; but where they requested to have his notes, which he said he had made of his sermon, they should have them if they would send for them. And whereas in his answer to the sixth article he doubted what the opinion of the rebels was, the Judges declared unto him that their opinion was, That the Kings majesty, before his Grace came to the age of one and twentie yeers, had not so full authority to make laws and statutes, as when he came to further yeers; and that his subjects were not bound to obey the laws and statutes made in his young age. Wherunto the Bishop answered, that he was not of the opinion of the rebels mentioned in that article, as did well appeare by his answers as well unto the denunciation, as also unto the fifth article objected against him.

The rebels traitrous opinion touching the kings power in his minority.

Which ended, they, perceiving his scornfull carelesnesse, presently did admit for witnesse, upon the articles objected against him, maister John Cheke, Henry Markham, John Joseph, John Dowglas, and Richard Chambers, whom also they onerated with a corporall oath upon the holy Evangelists, truly to answer and depose upon the same articles in the presence of the bishop, who under his former protestation, like a wily Lawyer, protested of the nullitie of the receiving, admitting, and swearing of those witnesses, with protestation also to object against the persons and sayings of the witnesses in time and place convenient; demanding also a competent and lawfull time to minister Interrogatories against them, with a copie of all the acts to that day. Wherewith the delegates were well pleased, and assigned him to minister his Interrogatories against maister Cheke on that present day, and against the rest the next day before noone.

Witnesses against Boner.

Protestation & objections of Boner against the witnesses.

All which Interrogatories who so listeth to perus̃e, may hereunder read the same as followeth.

Certaine Interrogatories exhibited by Boner to be ministred against the foresaid witnesses, upon the Articles above mentioned the eighteenth of September.

I Edmund Bishop of London, under my protestations heretofore made before you, do minister these Interrogatories insuing, against all and singular the pretensed witnesses already received and sworne, as hereafter to be received and sworne against me the said Bishop in this matter, requiring and desiring under the said protestation, that all and singular the said pretensed witnesses may be examined in vertue of their Oath upon the said Interrogatories, and everie part and parcell of them.

1 First, That all and singular the said witnesses in vertue of their oath be examined generally and specially of all and singular Interrogatories, commonly used and accustomed to be made in such matters, especially touching their age, their condition, their dwelling place, now and heretofore, by the space of these twelve yeers last past, with whom all this time they have also dwelled, and bèn familiar or conversant, with the names and the places and persons and other circumstances expedient in this behalf, and by whom they have bèn found and maintained, and for what purpose. Et interrogentur conjunctim, divisim, & de quolibet.

2 Item, Touching the pretensed Articles made in

in this behalfe, and Injunctions mentioned in the same, that they and every of them, in vertue of the said Oath, may be examined whether they know their said Articles and Injunctions to be true in all parts, how they know them to be true, by whom, when, and in what place, deposing the formal words of the said pretensed Articles and Injunctions in especiall as they are deduced. The first Article. And therein let them depose how he or they know the said Articles and Injunctions to be received from the Kings Majestie, how also he or they knew that I the said Bishop received the said Injunctions at the hands of the Lord Protectors grace. How also they were sitting in the Councell Chamber; Moreover which were the rest of the Councel then sitting, specifying their names and surnames, or titles. Also whether the tenth of August this present yeer, or of the last yeer, moreover whether the Articles or Injunctions were joyned together, or apart, whether the tenour thereof and the forme and manner of the doing and following, touching me the said Bishop and also touching the preaching thereunto, was as is deduced in the first Article, declaring moreover, when, where, and how, I the said Bishop accepted the said Injunctions, or promised to observe and follow the same, and by what expresse words, & interrog. ut supra.

Boners interrogatories concerning the first article.

{ Anno. 1549. }

3 Item, whether the said witnesses or any of them were present at my last Sermon made at Pauls Crosse, where they then stood, by whom, when they came to it, and at what part of the said Sermon, how long they tarried thereat, at what part thereof or in all they were offended, what were the formall words, or at the leastwise in substance, that I the said Bishop then uttered, or wherewith they were offended, and by what occasion, and who with him or them did hear it, and in what place their contexts did stand, how long they tarried, and at what part they came thither or departed thence, & interrog. ut supra.

4 Item, whether the said witnesse or any of them were desired or required, by any person or persons, to be witnesse in this matter, and by whom, when, where, and how the same was done, and in whose presence, & interrog. ut supra.

5 Item, whether they or any of them had consulted with other to come unto my sermon, for what purpose, by whom they were induced and moved, and how they agreed, and what they did after my said Sermon for the impugnation or depraving thereof, & interrog. ut supra.

5 Item, whether they or any of them have been or be conversant or familiar with any that hath bin known, noted, or reputed for a sacramentary, in denying the veritie of Christs true and corporall presence in the sacrament of the Altar, and whether he and they detest and abhor and abstain from the company of all such persons as be known, noted, or suspected for sacramentaries in that behalf, and what opinion he and they have with their contexts touching the said presence, & interrog. ut supra.

7 Item, whether they or any of them have wished me the said Bishop to be deprived or put in prison, and whether they or any of them have reported and said that I shall be deprived or imprisoned, rejoycing thereof, and for what cause they have so wished or reported, or any of their contexts, & interr. ut supra.

8 Item, whether they or any of them have been in times past a Frier, Preacher, Minorite, Augustine, or Carmelite, Monk, Canon observant, or religious person, professing solemnly povertie, chastitie, and obedience, according to the laws, customs, or ordinances of this realm, then used and observed, & interrog. ut supra.

9 Item, whether they or any of them, being so professed, have been or be since that time married to any person, having likewise or otherwise been professed or lose, or been a widow, and how oft they have been married, and whether any of their wives be yet alive, & interrog. ut supra.

{ King Edw. 6. }

10 Item, whether they or any of them have read the Commission in this matter, and whether they or any of them do know or think, that the Commission, Injunctions, Articles, and Denunciation do agree together or no, and wherein they think or know discrepances, or diversities to be betweene them in this behalf, & interrog. ut supra.

11 Item, if they, or any of them do depose, that I have not sincerely and wholly declared as is contained in the second Article, let him and every of them be examined, in vertue of their oath, how they do know it, and by what means, declaring whom they think to have knowledge therein with them, & interrog. ut supra.

Interrogatories concerning the 2. article.

12 Item, if they or any of them do depose that I have transgressed and offended in the fourth Article beginning thus, Item, that ye have not declared, &c. Let them and every of them be examined, in vertue of their oath, whether they know that these words following, as Mattins, Masses, now said after that sort in this Realm, were and be put in the Injunction pretended to be ministred unto me the said Bishop or no, & interrog. ut supra.

Interrogatories concerning the 4. article.

13 Item, if they or any of them do depose that I have transgressed and offended touching the fifth Article, let them and every of them be examined, in vertue of their oath, whether the Injunctions pretended in this behalf were signed with the Kings usuall signet, or rather at all, whether it was sealed with any seal, whether it was subscribed by the lord Protectors grace, or any of the privie Councel, whether it was in full Councell sitting delivered unto me by the Lord Protector, whether it was delivered to me, the rest of the Kings Majesties privy Councell there then sitting, whether the said dayes as is contained in the fifth article, by whom it was written, when, and where, & interrog. ut supra.

Interrogatories concerning the 5. article.

14 Item, if they or any of them do depose that I do defend the opinion of the rebels, let them be examined, and every of them, what rebels they be, what is their opinion, and how the Law of this realme doth determine therein, declaring by what words and facts I the said bishop did speak and do, and at what time and place, and in whose presence such words or acts were spoken or done, & interrog. ut supra.

Interrogatories concerning the 6. article.

15 Item, if they or any of them do depose that I know or have heard say credibly that, since the time of the said pretensed injunctions, certain persons within my Diocesse have heard, been at, or celebrate Masse or Evensong in the Latine tongue, and after the old rite and manner, other then according to the Kings Majesties book, let them and every of them be examined, in vertue of his said oath, how they know that I so know, or have heard say, and of the name or names of the party or parties, and of the time and place when, and where it was, & whether any denunciation or detection were, according to the Statutes and ordinances of this Realm, made unto me or no, & interrog. ut supra.

Interrogatories concerning the 7. article.

16 Item, if they or any of them do say, that I know or have heard say of such notable adulterers and offences mentioned in the 9. article, let them and every of them be examined, in vertue of his and their oath, what they do know that I do know, or have heard say, and who be the persons, where they dwell, who hath denounced or detected them, and how I could and ought to have cited them and punished them in this behalf, & interrog. ut supra.

Interrogatories concerning the 9. article.

18 Item, whether they or any of them do say that I know certainly now, what D. Cor declared in his sermon at Pauls crosse, as is deduced in the 10. article, let them be inquired and every of them, in vertue of their oath, how they can prove it, by whom, and after what sort, & interrog. ut supra.

Interrogatories concerning the 10. article.

18 Item,

KING ED. 6. interrogatories concerning the II. Article.

18 Item, if they or any of them doe ſay, That I doe know or heare certainely of the diverſitie of the rites of the common ſervice of the Church, now ſet forth, and of the Miniſters and Parſons tranſgreſſing therein, let them and every of them, in vertue of their oath, be examined whether there hath bene any detection or denunciation made to me thereupon, and how they know or can prove that I have bene culpable and negligent herein, & interrog. ut ſupra.

19 Item, whether they or any of them have bin ſpoken unto or ſolicited herein to teſtifie, and after what ſort, by whom, when, and where, and what was their conference and communication therein, & interrog. ut ſupra.

20 Item, that they and every of them declare and ſhew the true and ſufficient cauſe of their Teſtimonie, in all and ſingular the premiſſes.

Boner againe proteſteth againſt the witneſſes.

After this the Judges delegate aſſigned the Biſhop to appeare againe before them upon Wedneſday then next enſuing, betweene the houres of ſeven and eight of the Clock before noone, in the hall of the Archbiſhops Manor of Lambeth, there to ſhew the cauſe why he ſhould not be declared, pro confeſſo, upon all the articles whereunto he had not then fully anſwered, and to ſee further proceſs done in the matter; and ſo (he ſtill proteſting of the nullitie and invaliditie of all there proceedings) they did for that preſent depart.

The Commiſſioners certifie the King of Boners demeanour.

In this mean while the Commiſſioners certified the Kings Majeſtie and his Councel, of the biſhops demeanor towards them, and what objections he had made againſt their proceedings, making doubts and ambiguities whether, by the tenor of his Majeſties commiſſion, the Commiſſioners might proceed not onely at the denunciation, but alſo at their meere office; and alſo whether they might as well determine or heare the cauſe. Whereupon his Majeſtie by advice aforeſaid, for the better underſtanding thereof, did the ſeventeenth of September ſend unto the Commiſſioners a full and perfect declaration and interpretation of his will and pleaſure in the foreſaid Commiſſion, giving them hereby full authoritie to proceed at their owne diſcretions, as appeareth more at large by the tenour thereof enſuing.

¶ *A certaine Declaration or interpretation of the King, touching certaine points and doubts in his former Commiſſion, with licence given to the Commiſſioners as well to determine as to heare, in the caſe of Boner.*

Leave given by the King to the Commiſſioners to determine againſt Boner.

EDward the ſixth by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England, and alſo of Ireland, in earth the ſupreme head; To the moſt reverend Father in God, Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterburie, Metropolitan and Primate of England, the right reverend Father in God Nicolas Biſhop of Rocheſter our truſty and right well beloved Counſellors, Sir William Peter and ſir Thomas Smith Knights, our two principall Secretaries, and William May Doctor of Law Civill and Deane of Pauls, greeting. Where we of late, by the advice of our moſt entirely beloved Vncle Edward Duke of Somerſet, governor of our perſon, and Protector of our Realmes, Dominions, and ſubjects, and the reſt of our Privie Councell, have addreſſed unto you, five, foure, or three of you, our letters patents of Commiſſion bearing date at Weſtminſter the eighth day of September, in the third yeare of our reigne, willing you by force thereof to heare the matters and cauſe of contempt therein expreſſed, and calling before you as well the denouncers thereof, as alſo the right reverend Father in God Edmund Biſhop of London, againſt whom ſuch Denunciation is made, as in our ſaid Letters of Commiſſion more at large doth appeare, we be now credibly informed, that upon the ſaid Commiſſion divers doubts and ambiguities have and may riſe.

As whether you by the tenor of the ſaid Commiſſion may proceed not onely at the denunciation, but alſo of meere office.

And alſo whether ye may as well determine as heare the ſaid cauſe.

For further declaration whereof we doe now interpret and declare, that our full minde and pleaſure, by the advice aforeſaid, was by our commiſſion, and now is, that you ſhould proceed as well by meere office, as alſo by the way of denunciation, and either of them, or by any other waies or meanes at your diſcretions, whereby the truth and merits of the cauſe may be moſt ſpeedily and beſt knowne, and that ye might and may as well finally determine as heare the ſaid matters; in all your orders and doings, cutting away all vaine and ſuperfluous delayes, and having reſpect to the onely truth of the matter. And this our declaration we ſend unto you of our ſure knowledge and meere motion, by the advice aforeſaid, ſupplying all default, ceremonie, and point of the Law, which hath, ſhall, or may ariſe of your doings by reaſon of any default of words in our ſaid former Commiſſion or any part thereof, any law, ſtatute, or act to the contrary notwithſtanding. And therefore we will and command you to proceed in the ſaid matters accordingly, as well to our foreſaid Commiſſion as this our declaration, and ſo faile ye not. In witneſſe whereof we have made theſe our letters patents.

Anno. 1549.

At Hampton Court the ſeventeenth day of September.

The fourth Seſſion againſt Boner Biſhop of London, before the Kings Commiſſioners, in the great hall at Lambeth, the eighth of September.

The fourth appearing of Boner before the Kings Commiſſioners.

AFter this declaration being ſent downe and received from the King, the Biſhop of London, (according to the Commiſſioners aſſignment the Munday before) appeared againe before them upon Wedneſday the eighth of September, in the great Hall at Lambeth. Where under his wonted proteſtation, firſt he declared, that although he had already ſufficiently anſwered all things, yet further to ſatisfie the terme aſſigned unto him, to ſhew cauſe why he ought not to be declared, pro confeſſo, upō the articles thertofore miniſtred againſt him, and to the which he had not fully anſwered, he had then a matter in writing to exhibit unto them, why he ought not ſo to be declared, which he read there openly. Wherein firſt under his accuſtomed unreverent termes of pretenſed, unjuſt, and unlawfull proceſſe and aſſignation, he ſaid he was not bound by the Law (for good and reaſonable cauſes) to obey the ſame, eſpecially their aſſignation.

Boner exhibiteth more matter in writing, why he ought not to be declared pro confeſſo.

Cauſes alledged of Boner, why he ought not to obey the commiſſioners aſſignation.

And firſt, for that the ſame was onely pronounced by ſir Thomas Smith, one of the pretenſed Commiſſioners, without the conſent of his pretenſed Collegues; or at the leaſt he as a Commiſſioner did preſcribe the actuarie what to write, which he ought not to have done, becauſe by law he ought not to have intermeddled therein, for that his Collegues did the firſt day begin to ſit as Judges againſt him the Biſhop, without the preſence of the ſaid ſir Thomas Smith.

The 2. cauſe.

And ſecondly, becauſe his anſwers, as well unto the pretenſed denunciation, as alſo to all the articles theretofore objected againſt him, were as full and ſufficient, as the law required (or at leaſt-wiſe there was nothing good in law apparent to the contrary) and therefore he was not inforced by

law further to answer thereunto without further allegation.

The 3. cause. And because also that all their proceedings there-to were so extraordinarily done, that they had The Popes law. confounded all manner of lawfull processe, sometimes proceeding ad denunciandum, sometimes ex officio mero, and sometimes ex officio mixto, contrary unto the Kings Ecclesiasticall lawes, and contrary also unto their Commission in that behalfe.

The 4. cause. And likewise because divers of the articles pretensed were superfluous and impertinent, not revealing though they were proved, containing in them untruth and falsitie, some obscure and uncertaine, some depending upon other articles, either The Popes law. denied or at the least qualified, some captious and deceitfull to bring the answerer into a snare, and some also being articles of the law, in such sort as by the Ecclesiasticall lawes of this Realme the Kings subjects were not bound to make answer thereunto.

The 5. cause. And lastly, because that Sir Thomas Smith, Secretarie to the Kings Majestie, when that the Bishop was last with the Councell in the Councel Chamber at White Hall, after the departure of the Lord protector and the rest of the Councell, did himselfe alone (without any other) write certaine articles, or injunctions (amongst the which was that of the Kings authoritie in his minoritie) and afterward did copy the same at the table within the said Councell Chamber, and so himselfe did deliver them unto him. By reason whereof that is not true, which in the Commission, denunciation and articles was deduced and objected against him.

The intolerable contempt and unreverent behaviour of Boner noted and openly reproved. When these fond and frivolous objections were thus read, the Archbishop seeing his inordinate and intolerable contempt towards them, charged him very sharpely, saying, My Lord of London, if I had sitten here onely as Archbishop of Canterburie, it had beene your part to have used your selfe more lowly, obediently and reverently towards me then you have; but seeing that I with my Collegues sit here now as Delegates from the Kings Majestie, I must tell you plaine, you have behaved your selfe too too much inordinately. For at every time that we have sitten in Commission, you have used such unseemely fashions, without all reverence and obedience, giving taunts and checks as well unto us, with divers of the servants and chaplaines, as also unto certaine of the ancientest that be here, calling them fooles and dawes, with such like, as that you have given to the multitude an intolerable example of disobedience. And I insure you my Lord, there is you and one other Bishop whom I could name, that have used your selves so contemptuously and disobediently, as the like I think hath not before been heard of or seen; whereby ye have done much harme.

The words of the Archbishop to Boner.

Boners scornfull answer to the Archbishop. At which words the grosse Bishop (a beast a man might fully terme him) said scornfully to the archbishop, you shew your selfe to be a meet judge.

The archbishop. The archbishop then proceeding laid to his charge how indiscretly the last day in the Chappel he had called all the people Woodcocks.

Boner. Whereunto he answered, that the last Session William Latimer, one of the denouncers, being there present, had practised with the audience that when he lifted up his hand to them, they should (and did as it were by a token given them) say as he said, and doe as he did; as one time upon the lifting up of his hand, they cried, Nay, nay; and at another time, Yea, yea, and laughed they could not tell whereat, with such like fashions.

The vaine suspition of Boner. Unto which words Latimer, seeing his vaine suspicion, replied saying, that he lifted not up his hand at any time but onely to cause them to hold their peace.

Then Secretary Smith said to the Bishop, that in all his writings and answers that he had hitherto laid in, he would not once acknowledge them as the Kings Commissioners, but used alwayes protestations with divers inkhorne and naughty termes, calling them pretensed Commissioners, pretensed Delegates, pretensed Commission, pretensed Articles, pretensed procedings, so that all things were pretensed with him. Indeede (said he) such termes the Proctors of Churches use, to delay matters for their clients, when they will not have the truth known: But you my Lord to use us the kings Majesties Commissioners with such termes, you doe therein very lewdly and naughtily. And I pray you what other thing did the rebels?

The words of Secretary Smith to Boner.

All things pretensed with Boner that made against him.

Boner and the rebels compared together.

For when Letters or Pardons were brought them from the King and his Councell, they would not credit them, but said they were none of the Kings or his Councels, but Gentlemens doings, and made under a bush, with such like termes. But now my Lord, because hitherto we cannot make you confesse whether, in your Sermon that you preached, ye omitted the article touching the kings Majesties authoritie in his tender age or not, but still have said that ye will not otherwise answer then ye have done, & that ye have already sufficiently answered (with many such delaies) so as we can by no means induce you to confesse plainly what you did, yea or nay; therefore I say, to the intent we may come to the truth, we have dilated the matter more at large, and have drawne out other Articles whereunto you shall be sworne, and then I trust you will dally with us no more as you have done. For although ye make your answers in writing, yet you shall be examined by us and make your answers by mouth to the same Articles, or else you shall doe worse. Indeed I doe not (as I said) discommend your protestations and termes of law, if it were in a young Proctor that would helpe his clients cause; but in you it may not be suffered so to use the Kings Commissioners.

New Articles and Injunctions ministred to Boner. Then did the Delegates minister unto him certaine new articles and injunctions, and did there onerate him with a corporall oath in forme of law to make a full and true answer thereunto. The Bishop notwithstanding still (according to his wonted manner) under his former protestation protested of the nullitie and invaliditie of these articles, injunctions, and processe, desiring also a copy thereof, with a competent time to answer thereunto. To whom the Judges decreed a copy, commanding him to come to his examination to the Archbishop the next day at eight of the clock before noone.

Boner againe assigned the next day to appeare.

New witnesses against Boner. Then the Commissioners did receive for witnesse, upon these new articles now ministred unto the Bishop, sir John Mason, sir Thomas Chalenor Knights, Master William Cicil, Armigel Wade, and William Hunnings Clerkes to the Kings Majesties Councell, whom they onerated with a corporall oath in the presence of the Bishop, who still protesting of the nullitie of their receiving and swearing, objected against them and their sayings; and therewith, repeating his interrogatories already ministred, said he had no to minister by to morrow at eight of the clock.

Boners information against M. William Latimer preacher. The same day and time likewise the Bishop exhibited unto the Commissioners an information, or rather cavillation against William Latimer, for that he, notwithstanding that he had in all his talke pretended the great tranquillitie of this Realme, which was greatly impeached and hindered when that any the Kings subjects should thinke that his Majestie hath not as full power and authoritie royall in his minoritie, as when his Majestie came to perfect age, or should thinke that his subjects were not bound to obey the same, yet hath of late there in open audience reported, that he hath heard

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heard with his eares divers persons unreverently speake of the kings majesty, saying, Tush the king is but a babe or childe, what lawes can he make? or what can he doe in his minoritie? Let him have a Tosse and Butter, or bread and milke, and that is more meeter for him then to make lawes and Statutes, or to binde us to obey them, we are not bound to obey till he be past his minoritie, and come to his full and perfect age; with the hearing of which words the Bishop also charged the Commissioners, and that because Latimer, at the recital of the same in their presence, was neither by them controlled, nor yet caused to bring forth the same persons, but was let passe in silence, saving that he the said Bishop did speake against him in that behalfe, saying, That he would detect him, because that, as it appeared, he had of long time concealed the words and not opened the same in such place and to such persons as he ought to have done, but had kept the persons and sayings of them secret, either not taking the matter to be of such importance as he pretended, or else thereby unfaithfully behaving himselfe towards his Prince, and therefore was worthy with his aiders, favourers, and counsellers to be punished.

Lil. Latimer preached of Boner for concealing of treason.

These vain Cabillations ended, the Commissioners for that day finished their session, assigning the Bishop to appeare in that same place againe upon Munday then next following, betweene the houres of six and nine, in the forenoon, then & there to shew a finall cause why he should not be declared pro confesso. And so delivering him a copie of the Articles, they departed; the contents whereof ensue.

new terme assigned to Boner to appeare.

Articles and positions given by the Kings Commissioners to the Bishop of London, to be answered by him joyntly and severally in every point the second time.

Articles against Boner minded the second time.

1 THat ye were sent for to the Lord Protectors Grace, and the rest of the Councell, and came thither into the Court at Westminster the tenth of August, or some other day of the same moneth.

2 Item, That at the same time the Lord Protector and divers other of the kings majesties privy Councell sitting in counsell, ye were called in, and there the said Lord Protector did on the Kings Majesties behalfe declare unto you divers faults and abuses the which were found in you, and gave you straite charge to amend them, adding threatning that else you should be otherwise looked unto.

3 Item, That the said Lord Protectors Grace did declare unto you, for better admonition and amendment of you, that you should have from the Kings Majestie, by his advice and the rest of the Privie Councell, certaine Articles and Injunctions, to observe and follow, given you in writing.

4 Item, That there and then the said Lord Protector commanded sir Thomas Smith Knight, Secretarie to the Kings Majestie, to reade a certaine proper booke of Injunctions and Articles unto you, the said Secretarie standing at the Councell Tables end, and you standing by and hearing the same.

5 Item, That the said Lord Protectour there and then willed certaine things in the said Booke of Injunctions to be reformed, as where ye were appointed to preach sooner, at your request it was appointed unto you to preach the Sunday three weekes after the date of the said writing.

6 Item, that in the said Articles the Lord Protectors Grace found fault, because an Article or Commandement unto you set forth and declared of the Kings Majesties authoritie now in his young age and of his lawes and Statutes in the same time, was omitted, and therefore either immediately before you came into the Councell Chamber, or you being present and standing by, commanded the said Secretarie Smith to put in writing and anner it to the rest of the Articles.

7 Item, That the said Secretarie Smith, then and there did, immediately upon commandement, write into the said booke or paper, wherein the rest of the Articles were written, the said Article, videlicet, you shall also set forth in your Sermon, that the authority of our royall power is (as truth it is) of no lesse authoritie and force in this our young age, then was of any of our predecessours, though the same were much elder, as may appeare by example of Josias and other young Kings in the Scripture, and therefore all our Subjects to be no lesse bound to the obedience of our precepts, lawes, and statutes, then if we were of thirty or fortie yeares of age.

8 Item, That the Lord Protector did so deliver you the Book or paper, willing first the said Secretarie Smith to amend all things as he had appointed.

9 Item, that ye then and there did promise to the Lord Protectors Grace, that ye would observe and fulfil all in the said injunctions & articles contained.

10 Item, that all things in the said Booke, put in and mentioned by the said secretary Smith, and the same so read to you by him, & you first agreeing that all that was by him so written was by the Lord Protectors appointment, the said Book was so delivered unto you then and there by the said Secretary Smith in the Councell Chamber.

11 Item, that you have the said Book in your possession, or else know where it is, the true Copie whereof in effect is annexed to these articles.

12 Item, that ye were commanded in the same Injunctions to preach the sunday three weeks after the delivery thereof at Pauls, and there to intreat upon certain articles, as is specified in the said book of Injunctions, and especially the said article, beginning, Ye shall also set forth, and ending, thirty or fortie yeares of age.

13 Item, that for the accomplishment of part of the said Injunctions and commandement, you did preach the first day of September last past at Pauls Crosse.

14 Item, that at the said sermon, contrary to your Injunctions, ye omitted and left out the said article beginning, ye shal also set forth in your Sermon, &c. and ending thirty or forty yeares of age.

15 Ye shall also answer whether ye thinke and beleeve that the kings Majesties subjects be bound to obey as well the lawes, statutes, proclamations, and other ordinances made now in this young age of the kings majestie, as the laws, statutes, proclamations, and ordinances made by his highnesse progenitours.

These Articles being thus ministred to the said Bishop of London, the next day being Thursday and the nineteenth of September, the forenamed commissioners sate in the archbishops Chamber of presence at Lambeth, attending the coming of the Bishop of London. Before whom there appeared Robert Johnson the Bishops Register, and there did declare unto the Commissioners that the Bishop his master could not at that time personally appeare before them without great danger of his bodily health, because that he feared to fall into a Fever by reason of a cold that he had taken by too much overwatching himselfe the last night before, whereby he was compelled to keep his bed: nevertheless, if he could without danger of his bodily health he would appeare before them the same day at afternoone. This excuse the judges were content to take in good part. Yet said Walter Secretarie Smith, That if he were sick indeed, the excuse was

Boner for feare of a feaver either could not or durst not appeare.

reasonable, and to be allowed, but (quoth he) I promise you, my Lord hath so dallied with us, and used hitherto such delaies, that we may mistrust that this is but a feigned excuse: Howbeit upon your faithfull declaration we are content to tarry untill one of the Clock at afternoone, and so they did, willing M. Johnson to signifie then unto them whether the Bishop could appeare or not.

Boner pretendeth again his former.

At which houre Robert Johnson and Richard Rogers Gentlemen of the Bishops Chamber appeared again before the Commissioners, declaring that (for the causes afore alledged) their maister could not appear at that time neither. Whereupon Master Secretary Smith said unto them, My Lord of London your maister hath used us very homely, and sought delaies hitherto, and now perhaps, perceiving these last articles to touch the quick, and therefore loth to come to his answer, he feigneth himselfe sicke. But because he shall not so deceive us any more, we will send the Knight Marshall unto him, willing him if he be sick indeed to let him alone, for that is a reasonable excuse; but if he be not sick, then to bring him forthwith to us; for I promise you he shall not use us as he hath done, we will not take it at his hands: and therefore Master Johnson, said he, you do the part of a trusty servant as becometh you, but it is also your part to shew my Lord his stubborne heart and disobedience, which doth him more harme then he is aware of. What, thinketh he to stand with a king in his own Realme? Is this the part of a subject? Nay, I weene we shall have a new Thomas Becket. Let him take heed, for if he play these parts he may fortune to be made shorter by the head. He may appeale if he think good; but whither? To the Bishop of Rome? So he may helpe himselfe forwards. I say he cannot appeale but to the same King who hath made us his Judges, and to the Bench of his Councel, and how they will take this matter when they heare of it, I doubt not. He would make men beleeve that he were called before us for preaching his opinion of the Sacrament, wherein I assure you he did both falsely and naughtily, yea and lewdly, and more then became him, and more then he had in commandement to do, for he was not willed to speake of that matter, and perhaps he may heare more of that hereafter; but yet we will lay no such thing to his charge, and therefore we will not have him to delay us as he doth. Which ended, the Delegates notwithstanding decreed to tarry againe for him untill two of the Clocke at afternoone the next day, being Friday, and the 20. of September.

Boners excuse of sicknesse not well taken of the Commissioners.

A good admonition sent to Boner by Secretary Smith.

{ Anno. 1549. }

The fifth Action or Processe the twentieth of September, against Boner Bishop of London, before the Kings Commissioners.

The fifth session or court against Boner Bishop of London.

AT which day and time the Bishop appeared himselfe personally before them in the same chamber of presence; where first he did exhibit his answers unto the last articles ministred unto him the eightenth of September, the contents whereof hereunder follow.

The answer of the said Bishop of London made unto the Articles ministred unto him the second time.

THe answers of me Edmund Bishop of London, under mine accustomed Protestation given unto the Articles of late ministred and exhibited against me here in this Court, with speciall protestation also, that I doe not intend in any wise to make answer to any of the said Articles, otherwise then the Law of this Realme doth binde me to do, nor to speak or say contrary to any thing that in my former answers I have said or done; and that if it so chance me to doe, it is not nor shall not be with my good will or ful consent, and that so soon as I shall perceive it, I intend to revoke it, and so now as then, and then as now, do so in that case revoke, to all honest and lawfull purposes.

{ KING E. D. 6. }

To the first article I doe answer and say, that there was a messenger, whose name I know not, that came unto me to Fulham, as I now remember, but I do not remember the day thereof, and he said that my Lord Protectors grace required me to come by and by to speake with him. And thereupon, having made the said messenger to breake his fast, I repaired to the Court at Westminster, but not upon the tenth day of August, but some other day of the said moneth.

Boner answereth to the first Article.

To the second article I do say, that it is obscure, incertain, and over generall, especially in those words at the same time, which may be referred to the tenth of August, & then answer already is made thereunto, and it may be referred to some other day of the said moneth of August, either before the tenth of August, or after. And because it remaineth undeclared, I am not bound in law to answer unto it, neither yet to these words and sentences in the said Article, to wit, Then, & there, for they without declaration are incertaine, obscure, and generall, and I, before the specification and declaration thereof, not bound herein to make an answer, specially having already made ful and sufficient answer in this matter, according to the Commission, as I do take it, and according unto the law; which also willeth, that if a certaine answer be loked for, the position and article must before be certaine.

Answer to the second article.

To the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth articles, he answereth all after one manner and sort, as thus, that it doth depend of the former articles, to which for causes afore said, he saith, he is not bound in Law to make answer, especially having already made.

He answereth in a generall.

Saving that in the 6. he addeth thereunto, that he at no time heard the Lord Protector finde fault, nor commanded as is deduced in the said article, so far as he doth finde.

Also saving the seventh article, where he addeth nevertheless confessing and acknowledging, with heart and mouth, the Kings Majesties authoritie and regall power and minoritie, as well and full as in his majoritie.

Also saving the 8, 9, 10, and 11. Articles, where he addeth, as they be deduced they are not true, as appeareth in conferring one with another.

To the 12. and 14. articles, he addeth as they be deduced they are not true; Confessing nevertheless the Kings Majesties authoritie and power regall, as before is expressed.

Answer to the fifteenth article.

To the fifteenth article he answereth and saith, That it is a position in law, and that yet both now and heretofore he hath made answer thereunto in effect and substance, as appeareth in his former answers, and so shall doe alwaies according to the Law and his bounden duty, knowledging, as he hath already done, the kings Majesties regall power in his minoritie to be no lesse then in his majoritie, and the subjects bound to obey unto his Grace, his lawes, statutes, and ordinances, and his said authoritie, as well in his minority as in his majoritie, not allowing, but expressely condemning the opinion of all rebels holding the contrary.

After this, perceiving that Master Secretarie Smith was somewhat more quick with him then others of the Commissioners, and that he would not suffer him any longer to dally out the matter with his vain quiddities and subtilties in law, but ever earnestly urged him to go directly to his matter, and therewithall sometimes sharpely rebuking him for his evill and stubborne behaviour towards them; he to deface his authoritie (as he thought) did also then exhibite in writing a recusation of the

Boner refuseth Secretarie Smith to be his Judge.

Secre-

{King Ed.6.} Secretaries judgement against him. The forme and manner whereof, as he exhibited it unto the Judges, I thought here also to exhibite unto the Reader as hereunder followeth.

The recusation of the judgement of Sir Thomas Smith, made by the Bishop of London, the first time.

Causes alledged by Boner why he refused Secretarie Smith.

IN the name of God, Amen. Forsomuch as equitie, naturall reason, and all good lawes doe require that Iudges shall be of that integritie, wisdome, circumspection, learning, and indifferencie, that exercising the office and roome of a Iudge, they may and shall doe it without hatred, malice, or grudge against any person convented or called before them, uprightly, sincerely, and duely executing and doing their office unto them in any wise committed; and forsomuch also as all judgements and processe ought to have their due course, and proceed without suspition or corruption in any wise, and finally forsomuch as very dangerous it is to appeare and make defence before an incompetent judge, who commonly and accustomably of private and unlawfull corrupt affection to the one side, and for malice, hatred and envie borne against the other side, rather serveth his carnall, corrupt, and wilfull appetite, then any thing else is moved to obedience and keeping of good order, law, or reason, touching him that is convented and compelled to make answer against his will: I therefore Edmund Bishop of London, having perceived and felt by all the sayings, proceedings and doings of you sir Thomas Smith, Knight, one of the two principall Secretaries to the Kings Majestie, in this matter attempted and moved against me, that ye have beene, and yet continually are a notorious and manifest enemie of me the said Edmund, and much offended that I should in any wise alledge and say, or use any such things for my most defence, as the law giveth me licence and libertie to do, yea, hearing most favourably and effectually my denouncers and enemies with both eares in any thing that they shall alledge, purpose, attempt, or doe against me, though their persons in law are not in any wise to be heard or admitted, ne yet their sayings true, and not hearing me so much as with one eare in my lawfull sayings and doings in this behalfe, but contrariwise opening your mouth at large, ye have sundry times against good wisdome and reason outraged in words and deeds against me the said Edmund, saying among other words, that I did as theeves, murtherers, and traitors are wont to doe, being my selfe as ye untruly did say, inward indeed culpable, and yet outward otherwise unable to defend the matter against me, but onely by taking exceptions, and making frivolous allegations against my Iudges and Commissioners, and that I have bin and am as sturdy, wilfull, and disobedient, as may be in your judgement and opinion, maintaining and upholding the rebels and their opinions, and that I shall answer by mouth, or else smart and doe worse, or else ye will send me to the Tower, there to sit and be joyned with Ket and Humfrey Arundel the Rebels; over and besides divers other threatnings and comminatorie words by you pronounced and uttered unseemely, and farre unmeet to proceede out of the mouth of you that are in such roome and place as ye be in.

Boner layeth exceptions against sir Tho. Smith.

And moreover, increasing your malice, evill will and grudge borne against me, ye have amongst other things untruely surmised, written, alledged, and said, that a certaine Booke of Articles and Injunctions by the Lord Protectors Grace in the full Councell after a certaine prescribed fashion and forme in the Denunciation, Commission, and Articles, which (de facto) were induced, brought in and objected against me, was delivered unto me; and moreover of an evill will and ungodly intent and purpose, contrary to the truth, ye have withdrawne, added, altered, and qualified divers things in the same, otherwise then they were spoken and done, and yet ye are not ashamed to alledge, write, and say, that all is true, and one consonant and agreeable in all points with the other, where indeed it is not so: And yet have further (de facto) against the law, and against the Commission to you directed, and against my just and lawfull allegations and sayings, proceeded unlawfully and unjustly against me, attempting many things against me unlawfully and unjustly, as appeareth in the acts of this matter, to the which I doe referre me so farre forth as they make for me, and be expedient by me and for me to be alledged, and referred unto your selfe also unlawfully and unjustly (de facto) with your Collegues, the which without you had begun the said matters, proceeding where by the law ye so ought not to have done indeed, but abstained therefrom, as heretofore sundry times I have alledged, appearing in the acts of this Court; doe upon these just and reasonable causes, according to the order of the Kings Majesties Ecclesiasticall lawes, refuse, decline, and recuse you the said sir Thomas Smith, as an uncompetent, unmeete, and suspect judge, against me in this behalfe, and decline your pretensed jurisdiction in this matter for causes aforesaid, desiring nothing but justice, and offering my selfe prompt and ready to prove them as farre as I am bound, and according to the order of the Kings Majesties Ecclesiasticall lawes of this Realme in this behalfe, as time, place, and otherwise shall require.

Here Boner most proudly shameth not to belie the kings Secretarie, and one of his Majesties councell, charging him with altering and adding unto the councels injunctions.

{Anno 1550.}

The Popes lawes termed by the name of the Kings Ecclesiasticall lawes.

This recusation ended, the Secretarie told him plaine, that notwithstanding he would proceede in his Commission, and would be still his Iudge untill he were otherwise inhibited; and said unto him further, my Lord, whereas you say in your recusation that I said, that you did like theeves, murtherers, and traitors, indeed I said it, and may and will so say againe, since we perceive it by your doings.

The reply of Secretary Smith to Boners allegation.

Whereunto the Bishop in a great and stout rage replyed, saying, well Sir, because you sit here by vertue of the Kings Commission, and for that ye be Secretarie to his Majestie, and also one of his Highnesse Councell, I must and doe honour and reverence you; but as you be but Sir Thomas Smith, and say as ye have said, that I doe like theeves, murtherers, and traitors, I say ye lie upon me, and in that case I defie you; and doe what ye can to me, I feare you not, and therefore, quod facis, fac citius.

Boner.

Boner in a pelting chafe against sir Tho. Smith.

Whereat the Archbishop with the other Commissioners said unto him, that for such his unreverent behaviour he was worthy imprisonment.

The Archbish.

Then the Bishop, in more mad fury then before, said again unto him; A Gods name ye may doe de facto, send me whither you will, and I must obey you, and so will, except ye send me to the Devil, for thither I will not go for you. Three things I have (to wit) a small portion of goods, a poore carkasse, and mine owne soule: the two first ye may take (though unjustly) to you, but as for my Soule ye get not, Quia anima mea in manibus meis semper.

Boner.

I pray God ye go not for your selfe.

Well, said the Secretarie then, ye shall know that there is a King.

Secretary Smith.

Yea Sir, (saith the Bishop) but that is not you, neither, I am sure, will you take it upon you.

Boner.

Nu sir, said againe the Secretarie, but we will make you know who it is; and with that the Commissioners commanded the Bishop and all the rest to depart the Chamber, untill they called for him againe.

Secretary Smith.

Now in the meane while that the Commissioners were in consultation, the bishop with Gilbert Bourne his Chapleine, Robert Warnington his Commissarie, and Robert Johnson his Register, were tarrying in a quadrant void place before the doze of the same Chamber. Where the bishop leaning on a cupboard, and seeing his Chapleines very sad, said unto them in effect as followeth: Sirs, what meane you? Why shew you your selves to be sad and heavie in minde, as appeareth to me by your outward gestures and countenances? I would with you, and I require you to be as merry as I am (laying therewith his hand upon his brest) for afore God I am not sad nor heavy, but merry and of good comfort, and am right glad and joyfull of this my trouble, which is for Gods cause, and it grieveth me nothing at all.

Boners talk to his Chapleines in the quadrant place before the chamber of presence at Lambeth.

But the great matter that grieveth me and pierceth my heart, is, for that this Hooper & such other vile heretikes and beasts be suffered and licensed to preach at Pauls Crosse, and in other places within my Diocesse and Cure, most detestably preaching and railing at the blessed Sacrament of the altar, and denying the veritie and presence of Christ his true body and bloud to be there, and so infect and betray my Flock. But I say it is there in very deed, and in that opinion I will live and die, and am ready to suffer death for the same. Wherefore, ye being Christian men, I do require you and also charge and command you in the name of God, and on his behalfe, as ye wil answer him for the contrary, that ye goe to the Maior of London, and to his Brethren the Aldermen, praying and also requiring them earnestly in Gods name and mine, and for mine owne discharge on that behalfe, that from henceforth, when any such detestable & abominable Preachers (and especially those which hold opinion against the blessed Sacrament of the Altar) doe come to preach unto them, they forthwith depart out of their presence, and doe not heare them, lest that they tarrying with such Preachers, should not onely hurt themselves in receiving their poisoned doctrine, but also give a visage to the encouragement of others, which thereby might take an occasion to think and beleeve that their erroneous and damnable doctrine is true and good: and this eftsoones I require and command you to doe.

Here Boners obedient heart bursteth out.

Boners Popish message and charge to the L. Maior and Aldermen.

And then turning himselfe about, and beholding two of the Archbishops gentlemen, which in the same place kept the Chamber doze where the commissioners were in consultation, and perceiving that they had heard all his talk, he spake unto them also and said; And sirs, ye be my Lord of Canterburies gentlemen, I know ye very well; and therefore I also require and charge you in Gods behalfe, and in his name, that ye doe the like for your parts in places where you shall chance to see and heare such corrupt and erroneous Preachers, and also advertise my lord your Master of the same, and of these my sayings that I have now spoken here before you, as ye are Christian men, and shall answer before God for the contrary.

Boners trifling charge to two of the Archbishops Gentlemen.

With this the Commissioners called for the Bishop againe, who did reade unto them an instrument, containing a Provocation to the King, which he made in manner and forme here following.

The first Appellation intimated by Edmund Boner Bishop of London.

Boner appealeth to the King because he could not to the Pope.

IN the name of God, Amen. It shall appeare to all men by this publike instrument that *An. Dom.* 1549. the twentieth day of September, the third yeare of the raigne of our most high and renowned Prince Edward the sixth, by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, and in earth the supreme head of the Church of England and Ireland, in a chamber within the palace of the said Bishop, situated in London, and in the presence of me the publike Notarie, and of the Witnesses hereafter named, the foresaid Bishop did personally appeare, and there did shew forth in writing a certaine protestation and appellation, the tenor whereof insueth.

IN the name of God, Amen. I Edmund Bishop of London, say, alledge, and propound before you being a publike Notarie, and these credible Witnesses here present, that although I the foresaid Edmund have attained the Bishoprick aforesaid by the benevolence of the famous Prince of memorie King Henry the eighth, and was lawfully elected and translated to the same, with his rites and appurtenances, have of a long time possessed peaceably and quietly the same, and presently doe possesse, being taken as Bishop and lawfull possessor of the said Bishoprick, and am lawfully called, taken, and reputed notoriously and publikely; and moreover doe keepe residence and hospitalitie on the same, according to the order, state, person, and dignitie, and as the revenues of the same would permit, and have exercised and done all things appertaining to my pastorall office, as the lawes doe require, as hereafter I trust by Gods grace to doe and observe, a man of good name and fame, neither suspended, excommunicate, nor interdicted, neither convict of any notable crime or fact, alwaies obeying readily the commandement of the Church, and other my superiours in all lawfull causes, nevertheless fearing upon certaine probable causes, likely conjectures, threatnings, and assertions of certaine injurious men my enemies, or at the least, such as little favour me, that great dammage may come to me hereafter about the premisses or part of them; and lest any man by any authoritie, commandement, denunciation, inquisition, office, or at the request of any person or persons, may attempt prejudice or hurt to me or my said dignitie, either by my excommunication, interdiction, sequestration, spoyling, vexing, and perturbing by any manner of meanes; doe appeale unto the most high and mightie Prince our Soveraigne Lord Edward the sixth by the grace of God, King of England, France, &c. and in these my writings doe provoke and appeale to his regall Majestie. I do also require the Apostles, so much as in this case they are to be required, the first, second, and third time, earnestly, more earnestly, and most earnestly of all, that there may be given to me the protection, tuition, and defence of my foresaid most dread Soveraigne Lord, for the safegard of me, my dignitie and title, and possession in the premisses, and to all that will cleave to me in this behalfe. I do also protest, that I will be contented to correct, reforme, and amend this my present protestation, and to the same to adde, to take away, and to bring the same into the best forme and state that may be devised, by the counsell of learned men, or as the case shall require, and the same to intimate according to time and place, and the order of the Law, and still shall require.

Apostles is a terme of Canon Law, and signifieth as much as Letters reverentiall or dimissories.

Anno. 1549.

Vpon all the which things the foresaid Edmund Bishop of London did require the publike Notarie hereunder written to make unto him, and the Witnesses hereafter named, one, two, or more copies of this protestation.

These things were done the yeare, day, and time above written, there being present Gilbert Bourne Bachelour of Divinitie, John Harpsfield and Robert Colen, Masters of Art, John Wakeling and Richard Rogers learned men, being of the Diocesse of Worcester, Westminster, Coventry, Lichfield, and Gloucester, and specially requested to be Witnesses of the same. And I Francis Harward of the Diocesse of Worcester and publike Notary by the Kings regall authoritie, forsomuch as I was present when

KING ED. 6.

when the foresaid protestation, appellation, and other the premisses were done, the yeer of our Lord, the yeer of the reign of the King, the day of the moneth and place aforesaid, the witnesses above named being present, and forsomuch as I did inact the same, therefore to this present publique instrument, written faithfully with mine own hand, I have put to my mark, being specially requested unto the same.

Boner requireth his appeal, recusation, and protestation to be entred in Register.

Which thing after he had read, he did under his protestation first intimate unto the Archbishop, the Bishop of Rochester, and Doctor Day, and then protesting also not to recede from his recusation, did likewise intimate the same unto master Secretarie Smith, requiring the Register to make an Instrument as well thereupon, as also upon his recusation, with Witnesse to testifie the same.

The last answer of Boner to the articles examined, and found unperfect.

Then the Delegates did again proceed to the examination of the last answers, and finding the same imperfect, they demanded of him (according to the first article) what speciall day of August he was sent for by the Lord Protector: to whom he obstinately answered, that he was not bound to make other answer then he had already made, unlesse they did put their articles more certain: neither would he otherwise answer as long as M. Secretary Smith was there present, whom he had before recused, and therefore would not recede from his recusation.

The Secretary, seeing him so wilfull and perverse, said sharply unto him, My Lord, come off and make a full and perfect answer unto these Articles, or else we will take other order with you to your pain.

In faith Sir, then said the Bishop again, I thought ye had been learned, but now before God I perceive well that either ye be not learned indeed, or else ye have forgotten it: for I have so often answered lawfully and sufficiently, and have so oft shewed causes sufficient and reasonable, why thereunto I ought not by law to be compelled (you shewing nothing to the contrary but sensuality and will) that I must needs judge that you are too too ignorant herein.

Well, said M. Secretarie, ye will not not then otherwise answer?

No, said the Bishop, except the Law do compell me.

Then said the Secretary, call for the Knight Marshall, that he may be had to ward.

Boner commanded to the Marshalley.

With that all the rest of the Commissioners charged the Bishop, that he had at that time sundry waies very outragiously and irreverently behaved himselfe towards them sitting on the Kings Majesties Commission, and especially towards sir Thomas Smith his graces Secretarie, and therefore, and for divers other contumelious words which he had spoken, they declared they would commit him to the Marshalley.

By this time the Marshals deputie came before them, whom M. Secretary commanded to take the Bishop as prisoner, and so to keep him that no man might come unto him, for if he did, he should sit by him himself.

When the Secretary had ended his talk, the Bishop said unto him, Well sir, it might have becomed you right well that my Lords grace here present, being first in Commission, and your better, should have done it.

Then the Commissioners assigning him to be brought before them on Munday next before nowne, between seven and nine of the clock in the Hall of that place, there to make full answer to these Articles, or else to shew cause why he should not be declared pro confesso, did for that present break up that Session.

Now as the Bishop was departing with the undermarshall, he in a great furie turned himself againe toward the Commissioners, and said to sir Thomas Smith; Sir, where ye have committed me to prison, ye shal understand, that I will require no favour at your hands, but shall willingly suffer what shall be put unto me, as bolts on my heels, yea, and if ye will, irons about my middle, or where ye will.

Boners great heart could not chuse, but he must needs utter his stomach.

When departing againe, he yet returned once more, and so coming out his person, said unto the Archbishop, Well, my Lord, I am sorie that I being a Bishop am thus handled at your graces hand; but more sorie that ye suffer abominable heretiques to practise as they do in London and elsewhere, infecting and disquieting the Kings liege people: and therefore I do require you, as you will answer to God and the King, that ye will hencefoorth abstain thus to do; for if you do not, I will accuse you before God and the Kings Majestie; answer to it as well as ye can. And so he departed, using many reproachfull words against sundrie of the common people, which stood and spake to him by the way as he went.

Boner threateneth to accuse the Archbishop before God.

The sixth action or processe upon Munday the 23. of September, had against Boner Bishop of London, before the Commissioners, in the great Hall at Lambeth.

The 6. session & appearance of Boner.

IT was assigned as ye have heard in the fourth act prosecuted the eightéenth of September, that upon Munday then next following, being the three and twentieth of the same moneth, the Bishop should again appeare before the Commissioners, within the great Hall at Lambeth, then to shew a finall cause why he should not be declared pro confesso, upon all the Articles whereunto he had not fully answered.

According to which assignement, the same three and twentieth day of September, the Bishop was brought before them by the undermarshal (to whom for his disobedient and obstinate behaviour he was before that time committed) and there did first declare unto them, that his appearance at that time and place was not voluntary, but coacted, for that he was against his will brought thither by the keeper of the Marshalley, and therewithall also under his former protestation, recusation and appeale, did then againe intimate a generall recusation of all the Commissioners, alledging in the same, that because the archbishop with all his collegues had neither observed the order of their commission, neither yet proceeded against him after any laudable or good fashion of judgement, but contrariwise had sundrie times as well in his absence, as in his presence, attempted many things unlawfully against his person, dignity and state, especially in committing him to strait prison, and yet commanding him to make answer; and further, because that he with the rest had proceeded in commission with sir Tho. Smith knight, supporting and maintaining all his evil doings (notwithstanding that he the said Bishop had before justly recused and declined from him) he therefore did also there refuse and decline from the judgement of the said Archb. and his Collegues, and did except against their jurisdiction as suspect, and they thereby unmeet persons to proceed against him, therefore, according to his former appeale, he intended to submit himself under the tuition, protection, and defence of the Kings majestie, for whose honour and reverence sake (he said) they ought not to proceed any further against him, but quietly suffer him to use the benefit of all the recusations, provocations, and other lawfull remedies before alledged, with other superfluous words, at large to be read and seen as followeth.

A generall recusation of Boner against all the Commissioners.

Boner still sticketh to his former protestation and provocations.

The

The second recusation made by Edmund Boner Bishop of London.

IN the name of God, Amen. Forasmuch as both naturall reason and all good policies of Lawes, especially of this realme of England, do admit and suffer him that is conuented before an uncompetent and suspect Iudge, to refuse him and to decline his iurisdiction, in as much as Law and reason on the one side willeth processe to runne uprightly and iustly, and that on the other side corruption and malice laboureth to the contrary, and needeth therefore to be bridled; and because ye my Lord of Canterbury with your Collegues in this behalfe (deputed as ye say Commissioners against me) neither have observed your said Commission, neither yet proceeded hitherto against me after any laudable, lawfull, or any good fashion of iudgement, but contrariwise, contrary to your commission, and against the law, good reason and order, have at sundrie times, and in sundry acts attempted and done many things against me unlawfully, unseemly, and unjustly, and suffer the like to be attempted and done by other, not reforming and amending the same, as appeareth in divers and sundrie things remaining in your Acts.

{ Anno. } { 1550. } And moreover, because you my said L. with your said Collegues, have both in mine absence, being let with just causes of impediment, which according to the Laws of this realme I have fully alledged, and very sufficiently and iustly proved according to the order of the Kings Ecclesiasticall Laws, injuriously, and much to the hinderance of my name, person, title, dignitie, and state, and also otherwise, specially in my presence, against all laws, good order, and reason, without good cause or ground, attempted and done many things against me, especially touching mine imprisonment, sending me to straight ward, and yet commanding me to make answer, as appeareth in your unlawfull Acts.

I for these causes, and also for that ye my said L. and your said Collegues proceeding with sir Tho. Smith knight (whom upon iust and lawfull causes I have refused, recused and declined) have favoured, yea maintained, supported and born him, in his unlawfull and evill doings, do also refuse, recuse and decline you my said Lord with the rest of your said Collegues agreeing and joyning with you, and do except against your proceedings, doings and jurisdiction as suspect, and thereby unmeet persons to proceed herein against me.

And further I do alledge, that having been provoked to the Kings most excellent Majestie, as appeareth by the tenour of my provocation, remaining in your acts, whereunto I do protest that I intend to adhere and cleave, submitting my selfe unto the tuition, protection, and defence of his said Majestie in this behalfe, ye in any wise ought not (if ye regard the person and authoritie of his Graces royall power, as ye ought to do) proceed herein against me, especially for the honour and reverence ye ought to have unto his Majestie in this behalfe. And because it appeareth that ye do not duely and circumspectly consider the same, as ye ought to do, but more and more do grieve me; that considered, I both here to all purposes repeat my former recusation, provocation, and all other remedies that heretofore I have used and mentioned in your said acts;

And also do by these presents refuse, recuse, and decline you my said Lord, and your said Collegues, and your jurisdiction, upon causes aforesaid, offering my self prompt and readie to prove all the same, afore an arbiter and arbiters, according to the tenor and forme of the law herein to be chosen, requiring you all, for that honour and reverence ye ought to beare to our said soveraigne Lord, and his laws allowed and approved in this behalfe, that ye do not attempt or do, ne yet suffer to be attempted or done, any thing in any wise against me, or unto my prejudice, but suffer me to use and injoy the benefit of my said former and this recusation, provocation, allegation, and other lawfull remedies mentioned in your said acts. And in case ye do de facto, where ye ought not de jure, to attempt or suffer any thing to be attempted or done against me in any wise herein, I protest herewith, and hereby, of my great griefe and hurt in that behalfe, and that not onely I do intend to appeale from you, but also, according to the Kings Ecclesiasticall Laws, to accuse and complain upon you, as iustly and truly I both may and ought to do.

Notwithstanding these recusations, and former appellation, the Archbishop with the rest told him plain that they would be still his Iudges, and proceed against him according to the Kings Commission, untill they did receive a Supersedeas, which if he did obtain, they would gladly obey.

Another appellation of Boner to the King.

Then the Bishop, seeing that they would still proceed against him, did there likewise intimate another appellation unto the Kings Majestie, expressing therein in effect no other matter, but such as is already alledged in the two former recusations and appeale; saving that he requireth, that letters dimissories or appellatories might be given him according to the law, and that for his better safeguard he did submit himselfe under the protection of the King.

The Commissioners for all this stuck still unto their Commission, and would not in any case defer, but urged him straitly to make a more full answer to his articles then he had done.

Boner standing upon his recusations and appellations, denieth to make answer.

To whom the Bishop said, that he would stand unto his recusations and appellations before made, and would not make other answer.

Then the Delegates demanded of him what cause he had to alledge, why he ought not to be declared pro confesso, upon the articles whereunto he had not fully answered, the Bishop still answering (as before) that he would adhere unto his appellation and recusation.

Boner declared Contumax & pro confesso, that is, guilty.

Whereupon the Archbishop, with consent of the rest, seeing his pertinacie, pronounced him Contumax, and in paine thereof declared him pro confesso, upon all the Articles which he had not answered.

This done, master Secretary Smith shewed forth a letter which the Bishop of London had before that time sent unto the Lord Maior and the Aldermen of the city of London, the tenor whereof ensueth as followeth.

To the right honourable and my very good Lord, the Lord Maior of London, with all his worshipfull Brethren, my very dear and worshipfull friends, with speed.

Boners letter to the Lord Maior and Aldermen of London.

RIght honourable, with my very humble recommendations: where I have perceived of late, and heard with mine ears, what vile beasts and heretiques have preached unto you, or rather like themselves prated and railed against the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar, denying the verity and presence of Christs true body and blood to be there, giving you and the people liberty to beleeve what ye list, teaching you detestably, That faith in this behalfe must not be coacted, but that every man may beleeve as he will; by reason whereof, lest my presence and silence might unto some have been seen to have allowed their hereticall doctrine, and given credit unto them, betraying my flocke of the Catholique sort, ye know I departed yesterday from the heretique praters uncharitable charitie, and so could

Boner would not tarry M. Hoopers sermon

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could have wished that you and all other that be Catholique should have done, leaving those there with him that be already cast away, and will not be recovered. For you, tarrying with him still, shall not onely hurt your selves in receiving his poysoned doctrine, but also shall give a visage that their doctrine is tolerable by reason that ye are content to hear it, and say nothing against it. And because I cannot tell when I shall speak with you to advertise you hereof, therefore I thought good for mine owne discharge and yours, thus much to write unto you, requiring and praying you againe and againe in Gods behalf, and for mine own discharge, that ye suffer not your selves to be abused with such naughtie preachers and teachers, in hearing their evill doctrine that ye shall perceive them go about to sowe. And thus our blessed Lord long and well preserve you all with this noble Citie in all good rest, godlinesse, and prosperity. Written in haste, this Munday morning, the 16. of Septemb. 1549.

Your faithfull Beads man and poore Bishop, Edmund Boner.

This Letter being read, the Secretary demanded of him whether he wrote it not. To whom he would not otherwise answer, but that he would still adhere and stand unto his former recusations and appeals. Which the Commissioners seing, determined to continue this case in state as it was untill Friday then next following, betwæn the hours of eight and nine of the clock before noon, assigning the Bishop to be there at the same time and place, then to hear a finall decreæ of this matter, he still protesting as before.

Boner deferred till the next Friday, & from that till Tuesday after.

The seventh Session or appearance of Boner upon Tuesday the first of October, before the Kings Commissioners at Lambeth.

The 7. session or appearance of Boner.

UPon Friday the Commissioners, for divers urgent causes letting them, did not sit in Commission according to their appointment, but deferred it untill Tuesday the first of October then next following. Upon which day the Bishop appearing before them, the Archbishop declared unto him, that although as upon Friday last they had appointed to pronounce their finall Decreæ and Sentence in this matter, yet forsomuch as they thought that that Sentence (although they had just cause to give it) should have bæn verie sore against him, they had not onely deferred the same untill this day, but minding to be more friendly to him then he was to himselfe, and to use more easie, and gentle reformation towards him, had also made such sute and meanes for him, that although he had grievously offended the Kings Majestie, and very disobediently behaved himselfe, yet if he would in the meane while have acknowledged his fault, and have bæn contented to make some part of amends in submitting himselfe according to his bounden dutie, he should have found much favour: So the Sentence should not have bæn so sore and extreme against him, as it was like now to be, for which they were verie sorie, especially to sæ the continuance of such stubborne disobedience, whereby they were then more enforced to give such sentence against him.

The friendly words of the commissioners to Boner.

{Anno. 1549.}

The Bishop nothing at all regarding this gentle and friendly admonition and favour, but persisting still in his wonted contumacie, drew forth a Paper, whereon he read these words following.

A declaration of Boner before the commissioners.

I Edmund Bishop of London brought in as a prisoner by his keeper, one of the Marshalsey, here before you my Lord of Canterbury and your pretensed collegues, do under my former protestations heretofore by me made before you and remaining in your Act, declare that this my presence here at this time is not voluntarie, nor of mine owne free will and consent, but utterly coacted and against my will, and that being otherwise sent for or brought before you then I am (that is as a prisoner) I would not, being at libertie, have come and appeared before you, but would have declined and refused to make any appearance at all, and would have absented my selfe from you, as lawfully and well I might have done, standing to, using and enjoying all and singular my lawfull remedies and defences heretofore used, exercised and enjoyed, especially my provocation, and appellation heretofore interponed and made unto the Kings most excellent Majestie, to whom eftsoones, *Ex abundanti*, I have both provoked and appealed, and also made supplication, as appeareth in these writings, which, under protestation aforesaid, I do exhibite and leave here with the actuarie of this cause, requiring him to make an instrument thereupon, and the persons here present to beare record in that behalfe; especially to the intent it may appeare, I do better acknowledge the Kings Majesties authoritie even in his tender and young age, provoking and appealing to his Majestie, as my most gracious Soveraigne and supreme head, with submission to his Highnesse (as appeareth in my appellation and other remedies) for my tuition and defence, then othersome (I do meane you my Lord of Canterburie and your said pretensed Collegues) which by Law and good reason ought to have deferred and given place unto such provocation, appellation, and supplication, as heretofore lawfully have been by me interponed, and made unto his Majesties most Royall Person and Soveraigne authoritie in this behalfe.

Boner pretendeth submission to the King.

As soone as the Bishop had read these words, he did deliver as well that paper, as also two other, unto the Actuarie, the one containing an appellation, and the other a supplication unto the Kings Majestie; which appellation beginneth thus. In the name of God, Amen.

Wherein first he shewed how naturally everie creature declineth gladly from that thing which goeth about to hurt it, and also seeketh helpe and remedie to withstand such hurts and injuries.

Further he shewed that it is found by experience to be hurtfull and dangerous to trust him that once hath hurt and beguiled, lest he might adde more, rather then to take ought from.

Moreover he shewed, that he had found heretofore at the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the Collegues in this matter, much extremity and cruelty, injuries, losses, and griefs, contrary to Gods law, and the laws and statutes of this Realm, and against Justice, Charity and good order, being well assured if they were not staied but proceeded, they would adde more evill to evill, losse to losse, displeasure to displeasure, as (said he) their servants have reported, and they agreeably do shew the same.

Againe in the said appeale he shewed that the Bishop of Canterbury and the other Commissioners ought to have considered and done better in that matter for honour and obedience to the Kings Majestie, which hitherto they have not done (said he) in that they have not given place to his provocations and appellations heretofore made unto his grace, justly and lawfully, and upon good and just causes, namely, for the unjust griefs they did against him, which he said do appeare in the acts of that matter; as in pronouncing him contumacem **unreasonablie without good cause, and further in assigning the terme** ad audiendum finale decretum, **and**

and in committing him to ſtraight priſon, as appeareth in their Acts. Therefore he did not only, Exabundanti, ad omnem juris cautelam, decline and refuſe their pretenſed juriſdiction as before, but alſo by theſe preſents here ſhewed, he did appeale from the ſaid Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the reſt, unto the Kings Majeſty, aſking alſo thoſe Letters of appeal which the law doth admit, ſaying, he did not intend to go from his former provocations and appellations, but to joyne and cleave unto them in every part and parcell, ſubmitting himſelf to the protection and defence of the Kings Majeſtie; and he therein made intimation to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and to his ſaid Collegues, to all intents and purpoſes that might come thereof.

Letters of appeale called *Apoſtoli.*

Furthermore, as touching the ſupplication above mentioned, which Boner (as we ſaid) put up in writing to the Commiſſioners, the copy thereof hereunder likewiſe enſueth.

The ſupplication of Boner to the Chancellour of England, with all the reſt of the Kings Maieſties moſt honourable privy Councell.

The copy of Boners ſupplication.

PLeaſe it your moſt honourable good Lordſhips, with my moſt humble recommendations, to underſtand, that albeit I have according to the Laws, Statutes, and ordinances of this Realme made ſupplication, provocation, and appellation unto the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty, from the unlawfull and wicked proceſſe of the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, the Biſhop of Rocheſter, Maſter Secretarie Smith, and the Deane of Pauls, as alſo as well from their unjuſt interlocutorie, as alſo their definitive ſentence, whereby in law I ought to have libertie to come abroad and proſecute the ſame, yet ſuch is the malignitie of the Iudges againſt me, with bearing and maintenance of other which ſundrie and many wayes have ſought my ruine and deſtruction, that I am here penned and locked up, uſed verie extremely at their pleaſure, and for the contentation of the ſaid Maſter Smith, not ſuffered to finde ſureties, or to go abroad to proſecute and ſue my ſaid appellation.

In conſideration whereof, it may pleaſe your ſaid good Lordſhips to take ſome order and redreſſe herein, eſpecially for that it is now the time that the Kings Subſidie, now due, ought to be called upon, and juſtice alſo miniſtred unto his Majeſties Subjects, which, being as I now am, I cannot be ſuffered to do. And thus without further extending my letter therein, conſidering that your great wiſedomes, experience, and goodneſſe can gather of a little, what is expedient and neceſſarie for the whole, I do beſeech Almighty God to preſerve and keep well all your honourable good Lordſhips.

Written in haſte this ſeventh of October, 1549. in the Marſhalſey.

Your honourable Lordſhips poore Orator, and moſt bounden beadſman,

Edmund London.

The Archbiſhop anſwered to the words of Boner.

These things ended, the Archbiſhop ſaid unto him: My Lord, where you ſay that you come coacted, or elſe you would not have appeared, I do much marvell of you. For you would thereby make us and this audience here beleeve, that becauſe you are a priſoner, ye ought not therefore to anſwer. Which if it were true, it were enough to confound the whole ſtate of this realm. For I dare ſay, that of the greateſt priſoners and rebels that ever your Keeper there (meaning the under Marſhall) hath had under him, he cannot ſhew me one that hath uſed ſuch defence as you here have done.

Boner. Well (quoth the Biſhop) if my Keeper were learned in the Laws, I could ſhew him my minde therein.

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The archb. ſhop. Well, ſaid the Archbiſhop, I have read over all the Laws as well as you, but to another end and purpoſe then you did, and yet I can finde no ſuch privileage in this matter.

Secretary Smith. Then maſter Secretary Smith did very ſore burthen and charge him, how diſobediently and rebelliouſly he had alwayes behaved himſelf towards the Kings Majeſty and his authority.

Boner. Whereupon, the Biſhop under his Proteſtation anſwered again, That he was the Kings majeſties lawfull and true ſubject, and did acknowledge his Highneſſe to be his gracious ſoveraign Lord, or elſe he would not have appealed unto him as he did, yea, and would gladly lay his hands and his neck alſo under his Graces feet, and therefore he deſired that his Highneſſe laws and juſtice might be miniſtred unto him.

Secretary Smith. Boner compared to the rebels of Devonſhire. Yea (quoth maſter Secretary) you ſay well my Lord, but I pray you what other hath all theſe Rebels both in Norfolk, Devonſhire, and Cornwall, and other places done? Have they not ſaid thus? We be the Kings true ſubjects, we acknowledge him for our King, and we will obey his laws, with ſuch like; and yet when either commandement, letter, or Pardon was brought unto them from his Majeſtie, they beleeved it not, but ſaid it was forged and made under a hedge, and was gentlemens doings, ſo that indeed they neither would nor did obey any thing.

Boner. The people laughing at Boner. Ah ſir, ſaid the Biſhop, I perceive your meaning; as who ſhould ſay that the Biſhop of London is a Rebell like them. Yea by my Troth, quoth the Secretary. Whereat the people laughed.

Doctor Way. Then the Deane of Pauls ſaid unto him, That he marvelled much, and was very ſorie to ſee him ſo untractable, that he would not ſuffer the Iudges to ſpeak.

Boner with his taunts. To whom the Biſhop diſdainfully anſwered; Well, maſter Dean, you muſt ſay ſomewhat. And likewiſe at another time as the Dean was ſpeaking, he interrupted him and ſaid, You may ſpeak when your turn cometh.

Secretary Smith. Then ſaid Secretary Smith, I would you knew your duty.

Boner. The contemptuous talke of Boner. I would (quoth he again) you knew it as well as I: with an infinite deal more of other ſuch ſtubborne and contemptuous talke and behaviour towards them. Which the commiſſioners weighing, and perceiving no likelihood of any tractable reaſon in him, determined that the Archbiſhop, with their whole conſent, ſhould at that preſent there openly read and publiſh their finall Decree or ſentence definitive againſt him. Which he did, pronouncing him thereby to be clean deprived from the Biſhoprick of London, and further as in the ſame appeareth, in tenor as followeth.

Sententia deprivationis lata contra Edmundum London. Epiſcopum.

IN Dei nomine, Amen. Nos Thomas miſeratione divina Cantuar. Archiepiſcop. totius Angliæ Primas & Metropolitanus, Nicholaus eadem miſeratione Roffenſis Epiſcopus, Thomas Smith miles, illuſtriſſimi in Chriſto principis & Domini noſtri Domini Edwardi ſexti, Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hyberniæ Regis, fidei defenſoris, & in terris Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ ſupremi capitis, Secretariorum principalium alter, & Wilhelmus May, Iuris Civilis Doctor, Eccleſiæ Cathedralis divi Pauli decanus, dicti illuſtriſſimi principis, & domini noſtri regis, ad infra ſcripta, una cum eximio viro domino Wilhelmo Petro Milite, ejuſdem ſereniſſimæ regiæ majeſtatis etiam Secretariorum principalium altero, Commiſſarii ſive Iudices delegati cum iſta clauſa,

{King Ed.6.} clausa, videlicet, Deputamus vos quinque, quatuor vel tres vestrùm, &c. Rectè & legitimè deputati contra te Edmundum permissione divina London. Episcopum in causa & causis, in literis Commissionalibus dictæ serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis express. & specificat. ritè & legitimè procedentes & judicialiter inquirentes, auditisque per nos & intellectis ac primo examine debit. maturè discussis meritis & circumstantiis causæ & causarum inquisitionis ejusmodi, servatisque ulteriùs per nos de jure in hac parte servandis in præsentia tui Episcopi antedicti, judicialiter coram nobis constituti, ac protestantis de coactione, & de cæteris, prout in ultima protestatione hodie per te facta continetur, ad definitionem causæ & causarum hujusmodi, prolationemque sententiæ nostræ, sive nostri finalis decreti, super eisdem ferendam sic duximus procedendum, & procedimus in hunc qui sequitur modum. Quia tam per acta inactitata, deducta, proposita, exhibita, allegata, probata, pariter & confessata in causa & causis hujusmodi, facta, habita & justa, quam per confessionem tuam propriam, factique notorietatem, & alia legitima documenta, evidentem invenimus, & compertum habemus te præfatum Episcopum London. inter cætera, pro meliori officii tui pastoralis administratione, in mandatis habuisse, ut de his qui duas aut tres uxores ut maritos in unum haberent, aut qui externos & non probatos Ecclesiæ ritus in hoc regno sequerentur, quibus rebus tua Diocesis Londinensis, præcipuè erat infamata, inquireres, teque ea facere omnino neglexisse: Item expresse tibi per Regiam Majestatem præscriptum fuisse, ut ipse Episcopus adesses concionibus ad crucem Pauli habitis, tam ut eas honestares tua præsentia, quam ut possis eos accusare, (si qui male ibidem concionarentur) te tamen contra non solum abiisse, sed etiam scriptis literis, Majorem London. & Aldermannos, ut inde recederent admonuisse & exhortatum fuisse: Item, inter alia quoque per Regiam Majestatem tibi injuncta in mandatis tibi datum fuisse, quod articulum quendam, statum reipublicæ tunc perniciosissima rebellione proditorum contra illum articulum sentientium gravissimè perturbatæ præcipue concernent. & propterea supremum, necessarium, & specialiter tibi injunctum, videlicet;

We shall also set forth in your Sermon, that our Authoritie of our Royall power is (as of truth it is) of no lesse authoritie and force in this our younger age, then is and was of any of our predecessours, though the same were much elder, as may appeare by example of Josias and other young Kings in Scripture. And therefore all our subiects to be no lesse bound to the obedience of our precepts, lawes and statutes, then if we were thirty or fortie yeers of age.

Apud crucem sive suggestum Divi Pauli London. certo die tibi in ea parte præfixo, & limitato in publica tua concione, tunc & ibidem populo recitares, & explicares, teque modo & forma præmissa eundem articulum juxta mandatum, & officii tui debitum recitare & explicare minime curasse, sed contumaciter & inobedienter omisisse, in maximum Regiæ Majestatis contemptum, ac in ejus regni præjudicium non modicum, necnon in subditorum suorum malum & perniciosum exemplum, contumaciamque & inobedientiam multiplicem tam in hac nostra inquisitione, quam aliàs perpetrasse, commisisse & contraxisse; Idcirco nos Thomas Cantuarienſis Archiepiscopus Primas & Metropolitanus, judexque delegatus antedictus, Christi nomine primitus invocato, ac ipsum solum Deum oculis nostris præponentes, de & cum expresso consensu pariter & assensu Collegarum nostrorum prædictorum unà nobiscum assidentium, deque & cum concilio Iurisperitorum, cum quibus communicavimus in hac parte, Te Edmundum London. Episcopum antedictum à tuo Episcopatu London. unà cum suis juribus & pertinentibus commoditatibus, & cæteris emolumentis quibuscunque deprivandum & prorsus amovendum fore de jure debere, pronunciamus, decernimus & declaramus, prout per præsentes sic deprivamus & amovemus per hanc nostram sententiam definitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale decretum, quam sive quod ferimus & promulgamus in his scriptis.

Which ended, the Bishop immediately did therefrom appeale by word of mouth, alledging, that the same sentence there given against him, was Lex nulla. The tenour of whose words I thought here to expresse, according as they were by him uttered, in this wise as followeth.

The words of Boner appealing from the sentence definitive.

I Edmund Bishop of London, brought in and kept here as a prisoner against my consent and will, do under my former Protestation heretofore made, and to the intent it may also appeare, that I have not, being so here in this place, consented nor agreed to any thing done against me and in my prejudice, alledge and say that this sentence given here against me, is *Lex nulla*, and so farre forth as it shall appeare to be *Aliqua*, I do say it is *Iniqua & Iniusta*, and that therefore I do from it, as *Iniqua & Iniusta*, appeale to the most excellent and noble King Edward the sixth, by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England and also Ireland, next and immediately under God here on earth, supreme head, and unto his Court of Chancerie or Parliament, as the Laws, Statutes, and ordinances of this Realme will suffer and beare in this behalfe, desiring instantly first, second and third, according to the Laws, Letters, reverentiall or dimissories, to be given and delivered unto me in this behalfe, with all things expedient, requisite, or necessarie in any wise; and thereupon also the said Bishop required the publique Notarie or Actuarie, William Say, to make an instrument, and the witnesse aforesaid and other present to record the same. To whom so appealing, and requiring as afore, the said Iudges delegate said, that they will declare and signifie to the Kings Majestie what is done in this matter, and thereupon will deferre or not deferre to his said appellation, according as his Graces pleasure and commandment shall be given to them in that behalfe, and after all this, the said Bishop of London said to them, *Jam functi estis officio.* What will your Grace do with me now, touching my imprisonment? Will ye keepe me still in prison? Shall I not now be at libertie to prosecute mine appeale? To whom the Archbishop answering, said, That they perceived now more in that matter then they did at the first, and that this matter is more greater rebellion then he is aware of, and therefore said that as yet they would not discharge him, and thereupon they committed him againe to his keeper in prison.

Letters reverentiall or dimissories.

{Anno. 1549.}

This talke finished, the Archbishop considering that most of the audience there present did not understand the meaning of the sentence being read in the Latin tongue, said to them, Because there be many of you here that understand not the Latine tongue, and so cannot tell what judgement hath been here given, I shall therefore shew you the effect thereof; and therewith did declare in English the causes expressed in the sentence, adding thereunto these words:

The archbishop declareth the effect of Boners sentence in English.

Because my Lord of London is found guilty in these matters, therefore we have here by our sentence deprived him of our Bishoprick of London; and this we shew unto you to the intent that from henceforth ye shall not esteeme him any more as Bishop of London.

Boner deprived and unbishopped.

Then Boner desired the Archbishop to declare likewise what he had done, & how he had appealed. But the other, seeing his froward contempt, refused it, saying, you may do it your self. Whereupon be-

Boners disdainfull words to the Commissioners.

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rie disdainefully again he said, Iam functi estis officio. What will your grace do with me touching my imprisonment? Will you kéep me still in Prison?

Boner againe committed to his keeper.

To whom the Commissioners answered, that they perceived now more in the matter then they did before, and that his behaviour was more greater rebellion then he was aware of, and therefore they would not discharge him, but committed him again to his kéeper to be kept in prison. Where he most iustly remained untill the death of that most worthy and godly Prince King Edward the sixth. After which time he wrought most horrible mischiefe and cruelties against the saints of God, as appeareth hereafter throughout the whole reigne of Quéen Marie. From the executing of the which like tyranny the Lord of his great mercy kéep all other such, Amen.

Now, immediately after his deprivation, he writeth out of the Marshalsey other Letters supplicatorie unto the Lord Chancellor, and the rest of the Kings Councell. Wherein he thus complaineth, that by reason of the great enmity that the Duke of Somerset and sir Thomas Smith bare unto him, his often and earnest suites unto the King and his Councell could not be heard. He therefore most humbly desireth their Lordships, for the causes aforesaid, to consider him, and to let him have liberty to prosecute his matter before them, and he would daily pray for the good preservation of their honors, as appeareth by the words of his own supplication hereunder following.

Thus after the Commissioners had finished with Boner, he being now prisoner in the Marshalsey, leaving no shift of the Law unsought how to work for himself as well as he might, drew out a certain supplication, conceived and directed to the Kings Majesty, out of the said prison of the Marshalsey.

To the right honourable, my Lord Chancellour of England, with all the rest of the most honourable privy Councell.

PLease it your most honourable good Lordships with my most humble commendations to understand, that albeit heretofore I have made such suite, and to such persons as I cannot devise to make more, or to more higher, that is to wit, to the kings most excellent Majesty, and his most gracious persons in divers sorts, and also unto your most honourable good Lordships being of his privy Councell, for redresse of such notable and manifest injuries and extremities as have béen contrarie to all Law, honestie, and good reason inflicted upon me by my Lord of Canterbury, my Lord of Rochester, Doctor Smith, and Doctor May: yet because the said Doctor Smith being a minister to the Duke of Somerset, and they both my deadly enemies, hath sundrie wayes studied and laboured my ruine and destruction, staying and letting heretofore all my lawfull remedies and suites, having therein help and furtherance of these two other aforesaid persons, being ready at foot and hand to accomplish all their desires and pleasures, I shall at this present, having for a time forborn to trouble (for good respects) your most honourable good Lordships with any my suites, and especially for your other manifold great affaires in the Kings Majesties businesse, my self yet, the meane while, neither wanting good will, ne yet just cause (being where I am) to make such suite, renue my suite, and most humbly beséech your most honourable good Lordships to give me leave to make most humble supplication again to your said Lordships, for honest and lawfull libertie to prosecute my appellation and supplication heretofore made to the Kings most excellent Majesty, and according to the Law to make my suite for redresse of the said great and manifest injuries, extremities, and wrongs done against me by the said persons. And your said Lordships, over and besides the furtherance of justice many wayes herein to me and other, and the collection of the Kings Majesties Subsidie now to be levied of the Clergie in my diocesse, which hitherto hath béen and is stayd by reason of the premisses, shall also binde me most greatly and intirely to pray daily for the good preservation of your said most honourable good Lordships in all honour, felicity, and joy, long to continue and indure unto Gods pleasure. Written in the Marshalsey, the 26. of Octob. 1549.

{KING EDW. 6.}

Your Lordships most faithfull and assured Beadsman Edmund London.

A supplication made and directed by Edmund Boner, late Bishop of London, to the Kings Majestie, out of the prison of the Marshalsey.

In the which supplication, first after the used form of stile, he prayed for the prosperous estate of the King long to reign. Then he shewed that his faithfull heart and service to him hath, is, and shall be, as it was to his father before.

Boners supplication to the King.

Then he declared how he had béen belied of evil men, and misreported not to bear a true heart to his grace, but a rebellious minde, in denying his royall power in his minority, where indeed he saith, his Grace should finde him alwayes during life both in heart, word, and déed to do and acknowledge otherwise, and to be most willing to shew, &c. and to do all other things for his Grace, as willingly as any other subject, or as those that were his denouncers, who he thought were not sent of his Grace, but pretensed Commissioners, &c.

Further, he complained of his denunciation by certaine Commissioners (who said they were sent by his Grace) alledging the same not to be lawfull; and of his long and sharp imprisonment, and that the Commissioners observed neither Law nor reasonable order, but extremitie. And where he had made appeale to his Grace, and he could not have it; he desired to have law to prosecute and sue his appeal for his remedy, and that he (considering his vocation) might not be shut up and put from liberty, which his meanest subjects have.

Then he desired his graces letters of Supersedeas against the Commissioners, and that the matter might be heard before the Councell, and then he doubted not but to be found a true faithfulman, and herein to have wrong. So in the end he concluded, this (prostrating himself even to the very ground, and humbly kissing his Graces feet) to be the onely thing which he humbly desired, &c.

THis done, and the supplication perused, the king eftsoone giveth in charge and commandement to certain men of honour and worship, and persons skilfull in the law, as to the Lord Rich high Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Marques Dorset, the Bishop of Ely, Lord Wentworth, sir Anthonie Wingfield, sir William Yarbert Knights, Doctor Rich, Wotton, Ed. Montague, Lord chiefe Justice, sir John Baker knight, with Judge Hales, John Gosnold, Doctor Oliver, and also Doctor Layson, that they scanning and perusing all such acts, matters, and munuments of the said Boner by him exhibited, produced, propounded, and alledged, with all and singular his protestations, recusations, and appellations, should upon mature consideration thereof give their direct answer upon the same, whether the appellation of the said Boner were to be deferred unto, whether the sentence defined against him stood by the law sufficient and effectuall, or not. Who eftsoones after diligent discussion,

Boners appellation to the K. perused & tried, and found by the law uneffectuall and unreasonable.

{KING EDW. 6.}

The sentence of Boners deprivation by the Peeres and learned men of the Realme, found to be just and lawfull.

cussion, and considerate advisement had of all and singular the premisses, gave their resolute answer, that the pretensed appellation of Edmund Boner aforesaid was naught and unreasonable, and in no wise to be deferred unto, and that the sentence by the Commissioners against him, was rightly and justly pronounced. And this was the conclusion of Boners whole matter, and deprivation for that time.

The first trouble of the Lord Protector was about the moneth of Octob. 1549.

Thus then leaving Doctor Boner a while in the Marshalsey with his keeper, we will proceed (the Lord permitting) further in the course of our story, as the order of peers and time requireth. And although the trouble of the Lord Protector falleth here joyntly with the deprivation of doctor Boner, yet because he was shortly againe delivered out of the same through the Lords mighty working, I will therefore delay the tractation thereof, till the time of his second trouble, which was two yeeres after; and so in the meane time, returning againe into our discourse, intend by the Lords leave to collect and continue the matters begun, touching the Kings godly proceedings for reformation of religion in the foresaid year of our Lord, concurring, Anno 1549.

Disputation of Pet. Martyr with D. Chedsey in Oxford.

And here first a note would be made of Peter Martyr and of his learned travels, and disputation in the Universitie of Oxford the said present yeere with Doctor Chedsey, and other moe about the matter of the Sacrament; which was that the substance of bread and wine was not changed in the Sacrament, and that the body and blood of Christ was not carnally and bodily in the bread and wine, but united to the same sacramentally.

Ecclesiasticall lawes by Act of Parliament to be compiled by 32. persons. Stat. Anno 3. Edw. 6.

In like manner, some touch or mention here also would be made of the Ecclesiasticall lawes, for the gathering and compiling whereof thirty two persons were assigned by act of Parliament the said present yeere 1549. But because these be rather matters of tractation, then historicall, I meane (God willing) to deferre the further consideration thereof unto the end of the history of this Kings dayes, and so to passe forward to other matters in the meane while.

Bookes of Latine service called in and abolished.

Evill disposed people thinking to have their Latine service againe after the apprehension of the L. Protector.

IT followeth then in story, that certaine of the vulgar multitude, hearing of the apprehension of the Lord Protector, and supposing the alteration of publike service into English, and administration of the Sacrament & other rites lately appointed in the Church, had been the act chiefly or onely of the said Lord Protector, began upon the same to noise and bute abroad, that they should now have their old Latine service with holy bread and holy water, and their other like superstitious ceremonies againe: whereupon the King, with the body and state of the privie Councell then being, directed out his letters of request, and strait commandement to the Bishops, in their dioceese, to cause and warne the Deane and Prebendaries of their Cathedrall Churches, all Parsons, Vicars and Curates, with the Church-wardens of every parish within their Dioceese, to bring in and deliver up all Antiphoners, Missales, Grailes, Processionals, Manuals, Legends, Pies, Portuases, Journals, and Ordinals after the use of Sarum, Lincolne, Yorke, Bangor, Hereford, or any other private use, and all other bookes of service, the having whereof might be any let to the service now set forth in English, charging also and commanding that all such as shall be found stubborne or disobedient in this behalfe should be committed unto Ward.

The Kings commandement to the Bishops.

Bookes of Latine Service called in.

{Anno. 1549.}

And because the King moreover was advertised, That there was a slacknesse and frowardnesse among the people, refusing to pay toward the finding of bread and wine for the holy Communion, by reason whereof the Communion in many places was omitted, the Bishops in like manner had given in charge to provide for redresse thereof, and to punish them which should refuse so to do. Whereby it may appeare to us now, that no wafer cakes, but common bread was then by the Kings appointment ordinarily received and used in Churches. This was about the latter end of December, Anno 1549.

Common bread used in the holy Communion.

Taking downe of Altars, and setting up the Table in stead thereof.

Taking down Altars.

FUrthermore, in the yeere next following, 1550. other Letters likewise were sent for the taking downe of Altars in Churches, and setting up the Table in stead of the same, unto Nicolas Ridley, who, being Bishop of Rochester before, was then made Bishop of London in Boners place. The copie and contents of the Kings letters are these, as followeth.

The Kings Letters to Nicolas Ridley Bishop of London, &c.

The Kings Letter to Nicolas Ridley then Bishop of London.

RIght reverend Father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And where it is come to our knowledge, that the Altars within the most part of the Churches of this Realme being already upon good and godly considerations taken down, there doe yet remaine Altars standing in divers other Churches, by occasion whereof much variance and contention ariseth among sundry of our subjects, which, if good foresight were not had, might perchance ingender great hurt and inconvenience; we let you wit, that minding to have all occasion of contention taken away, which many times groweth by those and such like diversities, and considering that amongst other things belonging to our royall office and cure, we do accompt the greatest to be, to maintain the common quiet of our realme; we have thought good by the advice of our Councell to require you, and nevertheless especially to charge and command you, for the avoiding of all matters of further contention and strife about the standing or taking away of the said Altars, to give substantiall order thorowout all your Dioceese, that with all diligence all the Altars in every Church or Chappel, as well in places exempted as not exempted, within your said Dioceese, be taken downe, and in the stead thereof a table to be set up in some convenient part of the Chancell, within every such Church or Chappel, to serve for the ministration of the blessed Communion. And to the intent the same may be done without the offense of such our loving subjects as be not yet so well perswaded in that behalfe as we would wish, we send unto you herewith certaine considerations gathered and collected, that make for the purpose, the which, and such other as you shall thinke meet to be set forth to perswade the weake to embrace our proceedings in this part, we pray you cause to be declared to the people by some discreet Preachers, in such places as you shall thinke meet, before the taking downe of the said Altars; so as both the weake consciences of other may be instructed and satisfied as much as may be, and this our pleasure the more quietly executed. For the better doing whereof, we require you to open the foresaid considerations in that our Cathedrall Church in your owne person, if you conveniently may, or otherwise by your Chancellor, or some other grave preacher, both there and in such other Market townes and

Altars taken downe and destroyed.

Considerations to perswade the people.

most notable places of your Dioceſſe, as you may think moſt requiſite.

Given under our Signet at our Palace of Weſtminſter, the 24. day of November, the fourth yeere of our reign.

Edward Somerſet.
Thomas Cranmer.
William Wiltſhire.
Iohn Warwick.
Iohn Bedford.
William North.
Edward Clinton.
H. Wentworth.
Thomas Ely.

Reaſons why the Lords boord ſhould rather be after the forme of a Table, then of an Altar.

The firſt reaſon.

Conſiderations and reaſons why the Table were more convenient in the Church then the Altar.

FIrſt, the forme of a Table ſhall more move the ſimple from the ſuperſtitious opinions of the Popiſh maſſe, unto the right uſe of the Lords Supper. For the uſe of an Altar is to make ſacrifice upon it; the uſe of a Table is to ſerve for men to eate upon. Now when we come unto the Lords boord, what do we come for? To ſacrifice Chriſt againe, and to crucifie him againe, or to feed upon him that was once onely crucified and offered up for us? If we come to feed upon him, ſpiritually to eate his body, and ſpiritually to drink his bloud, which is the true uſe of the Lords Supper, then no man can deny but the forme of a table is more meet for the Lords boord then the forme of an Altar.

The ſecond reaſon.

The ſecond reaſon. Anſwer to certaine cavillers which take hold of the terme of the Altar in the Kings Book.

Item, whereas it is ſaid, The book of Common prayer maketh mention of an Altar; wherefore it is not lawful to abolish that which the book alloweth; to this it is thus anſwered: The book of Common prayer calleth the thing whereupon the Lords Supper is miniſtred, indifferently a table, an altar, or the Lords boord, without preſcription of any forme thereof, either of a table or of an altar: ſo that whether the Lords boord have the forme of an altar, or of a table, the book of Common prayer calleth it both an altar and a table. For as it calleth it an altar, whereupon the Lords ſupper is miniſtred, a table, and the Lords boord, ſo it calleth the table where the holy Communion is diſtributed with lauds and thankeſgiving unto the Lord, an altar, for that there is offered the ſame ſacrifice of praiſe and thankeſgiving. And thus it appeareth, that here is nothing either ſaid or meant contrary to the booke of Common prayer.

The Table how it may be called an Altar, and in what reſpect.

The third reaſon.

The third reaſon. This reaſon for taking away the ſuperſtitious opinion, ſerveth alſo as well for the abolishing of other things more beſides Altars, &c.

Thirdly, the popiſh opinion of Maſſe was, that it might not be celebrated but upon an altar, or at the leaſt upon a ſuperaltar, to ſupply the fault of the altar, which muſt have had his prints and characters, or elſe it was thought that the thing was not lawfully done. But this ſuperſtitious opinion is more holden in the mindes of the ſimple and ignorant by the forme of an altar, then of a table; wherefore it is more meet, for the abolishment of this ſuperſtitious opinion, to have the Lords boord after the forme of a table then of an altar.

The fourth reaſon.

The fourth reaſon. The name of an Altar, how it is derived, and what it ſignifieth.

Fourthly, the forme of an altar was ordained for the ſacrifices of the Law, and therefore the altar in Greeke is called θυσιαστήριον, Quaſi ſacrificii locus. But now both the law and the ſacrifices thereof do ceaſe; wherefore the forme of the Altar uſed in the Altar ought to ceaſe withall. {KING ED. 6.}

The fifth reaſon.

The fifth reaſon. Chriſt uſed a Table and not an Altar. The Altar never uſed among the Apoſtles.

Fifthly, Chriſt did inſtitute the ſacrament of his body and bloud at his laſt ſupper at a table, and not at an altar, as it appeareth manifeſtly by the three Evangeliſts. And Saint Paul calleth the coming to the holy Communion the coming unto the Lords ſupper. And alſo it is not read, that any of the Apoſtles or the primitive Church did ever uſe any altar in miniſtration of the holy Communion.

Wherefore ſeeing the forme of a table is more agreeable to Chriſts inſtitution, and with the uſage of the Apoſtles, and of the primitive Church, then the forme of an altar, therefore the forme of a table is rather to be uſed then the forme of an altar in the adminiſtration of the holy Communion.

The ſixth reaſon.

The ſixth reaſon.

Finally, it is ſaid in the preface of the booke of Common prayer, that if any doubt do ariſe in the uſe and practiſing of the ſame booke; to appeaſe all ſuch diverſitie, the matter ſhall be referred unto the Biſhop of the Dioceſſe, who by his diſcretion ſhall take order for the quieting and appeaſing of the ſame, ſo that the ſame order be not contrary unto any thing contained in that booke.

After theſe letters and reaſons received, the forenamed Nicolas Ridley, Biſhop of London, conſequently upon the ſame did hold his viſitation, wherein, amongſt other his injunctions, the ſaid biſhop exhorted thoſe Churches in his dioceſſe, where the altars did then remain, to conforme themſelves unto thoſe other Churches which had taken them downe, and had ſet up in ſtead of the multitude of their altars one decent table in every Church.

{ANNO 1550.}

Nico. Ridley B. of London appointed in his dioces the right forme of a table.

Upon the occaſion whereof there aroſe a great diverſity about the forme of the Lords boord, ſome uſing it after the forme of a Table, and ſome of an Altar. Wherein when the ſaid Biſhop was required to ſay and determine what was moſt meet, he declared he could doe no leſſe of his bounden dutie, for the appeaſing of ſuch diverſitie, and to procure one godly uniformitie, but to exhort all his dioceſſe unto that which he thought did beſt agree with ſcripture, with the uſage of the Apoſtles, and with the primitive Church, and to that which is not only not contrary unto any thing contained in the book of Common prayer, (as is before proved) but alſo might highly further the Kings moſt godly proceedings in abolishing of divers vaine and ſuperſtitious opinions of the popiſh maſſe out of the hearts of the ſimple, & to bring them to the right uſe taught by holy ſcripture of the Lords Supper, & ſo appointed he the forme of a right table to be uſed in his dioceſſe, and in the Church of Paul brake downe the wall ſtanding then by the high Altars ſide.

The wall by the high Altars ſide in Pauls Church broken downe by Nicolas Ridley.

Now we will enter (God willing) into thoſe matters which happened betweene King Edward and his ſiſter Mary, as by their letters here following are to be ſeene.

To my Lord Protector and the reſt of the Kings Majeſties Councell.

Lady Maries Letters to the Lords of the Councell.

MY Lord, I perceive by the letters which I late received from you, and other of the Kings maieſties Councell, that ye be all ſory to finde ſo little conformitie in me touching the obſervation of his Majeſties Lawes; who am well aſſured, that I have offended no Law, unleſſe it be a late Law of

KING EDW. 6.

of your owne making, for the altering of matters in religion, which in my conscience is not worthy to have the name of a Law, both for the Kings honors sake, the wealth of the realme, and giving an occasion of an evill brute through all Christendom, besides the partialitie used in the same, and (as my said conscience is very well perswaded) the offending of God, which passeth all the rest: but I am well assured that the King his fathers lawes were all allowed and consented to without compulsion by the whole realme, both spirituall and temporall, and all ye Executors sworne upon a booke to fulfill the same, so that it was an authorised law, and that I have obeyed, and will doe with the grace of God, till the Kings Majestie my brother shall have sufficient yeers to be a Judge in these matters himself. Wherein, my Lord, I was plaine with you at my last being in the Court, declaring unto you at that time whereunto I would stand, and now doe assure you all, that the onely occasion of my stay from altering mine opinion, is for two causes.

One principally for my conscience sake; the other, that the King my brother shall not hereafter charge me to be one of those that were agreeable to such alterations in his tender yeers. And what fruits daily grow by such changes, since the death of the King my Father, to every indifferent person it well appeareth, both to the displeasure of God, and unquietnesse of the Realme.

Notwithstanding, I assure you all, I would be as loth to see his highnesse take hurt, or that any evill should come to this his realm, as the best of you all, and none of you have the like cause, considering how I am compelled by nature, being his Majesties poore and humble sister, most tenderly to love and pray for him, and unto this his realm (being borne within the same) with all wealth and prosperitie to Gods honor.

And if any judge of me the contrary for mine opinions sake, as I trust none doth, I doubt not in the end, with Gods help, to prove my selfe as true a naturall & humble sister, as they of the contrary opinion, with all their devices & altering of lawes, shall prove themselves true subjects; praying you my Lord, & the rest of the Councel, no more to trouble and unquiet me with matters touching my conscience, wherein I am at a full point, with Gods help, whatsoever shal happen to me, intending, with his grace, to trouble you little with any worldly suites, but to bestow the short time I thinke to live in quietnesse, and pray for the kings Majestie and all you, heartily wishing, that your proceedings may be to Gods honor, the safegard of the Kings person, and quietnesse to the whole Realme.

Moreover, where your desire is, That I should send my Controller and D. Hopton unto you, by whom you would signifie your mindes more amply, to my contentation and honor; it is not unknown to you all, that the chiefe charge of my house resteth onely upon the travels of my said Controller, who hath not beene absent from my house three whole dayes since the setting up of the same, unlesse it were for my Letters Patents; so that if it were not for his continuall diligence, I think my little portion would not have stretched so farre. And my Chapleine by occasion of sicknesse hath beene long absent, and is not yet able to ride.

Therefore like as I cannot forbear my Controller, and my Priest is not able to journey, so shall I desire you my Lord, and all the rest of the Councel, that having any thing to be declared to me, except matters of religion, ye will either write your mindes, or send some trusty person, with whom I shall be contented to talke, and make answer as the case shall require; assuring you that if any servant of mine, either man or woman, or Chapleine, should move me to the contrary of my conscience, I would not give eare to them, nor suffer the like to be used within my house. And thus my Lord, with my hearty commendations, I wish unto you and the rest as well to doe as my selfe.

From my house at Kinning hall, the 22. of June, 1594.

Your assured friend to my power,
Mary.

A remembrance of certaine matters appointed by the Councell to be declared by D. Hopton to the Lady Maries Grace, for answer to her former Letter; which said Hopton was after she came to her reign Bishop of Norwich.

Her Grace writeth, That the Law made by Parliament is not worthy the name of Law, meaning the Statute for the Communion, &c.

You shall say thereto:

THe fault is great in any subject to disallow a Law of the King, a Law of a realme, by long study, free disputation, and uniforme determination of the whole Clergy, consulted, debated, and concluded; but the greater fault is in her Grace, being nert of any subject in bloud and estate to the Kings Majestie her brother and good Lord, to give example of disobedience, being a subject, or of unnaturalnesse, being his Majesties sister, or of neglecting the power of the Crowne, she being by limitation of law nert to the same. The example of disobedience is most perilous in this time, as she can wel understand; Her unkindnesse resteth in the Kings owne acceptation; The neglecting of the power before God is answerable, and in the world toucheth her honor.

The Executors (she saith) were sworn to King Henrie the eighth his lawes.

You shall say:

It is true, they were sworne to him, his lawes, his heires, and successors; which oath they duely observe, and should offend if they should breake any one jot of the Kings Lawes now being, without a dispensation by a Law, and herein her Grace shall understand, That it is no Law, which is dissolved by a Law: neither may her Grace doe that injurie to the Kings Majestie her brother, to diminish his authoritie so farre, that he may not, by the free consent of a Parliament, amend and alter unprofitable lawes, for the number of inconveniencies which hereof might follow, as her Grace with consideration may well perceive.

Offence taken by the sending for her Officers.

You shall say:

If her Grace consider the first Letters of that purpose, they will declare our good meaning to her, and her gentle usage, requiring the presence of her trusty servant, because she might give more trust to our message.

Her house is her flock.

You shall say:

It is well liked her Grace should have her house or flock, but not exempt from the Kings Orders; neither may there be a flock of the Kings subjects, but such as will heare and follow the voice of the King their shepheard. God disalloweth it, law and

reason forbiddeth it, policy abhorreth it, and her honour may not require it.

Her Grace deferreth her obedience to the kings laws, untill his Majestie be of sufficient yeeres.

You shall say,

She could in no one saying more disallow the authoritie of the King, the majestie of his Crown, and the state of the realme. For herein she suspendeth his kingdome, and esteemeth his authoritie by his age, not by his right and title. Her Grace must understand he is a King by the ordinance of God, by descent of royall bloud, not by the numbring of his yeers.

As a creature subject to mortalitie, he hath youth, and by Gods grace shall have age; but as a king he hath no difference by dayes and yeers. The Scripture plainly declareth it, not onely young children to have been kings by Gods speciall ordinance, but also (which is to be noted) to have had best successe in their reigne, and the favour of God in their procéedings. Yea, in their first yéers have they most purely reformed the Church and state of Religion. Therefore her grace hath no cause thus to diminish his Majesties power, and to make him as it were no King untill she think him of sufficient yeers. Wherein how much his Majestie may be justly offended, they be sory to thinke.

She saith she is subject to none of the Councell.

You shall say,

If her Grace understandeth it of us in that acceptation as we be private men, and not Counsellors sworn to the Kings Majestie, we knowledge us not to be superiours; but if she understand her writing of us as Counsellors and Magistrates ordained by his Majesty, her grace must be contented to think us of authoritie sufficient by the reason of our office to challenge a superioritie; not to rule by private affection, but by Gods providence; not to our estimation, but to the Kings honour, and finally to increase the kings estate with our counsel, our dignitie and vocation; and we think her grace will not forget the saying of Solomon in the sixth chapter of the book of Wisdome, to move a king to rule by counsell and wisdome, and to build his estate upon them. Wherefore her Grace must be remembred, the kings Majesties politike body is not made onely of his own royall materiall body, but of a Councell, by whom his Majestie ruleth, directeth and goverueth his Realme. In the place of which Councell her Grace is not ignorant that we be set and placed. Wherfore the reputation she shall give us, she shall give it to the Kings honor, and that which she shall take from us, she shall take from his Majestie, whose Majestie we think it if might take increase or honour, as God giveth a daily abundance, it should receive rather increase from her, being his Majesties sister, then thus any abatement.

She received master Arundel, and master Englefield.

You shall say,

All the Councell remembreth wel her refusall to have her house charged with any more number, alledging the smal proportion for her charge, & therefore it was thought to come more for their earnest suit, meaning to be priviledged subjects from the law, then of her desire, which refused very often to increase her number. Their cautele the king might not suffer, to have his Law disobeyed, their Countries where they should serve by them to be destitute, and, having bèn servants to his Majestie, the circumstances of their departure might in no wise be liked. {KING ED. 6.}

She refused to heare any man to the contrary of her opinion.

You shall say,

It is an answer more of will then of reason, and therefore her Grace must be admonished neither to trust her own opinion without ground, neither to mislike all others having ground. If hers be good, it is no hurt if she heare the worse. If it be ill, she shall doe well to heare the better. She shall not alter by hearing, but by hearing the better. And because she shall not mislike the offer, let her Grace name of learned men whom she will, and further then they by learning shall prove she shall not be moved. And so far it is thought reason will compell her Grace.

In the end ye shall say,

The good wils and mindes of the L. Protector and the Councell is so much toward her grace, that howsoever she would her selfe in honor be estéemed, howsoever in conscience quieted, yea howsoever benefited, saving their duties to God and the King, they would as much, and in their doings (if it please her to prove it) will be nothing inferiours, assuring her grace, that they be most sory that she is thus disquieted: and if necessitie of the cause, the honor and surety of the King, and the judgement of their own conscience moved them not, thus farre they would not have attempted. But their trust is, her Grace will allow them the more, when she shall perceive the cause, and think no lesse could be done by them, where she provoked them so farre.

These and other of like credit, more amply committed to you in speech, you shall declare to her Grace, and further declare your conscience for the allowing of the manner of the communion, as ye have plainly professed it before us. Note Doctor Hoptons allowance of the communion in those dayes.

At Richmond the fourteenth of Iune, 1549.

The Lady Mary to the Lord Protector and the rest of the Councell, 27. Iune, 1549.

MY Lord, I perceive by Letters directed from you, and other of the Kings Majesties Councell, to my Controller, my Chaplaine, and master Englefield my servant, that ye will them upon their allegeance, to repaire immediately to you, wherein you gave me evident cause to change mine accustomed opinion of you all, that is to say, to think you carefull of my quietnesse and well doing, considering how earnestly I writ to you for the stay of two of them, and that not without very just cause. And as for master Englefield, assoone as he could have prepared himselfe, having his horses so far off, although ye had not sent at this present, he would have performed your request. But indeed I am much deceived. For I supposed ye would have weighed and taken my letters in better part, if ye have received them; if not, to have tarried my answer, and I not to have found so little friendship, nor to have beene used so ungently at your hands in sending for him upon whose travell doth rest the whole charge of my whole house, as I writ unto you lately; whose absence therefore shall be to me and my said house no little displeasure, especially being so farre off.

And

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And beſide all this, I doe greatly marvell to ſee your writing for him, and the other two, with ſuch extreme words of perill to inſue towards them in caſe they did not come, and ſpecially for my controller, whoſe charge is ſo great, that he cannot ſuddenly be meete to take a journey: which words in mine opinion needed not (unleſſe it were in ſome very juſt and neceſſary cauſe) to any of mine, who taketh my ſelfe ſubject to none of you all, not doubting but if the Kings Majeſtie my brother were of ſufficient yeers to perceive this matter, and knew what lack and incommoditie the abſence of my ſaid officer ſhould be to my houſe, his Grace would have beene ſo good Lord to me, as to have ſuffered him to remaine where his charge is. Notwithſtanding, I have willed him at this time to repaire to you, commanding him to returne forthwith for my very neceſſities ſake, and I have given the like leave to my poore ſick Prieſt alſo, whoſe life I thinke undoubtedly ſhall be put in hazard by the wet and cold painefull travell of this journey. But for my part I aſſure you all, that ſince the King my father, your late Maſter and very good Lord, died, I never tooke you for other then my friends; but in this it appeareth contrary. And ſaving I thought verily that my former letters ſhould have diſcharged this matter, I would not have troubled my ſelfe with writing the ſame, not doubting but you doe conſider, that none of you all would have beene contented to have been thus uſed at your inferiours hands; I meane, to have had your officer or any of your ſervants ſent for by force (as ye make it) knowing no juſt cauſe why. Wherefore I doe not a little marvell, that ye had not this remembrance towards me, who alwaies have willed and wiſhed you as well to doe as my ſelfe, and both have and will pray for you all as heartily, as for mine owne ſoule, to Almightie God, whom I humbly beſeech to illuminate you all with his holy ſpirit, to whoſe mercy alſo I am at a full point to commit my ſelfe, whatſoever ſhall become of my body. And thus with my commendations I bid you all farewell. From my houſe at Kenninghall, the 27. of Iune.

Your friend to my power, though you give me contrary cauſe,
Mary.

A Copie of the Kings Majeſties Letter to the Lady Mary the foure and twentieth of January, 1550.

RIght deare, &c. We have ſeene by Letters of our Councell, ſent to you of late, and by your anſwer thereunto, touching the cauſe of certain your Chaplaines, having offended our Lawes in ſaying of Maſſe, their good and convenient adviſes, and your fruitleſſe and indirect miſtaking of the ſame: which thing moveth us to write at this time, that where good counſell from our Councell hath not prevailed, yet the like from our ſelfe may have due regard. The whole matter we perceive reſts in this, that you being our nert ſiſter, in whom above all other our ſubjects nature ſhould place the moſt eſtimation of us, would wittingly & purpoſely, not onely breake our lawes your ſelfe, but alſo have others maintained to do the ſame. Truly howſoever the matter may have other termes, other ſenſe it hath not: and although by your letter it ſeemeth you challenge a promiſe made, that ſo you may do, yet ſurely we know the promiſe had no ſuch meaning, neither to maintain, ne to continue your fault. You muſt know this, ſiſter, you were at the firſt time, when the law was made, borne withall, not becauſe you ſhould diſobey the law, but that by our lenitie and love ſhewed you might learn to obey it. We made a difference of you from our other ſubjects, not for that all other ſhould follow our lawes, and you onely gainſtand them, but that you might be brought as far forward by love, as others were by dutie. The errour wherein you would reſt is double, and every part ſo great, that neither for the love of God we can well ſuffer it unredreſſed, neither for the love of you can we but with it amended. Firſt, you retaine a faſhion in honouring of God, who indeed therby is diſhonoured, and therein erre you in zeale for lack of ſcience, and having ſcience offered you, you refuſe it, not becauſe it is ſcience, we truſt (for then ſhould we deſpaire of you) but becauſe you think it is none. And ſurely in this we can beſt reprehend you, learning daily in our Schoole, that therefore we learn things becauſe we know them not, and are not allowed to ſay we know not thoſe things, or we think they be not good, and therefore we will not learne them. Siſter, you muſt thinke nothing can commend you more then reaſon, according to the which you have been hitherto uſed; and now for very love we will offer you reaſon our ſelfe. If you are perſwaded in conſcience to the contrary of our lawes, you or your perſwaders ſhall freely be ſuffered to ſay what you or they can, ſo that you will heare what ſhall be ſaid againe.

In this point you ſee I pretermit my eſtate, and talke with you as your brother rather then your ſupreme Lord and King. Thus ſhould you, being as well content to heare of your opinions as you are content to hold them, in the end thanke us as much for bringing you to light, as now before you learne you are loth to ſee it. And if thus much reaſon with our naturall love ſhall not move you, whereof we would be ſory, then muſt we conſider the other part of your fault, which is the offence of our lawes. For though hitherto it hath beene ſuffered in hope of amendment, yet now, if hope be none, how ſhal there be ſufferance? Our charge is to have the ſame care over every mans eſtate, that every man ought to have over his owne. And in your owne houſe as you would be loth openly to ſuffer one of your ſervants, being nert you, moſt manifeſtly to breake your orders, ſo muſt you thinke in our ſtate it ſhall miſcontent us to permit you, ſo great a ſubject, not to kepe our lawes. Your neereneſſe to us in bloud, your greatneſſe in eſtate, the condition of this time maketh your fault the greater. The example is unnaturall that our Siſter ſhould doe leſſe for us then our other Subjects. The cauſe is ſlanderous for ſo great a perſonage to forſake our Majeſty.

Finally, it is too dangerous in a troubleſome Commonwealth, to make the people to miſtruſt a faction. We be young, you thinke, in yeers to conſider this. Truely ſiſter, it troubleth us ſomewhat the more, for it may be, this evill ſuffered in you is greater then we can diſcerne, and ſo we be as much troubled becauſe we doubt whether we ſee the whole peril, as we be for that we ſee. Indeed we will preſume no further then our yeers giveth us, that is, in doubtful things not to truſt our own wits, but in evident things we think there is no difference. If you ſhould not do as other ſubjects do, were it not evident that therin you ſhould not be a good ſubject? Were it not plain in that caſe, that you ſhould uſe us not as your ſoveraigne Lord? Againe, if you ſhould be ſuffered to breake our laws manifeſtly, were it not a comfort for others ſo to doe? And if our lawes be broken, and contemned, where is our eſtate? Theſe things be ſo plaine, as we could almoſt have judged them ſix yeeres paſt. And indeed it grieveth us not a little, that you, which ſhould be our moſt comfort in our young yeeres, ſhould alone give us occaſion of diſcomfort. Thinke you not but it muſt needs trouble us, and if you can ſo thinke, you ought ſiſter to amend it. Our naturall love towards you without doubt is great, and therefore diminiſh it not your ſelfe. If you will be loved by us, ſhew ſome token of love towards us,

that we say not with the Psalme, Mala pro bonis mihi reddiderunt. If you will be beleeved when by writting you confesse us to be your Soveraigne Lord, heare that which in other things is often alledged, Ostende mihi fidem tuam ex factis tuis. In the answer of your Letter to our Councell, we remember you stick onely upon one reason divided into two parts. The first is, that in matters of religion your faith is none other, but as all Christendome doth confesse. The next is you will assent to no alteration, but with things to stand as they did at our Fathers death. If you meane in the first to rule your faith by that you call Christendome, and not by this church of England wherein you are a member, you shall erre in many points, such as our Fathers and yours would not have suffered, whatsoever you say of the standing still of things as they were left by him. The matter is too plaine to write, what may be gathered, and too perilous to be concluded against you. For the other part, if you like no alteration by our authoritie, of things not altered by our Father, you should doe us too great an injurie. We take our selfe, for the administration of this our common wealth, to have the same authoritie which our Father had, diminished in no part, neither by example of Scripture, nor by Universall lawes. The stories of Scripture be so plenteous, as almost the best ordered Church of the Israelites was by Kings younger then we be. Well sister, we will not in these things interpret your writings to the worst; love and Charitie shall expound them. But yet you must not thereby be bold to offend in that whereunto you see your writings might be wrested. To conclude, we exhort you to doe your dutie, and if any impediment be thereof, not of purpose, you shall finde a brotherly affection in us to remedie the same. To teach and instruct you we will give order, and so procure you to doe your dutie willingly, that you shall perceive you are not used meerely as a subject, and onely commanded, but as a daughter, a scholler, and a sister, taught, instructed and perswaded. For the which cause, when you have considered this our letter, we pray you that we may shortly heare from you.

To the Kings most excellent Majestie.

MY dutie most humbly remembred to your majestie, please it the same to understand that I have received your letters by master Throgmorton this bearer. The contents whereof doe more trouble me then any bodily sickness, though it were even to the death, and the rather for that your highness doth charge me to beboth as breaker of your lawes, and also an incourager of others to doe the like. I most humbly beseech your majestie to thinke that I never intended towards you otherwise then my dutie compelleth me unto, that is, to wish your highnesse all honour and prosperitie, for the which I doe and daily shall pray. And where it pleaseth your Majestie to write, that I make a challenge of a promise made otherwise then it was meant, the troth is, the promise could not be denied before your Majesties presence at my last waiting upon the same. And although, I confesse, the ground of faith (whereunto I take reason to be but an handmaid) and my conscience also hath and do agree with the same: yet touching that promise, for so much as it hath pleased your Majestie (God knoweth by whose perswasion) to write, it was not so meant; I shall most humbly desire your highnesse to examine the truth thereof indifferently, and either will your Majesties ambassadour, now being with the Emperour, to inquire of the same, if it be your pleasure to have him move it, or else to cause it to be demanded of the Emperours ambassadour here, although he were not within this Realme at that time. And thereby it shall appeare that in this point I have not offended your Majestie, if it may please you so to accept it. And albeit your Majestie (God be praised) hath at these yeers as much understanding and more, then is commonly seene in that age, yet considering you doe heare but one part (your highnesse not offended) I would be a suter to the same, that till you were growne to more perfect yeeres, it might stand with your pleasure to stay in matters touching the soule. So undoubtedly should your Majestie know more, and heare others, and nevertheless be at your libertie and doe your will and pleasure. And whatsoever your Majestie hath conceived of me, either by letters to your Councell, or by their report, I trust in the end to prove my selfe as true to you, as any subject within your Realme, and will by no means stand in argument with your Majestie, but in most humble wise beseech you, even for Gods sake, to suffer me, as your highnesse hath done hitherto. It is for no worldly respect I desire it, God is my judge, but rather then to offend my conscience, I would desire of God to lose all that I have and also my life; and nevertheless live and die your humble sister and true subject. Thus after pardon craved of your Majestie for my rude and bold writing, I beseech Almightie God to preserve the same in honour with as long continuance of health and life, as ever had noble King. From Beaulien, the third of Februarie.

Your Majesties most humble and unworthy sister, Marie.

The Lady Mary to the Lords of the Councell the fourth of December, 1550.

MY Lords, your letters dated the second of this present were delivered unto me the third of the same. And where you write that two of my Chaplaines, Doctor Mallet and Barkly, be indicted for certaine things committed by them contrary to the Kings Majesties lawes, and processe for them also awarded forth, and delivered to the Sheriffe of Essex; I cannot but marvell they should be so used, considering it is done, as I take it, for saying Masse within my house: and although I have beene of my selfe minded alwaies, and yet am, to have masse within my house; yet I have beene advertised that the Emperours Majestie hath beene promised that I should never be unquieted nor troubled for my so doing, as some of you my Lords can witnesse. Furthermore, besides the declaration of the said promise made to me by the Emperours Ambassadour that dead is, from his Majestie, to put my Chaplaines more out of feare, when I was the last yeere with the Kings Majestie my brother, that question was then moved, and could not be denied, but affirmed by some of you before his Majestie to be true, being not so much unquieted for the trouble of my said Chaplaines, as I am to think how this matter may be taken, the promise to such a person being no better regarded. And for mine own part, I thought full little to have received such ungentlenesse at your hands, having alwaies (God is my Iudge) wished unto the whole number of you as to my selfe, and have refused to trouble you, or to crave any thing at your hands, but your good will and friendship, which very slenderly appeareth in this matter. Notwithstanding, to be plaine with you, howsoever ye shall use me or mine (with Gods help) I will never varie from mine opinion touching my faith. And if ye or any of you beare me the lesse good will for that matter, or faint in your friendship towards me onely for the same, I must and will be contented, trusting that God will in the end shew his mercy upon me, assuring you, I would rather refuse the friendship

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friendship of all the world (whereunto I trust I shall never be driven) then forsake any point of my faith. I am not without some hope that ye will stay this matter, not inforcing the rigour of the Law against my Chaplaines. The one of them was not in my house these four moneths, and D. Mallet, having my licence, is either at Windsor, or at his benefice, who, as I have heard, was indicted for saying of Masse out of my house, which was not true. But indeed, the day before my removing from Woodham water, my whole household in effect being gone to Newhal, he said Masse there by mine appointment. I see and hear of divers that do not obey your Statutes and Proclamations, and nevertheless escape without punishment. Be ye Iudges if I be well used to have mine punished by rigour of a Law, besides all the false bruits that ye have suffered to be spoken of me. Moreover, my Chaplain doctor Mallet, besides mine own commandement, was not ignorant of the promise made to the Emperour, which did put him out of fear. I doubt not therefore but ye will consider it, as by that occasion no piece of friendship be taken away, nor I to have cause but to bear you my good will, as I have done heretofore: for albeit I could do you little pleasure, yet of my friendship ye were sure, as if it had lien in my power, ye should have well known. Thus with my heartie commendations to you all, I pray Almightie God to send you as much of his grace, as I would wish to mine own soul.

From Beulien, the 4. of December.

Your assured friend to my power,
Mary.

The Councell to the Ladie Marie, the five and twentieth of Decembe.

After our due commendations to your Grace. By your letters to us, as an answer to ours, touching certaine processe against two of your chaplaines, for saying Masse against the Law and statute of the Realme, we perceive both the offence of your Chaplaines is otherwise excused then the matter may beare, and also our good wils otherwise misconstrued then we looked for. And for the first part, where your greatest reason to excuse the offence of a law, is a promise made to the Emperors Majestie, whereof you write, that first some of us be witnesses, next that the Embassador for the Emperor declared the same unto you, and lastly, that the same promise was affirmed to you before the Kings Majestly at your last being with him: we have thought convenient to repeat the matter from the beginning, as it hath hitherto proceeded, whereupon it shall appeare how evidently your chaplains have offended the law, and you also mistaken the promise. The promise is but one in it selfe, but by times thrise as you say repeated. Of which times, the first is chiefly to be considered, for upon that do the other two depend. It is very true the Emperour made request to the Kings majestly, that you might have liberty to use the Masse in your house, and to be as it were exempted from the danger of the Statute. To which request divers good reasons were made, containing the discommodities that should follow the grant thereof, and meanes devised rather to perswade you to obey and receive the generall and godly reformation of the whole realm, then by a private fancie to prejudice a common order. But yet, upon earnest desire and intreatie made in the Emperours name, thus much was granted, that for his sake and your owne also, it should be suffered and winked at, if you had the private Masse used in your own closet for a season, untill you might be better informed, whereof there was some hope, having onely with you a few of your own chamber, so that for all the rest of your household the service of the Realm should be used, and none other; further then this the promise exceeded not. And truly such a matter it then seemed to some of us, as indeed it was, that well might the Emperour have required of the Kings Majestly a matter of more profit, but of more weight or difficulty to be granted his Majestly could not. After this grant in words, there was by the Embassador now dead oftentimes desired some writing, as a testimonie of the same. But that was ever denied, not because we meant to break the promise, as it was made, but because there was daily hope of your reformation.

Now to the second time, you say the Emperours Embassadors declaration made mention of a promise to you, it might well so be. But we thinke no otherwise then as it appeareth before written. If it were, his fault it was to declare more then he heard; ours it may not be, that denie not what we have said. As for the last time when ye were with the Kings Majestly, the same some of us (whom by these words your letter noteth) do well remember, that no other thing was granted to you in this matter, but as the first promise was made to the Emperour, at which time you had too many arguments made to approve the procedings of the Kings majestie, and to condemne the abuse of the Masse, to think that where the private masse was judged ungodly, there you should have authority and ground to use it. About the same time, the Embassadour made meanes to have some testimonie of the promise under the great Seale; and that not being heard, to have it but by a letter; and that also was not onely denied, but divers good reasons alledged, that he should think it denied with reason, and so to be contented with an answer. It was told him, in reducing that which was commonly called the masse to the order of the primitive Church, and the institution of Christ, the Kings Majestie and his whole Realme had their consciences well quieted, against the which if any thing should be willingly committed, the same should be taken as an offence to God, and a very sinne against a truth knowne. Wherefore to license by open act such a deed, in the conscience of the Kings Majestly and his realme, were even a sin against God. The most that might herein be born, was, that the Kings majestly might, upon hope of your Graces reconciliation, suspend the execution of his law, so that you would use the license as it was first granted. Whatsoever the Embassadour hath said to others, he had no other manner grant from us, nor having it thus granted, could alledge any reason against it. And where in your letter your Grace noteth us as breakers of the promise made to the Emperour, it shall appear who hath broken the promise, whether we that have suffered more then we licensed, or you that have transgressed that which was granted. Now therefore we pray your grace confer the doings of your Chaplains with every point of the premisses; and if the same cannot be excused, then think also how long the law hath been spared. If it prick our consciences somewhat, that so much should be used as by the promise you may claim, how much more should it grieve us to license more then you can claim? And yet could we be content to bear a great burthen to satisfie your Grace, if the burthen pressed not our consciences so much as it doth, whereof we must say as the Apostle said, Gloriatio nostra est hæc, testimonium conscientiæ nostræ. For the other part of your Graces letter, by the which we see you misconstrue our good wils in writing to you, howsoever the law had proceeded against your Chaplains, our order in sending to you was to be liked, and therein truly had we speciall regard of your graces degree and estate. And because the law it self respecteth not persons, we thought to give respect to you,

first

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first signifying to you what the law required, before it should be executed, that being warned, your Grace might either thinke no strangenesse in the execution, or for an example of obedience cause it to be executed your self. Others we see perplexed with suddennesse of matters; your Grace we would not have unwarned, to think any thing done on a sudden. Truly we thought it more commendable for your Grace to help the execution of a Law, then to help the offence of one condemned by Law. And in giving you knowledge what the Kings Lawes required, we looked for help in the execution by you the Kings Majesties sister. The greater personage your Grace is, the nigher to the King, so much more ought your example to further his lawes. For which cause it hath bẽn called a good commonwealth where the people obeyed the higher Estates, and they obeyed the Laws. As nature hath joyned your Grace to the Kings Majesty to love him most entirely, so hath reason and law subdued you to obey him willingly. The one and the other we doubt not but your Grace remembreth: and as they both be joyned together in you his Majesties sister, so we trust you will not sever them; for indeed your Grace cannot love him as your brother, but you must obey his Majesty as his subject.

Example of your obedience and reverence of his Majesties Lawes is in stead of a good preacher to a great number of his Majesties subjects, who, if they may see in you negligence of his Majestie, or his Lawes, will not faile, but follow on hardly, and then their fault is not their own but yours, by example, and so may the Kings Majestie, when he shall come to further judgement, impute the fault of divers evill people (which thing God forbid) to the sufferance of your Graces doings. And therefore we most earnestly from the depth of our hearts desire it, that as nature hath set your Grace nigh his Majestie by blood, so your love and zeal to his Majestie will further his estate by obedience. In the end of your letter two things be touched, which we cannot pretermit; the one is, you seeme to charge us with permission of men to breake Lawes and Statutes. We think indeed it is too true, that Lawes and Proclamations be broken daily, the more pitie it is, but that we permit them, we would be sory to have it proved. The other is, that we have suffered brutes to be spoken of you, and that also must be answered as the other. It is pity to see men so evill, as whom they may touch with tales and infamies they care not, so they misse not the best. Such is the boldnesse of people, that neither we can fully bridle them to raise tales of you, nor of our selves. And yet whensoever any certaine person may be gotten, to be charged with any such, we never leave them unpunished. Indeed the best way is, both for your Grace, and us also, that when we cannot finde and punish the offendor, let us say as he said that was evill spoken of; Yet will I so live, as no credit shall be given to my backbiters. Certainly, if we had credited any evil tale of your grace, we would friendly have admonished you thereof, and so also proceeded, as either the tale-tellers should have bẽn punished, or else to have proved their tales. And therefore we pray your Grace to think no unkindenesse in us, that any evill brutes have bẽn spread by evill men; but think rather well of us, that howsoever they were spread, we believed them not. Hitherto your grace seeth we have written somewhat at length, of the promise made to you, and our meanings in our former writings. And now for the latter part of our Letter, we will as briefly as we can remember to you two speciall matters, whereof the one might suffice to reforme your procedings, and both together, well considered, we trust shall do your Grace much good. The one is, the truth of that you be desired to follow; The other is, the commodity that thereby shall ensue. They both make a just commandement, and because of the first the latter followeth, that first shall be entreated of. We hear say, your Grace refuseth to hear any thing reasoned contrary to your old determination, wherein you make your opinion suspicious, as that you are afraid to be disswaded. If your faith in things be of God, it may abide any storme or weather; if it be but of sand, you do best to eschew the weather. That which we professe hath the foundation in Scriptures upon plain Texts and no Glosses, the confirmation thereof by the use in the Primitive Church, not in this latter corrupted. And indeed our greatest change is not in the substance of our faith, no not in any one article of our Creed; onely the difference is, that we use the ceremonies, observations, and sacraments of our religion as the Apostles and first Fathers in the primitive Church did. You use the same that corruption of time brought in, and very barbarousnesse and ignorance nourished, and seeme to hold for Custome against the Truth, and we for Truth against Custome. Your Grace in one or two places of your letter seemeth to speake earnestly in the maintenance of your faith, and therein (so that your faith be according to the scriptures) we must have the like opinion; the saying is very good, if the faith be sound. But if every opinion your Grace hath (we cannot tell how conceived) shall be your faith, you may be much better instructed. Saint Paul teacheth you, that faith is by the Word of God. And it was a true saying of him that said, Non qui cuivis credit fidelis est, sed qui Deo. For where hath your Grace ground for such a faith, to thinke Common prayer in the English Church should not be in English, that Images of God should be set up in the Church; or that the sacrament of Christs body and bloud should be offered by the priests for the dead; yea, or that it should be otherwise used then by the scripture it was instituted? Though you have no scripture to maintaine them, we have evident scriptures to forbid them. And although fault may be found, that of late baptisme hath bẽn used in your Graces house, contrary to law, and utterly without licence, yet is it the worse, that contrary to the primitive church, it hath bẽn in an unknown tongue, by the which the best part of the Sacrament is unused, and as it were a blinde bargaine made by the godfathers in a matter of illumination; and thus in the rest of the things in which your grace differeth from the common order of the realme, where have you ground or reason, but some custome, which oftentimes is mother of many errours? And although in Civill things she may be followed where she causeth quiet, yet not in religious, where she erculeth no error, as in Leviticus it is said, Ye shall not doe after the custome of Egypt, wherein ye dwelled, nor after the custome of Canaan; no, you shall not walke in their lawes, for I am your Lord God, keepe you my lawes and commandements. The points wherein your Grace differeth in your Faith, as you call it, may be shewed where, when, how, & by whom they began since the Gospell was preached, the Church was planted, and the Apostles martyred. At which time your faith depended upon the Scripture, and otherwise there was no necessitie to believe. For as Hierome saith, Quod de Scripturis non habet authoritatem, eadem facilitate contemnitur qua probatur. And because your Grace, as we heare say, readeth sometimes the Doctors, we may alledge unto you two or three places of other principall doctors. Augustine saith, Cum Dominus tacuerit, quis nostrum dicat, illa vel illa sunt: aut si dicere audeat, unde probat? And Chrysostomes saying is not unlike; Multi, inquit, jactant spiritum sanctum, sed qui propria loquuntur, falsò illum prætendunt. And if you will take their meaning plaine, reade the fift Chapter of the first booke of Ecclesiastica historia; and where Constantine had these words in the councell

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cell. In disputationibus, inquit, rerum divinarum habetur præscripta spiritus sancti doctrina; Evangelici & Apostolici libri cum prophetarum oraculis plene nobis ostendunt sensum numinis; proinde discordia posita, sumamus ex verbis spiritus quæstionum explicationes. What plainer sayings may be then these to answer your fault? Again, too infinite it were to remember your Grace of the great number of particular errours (crept into the Church) whereupon you make your foundation. The fables of false miracles and lewd pilgrimages may somewhat teach you. Onely this we pray your Grace to remember with your selfe, the two words that the Father said of his Sonne Jesus Christ, Ipsum audite. To the second point of the commodity that may follow your obedience, we having by the Kings authority in this behalfe, the gouernance of this Realme, must herein be plain with your Grace. And if our speech offend the same, then must your Grace thinke it is our charge and office to finde fault where it is, and our part to amend it as we may. Most sory truly we be, that your Grace, whom we should otherwise honour for the Kings Maiesties sake, by your owne deeds should proboke us to offend you; we do perceive great discommodity to the Realme by your Graces singularitie (if it may be so named) in opinion; and in one respect, as you are sister to our soueraigne Lord and Maister, we most humbly beseech your Grace to shew your affection continually towards him, as becometh a sister. And as your grace is a subject, and we Counsellers to his Maiesties estate, we let you know the example of your Graces opinion hindreth the good weale of this Realme, which thing we thinke is not unknown to you; and if it be, we let your Grace know, it is too true. For Gods sake we beseech your grace, let nature set before your eyes the young age of the King your brother. Let reason tell you the loseness of the people; how then can you without a wailing heart think that you should be the cause of disturbance? If your Grace see the King, being the ordinarie ruler under God, not onely of all others in the Realme, but of you also, call his people by ordinary laws one way, with what heart can your Grace stay your self without folowing; much worse to stay other that would follow their Soueraigne Lord? Can it be a love in you to forsake him, his rule and law, and take a private way by your selfe? if it be not love, it is much lesse obedience. If your Grace thinke the Kings Maiestie to be over his people as the head in a mans body is over the rest not onely in place but in dignity and science, how can you, being a principall member in the same body, kéep the nourishment from the head? We pray your Grace most earnestly, thinke this thing so much griebeth us, as for our private affection and good wils to you (though we should dissemble) yet for our publike office we cannot but plainly inform your Grace, not doubting but that your wisedome can judge what our office is, and if it were not your owne cause, we know your Grace by wisedome could charge us, if we suffered the like in any other. Truly every one of us apart honoureth your grace for our Maisters sake, but when we joyne together in publike service, as in this writing we do, we judge it not tolerable, to know disorder, to see the cause, and leave it unamended. For though we would be negligent, the world would judge us. And therefore we do altogether eftsoons require your grace, in the Kings Maiesties name, that if any of your two Chaplaines, Mallet, or Barkley, be returned, or alcone as any of them shall return to your Graces house, the same may be, by your Graces commandement or order, sent and delivered to the Sheriffe of Esser, who hath commandement from the Kings Majesty, by order of the law and of his Crowne, to attach them, or if that condition shall not like your Grace, yet that then he may be warned from your Graces house, and not kept there, to be as it were defended from the power of the Law. Which thing we thinke surely neither your Grace will meane, nor any of your Counsell assent thereto. And so to make an end of our letter, being long for the matter, and hitherto deferred for our great businesse, we truste your Grace first séeth how the usage of your Chaplaines differeth from the manner of our licence, and what good intent moued us to write to you in our former letters, lastly, that the things whereunto the King and the whole Realme hath consented, be not onely lawfull and just by the policie of the Realme; but also just and godly by the laws of God. So that if we, which have charge under the King, should willingly consent to the open breach of them, we could neither discharge our selves to the King for our duties, neither to God for our conscience: the consideration of which things we pray Almightie God, by his holy spirit, to lay in the bottome of your heart, and thereupon to build such a profession in you, as both God may have his true honour, the King his due obedience, the Realme concord, and we most comfort. For all the which we do heartily pray, and therewith; for the continuance of your Graces health to your hearts desire.

From Westminster the five and twentieth of December.

The Lady Mary to the Lords of the Councell, the second of May, 1551.

MY Lords, after my hearty commendations to you, although both I have been and also am loth to trouble you with my letters, yet nevertheless the news which I have lately heard, touching my Chaplaine Doctor Mallet, forceth me thereunto at this present; for I heare by credible report, that you have committed him to the Tower, which newes seeme to me very strange. Notwithstanding I thought it good by these to desire you to advertise me what is the cause of his imprisonment, assuring you I would be sorie that any of mine should deserve the like punishment, and there is no creature within the Kings Majesties Realme would more lament, that any belonging to them should give just cause so to be used, then I would do; who would have thought much friendship in you, if you had given me knowledge wherein my said Chaplaine had offended, before you had ministred such punishment unto him, eftsoones requiring you to let me know by this bearer the truth of the matter. And thus thanking you for the short dispatch of the poore Merchant of Portugall, I wish to you all no worse then to my selfe, and so bid you farewell.

From Beaulieu the second of May.
Your Friend to my power,
Mary.

The Councell to the Lady Mary, the sixth of May, 1551.

AFter our humble commendations to your grace, we have received your letters of the 2. of this moneth, by the which your grace séemeth to take it strangely, that Doctor Mallet is committed to prison, whereof we have the more marvell, séeing it hath been heretofore signified unto you, that he hath offended the Kings Majesties laws, and was therefore condemned, and your Grace hath been by our letters earnestly desired that he might be delivered to the Sheriffe of Esser, according to the just processe of the law, to the which all manner persons of this realme be subject: Wherefore howsoever it séeme strange at this time to your Grace, that he

Anno 1551. is imprisoned, it may seeme more strange to other that he hath escaped it thus long; and if the place, being the Tower, move your Grace not to impute his imprisonment to his former offence, then we pray your grace to understand that indeed it is for the very same, and the place of the imprisonment to be at the Kings majesties pleasure, from whom, besides the charge of his Lawes, we have expresse commandement to do that we do. And so we beseech your Grace to think of us, that neither in this case, nor in any other, we mean to do any other then ministers, and see, as much as in our power lieth, justice ministred indifferently to all persons. Which doing, then we think your Grace should not think it any lack of friendship that we did not certifie you of the offence of your Chaplain, although indeed the cause hath already been certified. And we trust your Grace both of your naturall nearnesse to the Kings majesty, and your owne good wisedome, will not mislike our ministery in the execution of the Lawes of the realm, and the pleasure of the Kings majesty. So we wish to your Grace, from the bottom of our heart, the grace of Almighty God, with the riches of his holy gifts.

The Lady Mary to the Councell, the eleventh of May.

MY Lords, it appeareth by your Letters of the sixth of this present which I have received, that the imprisonment of my Chaplaine Doctor Mallet is for saying of Masse, and that he was condemned for the same. Indeed I have heard that he was indited, but never condemned. Nevertheless I must needs confesse and say, that he did it, but by my commandement, and I said unto him that none of my Chaplaines should be in danger of the Law for saying Masse in my house. And thereof to put him out of doubt, the Emperours Embassadour that dead is, declared unto him before that time, how and after what sort the promise was made to his Majesty, whereby it appeareth, that the man hath not in that willingly offended. Wherefore I pray you to discharge him of imprisonment, and set him at libertie: if not, ye minister cause not onely to him, but to others, to thinke that I have declared more then was true, which I would not wittingly do, to gain the whole world. And herein, as I have often said, the Emperours Majestie can be best judge. And to be plaine with you according to mine old custome, there is not one amongst the whole number of you all, that would be more loth to be found untrue of their word then I. And well I am assured, that none of you have found it in me. My Lords, I pray you seek not so much my dishonour, as to disprove my word, whereby it shall appeare too plaine, that you handle me not well. And if you have cause to charge my Chaplaine for this matter, lay that to me, and I will discharge it againe, by your promise made to the Emperours Majestie, which you cannot rightfully denie; wishing rather that you had refused it in the beginning, then after such promise made, and to such a person, to seeme to go from it: which my Lords, as your verie friend I heartily desire you to consider, and to give me no cause to thinke you otherwise then my friends, considering I have alwayes, and yet do (God is my judge) wish to you all no worse, neither in soules nor bodies, then to my self, and so, with my heartie commendations, I commit you all to God.

From Beaulien the 11. of May.

Your assured friend
to my power,

Marie.

The Councell to the Lady Marie, the seven and twentieth of May, 1551.

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AFter our due commendations to your Grace, although the same receiveth not answer so soon, as perchance was looked for upon the returne of your Graces servant: Yet we doubt not but your Grace understanding that where we have matters of estate pertaining to the Kings majesty in hand, as indeed we have had of late, the deferring of the answer, in a matter being no greater, requireth to be born withall. And touching the answer of your graces letter for doctor Mallet, we pray your grace to understand, that although you write he was indited, but not condemned, and so seem to take exception at the manner of his imprisonment: yet if they which informed your grace of that manner of reason in the law, were as well disposed to please your grace with truth, as the reason indeed is not true, then should they have told your grace that by the act of Parliament, if either Mallet have been convicted by the oaths of twelve men, or that the fact have been notorious, then the punishment doth follow justly. The truth of the one and the other way of conviction in this case is notorious enough, besides his flying from the processe of the law. And where your grace, to relieve him, would take the fault upon your self, we are sorie to perceive your grace so readie to be a defence to one that the Kings Law doth condemne. Nevertheless, he is not punished because your grace bad him, and willed him to do that which was an offence, but he is punished for doing it. And if we should not so see the Kings laws executed without respect, it might appear that we too much neglected our duty: and for that your grace taketh it as a discredit to your self, that he should be punished for that you bad him do, alledging to him that you had authority so to do, and that so promise was made to the Emperor, it hath been both written, and said to your grace, what is truth in that behalf. And howsoever that your grace pretendeth your license to have Masse said before your self, for a time of your reconciliation, it had been far out of reason to have desired that whosoever was your Chaplaine might say Masse in any house that was yours, when your Graces selfe was not there; for so is doctor Mallets offence, for saying Masse at one of your houses where your grace was not, which thing as it was never granted, so do we not remember that ever it was demanded. The suite that hath been at any time made, either by the Emperours Embassadour that dead is, or by him that now is, was never but in respect of your grace, and not to be taken that the Emperour or his Embassadour meant to privilege master D. Mallet, or any other to say Masse out of your presence. Wherefore as we do plainly write to your grace, so do we pray you to take it in good part, and think we be as ready to do our due reverence towards your grace in any thing we may do with our dutie to our Maker, as any your grace may command; and of such wisedome we know your grace to be, that ye should judge the better of us, for that we be diligent to see the Lawes of the Realm executed, wherein resteth the strength and safeguard of the Kings Majesty our Soveraigne Lord and Maker.

The Ladie Mary to the Lords of the Councell the one and twentieth of June, 1551.

MY Lords, although I received by my servant this bearer (who lately delivered unto you my Letters, wherein I desired to have my Chaplaine Doctor Mallet discharged of his imprisonment) your gentle message in generall words, for the which I give you most heartie thanks; yet have I no knowledge whether you will set him at libertie

or

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or no; but I think that your weighty affairs at that time was the let and cause ye did not write, for else I doubt not but ye would have answered me. Wherefore not being satisfied, and understanding ye would gladly pleasure me, I thought good eftsoones to desire you that my said Chaplain may have his liberty, wherein I assure you ye shall much gratifie me, being not a little troubled, that he is so long in prison without just cause, seeing the matter of his imprisonment is discharged by the promise made to the Emperours Majestie, as in my late letter I declared unto you. Wherefore my Lords, I pray you let me have knowledge by this bearer, how ye will use me in this matter; wherein if ye do pleasure me accordingly, then shall it well appeare that ye regard the foresaid promise, and I will not forget your gentlenesse therein, God willing, but requite it to my power. And thus with my hearty commendations to you all, I bid you farewell. From Beaulien the one and twentieth of Iune.

Your assured friend to my power,
Mary.

The Councell to the Lady Mary the twenty fourth of June, 1551.

After our humble commendations to your Grace, we have received your Graces letter of the one and twentieth hereof, wherein is received the same request in your former Letters hath been made for the release of doctor Wallet, and therein also your Grace seemeth to have looked for the same answer of your former letter, the which indeed partly was omitted (as your Grace conjecureth) by the reason of the Kings Majesties affairs, wherewith we be throughly occupied; partly for that we had no other thing to answer, then you had heretofore heard in the same matter. And therefore where your Grace desireth a resolute answer, we assure the same we be right sorie for the matter, and that it should be your Graces chance to move it, sith we cannot with our duties to the Kings majestie accomplish your desire. So necessary a thing it is to see the lawes of the Realme executed indifferently in all manner of persons, and in these cases of contempt of the Ecclesiasticall orders of this Church of England, that the same may not, without the great displeasure of God, and the slander of the state, be neglected: and therefore your Grace may please to understand, that we have not onely punished your Chaplaine, but all such others whom we finde in like case to have disobeyed the Lawes of the Kings majestie. And touching the excuse your grace oftentimes useth, of a promise made, we assure your Grace, none of us all, nor any other of the Councel, as your Grace hath been certified, hath ever been privy to any such promise, otherwise then hath been written. And in that matter your Grace had plain answer both by us of the Kings Majesties Councell, at your being last in his Majesties presence; and therein also your Grace might perceive his Majesties determination; whereunto we beseech your Grace not onely to incline your selfe, but also to judge well of us that do addict our selves to do our duties. And so also shall we be ready to do, with all our hearts, our due reverence toward your Grace, whose preservation we commend to Almighty God with our prayer.

The copie of the Lady Maries Letter to the Kings Maiestie.

MY dutie most humbly remembred to your Majesty; it may please the same to be advertised, that I have received by my servants your most honourable letters, the contents whereof do not a little trouble me, and so much the more, for that any of my said servants should move or attempt me in matters touching my soule, which I thinke the meanest subject within your Highnesse Realme could evill beare at their servants hands, having for my part utterly refused heretofore to talk with them in such matters, and of all other persons least regarded them therein, to whom I have declared what I think, as she which trusted that your Majestie would have suffered me your poore sister and Beadwoman to have used the accustomed Masse, which the King your father and mine with all his predecessours did evermore use. Wherein also I have been brought up from my youth. And thereunto my conscience doth not onely binde me, which by no meanes will suffer me to think one thing, and do another, but also the promise made to the Emperour by your Majesties Councell was an assurance to me, that in so doing I should not offend the Laws, although they seeme now to qualifie and deny the thing. And at my last waiting upon your Majestie, I was so bold to declare my minde and conscience to the same, and desired your Highnesse, rather then you should constraine me to leave Masse, to take away my life, whereunto your Majestie made me a very gentle answer. And now I most humbly beseech your highnesse to give me leave to write what I think touching your Majesties letters. Indeed, they be signed with your owne hand, and nevertheless (in mine opinion) not your Majesties in effect, because it is well knowne (as heretofore I have declared in the presence of your Highnesse) that although, our Lord be praised, your Majestie hath farre more knowledge and greater gifts then other of your yeers, yet it is not possible that your Highnesse can at these yeers be a Iudge in matters of Religion: and therefore I take it that the matter in your Letters proceedeth from such as do wish those things to take place which be most agreeable to themselves, by whose doings, your Majesty not offended, I intend not to rule my conscience. And thus without molesting your Highnesse any further, I humbly beseech the same, even for Gods sake, to beare with me as you have done, and not to think that by my doings or example any inconvenience might grow to your Majestie or your Realme: for I use it not after such sort, putting no doubt but in time to come, whether I live or die, your Majestie shall perceive that mine intent is grounded upon a true love towards you, whose royal estate I beseech Almighty God long to continue, which is and shall be my daily prayer according to my duty. And after pardon craved of your Majesty for these rude and bold letters, if neither at my humble sute, nor for the regard of the promise made to the Emperour, your Highnesse will suffer and beare with me as you have done, till your Majestie may be a Iudge herein your selfe, and rightly understand their proceedings, (of which your goodnesse yet I despair not:) otherwise rather then to offend God and my conscience, I offer my bodie at your will, and death shall be more welcome then life with a troubled conscience; most humbly beseeching your Majestie to pardon my slowneſſe in answering your letters. For mine old disease would not suffer me to write any sooner. And thus I pray Almighty God to keep your Majestie in all vertue and honour, with good health and long life to his pleasure.

From my poore house at Copped Hall, the 19. of August.

Your Majesties most humble Sister,
Mary.

A copie of the Kings Majesties Letters to the said Lady Mary.

RIght deare and right entirely beloved Sister, we greet you well, and let you know that it grieveth us much to perceive no amendment in you, of that which we for Gods cause, your soules health, our conscience, and the common tranquillity of our realme, have so long desired; assuring you that

that our sufferance hath much more demonstration of naturall love, then contentation of our conscience, and foresight of our safety. Wherefore although you give us occasion, as much almost as in you is, to diminish our naturall love; yet we be loth to feele it decay, and meane not to be so careless of you as we be provoked.

And therefore meaning your weale, and therewith joyning a care not to be found guiltie in our conscience to God, having cause to require forgivenesse that we have so long for respect of love toward you omitted our bounden duty, we send at this present our right trusty and right welbeloved Counsellor the Lord Rich Chancellor of England, and our trusty and right welbeloved Counsellors, sir A. W. Knight, Controller of our houshold, and sir W. P. Knight, one of our principall Secretaries in message to you, touching the order of your house, willing you to give them firm credit in those things they shall say to you from us, and do there in our name.

Given under our signet at our Castle of Windsor, the 24. of August, in the first yeer of our reign.

A copie of the Kings Majesties instructions, given to the said L. C. sir A. W. and sir W. P. knights, &c. the foure and twentieth of August, 1551.

FIrst you the said Lord Chancellor and your Collegues shall make your immediate repair to the said Lady Mary, giving to her his Majesties hearty commendations, and shew the cause of your coming to be as followeth.

Although his Majesty hath long time, as well by his Majesties own mouth and writing, as by his Councell, travelled that the said Lady being his sister, and a principall subject and member of his Realme, should both be indeed and also shew her selfe conformable to the lawes and ordinances of the Realme, in the profession and rites of Religion, using all the gentle meanes of exhortation and advise that could be devised, to the intent that the reformation of the fault might willingly come of her self, as the expectation and desire of his Majestie and all good wise men was: yet notwithstanding his Majesty seeth that hitherto no manner of amendment hath followed, but by the continuance of the error and manifest breach of his lawes no small perill consequently may hap to the state of his realme, especially the sufferance of such a fault being directly to the dishonour of God, and the great offence of his Majesties conscience, and all other good men: and therefore of late, even with the consent and advice of the whole state of his Privie Councell, and divers others of the Nobility of his Realme, whose names ye may repeat, if you thinke convenient, his Majesty did resolutely determine it just, necessary and expedient, that her Grace should not in any wise use or maintain the private Masse, or any other manner of service, then such as by the Law of the Realme is authorised and allowed: and to participate this his Majesties determination to her grace, it was thought in respect of a favourable proceeding with her self, to have the same, not onely to be manifested by her own officers and servants, being most esteemed with her, but also to be executed with them in her house, as well for the quiet proceeding in the very matter, as for the lesse molesting of her Grace with any message by strangers, in that time of her solitarinesse, wherein her Grace was then by reason of the late sickenesse. For which purpose her three servants, Rochester, Engleffeld, and Malgrave were sent in message in this manner. First to deliver his Majesties letter to her, next to discharge the complaints of saying Masse, and prohibiting all the houshold from hearing any. Wherein the Kings Majestie perceiveth upon their own report, being returned to the Court, how negligently, and indeed how falsely they have executed their commandement and charge, contrary to the duty of good subjects, and to the manifest contempt of his Majesty. Insomuch as manifestly they have before his Majesties Councel refused to do that which pertaineth to every true faithfull subject, to the offence so far of his Majesty, and derogation of his authority, that in no wise the punishment of them could be forborn: and yet in the manner of the punishment of them, his Majesty and his Councell hath such consideration and respect of her person being his sister, that without doubt his Majesty could not with honour have had the like consideration or favour in the punishment of the dearest Counsellour he hath, if any of them had so offended: and therefore his Majesty hath sent you three not onely to declare to her grace the causes of their sending thither of late his Officers in message, but also the causes of their absence now presently. And further, in the default of the said Officers, to take order, as well with her Chaplaines, as with the whole houshold, that his Majesties lawes may be there observed. And in the communication with her, you shall take occasion to answer in his Majesties name certain points of her Letter, sent now lately to his Majesty. The copie of which letter is now also sent to you to peruse, for your better instruction how to proceed therein. First, her allegation of the promise made to the Emperour must be so answered, as the truth of the matter serveth, whereof every of you have heard sufficient testimony divers times in the Councell. For her offering of her body at the Kings will, rather then to change her conscience, it grieveth his Majesty much, that her conscience is so setled in error, and yet no such thing is meant of his Majestie, nor of any one of his Counsell once to hurt, or will evill to her body, but even from the bottome of their heart they wish to her Mentem sanam in corpore sano. And therefore ye shall do very well to perswade her Grace, that this proceeding cometh onely of the conscience the King hath to avoid the offence of God, and of necessary counsell and wisedome to see his lawes in so weightie causes executed. Item, because it is thought that Rochester had the care and consideration of her Graces provision of houshold, and by his absence the same might either be disordered or disfurnished; his Majesty hath sent a trusty skilfull man of his own houshold, to serve her Grace for the time. Who also is sufficiently instructed of Rochester of the state of her things of houshold. And if there shall be any thing lacking in the same, his Majesties pleasure is, that his servant shall advertise his own chiefe Officers of houshold, to the intent if the same may be supplied of any store here, or other where helped conveniently, her grace shall not lack.

Item, having thus proceeded with her Grace, as for the declarations of the causes of your coming, ye shall then cause to be called afore you the Chaplaines, and all the rest of the houshold there present, and in the Kings Majesties name most straitly forbid the Chaplains either to say or use any Masse or kind of service, other then by the law is authorised; and likewise ye shall forbid all the rest of the company to be present at any such prohibited service, upon pain to be most straitly punished, as worthily falling into the danger of the Kings indignation, and alike charge to them all, that if any such offence shall be openly or secretly committed, they shall advertise some of his Majesties Counsell. In the which clause ye shall use the reasons of their naturall duty and allegeance that they owe as subjects to their soveraigne Lord, which derogateth all other earthly duties.

Item,

KING HEN. 8. Anno 1550.

Item, if you ſhall finde either any of the prieſts, or any other perſon diſobedient to this order, ye ſhal commit them forthwith to priſon, as ye ſhall thinke convenient.

Item, forasmuch as ye were privie to the determination at Richmond, and there underſtood how neceſſary it was to have reformation herein; his Majeſty upon the great confidence he hath in your wiſdome and uprightneſſe, remitteth to your diſcretion the manner of the proceeding herein, if any thing ſhall chance to ariſe there that in your opinions might, otherwiſe then according to theſe Inſtructions, conduce you to the execution of your charge, which in one ſumme is to avoid the uſe of the privat Maſſe, and other unlawful ſervice in the houſe of the ſaid Lady Mary.

Item, ye ſhall deviſe by ſome means as you may, to have underſtanding after your departure, how the order you give is obſerved, and as you ſhall judge fit, to certifie hither.

E.S. W.W. I.W. I.B.
W.N. W.H. F.H. I.G.
T.D. W.C.

The ſtory of Steven Gardiner.

The ſtory of Steven Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter briefly collected, the reſidue whereof concerning his acts and doings may further appeare in the book of Acts and Monuments, in the firſt edition, pag 728.

ALthough the firſt impriſonment of Steven Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, in order of time was before the deprivation of Biſhop Boner: yet forſomuch as he was not depoſed from his Biſhoprick till the next or ſecond yeere after, which was 1551. I have therefore driven off the hiſtorie of the ſaid Biſhop of Wincheſter to this preſent place, intending nevertheleſſe here not to extend and proſecute the explication of that buſie matter, with all circumſtances and particularities thereof, ſo amply at full as I might, partly for that being done in my firſt volume of Acts and Monuments, it may here ſuffice and content the reader, being diſpoſed there to ſearch and further to read touching the ſame, partly alſo conſidering how this preſent volume is grown already very large and great, I thought not to peſter the ſame with any more ſuperfluitie then needs muſt; and therfore leaving out his idle letters, his long proces of articles and examinations, his tedious talke, with the multitude of depoſitions brought in againſt him, and other his acts and interlocutories ſuperfluous, I minde here (the Lord willing) briefely and ſummarily to ever pe onely the principall effects, as to the Storie may ſeeme moſt appertinent, referring the reſidue to be ſearched (if any reader ſo liſt to doe) to the booke of Monuments aforeſaid, beginning in the page 728.

For the full actation of Steven Gardiners ſtory read in the booke of Acts and Monuments of the firſt edition, page 728.

Briefely therefore, as touching the acts, doings, deſerv dings, and miſdemeanors of this ſtout prelat and Biſhop of Wincheſter; firſt we will ſet before the reader the copy of a certaine writ or Evidence againſt the ſaid Biſhop, wherein as in a briefe ſum generally is deſcribed the whole order and manner of his miſordered demeanor, copied out of the publike records in manner as followeth.

The writ or evidence given out againſt Steven Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter.

The copie of a writ or evidence touching the order and manner of the miſdemeanor of Wincheſter, with declaration of the faults wherewith he was juſtly charged.

VVHereas the Kings Majeſty, by the advice of the Lord Protector and the reſt of his highneſſe privie Councel, thinking requiſite for ſundry urgent conſiderations to have a generall viſitation throughout the whole realm, did about ten moneths paſt addreſſe forth Commiſſions, and by the advice of ſundry Biſhops and other the beſt learned men of the realme, appointed certaine orders or Injunctions to be generally obſerved; which being ſuch as in ſome part touched the reformation of many abuſes, and in other parts concerned the good governance and quiet of the realme, were (as reaſon would) of all men of all ſorts obediently received, and reverently obſerved and executed, ſaving onely of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who as well by conference with other, as by open proteſtation & Letters alſo, ſhewed ſuch a wilful diſobedience therein, as if it had not been quickly eſpied, might have bred much unquietneſſe and trouble: Upon the knowledge thereof he being ſent for, & his lewd proceedings laid to his charge, in the preſence of the whole Councell ſo uſed himſelfe, (as well in denying to receive the ſaid Orders and Injunctions, as otherwiſe) as he was thought worthy moſt ſharpe puniſhment: and yet conſidering the place he had bæn in, he was onely ſequeſtred to the Fleet, where after he had remained a certaine time, as much at his eaſe as if he had bæn at his owne houſe, upon his promiſe of conformitie he was both ſet at libertie again, and alſo licenſed to repaire to and remain in his Dioceſſe at his pleaſure. Where when he was, forgetting his duty, and what promiſe he had made, he began forthwith to ſet forth ſuch matters as bred again more ſtrife, variance, and contention in that one ſmall Citie and ſhire, then was almoſt in the whole Realme after. Beſides that, the Lord Protectors Grace and the Councel were informed, that, to withſtand ſuch as he thought to have bæne ſent from their Grace and Lordſhips into thoſe parts, he had cauſed all his ſervants to be ſecretly armed & harneſſed, and moreover when ſuch preachers, as being men of godly life and learning were ſent into that Dioceſſe by his Grace and Lordſhips to preach the word of God, had appointed to preach, the Biſhop, to diſappoint and diſgrace them, and to hinder his Majeſties proceedings, did occupie the pulpit himſelfe, not fearing in his ſermon to warne the people to beware of ſuch new preachers, and to embrace none other doctrine but that which he had taught them (then the which words none could have bæn ſpoken more perillous and ſeditious.) Whereupon, being eftſoones ſent for, and their Grace and Lordſhips objecting to him many particular matters wherewith they had juſt cauſe to charge him, they did in the end upon his ſecond promiſe leave him at libertie, onely willing him to remain at his houſe at London, becauſe they thought it moſt mæt to ſequeſter him from his Dioceſſe for a time; and being come to his houſe, he began afreſh to ruffle and meddle in matters wherin he had neither commiſſion nor authoritie; part whereof touched the Kings Majeſtie. Whereof being yet once againe admoniſhed by his Grace and their Lordſhips, he did not onely promiſe to conforme himſelfe in all things like a good ſubject, but alſo becauſe he underſtood that he was diverſly reported of, and many were alſo offended with him, he offered to declare to the world his conformitie, and promiſed in an open Sermon ſo to open his minde in ſundry Articles agreed upon, that ſuch as had bæne offended ſhould have no more cauſe to be offended, but well ſatisfied in all things. Declaring further, that as his owne conſcience was well ſatisfied and liked well the Kings proceedings within this Realme, ſo would he utter his conſcience abroad, to the ſatisfaction and good quiet of others. And yet all this notwithſtanding, at the day appointed, he did not onely moſt arrogantly and diſobediently, and that in the preſence of his Majeſtie, their Grace and Lordſhips, and of ſuch an audience as the like whereof

Wincheſter miſuſing himſelfe before the Councell.

Wincheſter committed to the Fleet.

Wincheſter delivered out of the Fleet and ſet at liberty.

Wincheſter forgetteth himſelfe againe in his Dioceſſe.

Wincheſter ſent for againe by the Councel.

Wincheſter commanded to keepe his houſe.

Wincheſter againe breaketh promiſe with the Councell.

Wincheſter promiſeth to ſhew his conformitie openly in preaching.

Winchester in his sermon swarveth from his owne promise and the Kings commandements.

hath not lightly beene seen, speake of certaine matters contrary to an expresse commandement given to him on his Majesties behalfe both by mouth and by letters, but also in the rest of the Articles whereunto he had agreed before, used such a manner of utterance as was very like eben there presently to have stirred a great tumult, and in certaine great matters touching the policy of the Realme handled himselfe so colourably, as therein he shewed himself an open great offendor, and a very seditious man: forsomuch as these his procedings were of such sort, as being suffered to escape unpunished might breed innumerable inconveniences, and that the clemencies shewed to him afore, by their Grace and Lordships, did worke in him no good effect, but rather a pride and boldnesse to demean himselfe more and more disobediently against his Majesties and his Graces procedings, it was determined by their grace and Lordships, that he should be committed to the Tower, and be conveyed thither by sir Anthony Wingfield, and that at the time of his committing, sir Ralfe Sadler and William Gunnings Clerke of the Councell should seale up the dores of such places in his house as they should thinke meet; all which was done accordingly.

Winchester for his seditious disobedience had to the Tower.

By this evidence above mentioned, first here is of the reader to be noted how lewdly and disobediently the said Steven Gardiner misused himselfe in the Kings generall visitation, in denying to receive such orders and Injunctions, as for the which he sullily deserved much more severe punishment, albeit the King with his Uncle the Lord Protector, more gently proceeding with him, were contented onely to make him taste the Fleet. In the which house, as his durance was not long, so his intreating and ordering was very easie. But of the which Fleet divers & sundry letters he wrote to the Lord Protector and other of the Councell, certaine also to the Archb. of Canterburie, and some to maister Ridley bishop of London; the particulars were too long here to rehearse, considering how this book is overcharged as ye see already; and especially seeing the same to be notified in our first edition sufficiently as is afore said. Wherefore omitting the rehearsall of these said Letters, and referring the reader to the book aforesaid, I will onely repeate one Letter of the said Bishop, with the answers of the Lord Protector unto the same; the contents whereof be these as follow.

For the Letters of Winchester read in the book of Acts and Monuments of the first edition, page 732.

A Letter of Winchester to Master Vaughan.

A Letter of Steven Gardiner to Captain Vaughan.

MAster Vaughhan, after my right hearty commendations: In my last letters to my Lord Protector, signifying, according to the generall commandement by letters given to all Iustices of peace, the state of this shire, I declared (as I supposed true) the shire to be in good order, quiet, and conformitie, for I had not then heard of any alteration in this shire, which the said letters of commandement did forbid. Now of late within these two dayes I have heard of a great and detestable (if it be true that is told me) innovation in the Towne of Portesmouth, where the Images of Christ and his Saints have beene most contemptuously pulled downe, and spitefully handled.

Images plucked downe at Portesmouth.

Herein I thought good both to write to you and the Maior, the Kings Majesties chiefe ministers, as well to know the truth, as to consult with you for the reformation of it, to the intent I may be seene to discharge my dutie, and discharging it indeed both to God and to the Kings Majestie, under whom I am here appointed to have cure, and care to relieve such as be by any waies fallen, and preserve the rest that stand from like danger.

Ye are a Gentleman with whom I have had acquaintance, and whom I know to be wise, and esteeme to have more knowledge, wisedome, and discretion then to allow any such enormities, and therefore I doe the more willingly consult with you herein, with request friendly to know of you the very truth in the matter, who be the doers, and the circumstances of it, and whether ye thinke the matter so farre gone with the multitude, and whether the reproofe and disproving of the deed might without a further danger be enterprised in the pulpit or not, minding, if it may so be, to send one thither for that purpose upon Sunday next coming. I would use preaching as it should not be occasion of any further folly where a folly is begun, and to a multitude, perswaded in the opinion of destruction of Images, I would never preach. For (as Scripture willeth us) we should cast no precious stones before hogges. Such as be infected with that opinion, they be hogges and worse then hogges, if there be any grosser beasts then hogges be, and have beene ever so taken, and in England they are called Lollards, who denying Images, thought therewithall the crafts of painting and graving to be generally superfluous and naught, and against Gods lawes.

Then were the old fathers and bishops in the Primitive Church, with Epiphanius and Carolus Magnus, and all the Councel of Frankford, hogs and dogs.

In Germany such as maintained that opinion of destroying of Images were accounted the dregges cast out by Luther after he had tunned all his brewings in Christs religion, and so taken as hogs meate. For the reproofe of whom Luther wrote a booke specially, and I have with mine eyes seene the Images standing in all Churches, where Luther was had in estimation. For the destruction of Images containeth an enterprise to subvert religion and the state of the world with it, and especially the Nobilitie, who by Images set forth and spred abroad to be read of all people, their linage, parentage, with remembrance of their state and acts; and the Pursevant carrieth not on his brest the Kings name written with such letters as a few can spell, but such as all can reade, be they never so rude, being great knowne letters in images of three Lions, and three flours de luce, and other beasts holding those armes. And he that cannot reade the scripture written about the Kings great seale, yet he can reade Saint George on horsebacke on the one side, and the King sitting in his Majestie on the other side, and readeth so much written in those images, as if he be an honest man, he will put off his cap, and although if the seale were broken by chance, he would and might make a candle of it, yet he would not be noted to have broken the seale for that purpose, or to call it a piece of wax onely whilest it continueth whole. And if by reviling of stocks and stones, in which matter images be graven, the setting of the truth to be read in them of all men shall be contemned; how shall such writing continue in honour as is comprised in clouts and pitch, whereof and whereupon our bookes be made, such as few can skill of, and not the hundreth part of the Realme? and if we a few that can reade, because we reade in one sort of letters, so priviledged as they have many reliefes, shall pull away the bookes of the rest, and would have our letters onely in estimation, and blinde all them, shall not they have just cause to mistrust what is meant? And if the crosse be a truth, and if it be true that Christ suffered, why may we not have a writing thereof, such as all can reade, that is to say an Image? If this opinion should proceed, when the Kings Majestie hereafter should shew his person, his lively Image, the honour due by Gods law among such might continue; but as for the Kings standards, his banners, his armes should hardly continue in their due reverence for feare of Lollards idolatrie, which they gather upon Scripture beastly, not onely untruely. The Scripture reproveth false images made of stocks and stones, and so it doth false men made of flesh and bones.

Winchesters reason. The Pursevant carrieth about Saint George on horseback & the Kings picture. Ergo, Images must stand in Churches.

When the Emperours money was shewed to Christ, wherein was the Image of the Emperour,

Bookes serve onely to be read and not to be kneeled unto and worshipped: for so are they no bookes, but are made idols and are to be broken.

Christ

KING EDW. 6. Anno 1550.

Christ contemned not that Image calling it an Idoll, nor noted that money to be against Gods law, because it had an image in it, as though it were against the precept of God, Thou shalt have no graven Image; but taught them good civilitie, in calling it the Emperors Image, and bad them use the money as it was ordered to be used in his right use.

There is no Scripture that reproveth truth, and all Scripture reproveth falsehood. False writings, false bookes, false images and false men, all be naught, to be contemned and despised; as for paper, inke, parchment, stones, wood, bones, A. B. of the Chancery hand, and A. B. of the Secretary hand, a Letter of Germany fashion, or of any other forme, they be all of one estimation, and may be, of man enclining to the devill, used for falshood, or applying to Gods gracious calling, used to set forth truth. It is a terrible matter to thinke, that this false opinion conceived against Images should trouble any mans head: and such as I have knowne vexed with that Devill (as I have knowne some) be nevertheless wondrously obstinate in it: and if they can finde one that can spell Latine to helpe forth their madnesse, they be more obdurate then ever were the Iewes, and slander whatsoever is said to them for their reliefe. Of this sort I know them to be, and therefore if I wist there were many of that sort with you, I would not irritate them by preaching without fruit, but labour for reformation to my Lord Protector. But if you thought there might be other waies used first to a good effect, I would follow your advice, and proceeding with you and the Maior, with both your helpes to doe that may lie in me to the redresse of the matter; which I take to be such an enterprise against Christs religion, as there cannot be a greater by man excogitate with the devils instigation, and at this time much hurtfull to the common estate, as ye can of your wisdome consider. Whom I heartily desire and pray to send me answer by this bearer to these my Letters, to the intent I may use my selfe in sending of a preacher thither, or writing to my Lord Protector, as the case shall require accordingly. And thus fare you heartily well.

If every image representing a thing of truth may stand in a place of worship, then let Winchesters face stand in the Church also.

From my house at Wolvesay, the third of May. 1547.
Steph. Wint.

A Letter of the Lord Protector answering to the Letter above.

AFter hearty commendations, I received of late two Letters from your Lordship, the one inclosed in a Letter of Master Vaughans to us, and directed to him, the other directed straight unto us, very wittily and learnedly written, whereby we do perceive how earnest you are that no innovations should be had. The which minde of yours as we doe highly esteeme and allow, proceeding from one that would quietnesse, so we would likewise wish, that you should take good heed that too much feare of innovation or disturbance doth not cause both of them to be. Many times in an host, he that crieth Enemies, enemies, when there be none, causeth not only disturbance, but sometimes a mutiny or rebellion to be made, and he that for feare of a sickenesse to come taketh unadvisedly a purgation, sometimes maketh himselfe sick indeed. We perceive by the said your Letters, that hainouser facts and words have been brought to your eares, then there was cause why: and those facts which were punishable be already by him redressed.

For the matter of Images, an order was taken in the late king of famous memory our soveraigne Lords daies. When the abused images (yet lurking in some places by negligence of them who should ere this time have looked unto the same be now abolished, let not that be a matter of the abolishing of all Images. Though felons and adulterers be punished, all men be not slaine. Though the images which did adulterate Gods glory be taken away, we may not think by and by all manner of images to be destroyed. Yet after our advice, better it were for a time to abolish them all, then that for the dead Images the kings loving subjects, being faithful and true to the kings Majesty, should be put to variance and disturbance. With quietnesse the Magistrates and rulers shall keepe them well in order, whom contentious preachers might irritate and provoke to disorder and strife. So it must be provided that the Kings Majesties Images, armes, and ensignes, should be honoured and worshipped, after the decent order and invention of humane lawes and ceremonies, and nevertheless that other Images, contrary to Gods ordinances and laws, should not be made partakers of that reverence, adoration and invocation, which (forbidden by God) should derogate his honor, and be occasion to accumulate Gods wrath upon us. Where they be taken for a remembrance, it maketh no great matter though they stand still in the Church or Market stead, following the late King of famous memorie his counsell and order; yet more gentlenesse was shewed to those bookes of Images, then to the true and unfeigned bookes of Gods word, both being abused, the one with Idolatrie, the other with contention. The Scripture was removed for a time from certaine persons, and almost from all: The Images were left still to them who most did abuse them, the thing being yet closed from them which should teach the use. Wherefore it may appeare unto us meete, more diligenter heede to be taken that the abused before be not abused againe, the advantage of some priests, simplicity of Lay-men, and great inclination of mans nature to Idolatry giving cause thereto.

Distinction of Images.

More gentlenesse shewed to the bookes of Images, then to the bookes of Gods word in King Henries time.

They that contemne Images, because the matter that they are made of is but vile, as stocks and stones, may likewise despise printing in paper because the ink hath pich in it, and the paper is made of old rags. And if they be both alike, it might be reasoned why a man should be more agrieved, that an image of wood, though it were of Saint Anne, or Saint Margaret should be burned, then he will that the Bible, wherein the undoubted word of God is comprised, should be torne in peeces, burned or made paste of. Nor doe we now speake of false Bibles, nor false gospels, but of the very true Gospel, either in Latine, Greeke or English, which we see every day done, and sometime commanded, because the Translator displeaseth us; and yet herein no man exclaimeth of a terrible and detestable fact done. But let one image either for age, and because it is woorm-eaten, or because it hath bin foolishly abused, be burnt or abolished, by and by some men are in exceeding rage, as though not a stock or a stone, but a true Saint of flesh and bone should be cast into the fire, which were a detestable & a terrible sight. We cannot see but that Images may be counted marvellous books to whom we have kneeled, whom we have kissed, upon whom we have rubbed our Beades and Hankerchers, unto whom we have lighted Candles, of whom we have asked pardon and helpe, which thing hath seldome been seen done to the Gospel of God, or the very true Bible. For who kisseth that but the Priest at the Masse, at a painted picture, or in such a ceromonie? Or who kneeleth unto it, or setteth a candle before it? And yet it seeth or heareth, as well as the Images or Pictures either of S. Joh. or our Lady or Christ.

Papists can better abide the booke of Gods word then Images to be burned.

Images falsely called and counted for laymens bookes.

Indeed Images be great Letters; yet as big as they be, we have seene many which have read them amisse. And belike they be so likely to be read amisse, that God himselfe, fearing the Iewes to become evill readers of them, generally did forbid them. Nor is it any great marvell though in reading of them

For Images.

Winchester overseen in mistaking the kings Image for S. George on horseback.

the lay-people are many times deceived, when your Lordship (as appeareth) hath not truly read a most true and a most common Image. Your Lordship hath found out, in the kings Highnesse great seale, Saint George on horseback, which the Graver never made in it, nor the Sealer ever sealed with it; and this inscription is not very little, & if it were, it could not escape your Lordships eyes. As the inscription testifieth, the kings Image is on both the sides; on the one side as in war the chiefe captaine; on the other side as in peace the liege Soveraigne; in harnesse with his sword drawne to defend his subjects: in his robes in the seate of Justice with his scepter rightfully to rule & govern thē, as he whom both in peace and warre we acknowledge our most naturall and chiefest head, ruler and governor. If it were S. George, (my Lord) where is his Speare and Dragon? And why should the inscription round about tell an untruth, and not agree to the Image? Yet it is called sometimes so of the rude and ignorant people; but not by and by, that, that is commonly called so, is alwaies truest. And some have thought that by like deceiving, as your Lordship herein appeareth to have been deceived, the Image of Bellerophon or Perseus was turned first and appointed to be Saint George, and of Polyphemus, of Hercules, or of some other Colossus, to be Saint Christopher, because authenticall historyes have not fully proved their two lives. But those be indifferent to be true or not true, either thus invented upon some devise, or rising of a true fact or history, and whether it were true or not, it maketh no great matter.

If it be against reason that learned men should take from the unlearned the books of their Images, much more is it against reason to take from them the books of Gods word.

It were hardly done indeed my Lord, if that you, and a few which can reade, should take away from the unlearned multitude their books of their Images: but it were more hardly done, if that you or a few which can reade in one or two languages, (as Greek and Latin) the word of God, and have had thereby many reliefes and privileges, should pull away the English books from the rest which onely understand English; and would have onely your letters of Greek and Latin in estimation, and bind all them, which understand not these languages, from the knowledge of Gods word. And indeed, my Lord, by your saying they have just occasion to suspect what is meant.

1 Cor. 8.

Winchesters distinction betweene true and false Images refuted.

What you mean by true Images and false Images, it is not so easie to perceive. If they be onely false Images, which have nothing that they represent, as Saint Paul writeth, An Idol is nothing, (because there is no such god) & therefore the crosse can be no false Image, because it is true that Christ suffered upon it: then the image of the Sunne and the Moon were no Idols, for such things there be as the Sun and the Moon, and they were in the image then so represented, as painting and carving doth represent them. And the Image of Ninus and Cesar, and (as some write) the images of al the 12. chosen Gods (as they called them) were the images of once living men. And it might be said that the Image of God the father hath no such eies, nose, lips, and a long gray beard, with a furred robe, nor ever had, as they carve & paint him to have. But if that be a false Image and an Idoll which is otherwise worshipped and accepted then it ought to be, as the Brasen Serpent, being a true image and representation of Christ, by abuse was made an Idoll; it may be thought in times past, and peradventure now at this time, in some places, the Images not onely of Saint John or Saint Anne, but of our Lady and Christ be false Images and Idols, representing to foolish, blinde & ignorant mens hearts and thoughts, that which was not in them, and they ought not to be made for. The which were by you (my Lord) to have been removed sooner, and before that the captain there should have need to have done it. But if your Lordship be slack in such matters, he that removeth false Images and Idols abused, doth not a thing worthy of blame.

The Image of the Father is false, and therefore by Winchesters reason to be abolished.

Christ called not the money, having Cesars Image in it, an Idoll, when it was used to lawfull uses, and to pay the due tribute withall. But when a man doth not use those Images graven in money to doe his neighbour good and the commonwealth service, Saint Paul Christs disciple called that covetousnesse, and the serving and bondage to Idols. So that even in money may be idolatrie, if we make too much of those Images which Christ here doth not reprehend. There be some so ticklish, and so fearefull one waies, and so tender stomached, that they can abide no old abuses to be reformed, but thinke every reformation to be a capitall enterprise against all religion and good order; as there be on the contrary side some too rash, who having no consideration what is to be done, headlong will set upon every thing. The Magistrates dutie is betwixt these, so in a meane to see & provide that old doting should not take further or deeper rust in the Commonwealth, neither ancient error overcome the seen and tried truth, nor long abuse, for the age & space of time onely, skil be suffered; & yet all these with quietnesse & gentlenesse, and without all contention, if it were possible, to be reformed. To the which your Lordship, as a man to whom God hath given great qualities of wit, learning, and perswasion, could bring great helpe and furtherance, if it were your pleasure, with great thanks of men and reward of God. The which thing is our full desire and purpose, and our hearty and daily prayer to God, that in the kings majesties time, whose majesties reign God preserve, all abuses with wisdome reformed, Christs religion with good and politike order of the commonwealth, without any contention and strife among the kings subjects, might flourish and daily increase. And this to your Lordships letter sent to Walter Vaughan of Portesmouth.

Winchester to the Lord Protector.

He noted W. Barlow.

MAy it please your grace to understand, that I have noted some points in my Lord of Saint Davids Sermon, which I send unto you herewith, whereby to declare unto you some part what I think, for the whole I cannot expresse: somewhat I shall incumber you with my babling, but he hath incumbred some friends more with his tatling. And alas, my Lord, this is a pittious case, that having so much businesse as ye have, these inward disorders should be added unto them, to the courage of such as would this realme any waies evill. For this is the thing they would desire, with hope therby to disorder this realme, being now a time rather to repaire that which needeth reparation, then to make any new buildings which they pretend. Quiet, tranquillity, unitie, and concord shall maintain estimation. The contrary may animate the enemy to attempt that which was never thought on, which God forbid. There was never attempt of alteration made in England, but upon comfort of discord at home, and woe be to them that minde it. If my Lord of Saint Davids, or such others have their head cumbred with any new platforme, I would wish they were commanded, betweene this and the kings Majesties full age, to draw the plat, diligently to hew the stones, digge the sand, and choppe the Chalke in the unseasonable time of building, and when the kings Majestie cometh to full age, to present their labours to him, and in the meane time not to disturbe the State of the Realme, whereof your Grace is Protector, but that you may in every part of Religion, lawes, lands, and Decrees (which foure containe the State) deliver the same unto our Soveraigne Lord, according unto the trust you be put in, which shall be much to your honour, and as all honest men

Where quiet & tranquillitie goeth with right formed religion, by all means it is to be maintained, but contrary where Gods religion lacketh his right, there the second table must give place to the first. This Bishop reasoneth here as one having more respect to worldly tranquillity then to Christs glory.

KING EDW. 6. Anno. 1550.

men with and desire. To which desired effect there can be nothing so noysome and contrarious, as trouble and disquiet. Wherein your Grace shall be specially troubled, as on whose shoulders all the weight lieth, and whatsoever shall happen amisse by the faults of other, shall be imputed to your Grace, as doer thereof, or wanting foresight in time to withstand the same. And albeit that you minde not to be faulty in either, yet if the effect be not to the realme as it were to be wished, the prince though he were of age should be excused, and the governors beare the blame. And this is the infelicity of preheminence and authority, and specially in this realme, as stories make mention, which should not discourage you, for you need feare nothing without, if quiet be reserved at home; and at home if the beginning be resisted, the intended folly may easily be interrupted. But if my brother of S. Davids may like a Champion with his sword in his hand, make enter for the rest, the doore of licence opened, there shall now by folly thrust in with him then your Grace would wish. Thus, as I thinke, I write homely to your Grace, because you were content I should write, wherein I consider onely to have all things well. And because your Grace is the Protector, and the chiefe director of the realme, to present unto your wisdome what my folly is, I have bene oftentimes blamed for fearing over much, and yet I have had an inkling that they that so blamed me, feared even as much as I. Being in the state that you be in, it shall be ever commendable to foresee the worst. In quiet ye be strong; in trouble ye be greatly weake, and bring your selfe in danger of one part, when parties be, therewith one to scourge the other. Whereas in concord they be both yours, in an honest, reverent, lovely feare to do their dutie, which I doubt not your wisdome can consider. And consider also how noisome any other outward incumber might be in the time of the minority of our soveraign lord. I told the emperors Counsell, That our late soveraign Lord did much for the Emperor, to enter warre with him, and to put his realme in his old dayes in the adventure of fortune, whether he should enjoy it or no, for that is the nature of warre. And sometime the contemned and abject have had the upper hand. And when ye administer the realme for another, it were a marvellous question of him that shall enjoy the realme, to say, What meant you in the time of administration to adventure my realme? Why took ye not rather for the time of my minority any peace whatsoever it were, which is better then the best warre, as some men have written? I know you have authoritie sufficient, and wisdome plenty, and yet being entred to write, I forget for the time what ye be, and commune with you as I were talking at Brussels with you, devising of the world at large. And if I were sworne to say what I thinke of the state of the world, I would for a time let Scots be Scots, with dispaire to have them, unlesse it were by conquest, which shall be a goodly enterprise for our young Master when he cometh to age. And in the meane time prepare him money for it, and set the realm in an order which it hath need of. And for a stay, if the Emperor would offer the king of Romans daughter, as he did; do with him in our Masters minority, as he did with us in his, whereby all this hath chanced unto him. And by this allyance your estimation shall encrease, and our Soveraign Lords surety not a little encrease and be augmented. For of France it must be taken for a rule, They be so wanton, they cannot do wel longer then they see how they may be scourged if they doe not. Here is all the wit that I have, which I offer unto you upon this occasion of writing, and shall pray God to put into your mind that which shall be for the best, as I trust he will; and in the meane time to extinguish this barbarous contention at home, which can serve onely to do hurt, and no good.

I had fashioned a letter to Master Ridley, which I send unto your Grace, and encumber you with these melancholy writings, ingendred of this fondnesse, which be not worth the reading. And so it may like you to use them, for having heard that which ye have said unto me, and otherwise heard and seen what you do, I shall go occupy my wit in other matters, and now such as have fond enterprises shall see that I letted not their follies, which they called Gods Word. But for his time the King our Soveraign Lord that dead is, and after his time you have done much to your honour and reputation; howsoever any shall be here not contented; Which miscontentation hath been so fond in some, as they have burst out and wished, that they might without breach of his lawes kill me; which is to me a token of a marvellous fury, which hath beene cause why I am glad both to depart hence, and to depart the sooner, and pray to God to order all things for the best, With preservation of our Soveraigne Lord, and increase of your Graces honour.

At my house in Southwarke, the last of Februarie.

Your Graces humble beadman, S.W.

Winchesters letters against Ridley. Gods Word is folly to Winchester, but to them that be wise in the Lord it is the wisdome of the Lord to salvation.

Wily Winchester under pretence of giving sage counsell, craftily goeth about to incense and set the Lord Protector against all good men and all godly proceedings.

Another letter of S. W.

After my humble commendations to your Grace, it may like the same to understand, I I have seen of late two books set forth in English by Bale, very pernicious, seditious, and slanderous. And albeit that your grace needeth not mine advertisement in that matter, yet I am so bold to trouble your Grace with my letters for mine own commoditie, wherewith to satisfie mine owne conscience, to write and say as becometh me in such matters, which I desire your Grace to take in good part. For it grieveth me not a little, to see, so soone after my late Soveraigne Lord and Masters death, a book spread abroad more to his dishonour (if a princes honour may be by vile inferior subjects impeached) then professed enemies have imagined, to note a woman to have suffered under him as a martyr, and the woman therewith to be by Bales own elucidation (as he calleth it) so set forth and painted as she appeareth to be, and is boasted to be a sacramentarie, & by the lawes worthy (as she suffered) the paines of death; such like things have by stealth in our late Soveraigne Lords daies gone abroad as they doe now. And as I am wont in such cases to speake, I kepe my wont to write to your Grace now, in whose hands I know the state of the realm to be for the time in government, and to whom for respects of old acquaintance I wish all felicitie. In these matters of religion I have been long exercised, and have (thankes be to God) lived so long as I have seen them throughly tried, and besides that I have learned in written bookes of authoritie, I have perceived by books written without authority, as by Master Bale, Joy, and other, and especially as Bale useth now, that Scripture doth, by abuse, service to the right hand and the left at once, in so much as at one time Bale praiseth Luther, and setteth his death forth in English, with commendation as of a Saint, which Luther (whatsoever he was otherwise) stoutly affirmed the presence really of Christs naturall body in the Sacrament of the altar. And yet Bale the noble Clerke would have Anne Askew, blasphemously denying the presence of Christs naturall body, to be taken for a Saint also. So as Bales Saints may vary in heaven, if they chance not by the way; which might suffice to disprove the mans credit, if thwarting talke were more desired of many then the truth indeed, which truth was supposed to have beene both in writing and exercise well established, long before our late

Winchester wrangleth against Bales Bookes.

Winchester against the expedition into Scotland.

Winchester here meaneth a fetch, if he could have brought it about.

Luther and Anne Askew why not as well Saints both in Heaven, though they varied in one small point here as you and Smith, both the Popes friends, though ye vary, as ye laid your feets in drons.

Lords death; and Bale and his adherents in their madnesse plainly reproved and condemned. I cannot forget, your Grace told me you would suffer no innovation: and indeed if you deliver this realme to the king at eighteene yeares of age, as the King his Father, whose soule God assoile, left it, as I trust you shall, the act is so honourable and good, as it were pity to trouble it with any innovation, which were a charge to your Grace more then needed, being already burthened heavily. And albeit in the common wealth every man hath his part, yet as God hath placed you, the matter is (under the Kings Majestie) chiefly yours, and as it were yours alone. Every man hath his eie directed unto you both here and abroad, you shall shadow mens doings if they be done, which is one incommodity of high rule. And for my part besides my dutie to the Kings Majestie and the Realme, I would that your grace in whom since your government I have found much gentlenesse and humanity, had as much honour with good successe as ever any had, & pray to God that men would let your Grace alone, and suffer the Realme in the time of your government in quiet among our selves, whereby we may be the more able to resist forreigne trouble, which your Grace doth prudently foresee. Certaine Printers, Plaiers, and Preachers make a wonderment, as though we knew not yet how to be justified, nor what Sacraments we should have. And if the agreement in religion made in the time of our late Soveraign Lord be of no force in their judgement, what establishmēt could any new agreement have? And every incertainty is noysome to any Realme. And where every man will be master, there must nēeds be uncertainty. And one thing is marvellous, that at the same time it is taught that all men be liers, at the selfe same time almost every man would be believed; and amongst them Bale, when his untruth appeareth evidently in setting forth the examination of Anne Askew, which is utterly misreported. I beseech your Grace to pardon my babling with you. But I see my late Soveraigne Lord and Master slandered by such simple persons, religion assaulted, the Realme troubled, and peaceable men disquieted, with occasion given to enemies to point and say, that after Wicliffes strange teaching in the Sacramēts of Christs church hath bred other, it is finally turned unto us to molest and scourge us, for other fruit cannot Bales teaching have, ne the teaching of such other as go about to trouble the agreement stablished here. In which matter I dare not desire your grace specially to look earnestly unto it, lest I should seeme to note in you that which becometh me not. And I know, that your Grace being otherwise occupied, these things may creepe in as it hath been heretofore; sometime it may be hard for your Grace to finde out or pull out the root of this naughtinesse: but yet I am so bold to write of these, of mine own stomack, who have ever used, for discharge of my selfe, to say and write in time and place as I thought might do good for relefe of the matter, remitting the rest to the disposition of God, who hath wrought wonders in these matters, since they were first moved, and given me such knowledge and experience in them, as I ought to take them (as they be) for corruption and untruth; I mean knowledge and experience of them that be chiefe stirrers, to infect with untruth, as they cannot speak or report truly in common matters. The pretence is of the spirit, and all is for the flesh, women, and meat, with libertie of hand and tongue, a dissolution and dissipation of all estates, clean contrarious to the place God hath called your Grace unto. For it tendeth all to confusion and disorder, which is the effect of untruth.

Bale hath set forth a prayer for the Duke Jo. of Saronie, wherin the duke remitteth to Gods judgement to be shewed here in this world the justnesse of his cause concerning religion, and desireth God, if his cause be not good, to order him to be taken, and to be spoiled of his honour and possessions, with many such gay words whereby to tempt God; since which prayer the Duke is indeed taken as all the world saith, and at the time of his taking, as the account is made, such strangenesse in the Sunne, as we saw it here, as hath not been seen. They happened both together, this we know, and be both marvellous; but whether the one were a token ordered to concurre with the other; God knoweth, and man cannot define. Many commonwealths have continued without the Bishop of Romes jurisdiction, but without true religion, & with such opinions as Germany maintained, no estate hath continued in the circuit of the World to us knowne since Christ came. For the Turks and Tartars government is as it were a continuall warre, and they uphold their rule with subduing of nobility by fire and sword. "Germany with their new religion could never have stood, though the Emperor had let them alone: for if it be perswaded the understanding of Gods law to be at large in women * and children, whereby they may have the rule of that, & then Gods law must be the rule of all, is not hereby the rule of all brought into their hands? These of some will be called witty reasons, but they be indeed truths children, and so is all the eloquence, which some (to dispraise me) say I have, whatsoever they say of me. For truth is of it selfe, in a right meaning mans mouth, more eloquent then forged matters can with studie bring forth. What rithmes be set forth to deprave the Lent, and how fond (saving your Graces honour) and foolish? and yet the people pay money for them, and they can serve for nothing, but to learn the people to raile, and to cause such as used to make provision for fish against Lent, fearing now in Lent to be so sick as the time purporteth and like to die indeed, to forbeare to make their accustomed provision for the nert year. And thereto shal it come if the common diet be not certaine. For the Fishmonger will never hope to have good sale, when the Butcher may with flesh outface him. And fish is that great treasure of this realme & food inestimable. And these good words I give, although I love it not my selfe: for such as love not fish should nevertheless commend it to other, to the intent the flesh by them forborn might be to such as love it only the more plenty. The publike defamation and trifling with Lent is a marvellous matter to them that would say evill of this realme; for there is nothing more commended unto us Christian men in both the Churches of the Greeks and Latines, then Lent is, if all men be not liers. In the King our late Soveraigne Lords daies this matter was not thus spoken of. And I thinke our enemies would with we had nō Lent. Every Countrey hath his peculiar inclination to naughtinesse; England and Germany unto the Bellie, the one in Liquour, the other in meate; France a little beneath the Bellie; Italie to vanities and pleasures devised; and let an English Belly have a further advancement, and nothing can stay it. When I was Purveyor for the Seas, what an exclamation was there (as your Grace shewed me) of the Bishops fasting day, as they called Wednesday, and Winchester, Winchester, grand merry for your wine, I beshrew your heart for your water? Was not that song, although it was in sport, a signification how loth men be to have their licence restrained? or their accustomed fare abated? unlesse it were in extreame necessitie. I heare say that the Lent is thus spoken of by Joseph and Tongue, with other new (whom I know not) as being one of Christs Myracles, which God ordained not man to imitate and follow, at which teaching all the World will laugh. For Christian men have Christ for an example in all things, both to use the World as

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mattereth not what he saith. A strange sight in the Sun, at the D. of Saxons taking.

The true religion and opinion of these Germanes will be found not to disagree, when the Bishop of Winchester shall not be able to prove the contrary, as yet he hath not done it hitherto.

"Germany with their religion yet doth stand, notwithstanding Winchester and the Emperour did withstand them, what they both could.

* His argument, Gods law hath rule of all. Men and women say, they understand Gods law. Ergo, men and women have rule of all.

Nego argumentum quia contra 4. terminis.

His argument should thus proceede: Gods law hath rule of all. Men and women say they are Gods law. Ergo, such men and women have rule of all, and this is the forme of the argumnet good, and the matter false.

Winchester a friend to Lent, though he loved no fish.

If the six Articles might have continued still, all were quiet with Winchester, howsoever it were elle with the true Church of Christ.

Painters, players and Preachers trouble Winchester.

Every incertaintie is noysome I grant. But reformation of religion is not by and by the cause of incertaintie in a comonwealth, nor maketh every man to be a master.

The realme is troubled by; the much like as the Prophet Holy was he that troubled the Kingdome of Achab.

Salt laid on a tore, if it do vex it, the fault is not in the salt, but in the flesh which cannot abide it.

Winchester, what he saith, so long as he proveth not, it

The actions of Christ have divers and sundry ends: some were necessary to fulfill the law.

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Some peculiar to his own person. Some pertaining to publike example.

as he did onely for necessitie, and to contemne the world as he did, and in case to refuse it, and chuse the vile death, as he did the death of the Crosse, which things he did like a master most perfect, for he was very God, and we must endeavour our selves in the use of his gifts to follow that he did, not to fast fourty dayes without meat as Christ did, for we be but prentises, and carry about a ruinous carkasse, that must have some daily reparation with food: but yet was there never any that said, how therefore we should do nothing, because we cannot do all, and take Christs fast for a miracle onely. And yet all that follow Christ truly, they work daily miracles, in subduing and conforming by Gods grace their sensuall appetites, and humble obeying to the will of God, which no man can of himself do. And Christ promised that his true servants should work the works that he did, and greater works also. Wherefore it is a slender matter to say, Lent was one of Christs miracles, for so was it to love his enemies, and specially those that scourged and bobbed him; which may not be (if that a legation hath place) taught Christian men to follow, because it was a miracle, as they might say: it were more tolerable to forget Lent (as Pogge telleth) of a Priest in the mountains, that knew not how the yer went about, and when the weather opened, and he went abroad, and perceived his neighbors were towards Palme sunday, he devised an excuse to his Parish, and bad them prepare therefore, for indeed the yer had somewhat slipped him, but he would fashion the matter so, as they should be as soon at Easter as the rest: and thus did he passe over Lent with much lesse slander, then to teach it for a doctrine, that lent was one of Christs miracles, and therefore not to be imitated of us. For although it was indeed a great miracle, (as all Christs doings were) yet was it not a greater miracle, nor more against mans nature, then to love them that laboured and were busie to take away the naturall life of his manhood. For as the nature of man desireth relief, so doth it abhor destruction or hurt. In will and desire men follow Christ in all things; in execution they cannot; for we have brittle vessels, and God giveth his gifts to men as he seeth expedient for his Church; so as men cannot heal the lame when they will, as Christ did when he would, but as God shall think profitable for the edification of the Flocke assembled.

A tale of Poggius.

This proveth not; for though a man of nature abhorreth his destruction, as he desireth relief: yet it followeth not that a man should desire to the destruction of another mans soul, as he desireth relief of his body.

Gregory Nazianzene speaketh of some that enterprised to imitate Christs fast above their power, whose immoderate zeal he doth not disallow, not requiring of all men so to do, for that is an extremity, ne yet assoyling the matter as our new scholemen do, that Christian men should let Christs fast alone as a miracle: which manner of solution I heard a good fellow make, when it was told him he might not revenge himself, And when he was stroken on the one eare, he should put forth the other; I am, quoth he, a man, I am not God, if Christ being God did so, he might (quoth he) if it had pleased him have done otherwise. And so when it hath been alledged that Christ fasted fourty dayes, he might (quoth he) have eaten if he had list; these triflings in sport might be drawn to grave speech, if Christian men shall refuse to follow Christ in miracles. For all his life was miracles, and his love that is our Badge most miraculous of all, to die for his enemies. I beseech your grace to pardon me, for I am like one of the common house, that when I am in my tale, think I should have libertie to make an end, and specially writing to your Grace with whom I account I may be bold, assuring you it proceedeth of a zeale towards you to whom I wish well, whose intent although it be such as it ought to be, and as it pleased you to shew me it was, yet are such things spread abroad whereof the evill willers of the Realme will take courage, and make account (although it be wrong) that all goeth on wheels. If any man had either fondly or undiscreetly spoken of Lent to engrieve it to be an importable burthen, I would wish his reformation; for I have not learned that all men are bound to keep the Lent in the forme received, but this I reckon that no Christian man may contemne the forme received, being such a devout and profitable imitation of Christ to celebrate his fast, and in that time such as have been in the rest of the yer worldly to prepare themselves to come, as they should come, to the feast of Easter, whereof S. Chrysostome speaketh expresly. And for avoyding contempt, a licence truly obtained of the superiour serveth. And so I heard the Kings Majesty our soveraigne Lord declare when your Grace was present. And therefore he himself was very scrupulous in granting of Licences; and to declare that himself contemned not the fast, he was at charge to have (as your Grace knoweth) the Lent diet daily prepared, as if it had been for himself, and the like hereof I hear say your Grace hath ordered for the Kings Majestie that now is, which agreeth not with certain preaching in this matter, ne the rimes set abroad, Lent is among Christian men a godly fast to exercise men to forbeare, and in England both godly and politique, such as without confusion we cannot forbear, as the experience shall shew, if it be ever attempted, which God forbid. And yet Lent is buried in rime, and Steven Stockfish bequeathed, not to me, though my name be noted, wherewith for mine own part I cannot be angry, for that is mitigated by their fondnesse. But I would desire of God to have the strength of this Realm increased with report of concord, which doth quench many vain devices and imaginations.

Ste. Stockfish bequeathed to Ste. Gardiner. How well you remembred this lesson of anger in D. Maries time, let others judge.

And if all men be liars, as it is now to my understanding strangely published, me thinke Bale and such new men, as be new liars, should be most abhorred and detested, and so much the more dangerous as they be new. That which in Italy and France is a matter of combate, is now found to be impropriate to all men. God grant the truth to be desired of all men truly. But as one asked, when he saw an old Philosopher dispute with another, what they talked on; And it was answered how the old man was discussing what was vertue; it was replied, if the old man yet dispute of vertue, when will he use it? So it may be said in our Religion; If we be yet searching for it, when shall we begin to put it in execution? I would make an end of my letters, and cannot, wherein I account my self faulty. And though I may erre, as every man may, yet I lie not, for I say as I think, forsomuch as I have said and further thinke your Grace hath no trouble troublesome, but this matter of Religion unseasonably brought into the defamation of our late soveraigne Lords acts, doings, and laws. I beseech your Grace take my meaning and words in good part, and pardon my boldnesse, which groweth of the familiaritie I have heretofore had with your Grace, which I cannot forget. And thus inforcing my self to an end, I shall pray to almighty God to preserve your Grace in much felicity, with increase of honour, and atchieving of your hearts desire.

At Winchester, the one and twentieth of May.

Your Graces humble beademan,
S.W.

The letter of the Lord Protector, answering to Winchester.

YOur letters dated the one and twentieth day of May, as concerning two bookes new set forth by

by

by one Bale, and certain Sermons preached here, were with convenient speed delivered unto us. And like as in your letters to Edward Vaughan of Portsmouth, so in those to us we perceive that you have a vigilant and diligent eye, and very fearfull of innovation: which as it cannot be blamed, proceeding of one which is desirous of quiet, good order and continuance of the godly state of this Realm; so we do marvell that so soone, so farre off, and so plainly, you can hear tell and say of so many things done here, which indeed we being here and attendant upon the same cannot yet be advertised of. The world never was so quiet or so unite, but that privily or openly those three which you write of, Painters, Players and Preachers, would set forth somewhat of their own heads, which the Magistrates were unawares of. And they which already be banished and have forsaken the Realm, as suffering the last punishment, be boldest to set forth their minde; and dare use their extreme licence or liberty of speaking, as out of the hands or rule of correction, either because they be gone, or because be hid. There have foolish and naughtie rimes and bookes been made and set forth, of the which as it appeareth you have seen more then we, and yet to our knowledge too many be bought; but yet after our minde it is too soze and too cruelly done to lay all those to our charge, and to ask as it were account of us of them all. In the most erast cruelty and tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, yet Pasquill (as we hear say) writeth his minde, and many times against the Bishops tyranny, and sometime toucheth other great Princes, which thing for the most part he doth safely, not that the Bishop alloweth Pasquils rimes and verses, specially against himself, but because he cannot punish the authour, whom either he knoweth not or hath not. In the late Kings dayes of famous memory, who was both a learned, wise, and politick Prince, and a diligent executer of his laws; and when your Lordship was most diligent in the same, yet as your Lordship it selfe writeth, and it is too manifest to be unknown, there were that wrote such lewd rimes and playes as you speak of, and some against the Kings procedings, who were yet unpunished, because they were unknown or ungotten. And when we do weigh the matter, we do very much marvell, why that, about Jack of Lents lewd ballad, and certain, as it was reported unto us, godly sermons (which be evil in your letters joyned together) you be so earnest, when against Doctor Smiths book, being a man learned in the Doctors and Scripture, which made so plain against the Kings Highnesse authority, and for the furtherance of the Bishop of Romes usurped power, your Lordship neither wrote nor said any thing. And as it appeared you be so angry with his retractation (which frankly without fear, dread, compulsion or imprisonment, onely with learning and truth overcomed, he came unto) that you cannot abide his beginning, although having the very words of Scripture. Except peradventure you think that the saying of David, Omnis homo mendax, cannot be interpreted, every man is a liar, which howsoever your Lordship taketh it at pleasure, it appeared unto us then of him taken but godly, to declare the infirmity of a man, and the truth of God and his word. And we are not able to reason so clerkly with you, and yet we have heard of the subtill difference of lying and telling of a lie, or as it is in Latine called, mentiri and mendacium dicere: but if your Lordship be loth to be counted mendax, which belike he hath interpreted a liar, or a lying man, and think it a matter of combate, he was deceived in the interpretation, and it is a matter for Clerks to dispute of; we would have wished your Lordship to have written against his book before, or now with it, if you think that to be defended which the authour himself refuseth to averre: your Lordship writeth earnestly for Lent which we go not about to put away, no more then when Doctor Smith wrote so earnestly that every man should be obedient to the Bishops, The Magistrates by and by went not about to bring Kings and Princes and other under their subjection. Writers write their fantasie my Lord, and Preachers preach what either liketh them, or what God putteth in their heads. It is not by and by done that is spoken. The people buyeth those foolish ballads of Jack a Lent. So bought they in times past pardons, and Carols, and Robin Hoods Tales. All be not wise men, and the foolisher a thing is, to some (although not to the more part) it is the more pleasant and meet; and peradventure of the Sermons there is, and indeed there is (if it be true that we have heard) otherwise spoken and reported to you, then it was of the Preachers there and then spoken or meant. Lent remaineth still my Lord, and shall God willing till the Kings Highnesse, with our advise and the residue of his Graces Counsell, take another order, although some light and lewd men do bury it in writing; even as the Kings Majestie remaineth head of the church, although through sinister waies and by subtill means some traitors have gone about and daily do, to abuse the Kings Maiesties supremacy, and bring in the Bishop of Romes tyranny, with other superstition and Idolatrie. On both sides great heed is to be taken, and as your Lordship writeth, we are set in a painfull roome to reform all lightnesse and lewdnesse, to the which we do endeavour our self to the best of our power, although not so cruelly and fiercely as some peradventure would wish, yet not so losely that there needeth such exclamation or great fear to be. We do study to do all things attemperately, and with quiet and good order. And we would with nothing more then your Lordship to be as ready to the reformation of the one as of the other, that neither superstition, idolatry, or Papacy, should be brought in, nor lightnesse, nor contempt of good order to be maintained. They both take beginning at small things, and increase by little and little at unawares. And quiet may as well be broken with jealousie as negligence, with too much fear or too much patience. No waies worse then when one is over light eared the one way, and deafe on the other side. Rumours by space and times increase naturally, and by that time they come at you, as it appeareth, they be doubled and trebled. We do perceive your diligent eye towards us, and we will with (and trust you have) your heart faithfull to us: our most hearty and continuall prayer to God is, to leave this Realme to the Kings Highnesse, at his Graces age by you written, rather more flourishing in men, possessions, wealth, learning, wisdom, and Gods Religion and doctrine, if it were possible and Gods will, then we found it. And that is our whole intent and esperance, to the which we refuse no mans help, as knoweth God, in whom wee bid you heartily Farewell.

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Quiet may be as well broken by jealousie as by negligence.

Another Letter of Winchester to the Lord Protector.

After my most humble commendations to your good grace: upon the return of my servant Mallie with your Graces Letters, answering to such my Letters wherein I signified the robbing of my Secretarie, I read the same gladly, as by the contents of the matter I had cause so to do, which was such a comfortative as I digested easily the rest of the great packet, having been accustomed thereunto in the kings my late Soveraigne Lords dates, which fashion of writing his highnesse (God pardon his soul) called whetting, which was not al the most pleasant unto me at all times, yet when I saw in my doings was no hurt, and sometime by the occasion

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ñon thereof the matter amended, I was not so coy as alwayes to reverse my argument, nor, so that his affairs went well, did I ever trouble my self, whether he made me a wanton or not. And when such as were privie to his letters directed unto me, were afraid I had bẽn in high displeasure (for the terms of the Letters sounded so) yet I my selfe feared it nothing at all, I estæmed him, as he was, a wise prince; and whatsoever he wrote or said for the present, he would after consider the matter as wisely as any man, and neither hurt nor inwardly disfavour him that had bẽn bold with him. Whereof I serve for a proofe, for no man could do me hurt during his life. And when he gave me the Bishoprick of Winchester, he said he had often squared with me, but he loved me never the worse; and for a token thereof gave me the Bishoprick. And once when he had bẽn vehement with me, in the presence of the Earle of Wiltshire, and saw me dismaid with it, he took me apart into his Bed Chamber, and comforted me and said, that his displeasure was not so much to me as I did take it, but he misliked the matter, and he durst more boldly direct his speech to me, then to the Earle of Wiltshire, and from that day forward he could not put me out of courage, but if any displeasant words passed from him, as they did sometime, I folded them up in the matter; which hindred me a little: for I was reported unto him that I stooped not and was stubborne, and he had commended unto me certain mens gentle nature (as he called it) that wept at every of his words, and me thought that my nature was as gentle as theirs, for I was sorry when he was moved; but else I know when the displeasure was not justly grounded in me, I had no cause to take thought, nor was I at any time in all my life miscontent or grudging at any thing done by him, I thank God for it.

Rex te ergo semper in oculis.

And therefore being thus brought up, and having first read your Graces most gentle letters, signifying the device of a Proclamation to stay these rumors, and reading the same Proclamation, which my servant brought with him; I read with the more quiet your Graces great letters, and would have layed them up without further answer, were it not that percase my so doing might be mistaken. For glum silence may have another construction then franke speech, where a man may speak, as I reckon I may with your Grace, upon confidence whereof I am bold to write thus much for my declaration touching your Graces letters of the 27. of May, that how earnest soever my Letters be taken in fearing any innovation, I neither inwardly feare it, neither shew any demonstration in mine outward deeds to the world here, or in communication, that I do feare it to be done by authoritie, but in my self resist the rumors and vain enterprises, with confidence in the Truth and your Graces wisedome; for if I feared it indeed, with persuasion it should come to passe, I should have small lust to write in it; but I fear more indeed the trouble that might arise by light boldnesse of other, and the cumber of such matters whiles other outward affairs occupy your Graces minde, then the effect by your direction that hath bẽn talked of abroad: and yet in the writing I do speak as the matter leads, continuing mine old manner to be earnest, which as some men have dispraised, so some have commended it; and therefore in a good honest matter I follow rather mine own inclination, then to take the pains to speak as butter would not melt in my mouth: wherewith I perceive your Grace is not miscontent, for the which I most humbly thanke you. And first as concerning Portsmouth, I wrote to the Captain and Maior in the thing, as I had information, and by men of credence. And yet I suspended my credit till I had heard from thence, as by my letters appeareth: and as I was loth to have it so, so was I loth to beleeve it. And to shew that I feared no innovation by authoritie, ne regarded any such danger, I went thither my self, and in conclusion was in such familiarity with the Captain, that after he had shewed me all the gentle entertainment that he could, he desired me to make an exhortation to his men as they stood handsomely with their weapons, wherewith they had shewed warlike feats: which I did, and departed in amitie with the Captain and souldiers and all the towne; the Captain telling me plainly, he was nothing offended with any thing I had said in my sermon, ne was there cause why he should. But the very act indeed in defacing the Images had no such ground as maister Captain pretended; For I asked specially for such as had abused those Images, and no such could be shewed, for that I enquired for openly. And the Image of S. John the Evangelist standing in the Chancell by the high Altar was pulled downe, and a table of Alablaster broken: and in it an Image of Christ crucified so contemptuously handled, as was in my heart terrible, to have the one eye bored out, and the side pierced; wherewith men were wonderously offended, for it is a very persecution beyond the sea, used in that form where the person cannot be apprehended. And I take such an act to be very slanderous, and estæming the opinion of breaking Images, as unlawfull to be had, very dangerous, void of all learning and truth, wrote after my fashion to the Captain, which Letters I perceive to have come to your Graces hands. I was not very curious in the writing of them, for with me Truth goeth out plainly and roundly, and speaking of the Kings seale, I uttered the common language I was brought up in, after the old sort. When, as I conject of a good will, the people taking saint George for a patron of the Realm under God, and having some confidence of succour by Gods strength "derived by him, to encrease the estimation of their Prince and soveraign Lord, I called their king on horseback in the seat of armes, Saint George on horseback; my knowledge was not corrupt, I know it representeth the King, and yet my speech came forth after the common language, wherein I trust is none offence. For besides learning, I by experience have known the preheminence of a King both in war and peace, and yet if I had writ my letter should have comen to your Graces hands to be answered, then I would have bẽn more precise in my speech, then to give occasion of so long an argument therein. As for saint George himselfe, I have such opinion of him as becometh me. And have read also of Bellerophon in Homer, as they call him, the Father of Tales, but I will leave that matter. And as for books, let Latine and Græke continue as long as it shall please God, I am almost past the use of them, what service those letters have done experience hath shewed, and Religion hath continued in them fiftæn hundred yæars; but as for the English tongue, it self hath not continued in one forme of understanding two hundred yæars, and without Gods work and speciall miracle it shall hardly continue religion long, when it cannot last it self; and whatsoever your Graces minde is now in the matter, I know well, that having the government of the Realme, your Grace will use the gift of policie, which is the gift of God.

Amb. ad Ro. 1. Ad Deum præmerendum quem nihil utiq; iuvat, suffragatore non est opus, sed mente devota.

And even as now at this time Bishops be restrained by a speciall policie to preach onely in their Cathedrall Churches, (the like whereof hath not bẽn known in my time) so upon another occasion your Grace may percase thinke expedient to restrain (further then the Parliament hath already done) the common reading of the Scripture, as is now restrained the Bishops liberty of preaching. As for the brasen serpent, it did not in all mens language represent Christ, and if I had written to another then your Grace, I might have had the like matter

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matter of argument that was taken against me of saint George on horseback. For Gregory Nazianzene, chief Divine in the Greek Church, calleth the serpents death the figure of the death of Christ, but not the serpent to be the figure of Christ; and yet when I had done all my argument, I would resolve as is resolved with me in the speech of saint George on horseback, that the common speech is otherwise, and so it is in saying the serpent to be a true figure of Christ, and yet Gregory Nazianzen called the serpent it self Antitypon of Christ in these words, ὁρᾷς, &c. in his sermon de Pascha: and yet in Almechorus Domini, we read Aries, Leo, Vermis, spoken of Christ, and some expound the Scripture sicut Moses, &c. after that sort. And as your Grace said when I was last at your house with the French Ambassador, ye wished him & me together disputing, to see when we would make an end, even so it is in these matters, when they come in an argument, for a by thing (as saint George on horseback) when it escapeth me, or speaking of the brasen serpent following a speech not throughly discussed, shall be occasion of a digression all out of purpose. And therefore was it a great gift of God, that our late soveraigne Lord (God rest his soule) set these matters in quiet: Who had heard all these reasons touching Images which be now rehearsed in your Graces Letters, and having once my Lord of Canterbury and me present with him alone in his Palace, that they call otherwise new Hall, handled that matter at length, and discussed with my Lord of Canterbury the understanding of Gods Commandement to the Jews, so as all the Clerkes in Christendome could not amend it. And where as one had denied the Image of the Trinity to be had, by reasons as be touched in your Graces Letters, I heard his Highnesse answer to them at another time. And when he had himselfe specially commanded divers Images to be abolished, yet (as your Grace knoweth) he both ordered, and himselfe put in execution the knæling and creeping before the Image of the Crosse, and established agreement in that truth through all this Realme, whereby all arguments to the contrarie be assoiled at once. I would wish Images used as the booke of his Highnesse set forth doth prescribe, and no otherwise. I know your Grace onely tempteth me with such reasons as other make unto you, and I am not fully at liberty, although I am bold enough (and some will think too bold) to answer some things as I would to another man mine equall, being so much inferiour to your Grace as I am: but me thinketh saint Pauls solution during the Kings Majesties minoritie should serve in stead of all, Nos talem consuetudinem non habemus, We have no such custome in the Church.

If every thing were an Oracle by and by that K. Henry did, then Winchelk. were here a good Logician.

When our soveraigne Lord cometh to his perfect age (which God grant) I doubt not but God will reveale that which shall be necessary for the governing of his people in Religion. And if any thing shall be done in the meane time (as I thinke there shall not) by your graces direction, he may when he cometh to age say in the rest, as I hear say, he said now of late concerning procession, that in his Fathers time men were wont to follow procession; upon which the Kings Majesties saying, the procession (as I heard) was well furnished afterwards by your Graces commandement; which speech hath put me in remembrance, that if the Bishops and other of the Clergy should agree to any alteration in religion to the condemnation of any thing set forth by his Father, whereby his Father might be noted to have wanted knowledge or favour to the truth, what he would say I cannot tell, but he might use a marvellous speech, and for the excellency of his spirit, it were like he would, and having so just a cause against Bishops as he might have, it were to be feared he would. And when he had spoken, then he might by his Laws do more then any of our sort would gladly suffer at these dayes: for as the allegation of his authority represented by your Grace shall be then answered (as your Grace now writeth unto me) that your grace onely desireth truth according to Gods Scripture, and it may be then said; we Bishops, when we have our soveraign Lord and head in minority, we fashion the matter as we list, and then some young man that would have a piece of the Bishops lands shall say; the beastly Bishops have alwayes done so, and when they can no longer maintain one of their pleasures of rule and superiority, then they take another way and let that go, and for the time they be here spend up that they have, which eat you and drink you what ye list and we together, with Edamus & bibamus, cras moriemur. And if we shall alledge for our defence the strength of Gods truth, and the plainnesse of Scripture, with the word of the Lord, and many gay termes, and say we were convinced by Scriptures, such an excellent judgement, as the Kings Majesty is like to have, will never credit us in it, ne be abused by such a vain answer. And this is a worldly politique consideration, and at home: for the noise abroad in the world will be more slanderous then this is dangerous. And touching the Bishop of Rome, the doings in this Realme hitherto hath never done him so much displeasure, as an alteration in Religion, during the Kings Majesties minoritie, should serve for his purpose; for he wanteth not wits to beat into other Princes eares, that where his authority is abolished, there at every change of Governours shall be change in Religion, and that which hath been amongst us by a whole consent established, shall by the pretence of another understanding in scripture straight be brought in question; for they will give it no other name but a pretence, how stiffely so ever we will affirme otherwise, and call it Gods word. And here it should be much noted that my Lord of Canterbury, being the high Bishop of the Realm, highly in favour with his late Soveraigne Lord, and my Lord of Duresme a man of renowned fame in learning and gravitie, both put by him in trust for their counsell in the order of the realme, should so soon forget their old knowledge in Scripture set forth by the Kings Majesties book, and advise to invey such matter of alteration. All which things be (I know well) by your Grace and them considered. And therefore it is to me incredible that ever any such thing should be indeed with effect, whatsoever the lightnesse of talk shall spread abroad which your Grace hath by Proclamation well staied. But if you had not, and the world talked so fast as ever they did, I assure your Grace I would never fear it, as men fear things they like not, unlesse I saw it in execution; for of this sort I am that in all things I thinke should not be done in reason, I feare them not, wherewith to trouble me otherwise then to take heed if I can, and to the head Governours (as now to your Grace) shew my minde, and such experience hath every man of me that hath communed with me in any such matters. And therefore albeit your Grace writeth wisely, That over much feare doth hurt, and accelerateth sometime that which was not intended, yet it needs not to me, for I have learned that lesson already, and would a great many mo had, which indeed should be a great stay. And thus I talke with your Grace homely, with multiplication of speech impertinent and not necessary, as though I meant to send you as great a packet as I received from you.

Canterbury and Duresme carped at of Winch.

Wherefore then serve the scriptures for realms to be ruled by, if God never reveal any thing in a realme, but by the Kings own person in his mans age?

One thing necessary to answer your Grace in, is, touching your marvell; how I know sooner things from thence then your Grace doth there; which ariseth not upon any desire of knowledge on my

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my behalfe, for evill things be over soone knowne, nor upon any slacknesse of your Graces behalfe there, who is and is noted very vigilant, as your Graces charge requireth. But thus it is, even as it was when I was in some little authoritie, they that were the evill doers in such matters would hide them from me. So now they have handled it otherwise; for as for Jacke of Lents English Testament, it was openly sold in Winchester Market, before I wrote unto your Grace of it. And as for Bales booke, called the Elucidation of Anne Askews martyrdome, they were in these parts common, some with leaves unglewed, where maister Paget was spoken of, and some with leaves glewed. And I call them common, because I saw at the least foure of them. As for Bales book, touching the death of Luther, wherein was the Duke of Saronies prayer (whereof I wrote) it was brought downe into this countrey by an honest Gentleman, to whom it was (as I remember he told me) given at London for news, and he had it a great while ere I wrote to your Grace. I had not then received the inhibition for preaching, whereof men spake otherwise then they knew. And in the mean time doctor Smith recanted, which a priest of this Towne (who to mine owne mouth boasted himselfe to be your Graces Chaplaine, but I believed it not) brought down with speed, and made by means to have it brought to my knowledge, which I knew besides, for they had by and by filled all the countrey hereabouts, of tales of me. And when I saw doctor Smiths recantation begin with, Omnis homo mendax, so Englished, and such a new humilitie, as he would make all the Doctors of the Church Liars with himself, knowing what opinions were abroad, it inforced me to write unto your Grace for the ease of my conscience; giving this judgement of Smith, That I neither liked his tractation of unwritten verities, nor yet his retractation, and was glad of my former judgement, that I never had familiaritie with him. I saw him not, that I wote, these three yeers, ne talked with him these seven yeers, as curious as I am noted in the Commonwealth. And whereas in his unwritten verities he was so mad to say, Bishops in this Realme may make Laws, I have witnesse, that I said at that word, we should be then Daws, and way by and by for that ever he had written of the Sacrament of the Altar, which was not, as it was noted, untouched with that word, All men be liars, which is a marvellous word, as it soundeth in our tongue, when we say a man were better to have a theefe in his house then a liar. And the depraving of mans nature in that sort is not the setting out of the authoritie of the Scripture. For albeit the authority of the Scripture dependeth not upon man, yet the ministration of the letter, which is writing and speaking, is exercised, and hath been from the beginning delivered through mans hand, and taught by mans mouth; which men the Scripture calleth holy men, and that is contrary to liars. And therefore S. Augustine in his booke de Mendacio, saying, Omnis homo mendax, signifieth, Omnis homo peccans. If Smith had onely written of Bishops laws, and then said he had, saving your honour, lied loudly, or to mitigate the matter, said he had erred by ignorance, that had been done truly and humbly; for he that seeketh for much company in lying as he did, hath small humilitie; for he would hide himselfe by the number. And thus much as touching Smith, of whom, or his book, till he was in trouble, I never heard talking. But to the matter I wrote of. I have told your Grace how I came to knowledge of them, very scarcely in time, but in the thing over quickly, and never had any such thought in my life, as I denyed to your Grace, to be worthily charged with them, by them I meane that may hereafter charge; for I know no such yet in this world, and I never was in mine opinion so mad, as to write to your Grace in that sort. When all things be well, I have many causes to rejoyce; but where things were otherwise (as I trust they shall not) I have nothing to do to aske any account, I trust I shall never forget my self so much. I thank God, I am even as well learned to live in the place of obedience, as I was in the place of direction in our late soveraigne Lords life. And for my quietnesse in this estate I account my selfe to have a great treasure of your Graces rule and authoritie, and therefore will worship and honour it otherwise then to use such manner of presumption to aske any account. And I know your Grace cannot stay these matters so suddenly, and I estéeme it a great matter, that things be stauld hitherto thus; but if things had encreased as the rumors purported, your grace might have been incumbred more in the execution of your good determination. Now, thanks be to God, your Grace goeth well about to stay it. As for my selfe, I know mine inward determination to do, as I may, my duty to God and the world, and have no cause to complaine of the universall disposition of them in my Dioceese. I know but one way of quiet, to keep and follow such laws and orders in Religion as our late soveraigne Lord left with us; which, by his life, as the Bishops and Clergie said was the very truth, so I never read yet or heard any thing why to swarve from it, ne think it expedient to call any one thing in doubt, during the Kings Majesties minoritie, whereby to impair the strength of the accord established. Which I write not mistrusting your Grace in the contrarie, but declaring my selfe, and wishing the same minde to other about you, as I trust they have, for which I shall pray to God, who prospered our late soveraign Lord in that rebellion, as we have seen experience, and by your graces foresight and politique government shall send the like prosperity to our soveraign Lord that now is; wherein I shall do my part, as a subject most bounden many wayes thereunto. I send unto your Grace herewith my discussion of my lord of saint Davids Purgation, wherin I walk somewhat more at libertie then writing to your Grace, and yet I take my selfe libertie enough, with a reverend minde nevertheless to keep me within my bounds; which if I at any time exceed, I trust your Grace will beare with me after your accustomed goodnesse, for whose prosperitie I shall continually pray, with encrease of honour.

D. Smith resident of Winchester.

And why then did ye not follow the same your Soveraigne L. in abolishing the Pope in Q. Maries time.

At Winchester the sixth of June.

Certaine additions after these Letters above specified, with notes and solutions answering to the same.

THus have we set out to thee (gentle and studious reader) an extract of certain letters of Bishop Gardiner; not of all that he wrote, but of such as could come to our hands. Neither of these also that we have, for any good stuffe, or any great profit therein contained, or that they did cleer him or his cause any thing, for the which he was most worthily condemned. For if there did or might appeare any such thing in all his writings, that might cleer the ill favoured doings of that man, be thou sure such as were then secret about him, and yet his well willers (their names I leave untouched) having his writings, and being able to shew them, as I am privy they are, would not so conceal them in covert as they do, being thereto both provoked and occationed by us, if they had seen any thing in them meet to relieve the person, or to remedie his matter. Wherefore think not for any such effect these his vain-glorious letters to be brought in here of us;

us: but onely that thou might hereby collect and underſtand by thoſe his foreſaid Epiſtles, and articles following, not onely the whole courſe and ſtory almoſt of all his proceedings from time to time, but alſo might ſee the nature and inward condition of the man, how vainglorious, full ſtuft and puft up with arrogancie, and drowned in his owne conceit he was, much like to the perſon, or rather he himſelfe, deſcribed in the Latin Comedy, Miles Thraſo glorioſus, having nothing in his mouth, but Emperors, Kings, Counſellors, Protectors, adviſements, direction; as though all direction of Realms and Princes did flow out of his brain, like as it is in the Poets fables, that Minerva did ſpring out of the head of Jupiter. And yet if this vainglorious conceit had been alone in him, leſſe matter had been againſt him. Now his ſubtill practiſes, and pretenſed purpoſes, and diſſimuling conveyance did not onely augment, but alſo exceeded all his other evils; as in the letters above ſpecified is notorious and evident to be ſeen; wherein though he durſt not apertly gainſay that which he inwardly miſliked, yet how covertly doth he inſinuate himſelf to the Lord Protector, under pretence of giving counſell, to bring that to paſſe which was for his purpoſe, that is, That no innovation or alteration might be made of Religion, during all the Kings minoritie, but that all things might ſtand as King Henry left them, and that is the cheefeſt butt in all his letters, whereto he draweth, uſing commonly this argument, which as it is eaſie to recite, ſo neither is it hard to anſwer to; although in the notes before we have anſwered already ſufficiently.

As concerning the faults found in the paraphraſe of Eraſmus, this I anſwer and ſay, that this biſhop belike had over-watched himſelfe in this matter. For if it be true which he himſelfe affirmeth, that he never read that booke before, and now he never ſlept till he himſelfe read it; it happened peradventure, that in the overmuch watching of himſelfe, and ſwift reading of the booke, his judgement was aſleep, whiles his eyes were open in reading the ſame. The paraphraſe of Eraſmus.

Likewiſe touching the booke of Homilies, eſpecially the Homilie of Salvation, wherewith he findeth himſelfe ſo much grieved with the Archbiſhop, ſeeing he bringeth forth no proofes, I have nothing to anſwer. In the meane ſeaſon, this I have to thinke, That if he had been ſo cunning in the knowledge of his owne Salvation, as he was in the deſtruction and deration of Chriſts members, he would never ſo rage againſt that Homily. The booke of Homilies.

Touching the examination of Anne Aſkew, if it be miſreported by M. Bale, why doth not he note the places which they be, and wherein? And if he had, or were able ſo to do; yet ſeeing the examination was of her own penning, which M. Bale did follow, let every Chriſtian Reader judge, whether is more to be credited of theſe two, the that was perſecuted, or he that was the perſecuter. The examination of Anne Aſkew ſet forth by M. Bale.

And where he ſpeaketh ſo much of quiet and tranquillity; this I anſwer, That quiet and tranquillitie in weales publique, ſo long as they are ſoyned with right reformed religion, be much to be embraced. But when it is otherwiſe, that is, where true religion lacketh his right, there let the ſecond table give place to the firſt. Quiet and tranquillity of realms might not ſtop reformation of Religion.

Ye thwarteth alſo, and wrangleth much againſt Players, Printers, Preachers. And no marvell why. For he ſeeth theſe three things to be ſet up of God, as a triple Bulwarke againſt the triple Crowne of the Pope, to bring him downe, as God be praiſed they have done meetly well alreadie. Preachers, Printers, Players.

As touching the Article of free juſtification by faith, which he cannot abide, foraſmuch as we have ſufficiently declared it in the notes before, we ſhall refer the reader now alſo unto the ſame. The article of juſtification.

And moreover, becauſe in one of his Letters mention is made of a certain letter ſent unto maſter Ridley, becauſe we will defraud thee (gentle Reader) of nothing that cometh to our hands, here haſt thou the copie thereof, in effect as followeth.

Here followeth the copie of the Letter of Steven Gardiner ſent to M. Ridley, in the Letters above mentioned, containing matter and objections againſt a certain ſermon of the ſaid M. Ridley, made at the Court.

MAſter Ridley, after right hearty commendations, it chanced me upon Wedneſday laſt paſt to be preſent at your ſermon in the Court, wherein I heard you confirme the doctrine in Religion, ſet forth by our late ſoveraign Lord and maſter, whoſe ſoul God pardon, admoniſhing your audience that ye would ſpecially travell in the confutation of the Biſhop of Romes pretended authority in government and uſurped power, and in pardons, whereby he hath abuſed himſelfe in heaven and earth. Which two matters I note to be plaine, and here without controverſie. In the other two ye ſpake of, touching images and ceremonies, and as ye touched it, ſpecially for holy water to drive awaydevils, for that you declared your ſelfe alwayes deſirous to ſet forth the meer truth, with great deſire of unitie as ye profeſſed, not extending any your alleve- The letter of Winch. ſent to M. Ridley. If this doctrine were plain in K. Edwards time, how chanced it was not ſo plain with you in Maries time?

ration

The ſumme and concluſion of all Wincheſters drift, in his Epiſtles before.

Argument. THat is chiefly to be feared and avoided of the Lord Protector, and now ſpecially in the Kings minoritie, that may both bring danger to him, and trouble to the Realme.

Innovation of Religion from that ſtate, in which King Henry left it, may be and is like to be dangerous to himſelf, and cauſe trouble to the Realme.

Ergo, innovation of Religion, from the ſtate that the King left it in, is in no wiſe to be attempted.

The Anſwer.

Anſwer. TO anſwer firſt to the vocable innovation, which he ſtumbleth ſo greatly upon, this I ſay, that innovation is properly uſed, where a thing is brought in anew which was not before. Forſomuch therefore as in this alteration there is no new Religion brought in, but onely the old Religion of the Primitive Church revived; therefore here is to be thought not ſo much an innovation, as a renovation or reformation rather of Religion, which reformation is oft times ſo neceſſarie in commonweales, that without the ſame all runneth to confuſion.

Secondly, I anſwer to the argument, which I do denie as a Fallax, for there is Fallacia accidentis. Where it is ſaid, that reformation of religion gendreth danger to the Protector, and trouble to the Realm; firſt, what will come that is uncertain: and God be hallowed, yet no danger hath come to England for the reformation of Religion. And though there did, yet the cauſe thereof is not to be imputed to Religion reformed. For ſincere and true doctrine of his own nature worketh quiet peace, and tranquillitie, with all good order. And if the contrary happen, that is incident by other cauſes, as by the malice of Satan, and wicked adverſaries, not by reaſon of the doctrine and true religion. So, after the preaching of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, diſſenſion followed in commonweales betwixt father and ſon, brother and brother, &c. but that is not tobe aſcribed to them, but to other.

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ration, beyond your knowledge, but alwaies adding ſuch like words (as far as ye had read) & if any man could ſhew you further, ye would heare him (wherein you were much to be commended.) Upon theſe conſiderations, and for the deſire I have to unitie, I have thought my ſelfe bound to communicate to you that which I have read in the matter of images and holy water, to the intent you may by your ſelfe conſider it, and ſo weigh, before that ye will ſpeake in thoſe two points, as ye may (retaining your owne principles) affirme ſtill that ye would affirme, and may indeed be affirmed and maintained, wherein I have ſeen other forget themſelves. Firſt I ſend unto you herewith (which I am ſure ye have read) that (a) Euſebius writeth of Images, whereby appeareth that images have beene of (b) great antiquitie in Chriſts Church: and to ſay we may have images, or to call on them when they repreſent Chriſt or his Saints, be over groſſe opinions to enter into your learned head, whatſoever the unlearned would tattle. For you know the Text of the old law, (c) Non facies tibi ſculptile, forbiddeth no more images now, then another Text forbiddeth to us puddings. And if omnia be munda mundis to the belly, there can be no cauſe why they ſhould be of themſelves impura to the eie, wherein ye can ſay much more. And then when we have images, to call them idols, is a like fault in fond folly, as if a man would call (Regem) a Tyrant, & then bring in old Writers to prove that Tyrannus ſignified once a King, like as (Idolum) ſignified once an image: but like as Tyrannus was by conſent of men appropriate to ſignifie an Uſurper of that dignitie, and an untrue King; ſo hath Idolum beene likewiſe appropriate to ſignifie a falſe repreſentation, and a falſe image: inſomuch as there was a ſolemne anathematization of all thoſe that would cal an image an idol; as he were worthy to be hanged that would call the King our Maſter (God ſave him) our true juſt King, a Tyrant; and yet in talke he might ſhew, that a Tyrant ſignified ſometimes a King; but ſpeech is regarded in his preſent ſignification, which I doubt not ye can conſider right well.

I verily thinke, that for the having of images ye will ſay enough, and that alſo, when we have them, we ſhould not deſpiſe them in ſpeech, to call them (d) idols, ne deſpiſe them with deeds, to mangle them or cut them, but at the leaſt ſuffer them to ſtand unmore. Wherein Luther (that pulled away all other regard to them) ſtrove ſtoutly and obtained (as I have ſeene in divers of the Churches in Germanie of his reformation) that they ſhould (as they doe) ſtand ſtill.

All the matter to be feared is exceſſe in worſhipping, wherein the Church of Rome hath beene very precise; and ſpecially Gregorie, writing Epiſcopo Maſtilien. Which is contained, De conſecratio. Diſtinct. 3. as followeth.

Perlatum ad nos fuerat, quod inconſiderato zelo ſuccenſus ſanctorum imagines, ſub hac quaſi excuſatione ne adorari debuiſſent, confregeris; & quidem eas adorare vetuiſſe omnino laudamus, fregiſſe verò reprehendimus. Dic frater, a quo factum eſſe ſacerdote aliquando auditum eſt, quod feciſti? Aliud eſt énim picturam adorare, aliud per picturam hiſtoriam, quid ſit adorandum, addiſcere. Nam quod legentibus ſcriptura, hoc & idiotis præſtat pictura cernentibus, quia in ipſa ignorantes vident quid ſequi debeant, in ipſa legunt qui literas neſciunt, unde & præcipue gentibus pro lectione pictura eſt.

Herein is forbidden adoration, and then in Sexta Synodo was declared what maner of adoration is forbidden, that is to ſay, godly adoration to it being a creature, as is contained in the Chapter Venerabiles imagines, in the ſame diſtinction, in this wiſe.

Venerabiles imagines Chriſtiani non Deos appellant, neque ſerviunt eis ut Diis, neque ſpem ſalutis ponunt in eis, neque ab eis expectant futurum judicium, ſed ad memoriam & recordationem primitivorum venerantur eas & adorant, ſed non ſerviunt eis cultu divino, nec alicui creaturæ.

By which doctrine all idolatrie is plainly excluded in evident words. So as we cannot ſay that the worſhipping of images had his beginning by poperie; for Gregory forbad it, unleſſe we ſhall call that Synod Poperie, becauſe there were ſo many Biſhops. And yet there is forbidden cultus Divinus, and agreeth with our aforeſaid doctrine, by which we may creepe before the Croſſe on good Friday, wherein we have the image of the Crucifix in honour, and uſe it in a worſhipfull place, and ſo earneſtly look on it, and conceive that it ſignifieth, as we kneele (e) and creepe before it, whiles it lieth there, & whiles that remembrance is in exerciſe: with which Croſſe never-theleſſe the Sexton when he goeth for a Corſe, will not be afraid to be homely, and hold it under his golwne whiles he drinketh a pot of ale, a point of homelineſſe that might be left, but yet it declareth that he eſtæmed no divinitie in the image. But ever ſince I was borne, a poore pariſhioner, a Lay man, durſt be ſo bold, at a ſhift (if he were alſo Churchwarden to ſel to the uſe of the Church at length, and his own in the meane time, the ſilver croſſe on Eaſter Munday, that was creeped unto on good Friday. In ſpecialties there have beene ſpeciall abuſes; but generally, images have beene taken for images, with an (a) office to ſignifie an holy remembrance of Chriſt & his Saints. And as the ſound of ſpeech uttered by a lively image, and repreſenting to the underſtanding, by the ſenſe of hearing godly matter, doth ſtirre up the minde, and therewith the body, to conſent in outward geſture of worſhipfull regard to that ſound: (b) ſo doth the object of the image, by the ſight worke like effect in man, within and without, wherin is verily worſhipped that we underſtand, and yet reverence and worſhip alſo ſhewed to that whereby we attaine that underſtanding, and is to us in the place of an inſtrument: ſo as it hath no worſhip of it ſelfe, but remaineth in his nature of ſtone or timber, ſilver, copper, or gold. But when it is in office and worketh a godly remembrance in us, by repreſentation of the thing ſignified unto us, then we uſe it worſhipfully,

(a) Euſeb. Cæſar. ſaith, that he ſaw the pictures of Paul and Peter kept with a certain Chriſtian man, but yet he ſaith not that thoſe Pictures were ſet up in any Church.

(b) What antiquity images had in the Church, is declared by the doing & writing of Epiphanius, in his Epiſtle ad Epiſc. Hieroſol. tranſlated by Hierom.

Item, in the Councell called Elibertinum, Artic. 36. it is to be ſeen how Pictures were forbid in Church walls.

Item, in concilio Conſtantino. ſub Leone imp. Images were condemned.

Item, Carol. Magnus, with the whole Councel of Frankfort decreed againſt images, abrogating the vain and frivolous acts of Irene in his Councel a little before.

Briefly, concerning the antiquitie of Images, when Biſhops began to ceaſe from preaching in Churches, then Images began to be ſet up.

(c) It is not like, for Non facies ſculptile, that is, Moſaïl; De immundis, is but ceremoniall.

(d) Betwixt Images and Idols there is but little difference, but betwixt Images ſet up in Churches, and Idols, there is none at all. Cic. li. 1. de finib. Imagines quæ idola nominant.

Præterea excuſatio illa & defenſio picturarum quam affert, præterquam quod juſta ratione caret, pugnat etiam manifeſte cum Synodo E. lib. Artic. 36. ubi prohibentur in templis picturæ, ne in cultu ſit error. Pugnat etiam cum exemplo Epiphan. & Ezech. &c.

Idolatry is not excluded, ſo long as any vertue is ſought at their hands.

Vertue is and hath been ſought at their hands.

Ergo, idolatry is not excluded as he ſaith.

(e) What worke Wincheſter maketh to creep to dead croſſes, and to worſhip blockiſh Images. But the lively Images of Chriſt, them he brought to the Croſſe, and burned cruelly. Therefore it is worthily ſaid of Clement, lib. 5. Quia eſt iſte honor Dei, per lapideas & ligneas formas diſcurrere, atque examines figuras venerari, & hominem in quo vera Dei imago eſt ſpernere?

But Wincheſter was ſo buſied in his lay mens books, that he had no leiſure to underſtand learned books.

(a) If things having the office to ſignifie and worke in us the underſtanding of Chriſt and holy things, are therefore to be worſhipped, cenſed, and crept unto, why then doe ye not worſhip the Preacher, the Bible Book, the Epiſtler and Goſpeller, which give a much more lively underſtanding to our minds, of holy and heavenly things, then Images doe.

(b) The argument of Wincheſter reverted againſt himſelfe: for if Gods Word and ſuch other ſounds, giving a lively underſtanding to us, yet be not had in ſuch a worſhipful regard, that any doth cenſe them, or creepe and offer to them: Ergo, much leſſe ſhould you doe the ſame to theſe your dead and inſenſible Images.

Duo hic videnda ſunt; primum, tempore Gregorii Imagines nondum colebantur, ut hodie apud nos, ſed tantum ad hiſtoriam adhibebantur. Cujuſmodi videtur pictura illa Chriſti & mulieris fimbriam tangentis, cujus meminit Euſebius in hiſt. Verum ſi viveret hodie Gregorius, videretque tantam in ſtatuis prophanationem, quid tumſenſiſſet ille haud obſcurum eſt.

fully and honourably, as many doe the (c) Priest at Masse, whom they little regard al the day after. And me thinketh ever, that like as it is an ouer grosse error to take an Image for God, or to worship it with godly (d) honor; so to grant that we may not have Images of Christ, and that we may doe no worship before them, or not use them worshipfully, it is inexplicable. For it is one kinde of worship to place them worshipfully. So as if a man place an Image in the church, or hang it about his neck, as (e) all use to doe the image of the crosse, and the knights of the Order of (f) Saint George, this is some piece of worship. And if we may not contemne the images of Christ and his Saints, when we have them (for that were villany) nor neglect them (for that were to have them without use) which were inconvenient (quia nec natura nec arte quicquam fit frustra) we must have them in estimation & reputation, which is not without some honor and worship, and at the least in the place where we conveniently use them, as in the Church, as where they serve us, rather then we them; and because their (g) service is worshipfull, they be so regarded accordingly for that time of service, and therefore they be called Venerabiles Imagines, and be worshipfully ordered, before whom we knéele, and bow, and cense, not at that the images be, but at that the Images signifie, which in our knéeling, bowing, and censing we knowledge to understand and reade in that fashion of contract writing, wherein is wrapped up a great many of sentences, suddenly opened with one sudden light, to him that hath bèen exercised in reading of them. And me séemeth, after the faith of Christ received & known, and throughly purged from heresies, if by chance there were offered a choice, either to retaine painting and graving and forbeare writing, or chusing writing to forbeare both the other gifts; it would be a probleme, séeing if graving were taken away we could have no printing. And therefore they that presse so much the words of Non facies tibi sculptile, ever me thinketh they condemne printed books, the originall whereof is of graving to make (h) matrices literarum. Sed hoc est furiosum, & sunt tamen qui putant palmarium. And therefore now it is englished, Thou shalt make no graven Images, lest thou worship them. Which I hear is newly written in the new Church, I know not the name, but not far from the old Jury. But to the matter of images, wherein I have discoursed at large, I thinke, if ye consider (as I doubt not but ye will) the doctrine set forth by our late Sobereigne Lord, ye shall in the matter sée the truth set forth by such as had that committed unto them under his highnesse, amongst whom I was not, nor was I privie unto it till it was done. And yet the clause in the booke, for discussion of (the Lord) and (our Lord) hath made many think otherwise. But I take our Lord to witnesse, I was not; and that declaration of (our Lord) was his highnesse owne device, ex se. For he saw the fond englishing of (the Lord) dissevered in speech, whom our Lord had congregate. And this I adde, lest giving authoritie to that work, I should seeme to daunt my selfe.

Now will I speake somewhat of holy water, wherein I send unto you the foure and thirtieth chapter in the ninth booke of the historie Tripartite, where Marcellus the Bishop bade Equitius his Deacon to call abroad water by him first hallowed wherewith to drive away the devil. And it is noted how the devill could not abide the vertue of the water, but vanished away. And for my part, it séemeth the history may be true; for we be assured by scripture, that in the name of God the Church is able and strong to cast out Devils, according to the Gospel, In nomine meo dæmonia ejicient, &c. So as if the water were away, by only calling on the name of God that mallery may be wrought. And the vertue of the effect being onely attributed to the name of God, the question should be onely, whether the creature of water may have the office to convey the effect of the holines of the invocation of Gods name. And first in Christ, the skirt of his garment had such an office to minister health to the woman, and spittle and clay to the blinde, and Saint Peters shadow, and Saint Pauls hankerchers. And leaving old stories, here at home the speciall gift of curation, ministred by the Kings of this Realme, not of their owne strength but by invocation of the name of God, hath bèen used to be distributed in rings of gold and silver. And I think effectually therein the metall hath onely an office, and the strength is in the name of God wherein all is wrought. And Eliseus put his staffe in like office. And why the whole Church might not put water in like office, to convey abroad the invocation of Gods name, there is no scripture to the contrary, but there is Scripture how other inferiour creatures have bèene promoted to like dignitie, and much Scripture, how water hath bèen used in like and greater service. And the story I send unto you sheweth how water hath bèene used in the same service to drive away Devils. In which matter if any shall say, he belæveth not the story, and he is not bound to belæve it, being no Scripture; that man is not to be reasoned with, for the effect of the Kings crampe rings. And yet for such effect as they have wrought, when I was in France, I have bèen my selfe much honoured; and of of all sorts intreated to have them, with offer of as much for them, as they were double worth. Some will say, what are rings to holy water? Mary thus I say, (a) if the metall of gold and silver may doe service to carry abroad the invocation of the name of God effectually for one purpose, water may also serve to carry abroad the invocation of the name of God, wherewith to drive away Devils. Hereto will be said, non valet argumentum a posse ad esse. But the story saith, the water did that service, and other strangers say and affirme by experience, the Kings Majesties rings have done the service. And our late Maker continued all his life the exercise of that gift of God, and used silver and gold to do that service to carry abroad the strength of the invocation of the name of God by him, and he used it amongst us that served him in it, when he had throughly heard and seen what might be said in the matter, & yet he had no Scripture especially for it, that spake of rings of silver or gold, no more then is for the ashes ministred a little before ye last preached. And as our Young Soberaign Lord hath received them reverently, so I trust he shall be advertised, ne negligat gratiam Dei in dono curationum, but follow his Father therein; also not doubting but God will heare him as he hath heard his Father, and other his progenitors Kings of this realme, to whose dignitie God addeth this prerogative, as he doth also to inferiour ministers of his Church, in the effect of their prayer, when it pleaseth him. A man might finde some pongling percase that

(c) One tooll well compared with another.

(d) Because you say that Godly honor, or cultus divinus, is taken away by you from Images. I pray you what could ye doe to God, if he were here materially himselfe, more then ye doe to them? to cense them, to candle them, to tabernacle them, to let them up in Churches, to adore and invocate them, to kneele and knock to them, to creep and offer to them, to seeke vertue, and to require health at them, to make them your patrons, and to make your vowes unto them, &c. If this be not Divinus cultus, tell me what give you to God more then this?

(e) All papists perchance.

(f) Yea, but what Knight of that order kneeleth or prayeth to that George that hangeth about his necke.

(g) A worshipfull service, to dis worship God, and worship creatures.

You said before they were laymens books, now ye make them learned mens books also, wherein you read (ye say) many things at one opening. And what reade you or see you in those books, I pray you? nimirum id quod pueri vident in nubibus. And where be you bid to looke upon these fantasticall Bookes? Scrutamini Scripturas, saith the Lord: Contemplamini picturas, witteth Winchester. But rather Winchester should have read the booke of Epiphanius, contra Encratitas, where these words be opened to him, Non decet Christianum per oculos suspensum teneri, sed per occupationem mentis, &c.

(h) If ye did see any Printer yet to doe worship to his graven letters, then might ye well seek thus as ye doe, a knot in a rush.

Holy water. Consecration of water and salt to sanctifie the people, is attributed to Alexander the first, but what credit is to be given to those Decrees falsly fathered upon those ancient Bishops, read Sleid. lib. 2. de Monarch. In nomine meo, &c. If the name of Christ onely do and can serve, to cast out Devils, what should water doe, where Christ onely may and should serve to work that mallery?

(a) The Kings ring giveth sanation, ergo, holy water may have also his effect and operation. Resp. Non valet consequentia, for the matching of corporall things with spirituall joyneth in no comparison together, but the very plain answer is this, both be abuses, and against the word of God. Winchesters argument.

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that would say, how worldly, wily, wittie Bishops have inveigled simple kings heretofore, and, to confirme their blessings, have also devised how Kings should blesse also, and so authoritie to maintaine where truth failed, & I have had it objected to me, that I used to prove one piece of mine argument ever by a King, as when I reasoned thus; if ye allow nothing but Scripture, what say you to the Kings rings: but they be allowed, Ergo, somewhat is to be allowed besides Scripture. And another, if Images be forbidden, (b) why doth the King weare Saint George on his brest? but he weareth S. George on his brest: Ergo, Images be not forbidden. If Saints be not to be worshipped; why kéep (c) we Saint Georges feast? But we kéepe Saint Georges feast, Ergo, &c. And in this matter of holy water, if the strength of the invocation of the name of God, to drive away the Devils, cannot be distribute by water; why can it be distribute in silver, to drive away diseases, and the dangerous disease of the falling evill? But the rings hallowed by the holy Church may doe so. Ergo, the water hallowed by the Church may doe like service. These were sore arguments in his time, and I trust be also yet, and may be conveniently used, to such as would never make an end of talke, but rake up every thing that their dull sight cannot penetrate, wherein me thought ye spake effectually, when ye said, men must receive the determination of the particular Church and obey where Gods Law repugneth not expressely. And in this effect to drive away Devils, that prayer and invocation of the Church may doe it, Scripture maintaineth evidently, and the same Scripture doth authorise us so to pray, and incourageth us to it. So as if, in discussion of holy water, we attribute all the effect of the holinesse which proceedeth from God by invocation of the Church, and take water onely for a servant to carry abroad holinesse; there can be no superstition, where men regard only prayer, which scripture authoriseth: and if we shall say that the water cannot doe such service, we shall be convinced, in that it doth a greater service in our Baptisme by Gods speciall (d) ordinance. So as we cannot say, that water cannot, or is not apt to doe this service; onely the stay is, to have a precise place in the New Testament, to say, use water thus in this service, as we doe in holy water, which me thinketh needeth not, where all is ordered to be well used by us: and when the whole Church agreed upon such an use, or any particular Church, or the common Minister of it, & by the exorcisme ordered for it, the thing to be used, purged, there can be but slender matter to improve that custome, wherin God is onely honored, and the power of his name set forth, whereunto all things bow and give place, all naturall operation set apart and secluded. And when any man hath denied that water may doe service, because Scripture appointeth it not, that (because) driveth away much of the rest which the Church useth, and especially our crampe rings. For if water may not serve to carry (e) abroad the effect of Gods grace, obtained by invocation from God, by the common prayer of the church; How can the metall of silver or gold carry abroad the effect of the Kings invocation in the Crampe rings? which manner of reasoning (ad hominem) Christ used with the Jewes, when he said, Si ego in Belzebub ejicio Dæmonia, filii vestri, in quo ejiciunt? And by our owne principles we should be inforced to say that our (f) cramp rings be superstition (where truth inforceth us not so to do) it were a marvellous punishment. Si cæci essemus (as Christ saith) peccatum non haberemus, sed videmus, and this Realme hath learning in it, and you a good portion thereof, according whereunto I doubt not but you will weigh this matter, non ad popularem trutinam, sed artificis stateram. I meane that artificer that teacheth the Church our Mother (as ye fully declared it) and ordered our mother to give nourishment unto us. In which point speaking of the church, although ye touched an unknown church to us, & known to God only, yet you declared the union of that church in the permixt church, which God ordereth men to complain unto, and to heare againe, wherein the absurdity is taken away of them that would have no Church known, but every man beléeve, as he were inwardly taught himselfe, whereupon followeth the old proverbe, Τὰ ἐν ἔθνεσι δικαιώματα ἐθνικὰ, quod sit satis. Which is farre from the unitie ye so earnestly wished for, whereof (as me thought) ye said pride is the let, as it is undoubtedly, which fault God amend, and give you grace so to fashion your words, as ye may agrée with them in speech, with whom ye be inclined to agrée in opinion. For that is the way to relieve the World. And albeit there hath béen betwéen you and me no familiaritie, but contrariwise a little disagrément (which I did not hide from you) yet considering the fervent zeale ye professed to teach ((g) Peters true doctrine, that is to say, Christs true doctrine, whereunto ye thought the doctrine of images and holy water, to put away devils, agreed not, I have willingly spent this time to communicate unto you my folly (if it be folly) (h) plainely as it is, whereupon ye may have occasion the more substantially, fully & plainly to open these matters for the reliefe of such as be falne from the truth, & confirmation of those that receive and follow it, wherein it hath béen ever much commended, to have such regard to hiskories of credit, and the continuall use of the Church (i) rather to shew how a thing continued from the beginning, as holy water and images have done, may be well used, then to follow the light rash eloquence, which is ever ad manum, to mock & improve that is established. And yet againe I come to Marcellus that made a Crosse in the water, and bad his Deacon cast it abroad (k) cum fide & zelo; after which sort if our holy water were used, I doubt not but there be many Marcellus, and many Elizeus, and many at whose prayer God forgiveth sinne, if such as will injoy that prayer have faith and zeale, as Equitius, and were as desirous to drive the devil out of the Temple of their body and soule, as Equitius out of the Temple of Jupiter. So as if holy use were coupled with holy water, there should be more plenty of holinesse then there is, but as men be prophane in their living, so they cannot abide to have any thing effectually holy, not so much as Bread and Water, fearing lest they should take away sinne from us, which we love so dearely well. Solus Christus peccata diluit, who sprinkleth his bloud by his ministers, as he hath taught his Spouse the Church, in which those Ministers be ordered, wherein many waies maketh not many Saviours, as ignorants doe jest, whereof I néed not speake further unto you, no more I néeded not in the rest in respect of you; but, me thought, ye conjured all men in your Sermon to say what they thought to you, Id quod hanc mihi expressit epistolam, quam boni consules, Et vale.

(b) The King would not weare S. George upon his brest if Images were forbidden. The King weareth S. George upon his brest, ergo Images are not forbidden.

Resp. This argument besides that it standeth ex puris particularibus, whereby it may be denied; in the Major also there is a double understanding in this word Images, whether it be taken indefinitely, or particularly. If the latter part of the Major be taken universally for all Images both in Churches and in private houses, used or worne in garments, then the first part is false. If particularly for such onely as be set up in Churches, then the Conclusion, whether it be universall, maketh a false argument, ex 4. terminis: Or if it be particular, it may be granted, and hurteth nothing our doctrine; for we speak onely against the Images set up in Churches, not against the other.

(c) S. Georges Feast is kept, Ergo, Saints are to be worshipped.

Resp. A like argument: Lammas Faire is kept, Ergo, lambs are to be worshipped.

(d) The water of Baptisme hath an expresse ordinance, where holy water hath none.

(e) Christ useth not now in his Church dumbe creatures of gold and silver, &c. but ministers by the lively ministring of his word to carry abroad his Grace.

(f) Crampe rings and holy water both together in like case of abuse & superstition.

(g) After Peters doctrine the bloud of Christ onely purgeth us from all sin: Ergo, what should holy water doe?

(h) Plainly as it is, his pen will not let him lie.

(i) The beginning of holy water came first from the Gentiles, who used to sprinkle aqua lustrali standing at the doore upon such as went into the temple.

(k) Cum fide & zelo. Sorcerers and conjurers, with such a wrong faith joyned to dumb creatures, may and do with like reason call up Devils, as holy water may drive them away.

Your lowing friend,
Steven Winchester.

AS I have set forth here (gentle Reader) the calling Letter of Winchester against M. Ridleyes

leys Sermon; so am I right sory that I have not likewise the Answer of the said Ridley againe to ioyne withall. For I understand, that not onely Master Ridley, but also Master Barlow Bishop of Saint Davids (for Winchester wrote against them both) had written and sent immediately their answers to the same, refuting the frivolous and unsavorie reasons of this Popish Prelate, as may well appeare by a parcell additionall of a letter sent by the Lord Protector to the said Bishop in these words.

And because we have begun to write to you, we are put in remembrance of a certaine letter or book which you wrote unto us against the bishop of saint Davids Sermon, and Doctor Ridleys, to the which answer being immediately made, it was by negligence of us forgotten to be sent. Now we both send you that, and also the answer which the Bishop of Saint Davids wrote to the same book of yours.

Articles and positions ministred and obiected each of them ioyntly and severally to the Bishop of Winchester, as followeth.

The 1. Article.

Articles laid against Winchester.

IN primis, That the Kings Majestie justly and rightfully is, and by the lawes of God ought to be supreme head in earth of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, and so is by the Clergie of this Realme in their Convocation, and by Act of Parliament justly and according to the lawes of God recognised.

Winchester.

Winchester granteth to the King supremacie.

This first Article the Bishop granteth.

The 2. Article.

Item, That his Majestie, as supreme head of the said Churches, hath full power and authoritie to make and set forth Lawes, Injunctions, and Ordinances for and concerning Religion, and orders of the said Churches, for the increase of Vertue, and repressing of all Errors, Heresies, and other enormities, and abuses.

Winchester.

Winchester granteth to the full authoritie of the King in setting forth his lawes.

To this second Article he answereth affirmatively.

The 3. Article.

Item, That all and every his Graces Subjects are bound by the Law of God to obey all his Majesties said Lawes, Injunctions, and Proceedings concerning Religion and orders in the said Church.

Winchester.

To the third Article the said Bishop answereth affirmatively and granteth it.

The 4. Article.

Item, That you Steven Bishop of Winchester have sworne obedience unto his Majestie as supreme head of this Church of England, and also of Ireland.

Winchester.

Winchester hath sworne obedience to the Kings supremacie.

To the fourth Article, the said Bishop answereth affirmatively and granteth it.

The 5. Article.

Item, That all and every his Graces Subjects, that disobey any his Majesties said Laws, Injunctions, Ordinances, and proceedings already set forth and published, or hereafter to be set forth and published, ought worthily to be punished, according to his Ecclesiasticall Law used within this his Realme.

Winchester.

To this fifth Article the said Bishop answereth affirmatively and granteth it.

The 6. Article.

Item, That you the said Bishop as well in the Kings Majesties late Visitation within your Dioceese, as at sundry times have beene complained upon, and sundry informations made against you for your doings, sayings, and preachings against sundry Injunctions, Orders, and other proceedings of his Majestie, set forth for reformation of Errors, Superstitions, and other abuses of religion.

Winchester complained of.

Winchester.

This Article toucheth other mens Acts, who or how they have complained and informed, I cannot throughly tell. For at the time of the Kings Majesties Visitation I was in the Fleete, and the morrow after twelfth day I was delivered at Hampton Court, my Lord of Somerset and my Lord of Canterburie then being in Counsell, with many other Counsellors, & was delivered by these words: The kings majestie hath granted a general pardon, & by the benefit therof I was discharged: wherunto I answered, That I was learned never to refuse the kings majesties pardon, and in strength as that was; And I would and did humbly thank his Majestie therefore, and then they began with me in an Article of learning touching justification, wherunto they willed me to say my minde; adding therewith, that because other learned had agreed to a forme delivered unto me, I should not think I could alter it: which I received of them, and promised the Thursday after to repaire to my lord of Somersets house at Shéne, with my minde written; which I did, and at that day seven night following, appearing before him and other of the Councel, was committed to my house for prisoner, because I refused to subscribe to the forme of words and Sentences that other had agreed unto, as they said. In which time of imprisonment in my house, the Bishop of Rochester then being sent to me, and after M. Smith, and then M. Cecill, to which M. Cecil, when I had by learning resolved my minde in the matter, I delivered it, and he delivering it to my Lords Grace, wrote me, in his name, thanks for it; and then it was within the time of Lent, ere I was discharged of that trouble, and so went to Winchester as a man clérely out of all travell of businesse.

Winchester released out of the Fleet by the Kings generall pardon.

The Article of justification put to Winchester.

Winchester prisoner in his owne house.

Winchester denieth to subscribe to the articles of justification.

M. Cecil sent to Winchester.

Winchester againe set free.

And within fourtéene dayes after that, or thereabouts, began other travel with me, upon a request made by my Lord of Somerset to surrender a Colledge in Cambridge, and divers letters were written betweene his Grace and me in it. Wherein I might perceive the Secretarie with his pen took occasion to prick me more, then I trusted my Lords Grace himselfe would have done. And by this trouble was I deduced to an end. Then shortly after I received letters to come to the Councell, and by reason I alledged my disease, I was respited by other Letters, and three dayes before Whitsontide received yet other Letters to come, by which it might séeme unto me, that it was not of all beléeved that I was diseased. And therfore with all expedition, when I could not ride, I came in an

Winchester sent for to the Councell.

Winchester sick.

{King Ed.6.}

Winchester commeth at last in a hoselitter.

an hoselitter, and according to my duty presented my selfe to my Lords of the Councell, who all then entertained me secretly among them before the matters were objected unto me, as if I had bēn in the same place with them that I was in our late soveraign Lords daies. Afterwards my Lord of Somersets Grace charged me with these matters following, and in this forme, having the articles written in a paper.

Winchester charged with disobedience.

First, with disobedience that I came not at his sending for. Whereunto I answered, That I had his letters of licence to stay till I might come conveniently. And upon these last letters I came incontinently in a hoselitter.

Then it was objected, That I bare palmes, and crept to the Crosse. Whereto I answered, That they were misinformed, and I trusted they would not think I durst deny it, if I had done it, because Ceremonies had such circumstances, as I might easily be reproved if it were otherwise.

Then it was objected, That at Easter I had a solemne Sepulchre in the church, and such other Ceremonies. I answered, That I had even as many as the kings majesties proclamations commanded me: declaring plainly, That I thought it not expedient to make any alteration, wherein to offend the Kings Majesties Proclamation; adding how he that followeth as he is commanded is very obedient.

Winchester charged to deface certaine of the Kings Chapleines.

It was then objected unto me, That I went about to deface two of the Kings Majesties Chapleines, sent downe to be Canons of the Church of Winchester. Whereunto I answered, declaring the fact truly as it was, which I am yet able to justifie. After this matter thus oft objected & answered, I was commanded to go apart, & being called in againe, my Lord of Somersets Grace, loking upon a bill of Articles, said I had preached, how the Apostles went from the presence of the Councel, of the Councell, of the Councell; which matter I denied, adding, That it was not my fashion of preaching, so to play in iteration of words.

Reall presence.

After that, it was objected unto me for preaching of the sacrament, to say, the body of Christ was really present, being a fault to use the word Really, not comprised in the Scripture. Whereunto I answered, That I did not use the word Really, which needeth not. For as I once heard my Lord of Canterburie reason against one Lambert in the presence of the Kings Majestie that dead is; the words of the Scripture, This is my body that shall be betrayed for you, do plainly and lively expresse the very presence, and so did I set it forth to the people in my dioceese.

And this is the effect of all that was said against me at my being at the Councel, as I can remember. To whom I declared how much I esteemed obedience, and told them I had taught in my dioces, how the whole life of a Christian man consisteth in suffering properly; and therefore we may not dos our own will, but the will of God: and among men, we must either suffer the Rulers wil, or their power; their will to order us, and their power to punish us. After declaration whereof, my Lord of Somerset said, Ye must tarry in the towne. Whereunto I answered, I would be contented at their commandement or pleasure to tarry; but seeing I was no offendor, I desired them I might not tarry as an offendor: and for declaration thereof that I might have some house in the countrey about London, to remove unto for a shift. In devising whereof I lacke much to borrow Asshar. My Lord of Somerset said, if he had any, in faith he would lend me one. And in the end my Lord of Somerset desired me to write what my minde was in Ceremonies, and to send it unto him, and with that departed.

Winchester commanded to tarry at London.

Winchester commanded to write his minde of ceremonies.

Thus I have truely opened after what sort I have bēn complained on, that hath certainly come to my knowledge; Truth it is, that one Philpot in Westminster, whom I accounted altered in his wits (as I have heard) devised tales of me, the specialties whereof I never was called to answer unto. Players and Minstrels also railed on me, and other made Ballads and Rhymes of me, but never man had just cause to complaine of any my sayings, doings, or preachings, or to my knowledge did, otherwise then afore. And if any man shall put me in remembrance of any other complaint that might in my absence be made of me, if I have heard it, I will grant so. But well assured I am, I was never complained on, and called to make answer to the complaint, but this one time in all my whole life by any man of any degree. Once the L. Cromwell, God pardon his soule & forgive him, caused one day and a halfe to be spent in a matter betweene Sir Francis Brian and me, which was ended, and I declared an honest man, which the Kings Majestie that dead is, God pardon his soule, set forth with his familiaritie to me incontinently. And this is all the trouble that I have had in my life, saving the sending to the Fleet, being occasioned by my own letter to the Councell, upon a zeale that I had, which they allowed not. And finally, this sending of me, to the Tower; which was without calling me before the Councell, to heare what I could say. I am loth to be forsworne, and therefore I account all the complaints in my whole life made against me whereunto I have bēn made privie.

W. Philpot complained upon of Winchester.

Winchester when and how oft he hath been called to coram.

The seventh Article.

Item, That after and upon occasion of those and many other complaints and informations, you have beene sundry times admonished, commanded and enjoyned to conforme your selfe, as to your dutie appertained.

Winchester admonished to conforme himselfe.

Winchester.

To this seventh article I answer; I was never called afore the Councell by way of outward complaint and information, but onely once in all my whole life, which was at my last coming to London. Wherunto I answered as afore, and have told the forme & processe of speech to serve for furniture of answer to this and that article: for other then I have before written I remember not to have don or suffred by the higher powers in al my whole life, till my coming into the Tower, without that I have had any by-admonitions, as a man faulty or negligent at any time, that I remember not, for the observation of any thing already made or set forth by the Kings Majestie that now is, but have kept, and caused to be kept to my power the Kings Majesties Acts, Statutes, Injunctions, and proclamations inviolably, having for that purpose such a chancellor, as in orders and ordinances hath bin alwaies himselfe diligent and precise, for that time I might have knowledge of his doings.

The eighth Article.

Item, That after the premisses, and for that those former admonitions and commandements notwithstanding, you did yet still shew your selfe not conformable, and for that also others by your example were much animated, and thereby occasion of much unquietnesse ministred among the people, you were called before the Kings Majesties Councell in the moneth of June, in the second yeare of his Majesties reigne, and by them on his Majesties behalfe commanded to preach a Sermon before his Majestie, and therein to declare the justnesse and godlinesse of his Majesties Father in his proceedings upon certaine matters partly mentioned in certaine Articles to you delivered in writing, and

Winchester enjoyned by the Kings Councell to preach the second yeer of the Kings reigne.

and partly otherwise declared unto you.

Certaine points enjoyned to Winchester to preach upon.

The effect whereof was touching the usurped power and authoritie of the Bishop of Rome, that the same was justly and godly taken away in this realm and other the Kings Majesties dominions; touching the just suppressing and taking away of Monasteries and religious houses, of Pilgrimages, Reliques, Shrines, Images.

The superstitious going about of Saint Nicolas Bishop, Saint Edmund, Saint Katharine, Saint Clement, and such like; and just taking away of Chantries, Abbeyes, and Colledges, hallowing of candles, water, ashes, palme, holy bread, beads, creeping to the Crosse, and such like.

Also, touching the setting forth of the Kings Majesties authoritie in his young yeares to be as great as if his highnesse were of many more yeares.

That auricular Confession is indifferent, and of no necessitie by the law of God; and touching the Processions and Common prayer in English.

Winchester.

This article being of so many parts as it is, some true, some otherwise, must be answered by division of it into divers members, to divide the one from the other, granting that which is true, denying that which is otherwise, & opening that which is ambiguous, avoiding that which is captious; so as, according to my oath, I may open directly and plainly the truth, with sinceritie of conscience. The motion of preaching was made unto me in mine owne house by Master Cecil, upon the Duke of Somersets behalfe, after I had been before the Councell, as I have before said; from which Councell I departed (as before is rehearsed) as no offendor; and therefore when Master Cecill spake to me of preaching before the Kings Majestie, with request to write my sermon before, I denied that manner of preaching, because I said it was to preach like an offendor, and I was none, but departed from the Councell otherwise, as I have before shewed. And the said Master Cecil did not say to me that I was moved to preach, because I was not conformable; for I had at that time no manner of variance with the councell, but was in all conformitie with them, for any thing that I know, as I will answer afore God.

M. Cecil.

As for evill example to any man, I could none give, for I never offended Law, Statute, or Proclamation in this realme, ne did ever any act to the empairing of due obedience to the Kings Majestie in all my whole life; but by observation of them, and letting innovations, have done as much as in me lay to maintaine obedience.

Winchester refuseth to preach by other mens papers and Prescriptions, and yet he afterward would prescribe other men by papers what they should preach, against all conscience and honesty.

After Master Cecill had spoken to me of preaching, and delivered two papers containing the matters whereupon I should entreat, because I refused to give my sermon in writing, which was to me like an offendor) or to reade those papers of another mans device, as the conception and sincere manner of uttering of mine owne conscience, (which me thought then & since, and yet, a marvellous unreasonable matter, touching both my conscience and honesty) I was then set to the Duke of Somersets Graces chamber, and came in at a back dore to himselfe alone, saving he took to him as Witnesse he said, the Lord now of Wiltshire, then great Master; and after many words, he shewed me certaine Articles subscribed by Lawyers, what a Bishop might command, and what the King might command, and what paine to the disobeyer.

Winchesters answer to the Duke of Somerset.

To whom I said plainly and truely, how those lawyers subscription could not serve in this case to command me to utter to the people, for mine owne devise in words, that which is not indeed so; and if I might speake with these lawyers (I said) his grace should soone perceive them to agree with me. My Lord said, I should speake with no man, and I should doe as I was bidden, or doe worse, and bad me advise me till dinner was done. And then was I conveyed by the Lord great Master to his Chamber, and there left alone to dine, as was indeed honourably prepared. But I tooke my selfe to be in the nature of a prisoner, and a restrained man. {King Edw. 6.}

And about two of the clocke at afternoone came unto me Master Thomas Smith, then Secretarie, unto whom I complained of the unreasonablenesse of the matter, and shewed him certaine particularities; who said it was not meant so precisely, but to speake of the matters. To whom I said, I was content to speake of the matters, and then if I speake not according to the truth of them, there should be enow to beare witnesse to my condemnation, and if I speake the truth, then they had their desire. And I said further, I thought I might with my conscience say so as men ought and should be content and satisfied. And further, if I thought that in my manner of the uttering of those matters I should offend the Councell, I had rather deny to speake of the thing, and beginne the contention secretly with them, then to begin with pulpit, and so bring my selfe in further trouble then needed; and therefore if they would have me preach, I would preach as of my selfe, and of these matters, so as I thought they should be content. Sir Thomas Smith Secretary.

Whereupon I was brought up to my Lord of Somersets Chamber, and there the matter ended thus, that my Lord of Somerset said he would require no writing of me, but remit it to me, so I spake of the matters in the papers delivered me by master Cecill. I told him I would speake of them, saving for childrens toyes, of going about of Saint Nicolas, and Saint Clement. If that be now gone (quoth I) and forgotten, if I be too busie in rehearsall of them, they will say I cumber their heads with ceremonies, and thus they will defame me. When ceremonies were plenty, they will say, I did nothing but preach on them, and now they be gone, I babble of them still. Is said I would teach the chiefe points, adding that I would speake of other matters also, and with that, being put to my liberty to chuse the day, departed; and otherwise I was not spoken with concerning preaching, saving after Master Cecill came unto me, whereof I shall speake anon. Winchester walketh here subtilly.

And concerning the matters to be spoken of, all such things as be here rehearsed be named in the papers delivered unto me, although not altogether after this sort; saving the setting forth of the kings Majesties authoritie in his minoritie, whereof there is no word in those papers, nor was there ever any promise made of me to speake of it. Truth it is, that after I had signified the day when I would preach, Master Cecill came unto me, making the chiefe message to know the day when I would preach: to whom I had sent word before that it should be Saint Peters day, because me thought the Gospel served well for that purpose, and in processe of communication he told me that he liked gaily well a word that I had said in another communication, How a King was as much a King at one yeer of age as at an hundred yeers of age, and if I touched it, he thought it would be well taken. I told him againe, every man knew that, and then opened of my selfe the matter further. And at his next repaire unto me, which was the Munday before I preached, the said Master Cecill brought me papers of the Kings Majesties hand, shewing me how the Kings Highnesse used to note every notable sentence, and specially if it touched a King; and therefore (quoth he) if ye speake of a King, ye must joyne Counsel withall. Whereunto I made no answer, but shifted to other matter, without making him any promise, or denial, because Winchesters opinion of the Kings minoritie.

M. Cecils repaire againe to Winchester.

{King Ed. 6.}

cauſe I would neither binde my ſelf, nor trouble my ſelfe to diſcuſſe that matter. For albeit it is godly and wiſely done of every prince to uſe counſell; yet ſpeaking of a kings power by Scripture, I cannot by expreſſe Scripture limit the Kings power by Counſell. And hearing blindly by report ſome ſecret matter, that I will not ſpeak of here, I thought not to meddle with it at all in the pulpit; and yet to the effect to have our ſoveraigne Lord now obeyed, of which minde I was ever, I pointed to our Soveraigne Lord there in preſence, and ſaid he was onely to be obeyed, and I would have but one King, and other words to that purpoſe. But for any promiſe to be made by me, I utterly deny it, and tell plainly the cauſe why I ſpake not otherwiſe of it. There was alſo, in the papers delivered unto me, occaſion given me to ſpeak of the Maſſe, becauſe of Maſſes ſatisfactorie, as ſome underſtand them. And alſo there was occaſion to ſpeak of the ſacrament of the altar, becauſe of the Proclamation paſſed of the ſame, which to be true, I ſhall juſtifie by the ſaid papers.

Winch. maketh dangerous ſpeaking of the King, to joyne counſel withall.

The 9. Article.

Item, That you receiving the ſame, and promiſing to declare the ſame in a Sermon by you made before his Majeſtie for that purpoſe on the feaſt of S. Peter in the ſaid ſecond yeer of his reigne, did then and there contemptuouſly and diſobediently omit to declare and ſet forth many of the ſaid matters, and of divers other of the ſaid Articles you ſpake and uttered your minde in ſuch doubtfull ſort, as the juſtneſſe and godlineſſe of his Majeſties fathers and his proceedings was not ſet forth according to the commandement given unto you, and your owne promiſe, to the great offence of the hearers, and manifeſt contempt of his Majeſtie, and dangerous example of others.

Wincheſter.

Anſwer to the 9. Article. Omiſſion by contempt.

Touching that promiſe I anſwer as afore; and as touching omiſſion of that I ſhould have ſpoken of, by contempt or diſobedience, I anſwer by mine oath, I did not omit any thing (if I did omit it) by contempt or diſobedience; for I ever minded to ſatisfie the promiſe, to ſpeake of all matters in thoſe papers according to my former declaration. And if I did percaſe omit any thing (whereof I can make now no aſſurance, it being two yeers and a half paſt ſince I preached) but if I did omit any thing, he who knew my travell in the matter, would not marvell, being troubled with a Letter ſent from the Duke of Somerſet, whereof I ſhall ſpeak after. So as from foure of the clock on Thurſday, till I had done my Sermon on the Friday, I did neither drink, eat, ne ſleep, ſo carefull was I to paſſe over the travell of preaching without all ſlander of the truth, and with ſatisfaction of my promiſe, and diſcharge of my dutie to God and the Kings moſt excellent Majeſtie. Wherein, whether any thing were omitted or not, I could have anſwered more preciſely then I can now, if according to my moſt inſtant ſute, and the ſute of my ſervants, the matter had been heard while it was in freſh memory. But becauſe omiſſion may be by infirmitie of nature, in which oblivion is a paine of our originall ſinne, in which caſe it is no mortall offence, if a man being put in remembrance will purge it; I therefore, according to the true teſtimonie of mine owne conſcience, dare the more boldly deny all contempt and diſobedience, having for my declaration a generall ſentence ſpoken in my Sermon, that I agreed with the upper part in their Lawes, Orders and commandements, or ſuch like words, and found fault onely in the lower part. By which Sentence it appeared, how I allowed in the whole that was paſt hitherto, and onely diſſented from the doings of them that attempt innovations of their own preſumption. And furthermore I ſay, That that ſaying (Omiſſion) here objected unto me, if it were true, as I know it not to be, may happen two wayes; one way by infirmitie of nature, another way of purpoſe. Charitie of a Chriſtian man permitteth not to determine the worſt of that which is doubtfull and ambiguous to both parties: as touching doubtfulneſſe objected, I take God to record, I minded to ſpeak ſimply, and to be on the Kings Majeſties ſide onely, and not to go indiſible in the world, with ambiguities, eſteeming him, &c. The worſt man of all is he, that will make himſelf a lock of words and ſpeech, which is known not to be my faſhion, nor do I think this life worth that diſſimulation, and how can that be a doubtfull ſpeech in him, that profeſſeth to agree with the Kings Laws, injunctions, and ſtatutes, which I did expreſſe? There be that call in doubt whatſoever ſerveth not their appetite. It is not in the ſpeaker to ſatisfie the hearer that will doubt where doubt is not. The ſum of my teaching was, that all viſible things be ordered to ſerve us, which we may in convenient ſervice uſe. And when we ſerve them, that is an abuſe, and may then at the rulers pleaſure, unleſſe Scripture appointeth a ſpeciall uſe of them, be corrected in that uſe, or taken away for reformation. And this is a plain teaching that hath no doubt in it, but a yea and a nay on both ſides, with out a meane to make a doubt. And if any that doubteth cometh unto me, I will reſolve him the doubt as I can. And if I promiſed to ſpeak plainly, or am commanded to ſpeak plainly, and cannot, then is my fault to promiſe onely in the nature of folly and ignorance, whereunto I reſort, not for a ſhift, whereof indeed I profeſſe the knowledge, but to ſhew how ſometime to my hinderance I am noted learned, that can ſpeak plainly, and yet ſpeak doubtfully, other whiles am rejected as one that underſtandeth not the matter at all. As touching contempt, there can be none manifeſt that proceedeth of a privy promiſe; if I had broken it, I intended not, but intended to take it, as appeareth by my generall Sentence, to agree with the ſuperiours, and onely finde fault in the inferiour Subjects, who daily tranſgreſſe the Kings Majeſties Proclamations and other, whereof I ſpake then.

Omiſſion excuſed by a diſtinction.

Alock of words, that is, to open and ſhut again as they lik.

Anſwer by words to omiſſion in deeds.

The 10. Article.

10. Article.

Item, that you being alſo commanded on his Majeſties behalfe, for avoiding of tumult, and for other great conſiderations inhibited to treat of any matter in controverſie concerning the Maſſe, and of the Communion, then commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, did, contrary to the ſaid commandement and inhibition, declare divers your judgements and opinions in the ſame, in the manifeſt contempt of his Highneſſe ſaid inhibition, to the great offence of the hearers, and diſturbance of common quiet and unity of the Realme.

Wincheſter.

Anſwer to the 10. Article. W. Cecill.

To the tenth Article the ſaid Biſhop anſwered, That the Wedneſday at afternoon, next before the Friday when I preached, M. Cecil came to me, and having in all his other acceſſes ſpoken no word thereof, did then utter and adviſe me from the D. of Somerſet, that I ſhould not ſpeake of the Sacrament, or of the Maſſe, whereby he ſaid I ſhould avoid trouble. And when he ſaw me not to take it well, I meane, quoth he, doubtfull matters. I asked him what? he ſaid Tranſubſtantiation. I told him he will not what Tranſubſtantiation meant. I will preach, quoth I, the very preſence of Chriſts moſt precious body and blod in the Sacrament, which is the Catholike faith, and no doubtfull matter,

Wincheſters diſtinction between the upper part and lower part of the laws

Wincheſters catholike faith in the ſacrament.

ter, ne yet in controverſie, ſaving that certaine unlearned ſpeake of it they wot not what. And among the matters, quoth I, whereof I have promiſed to ſpeake, I muſt by ſpeciall wordes ſpeake of the Sacrament and of the Maſſe alſo. And when I ſhall ſo ſpeake of them, I will not forbeare to vtter my Faith and true beliefe therein, which I thinke neceſſary for the kings majeſtie to know; and therefore if I ſhall to be hanged when I came downe, I would ſpeake it. Which plaine zeale of my conſcience, grounded upon Gods commandement to do his meſſage truly, I would not hide but vtter ſo, as my Lord ſhould, if he would not have it ſpoken of, not let mee to come there as hee might have done: whereas els, if I had had a deceitfull purpoſe, I might have accepted the adviſe, and without any color of trouble have refuſed to follow it as a thing grounded upon wealth onely, as it was then uttered. With this my anſwere M. Cecill departed, and upon the Thurſday which was the next day following, and the evening before I preached, betweene three and foure at afternoon, I received a letter ſigned with the hand of the Duke of Somerſet, the copie whereof I am ready to exhibite, and took it then and eſteemed it ſo now to containe no effectuall inhibition whereunto I might by Gods law, or the kings Majeſties lawes, with diſcharge of my conſcience & duty obey, although the ſaid letters had bin (as they were not) in ſuch termes framed, as had preciſely forbidden mee (as they did not) but onely to ſpeake of matters in controverſie of the ſacrament, which indeed I did not, but onely uttered a truth to my conſcience moſt certainly perſwaded of the moſt holy Sacrament, neceſſary to be knowne to the kings Majeſty, and to bee uttered by mee admitted to that place of preaching, from whence God commandeth his truth to bee uttered, which in this nature of truth (the undue eſtimation and uſe whereof Saint Paul threatneth with temporall death) may in no wiſe bee omitted. So as I was and am perſwaded the right eſtimation of the Sacrament to be to acknowledge the very preſence of the ſame moſt precious body and bloud preſent in the Sacrament to feed us, that was given to redeeme us. If I ſhewed not my ſoveraigne Lord the truth therof, I for my part ſuffer him wittingly to fall into that extreme danger of body, which Saint Paul threatneth, whoſe perſon I am bound by nature, by ſpecial oaths, and by Gods lawes, to preſerve to my power, as I will do, and muſt do by all wayes and means. And if the kings Majeſtie doth vouchſafe to teach his people not to obey his commandement, where God commandeth the contrary, I might not take my Lord of Somerſets Letter for an inhibition to hold my peace, when God biddeth me to ſpeak, as he doth when the Wolfe cometh, and not to hide my ſelf in ſilence, which is the moſt ſhamefull running away of all. I have much matter to alledge againſt the Letter why I ſhould not credit it, written in his name alone, againſt a common letter (as I took it) written by him and the Councell, and publiſhed in print the firſt day of the ſaid moneth, which maintaineth my preaching of the ſacrament and maſſe, according to the proclamation and injunctions, the violation of which publike letters, had been a diſorder and contempt, whereas I neither offended in the one, nor the other.

And as for tumult, none could reaſonably be feared of any thing ſpoken agreeable to the Kings majeſties Lawes, as there did follow none, nor the people, nor any man did offer my perſon any wrong, or make tumult againſt me, notwithſtanding, players, jeſters, rymers, balladmakers, did ſignifie me to be of the true catholike faith, which I according to my dutie declared to the Kings Majeſtie, from whom I may hide no truth that I think expedient for him to know. And as the name of God cannot be uſed of any creature againſt God, no more can the Kings name be uſed of any ſubject againſt his Highneſſe. Wherefore ſeeing the abuſe of this holy Sacrament hath in it a danger aſſured by Scripture of body and ſoule; whoſoever is perſwaded in the Catholike faith as I am, findeth himſelf ſo burdened to utter that unto his Majeſty, as no worldly loſſe can let him to do his dutie in that behalf, and much leſſe my Lords private letters written without other of the Councels hands.

{KING EDW. 6.} {Anno 1550.}

Wincheſter would needes talke of the Sacrament and of the maſſe.

Wincheſter againſt players and ballad-makers.

S. Paul threatneth death to the miniſters of the ſacrament: Ergo, the real preſence of Chriſt is in the Sacrament. *Nego argumentum.*

And why would not Winch. allow this reaſon in other, in Q. Maries time, ſpeaking the word of truth after their conſcience contrarie to his inhibition?

The II. Article.

Item, That after the premiſſes, viz. in the moneth of May or Iune or one of them, in the third yeer of his Highneſſe reign, his Majeſtie ſent eftſoones unto you to know your conformitie towards his ſaid reformations, and ſpecially touching the book of Common Prayer then lately ſet forth by his Majeſtie, whereunto you at the ſame time refuſed to ſhew your ſelf conformable. II. Article.

Wincheſter.

Anſwer to the II. article. Sir Anthonie Wingfield and ſir Ralph Sadler ſent to Wincheſter.

To the II. Article; for anſwer and declaration thereof, he ſaid, the next day at afternoone after he had preached, when he looked for no ſuch matter, came to his houſe the right worſhipfull ſir Anthony Wingfield, and ſir Rafe Sadler knights, accompanied with a great number of the guard, and uſed themſelves for their part according to their worſhips, and (I doubt not) as they were appointed, and ſir Rafe Sadler began thus with me; my Lord, ſaid he, ye preached yeſterday obedience, but ye did not obey your ſelf, and went forth with his meſſage very ſoberly, as he can, and diſcreetly. I asked him wherein I obeyed not. He ſaid, touching my Lord of Somerſets letter. Maſter Sadler, quoth I, I pray you ſay unto my Lords Grace, I would he never made mention of that letter for the love I bear him. And yet, quoth I, I have not broken that letter, and I was minded, quoth I, to have written to my Lord upon the receit of it, and lo, quoth I, ye may ſee how I began, and ſhewed him (becauſe we were then in my ſtudy) the beginning of my letter, and reaſoned with him for the declaration of my ſelf, and told him therewith, I will not ſpend, quoth I, many words with you, for I cannot alter this determination. And yet in good faith, quoth I, my manner to you, and this declaration may have this effect, that I be gently handled in the Priſon, and for that purpoſe I pray you make ſute on my behalfe.

Wincheſter arreſted. Winch. committed to the tower.

Maſter Wingfield laid his hand on my ſhoulder, and arreſted me in the Kings name for diſobedience. I asked him whither I ſhould? They ſaid to the Tower. Finally I deſired them that I might be ſpoken with ſhortly, and heard what I could ſay for my ſelfe, and prayed them to be ſuters in it, and ſo they ſaid they would.

After that I was once in the Tower, untill it was within ſir dayes of one whole yeer, I could hear no manner word, meſſage, comfort, or reliefe, ſaving once when I was ſick, and me thought ſome extremity towards me, my Chaplaine had leave to come to me once, and then denied again, being anſwered, that my fever was but a tertian, which my ſaid Chaplaine told me when he came to me at the Eaſter following, and there being with me from the morning till night on Eaſter day departed, and for no ſute could I ever have him ſince. To maſter Lieutenant I made divers ſutes to provoke the Duke of Somerſets grace to heare me: and if I might have the liberty of an Engliſhman, I would plainly declare I had neither offended law, ſtatute, Act, Proclamation, nor his owne Letter neither; but all would not help, and I ſhall report me to M. Lieutenant whether in all this time I maligned, grudged, or uſed any unſeemly words, ever demanding juſtice, and to be heard according to juſtice.

When

{KING / ED.6.}

When I had bẽn thus in the Tower one whole yeer within six dayes or seven, as I remember, came to the Tower the Lord Chancellour of England, now being the Lord Treasurer, and maister Secretarie Peter, who calling me unto them, as I remember, entred thus; They said they had brought with them a book passed by the Parliament, which they would I should look on, and say my minde to it, and upon my conformitie in it, my Lord of Somerset would be suter to the Kings Majestie for mercy to be ministred to me. Whereunto I answered, That I trusted if I might be heard, the Kings majesties justice would relieve me, which I had long sued for, and could not be heard. And to sue for mercie, quoth I, when I have not in my conscience offended, and also to sue out of this place, where asking of mercie implieth a further suspition then I would be for all the world touched in, were not expedient; and therefore, quoth I, Not guilty, is and hath bẽn continually allowed a good plea for a prisoner. Then my Lord said, Why, quoth he, were ye not commanded to preach of the Kings authoritie in his young age, and did not? I told him I was not commanded. Is not, quoth he, that Article in the papers ye had delivered you? I assured him no.

The L. Chancellor and Secretary Peter come to Winch. in the Tower.

Winch. denieth to sue for mercy.

And after communication of the Kings Majesties authority wherein was no disagreement, then my Lord Chancellor said I had disobeyed my Lords Graces letter. I told him I thought not, and if the matter came to judgement, it should appear. And then I said to him, my Lord how many open injunctions under Seal and in open Court have bẽn broken in this Realm? the punishment whereof hath not bẽn handled after this sort, and yet I would stand in defence that I have not broken his Letter, waying the words of his Letter, wherein I reasoned with maister Secretary Peter what a controversie was, and some part what I could say further. But whatsoever I can say, quoth I, you must judge it, and for the passion of God do it, and then let me sue for mercy, when the nature of the offence is known, if I will have it. But when I am, quoth I, declared an offender, I will with humilitie of suffering make amends to the Kings Majestie, so far as I am able; for I should never offend him, and much lesse in his young age.

Talk betweene the L. Chancellor and Winch. in the Tower.

Winchest. will acknowledge no offence.

My Lord Chancellour then shewed me the beginning of the act for common prayer, how dangerous it was to breake the order of it. I told him that it was true, and therefore if I came abroad, I would be well ware of it. But it is, quoth I, after in the act, how no man should be troubled for this act, unlesse he were first indited, and therfore (quoth I) I may not be kept in prison for this act. Ay (quoth he) I perceive ye know the Law well enough. I told him my Chaplaine had brought it unto me the after nowne before. Then they required me to looke on the booke, and to say my minde in it; I answered that I thought not meet to yeld my self a scholler to go to schoole in prison, and then slander my selfe as though I redeemed my faults with my conscience. As touching the Law which I know, I will honour it like a subject, and if I kẽpe it not, I will willingly suffer the paine of it. And what more conformitie I should shew, I cannot tell; for mine offences be past if there be any. If I have not suffered enough, I will suffer more, if upon examination I be found faultie; and as for this new Law, if I kẽpe it not, punish me likewise.

Winch. will not go to schoole in prison.

Then my Lord Chancellor asked me whether I would not desire the Kings Majesty to be my good Lord. At which words I said; alas my Lord, quoth I, do ye thinke that I have so forgotten my selfe? My duty, quoth I, requireth so, and I will on my knees desire him to be my good Lord, and my Lord Protector also, quoth I; that is well said, quoth my Lord Chancellor. And what will ye say further, quoth my Lord Chancellor? in good faith, quoth I, this, that I thought when I had preached, that I had not offended at all, and think so still, and had it not bẽn for the article of the supremacy, I would have rather fained my self sick, then be occasion of this that hath followed; but going to the pulpit, I must nẽds say as I said. Well, quoth my Lord Chancellor, let us go to our purpose again. Ye will, quoth he, desire the Kings Majestie to be your good Lord, and the Lord Protector also, and ye say ye thought not to have offended. All this I will say, quoth I, and ye will (quoth my Lord Chancellor) submit your selfe to be ordered by my Lord Protector. Nay, quoth I, by the Law; for my Lord Protector, quoth I, hath scourged me over sore this yeer, to put my matter in his hands now. And in the latter point I varied with my Lord Chancellor, when I would not refer my order to my Lord Protector, but to the Law; and staying at this point they were content to grant me of their gentlenesse to make their suite to procure me to be heard, and to obtaine me libertie to go in the gallery, and that I should hear of one of them within two dayes following. I desired them to remember that I refused not the book by way of contempt, nor in any evill manner, but that I was loth to yeld my selfe a scholler in the Tower, and to be seene to redeeme my faults, if I had any, with my conscience. My body, I said, should serve my conscience, but not contrariwise. And this is the truth, upon my conscience and oath, that was done and said at their coming. There was more said to the purposes aforesaid. And I binde not my selfe to the precise forme of words, but to the substance of the matter and fashion of the entreating. So nẽre as I can remember, I have truly discharged mine oath. But I heard no more of my matter in one whole yeer after almost, within fourtẽne dayes, notwithstanding two letters written by me to the Councel, of most humble request to be heard according to justice. And then at the end of two yẽrs almost, came unto me the Duke of Somerset, with other of the Councell; which matter because it is left out here, I shall not touch, but prepare it in a matter apart, for declaration of my behaviour at all times.

Winch. will not confesse himself to be an offender.

Winch. will not submit himself to the L. Protector, but to the law.

The 12. Article.

Item, That after that, &c. the ninth day of July, in the fourth yeer of his Majesties reign, his Highnesse sent unto you his Graces letters, with a certain submission and articles, whereunto his Grace willed and commanded you to subscribe. To which submission you contemptuously refused to subscribe.

Winchester.

To the twelfth article, for answer thereunto, he granted that about the time mentioned in this article, the Lord Treasurer, the Earle of Warwick Lord great Master, Sir William Harbert, and maister Secretarie Peter came to the Tower, and called me before them, and delivered unto me the Kings majesties letters, which I have to shew, and received them at the hands of the Lord Treasurer upon my knees, kissed them as my duty was, and still upon my knees read them, whereas they gently required me to take more ease, and go apart with them, and consider them: which after that I had throughly read, I much lamented that I should be commanded to say of my self as was there written, and to say otherwise of my self then my conscience will suffer me, and where I trust my dẽds will not condemne me, there to condemne my self with my tongue. I should sooner (quoth I to them) by commandement, I think if ye would bid me, tumble my

The kings letters delivered to Winch. in the Tower.

my selfe desperately into the Thames.

My Lord of Warwicke seeing me in that agonie, said, what say ye my lord, quoth he, to the other Articles? I answered, That I was loth to disobey where I might obey, and not wrest my conscience, destroying the comfort of it, as to say untruly of my self. Well, quoth my Lord of Warwick, will ye subscribe to the other articles? I told him I would. But then, quoth I, the Article that toucheth me must be put out. I was answered, that needeth not, for I might write on the out side what I would say unto it. And then my Lord of Warwick entertained me very gently, and would néds whiles I should write, have me sit down by him; and when he saw me make somewhat strange so to do, he pulled me nearer him, and said, we had ere this sit together, and trusted we should do so again. And then having pen and inke given me, I wrote, as I remember, on the article that touched me, these words; I cannot with my conscience say this of my selfe; or such like words. And there followed an article of the Kings Majesties primacie, and I began to write on the side of that, and had made an I. onward, as may appeare by the articles, and they would not have me to do so; but write onely my name after their articles; which I did. Whereat because they shewed themselves pleased and content, I was bold to tell them merrily, That by this meanes I had placed my subscription above them all; and thereupon it pleased them to entertain me much to my comfort.

Other articles put to Winch. The article which touched him, was the 1. article, prescribing him to subscribe, which article he wisheth here to be put out.

Winch. subscribeth to the kings articles.

And I was bold to recount unto them merrie tales of my misery in prison, which they seemed content to hear; and then I told them also (desiring them not to be miscontent with that I should say) when I remember each of them alone, I could not think otherwise but they were my good Lords, and yet when they met together I feele no remedie at their hands. I loked (quoth I) when my Lord of Somerset was here, to go out within two dayes, and made my farewell feast in the Tower and all; since which time there is a moneth past, or thereabout; and I agrée with them, and now agrée with you, and I may fortune to be forgotten. My Lord Treasurer said nay, I should hear from them the next day: and so by their speciall commandement I came out of the Chamber after them, that they might be séene depart as my good Lords; and so was done. By which processe appeareth how there was in me no contempt, as is said in this article, but such a subscription made as they were content to suffer me to make, which I took in my conscience for a whole satisfaction of the Kings Majesties Letters, which I desire may be deemed accordingly. And one thing was said unto me further, that other would have put in many mo articles, but they would have no more but those.

Winchesters farewell feast lost in the tower

The 13. Article.

Item, That you having eftsoones certain of the Kings Majesties honourable Councell sent unto you the twelfth of July, in the said fourth yeer, with the said submission, and being on his Majesties behalfe required and commanded to consider againe and better the said Commission, and to subscribe the same, stood in justification of your self, and would in no wise subscribe thereunto.

Winchester.

To the thirteenth article he said, The next day after the being in the Tower of the said Lord Treasurer, the Earle of Warwick, and other, came unto me sir William Yarbert and master Secretarie Peter, to devise with me how to make some acknowledging of my fault (as they said) because the other forme liked me not. Whereunto I said, I knew my selfe innocent, and to enter with you to entreat of a devise to impaire my innocency in any the least point either by words or writings, it can have no policie in it. For although I did more esteeme liberty of bodie, then the defamation of my selfe, yet, quoth I, when I had so done with you, I were not so assured by you to come out. For when I were by my owne (a) pen once made a naughtie man, then were I not the more sure to come out, but had locked my selfe the more surer in; and a small pleasure were it to me to have my bodie at liberty by your procurement, and to have my conscience in perpetuall prison by mine own act. Many more words there were, and perswasions on their parts; which caused me to require of them, for the passion of God, that my matter might take an end by justice; and so they departed, there being no contempt or faction of disobedience shewed on my behalfe, but onely allegation for my defence of mine innocencie in the best manner I could devise, as I trust they will testifie.

Winchest. still standeth upon reputation of his innocency.

(a) Your putting to the pen in this matter would not have made you naught, but your naughtinesse would not put to your pen.

The fourteenth Article.

Item, That after all this, viz. the fourteenth day of July in the said fourth yeer, the Kings Majestie sent yet again unto you certain of his Majesties honourable Councell, with another submission, and divers other articles, willing and commanding you to subscribe your name thereunto. Which to do you utterly refused.

Winchester.

To the fourteenth Article he said, that on the Munday in the morning following came the bishop of London, sir William Yarbert, master Secretary Peter, and another whom I know not, who brought with them a paper, with certain Articles written in it, which they required me to subscribe. Whereupon I most instantly required, that my matter might be tried by justice, which although it were more grievous, yet it hath a commodity with it, that it endeth certainly the matter. And I could never yet come to my assured stay, and therefore refused to meddle with any more articles, or to trouble my selfe with the reading of them; and yet they desired me so instantly to read them, that I was content, and did read, and to shew my perfect obedient minde, offered incontinently upon my deliverie out of prison to make answer to them all, such as I would abide by, and suffer pain for, if I have deserved it. I would inded gladly have bèen in hand with my Lord of London; but he said he came not to dispute, and said it was the hand of God that I was thus in prison, because I had so troubled other men in my time. Finally, my request was, That they should in this forme make my answer to my Lords of the Councell as followeth: That I most humbly thanke them of their good will to deliver me by the way of mercy, but because in respect of mine own innocent conscience I had rather have justice, I desired them, seeing both was in the kings Majesties hands, that I might have it; which if it happen to me more grievous, I will impute it to my self, and evermore thank them for their good will; and so departed I with them, as I trust they will testifie, and no misbehaviour or misdemeanor to have bèen used on my behalfe.

Other articles offered to Winchester.

The Bishop of Londons words to Winch.

Winch. refuseth to be delivered by way of mercie.

The fifteenth Article.

Item, That after all this, videlicet, the nineteenth day of July, in the said fourth yeer, you being personally called before the Kings Majesties Privy Councell, and having the said submission and Articles openly and distinctly read unto you, and required to subscribe the same, refused for unjust considera-

tions

KING ED. 6. Anno 1550.

tions by you alledged to subscribe the same.

Winchester.

To the fiftenth article I grant, That upon a Saturday at afternoone, even at such time of the day as they were at Evensong in the Chappell at the Court, I was brought thither, and at my coming the Lords of the Councell said, They were all my Judges by speciall Commission, and intended to proceed thus with me: That I should subscribe certain articles which were then read, and I must directly make answer, whether I would subscribe them or no. I answered on my knees in this wise: For the passion of God, my Lords, be my good lords, and let me be tried by justice, whether I be faulty or no; as for these articles, as soon as ye deliver me to my liberty, I would make answer to them whether I would subscribe them or no. Then they having further to say, I answered, these articles were of divers sorts; some be laws, which I may not qualifie; some be no laws, but learning and fact, which may have divers understandings, and a subscription to them without telling what I meane, were over dangerous. And therefore I offered, for the more declaration of mine obedience to all their requests, That if they would deliver me the articles into the prison with me, I would shortly make them particular answer, and suffer the pains of the Law, that by my answer I might incurre into. Whereupon I was commanded to go apart, and they sent unto me the Lord Treasurer and maister Secretary Peter, who communed with me of a meane way, and that liked not the Lords. And then I was called forth again, and my absolute subscription required again: and I again made offer to answer particularly, for I could not with my conscience subscribe them as they were absolutely. And these my considerations I trust to be just, seeing no man for any commandements ought to offend his conscience, as I must have done in that case.

Winch. required again to subscribe, refuseth.

Winchesters shifts.

The sixteenth Article.

Item, That for your sundry and manifold contempts and disobediences in this behalf used, the fruits of your Bishoprick were then by speciall commission of his Majestie justly and lawfully sequestred.

Winchester.

To the sixtenth article, I deny contempts and disobedience of parts, and say, That my doings cannot so be termed, because it is taught in this realm for a doctrine of obedience, that if a King command that which is contrarie to the commandement of God, the subject may not doe as he is commanded, but humbly stand to his conscience, which is my case, who could not with my conscience do as I was required. And as touching the fact of decree, there was indeed a decree read, having words so placed and framed as though I were such an offendor, which matter I deny. And in that decree was mention made of administration of fruits; but whether the former words were of the present tense, or else to be sequestred, I cannot precisely tell, but doe referre that to the tenor of the decree.

But this answer could not stand in Queene Maries dayes.

The seventeenth Article.

Item, That after this you had intimation and peremptorie monition, with communication that you should within three moneths next following the said intimation, reconcile and submit your self, under paine of deprivation.

Winchester.

To the sevententh article I answer, that in the same Decree of sequestration at the same time read, I kneeling from the beginning of the Decree to the latter end, I remember there was an intimation and three moneths spoken of, and expressed also how at every moneths end I should have pen and inke offered to write, if I would yet subscribe, and as I understand it was upon the paine of proceeding further. And I do not remember that I heard the word Deprivation, but therein I referre me to the acts of the sentence; which when it was read, I desired it might be testified what mine offer was, to answer all those articles particularly, even remaining in prison. And this done, I made sute for some of my servants abroad to resort to me to the Tower, partly for my comfort, partly for my necessarie businesse, which could not be obtained. And yet to provoke it, I said to my lord of Warwick, how for agreeing with my L. of Somerset I had some commodity, and for agreeing with him had nothing, and therefore would neds by intercession presse him, that I might by this meanes have some of my servants resorting unto me. Ye answered very gently. And then one said, I should within two or three daies have some body come to me. And then I was dismissed, with commandement to the Lieutenant, to let me have the same liberty I had, but no more.

The eighteenth Article.

Item, That the said three moneths are now thorowly expired and runne.

Winchester.

To the eightenth article he said, There is almost six moneths passed in time and number of daies, but not one moneth past to the effect of the law, nor ten daies neither, because I have bin so kept in Prison, that I could not seek for remedie in forme above said, nor was there at every moneth, after the form of the sentence, offered me pen, inke, and libertie given me to consult and deliberate with other learned men and friends, what were best to do, or to send unto them. And furthermore, the very eighth day after the decree given, I protested before my servants, whom I had onely commodity to use as witnesses of the nullitie of the Decree, for the evident and apparent matter in it; but if it were any in law, I appealed to the Kings Majestie, because my request was not admitted, to have the copy of the articles to answer them particularly, and because it is excessive correction, to sequester my fruits and keep me in prison. With other cases to be deduced where I might have opportunity. Which appellation I protested to intimate as soon as I could come to any presence meet therefore, as I did in this assembly at my last repaire, desiring therewith the benefit restitutionis in integrum, because of mine imprisonment, and therefore do answer this matter with protestation of that appeale, and utterly deny all manner of contempt.

Winchesters appeal to the King.

The nineteenth Article.

Item, That you hitherto, according to the said intimation and monition, have not submitted, reconciled, nor reformed your self, but contemptuously yet still remain in your first disobedience.

Winchester.

To the nineteenth article I say, That I have bin all this while in prison so kept, as no man could have accesse to counsell with me, nor any meanes to write or send to any man, having made continuall sute to maister Lieutenant and maister Marshall, under whose custody I am here, to make sute in my name to the Lords of the Councell, that I might come

come to hearing, or else be bailed upon surety; which I could not obtain, and so have remained under the benefit of my said appeale to the Kings Majestie, made as I might for the time, which I eftsoons desire I may have liberty to prosecute.

The words of Winchester I protest expounded.

And whereas answering to these articles for declaration of the integritie of my conscience, I use in the same places generall words; I protest I mean not by those words to set forth my self otherwise more arrogantly then as my direct intent (which excludeth malice) and purpose moveth me to say, and as my conscience beareth witnesse unto me at this time, and therefore will say therein with S. Paul, Nihil mihi conscius sum, sed non in hoc justificatus sum. Wherefore if any especially be objected unto me, wherein, by ignorance or oversight and negligence, any offence of mine may appear against the Kings Majesties Lawes, Statutes and Injunctions, I shall desire and protest that it be not prejudiciall to mine answer (for this present, credo, as Lawyers in civill matters use that terme) to be true, that is to say, such as without any alteration in my conscience presently I may of my self say in affirmation or denial, as afore is answered. And whereas I spake of commandement to be made to me against Gods law, I protest not to touch my soveraigne Lords honour therein, which my duty is by all means to preserve, but that the commandement given resolveth to be against Gods law on my part in the obedience to be given, because I may not answer or say otherwise but est, est; non, non. So as my words & heart may agree together, or else I should offend Gods law, which my Soveraign, if he knew my conscience, would not command me.

Winchesters Credo.

After these things thus passed, certaine of the Councell by the Kings appointment had sundrie dayes and times accesse to him in the Tower to perswade with him; which were these, the Duke of Somerset, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privie Seal, the Lord great Chamberlaine, and M. Secretary Peter. Who repairing to him the tenth day of June, Anno 1550. he desired of them to see the Kings book of procedings; upon the sight whereof he would make a full answer, seeming to be willing in all things to conforme himself thereunto; and promising that in case any thing offended his conscience, he would open it to none but to the Councell. Whereupon it was agreed the book should be sent him to see his answer, that his case might be resolved upon, and that for the meane time he should have the liberty of the Gallery and garden in the Tower, when the Duke of Northfolk were absent.

Winchester requireth the sight of the Kings book of procedings.

The king then was lying at Grenwich, at which time the Lieutenant of the Tower was appointed to deliver the Kings book to the Bishop of Winchester. Who within three dayes after (which was the thirteenth of June) made declaration again unto the Councell, that the Bishop having perused it, said unto him, he could make no direct answer unlesse he were at liberty, and so being he would say his conscience. Whereupon the Lords, and other that had been with him the other day, were appointed to go to him again to receive a direct answer, that the Councell thereupon might determine further order for him.

Winch. denieth to make any direct answer to the book unlesse he were set at liberty.

The answer of the bishop being received, through the report of the Lords which had been with him, declaration was made again, the eighth day of July, 1550. that his answers were ever doubtfull, refusing while he were in prison to make any direct answer. Wherefore it was determined that he should be directly examined whether he would sincerely conform himself unto the Kings Majesties proceedings or not. For which purpose it was agreed that particular articles should be drawn, to see whether he would subscribe them or not, and a letter also directed unto him from the Kings Highnesse, with the which the Lord Treasurer, the Lord great Master, the Master of the Horse, and maister Secretarie Peter should repaire unto him; the tenor of which letter hereafter insueth.

Winchesters answers ever doubtfull.

Articles and letters sent to Winchester.

A Letter sent to the Bishop of Winchester, signed by the King, and subscribed by the Councell.

The Kings letter to Winch.

IT is not (we think) unknown unto you, with what clemency and favour we by the advise of our Councell caused you to be heard and used, upon the sundry complaints and informations that were made to us and our said Councell of your disordered doings and words, both at the time of our late visitation, and otherwise. Which notwithstanding, considering that the favour, both then and many other times ministred unto you, wrought rather an insolent wilfulnesse in your self, then any obedient conformitie, such as would have beseemed a man of your vocation, we could not but use some demonstration of justice towards you, as well for such notorious and apparent contempts and other inobediences, as after and contrary to our commandement were openly known in you, as also for some example and terror of such others as by your example seemed to take courage to mutter and grudge against our most godly procedings; whereof great discord and inconvenience at that time might have insued. For the avoiding whereof, and for your just deservings, you were by our said Councell committed to ward. Where albeit we have suffered you to remain a long space, sending unto you in the meane time at sundry times divers of the noble men and others of our privie Councell, and travelling by them with clemencie and favour to have reduced you to the knowledge of your duty; yet in all this time have you neither knowledged your faults, nor made any submission as might have beseemed you, nor yet shewed any appearance either of repentance or of any good conformity to our godly procedings. Wherewith albeit we both have good cause to be offended, and might also justly by the order of our laws cause your former doings to be reformed and punished to the example of others: yet for that we would both the world and your self also should know that we delight more in clemency, then in the straight administration of justice, we have vouchsafed not onely to addresse unto you these our letters, but also to send eftsoones unto you foure of our privie Councell with certain Articles, which being by us with the advise of our said Councell considered, we think requisite for sundry considerations to be subscribed by you, and therefore will and command you to subscribe the said Articles, upon pain of incurring such punishment and penalties as by our lawes may be put upon you for not doing the same.

Notorious contempts in Winchester noted.

Given at our Palace of Westminster the eighth day of July, the fourth yeer of our reigne.

With this Letter addressed from the King and his Councell, these Articles also were delivered to the Bishop of Winchester here following.

The copie of the Articles.

WHereas I Stephen Bishop of Winchester have been suspected as one too much favouring the Bishop of Romes authoritie, decrees and ordinances, and as one that did not approve or allow the Kings Majesties proceedings in alteration of certaine rites in religion, was convented before the Kings highnesse Councell and admonished thereof; and having certaine things appointed for me to do and preach for my declaration, have not done,

The Bishops answer to this article in the margent.

{KING} {EDW. 6.}

done that as I ought to doe, although I promised to do the same; whereby I have not only incurred the Kings Majesties indignation, but also divers of his Highnesse subjects have by my example taken encouragement (as his Graces Councell is certainely informed) to repine at his Majesties most godly proceedings; I am right sory therefore, and acknowledge my selfe condignely to have beene punished, and doe most heartily thanke his Majestie, that of his great clemencie it hath pleased his Highnesse to deale with me, not according to rigour, but mercy. And to the intent it may appeare to the world how little I doe repine at his Highnesse doings, which be in religion most godly, and to the Commonwealth most profitable, I doe affirme and say freely of mine owne will, without any compulsion, as ensueth.

The Kings supremacie.

1 That by the Law of God, and the authoritie of Scriptures, the Kings Majestie and his successors are the supreme heads of the Churches of England and also of Ireland.

The Kings authoritie in dispensing with holy dayes and fasting daies or in appointing the same.

2 Item, That the appointing of holy dayes and fasting dayes, as Lent, Ember-dayes, or any such like, or to dispence therewith, is in the Kings Majesties authoritie and power: and his Highnesse as supreme head of the said Churches of England and Ireland, and Governour thereof, may appoint the manner and time of the holy dayes and fasting dayes, or dispence therewith, as to his wisdome shall seeme most convenient for the honour of God and the wealth of this Realme.

The Kings book of proceedings.

3 Item, That the Kings Majestie hath most Christianly and godly set forth, by and with the consent of the whole Parliament, a devout and Christian book of service of the Church to be frequented by the Church, which book is to be accepted and allowed of all Bishops, Pastors, Curates, and all Ministers Ecclesiasticall of the Realme of England, and so of him to be declared and commended in all places where he shall fortune to preach or speake to the people of it, that it is a godly and Christian book and order, and to be allowed, accepted, and observed of all the Kings Majesties true subjects.

The Kings full authoritie in his tender age.

4 I doe acknowledge the Kings Majestie that now is (whose life God long preserve) to be my Soveraign Lord, and supreame head under Christ to me as a Bishop of this Realme, and naturall subject to his Majesty, and now in this his young and tender age to be my full and entire King; and that I and all other his Highnesse subjects are bound to obey all his Majesties Proclamations, Statutes, Lawes, and Commandements, made, promulgate, and set forth in his Highnesse young age, as well as though his Highnesse were at this present thirty or forty yeares old.

Abrogation of the 6. articles.

5 Item, I confesse and acknowledge, That the statute, commonly called the statute of the six Articles, for just causes and grounds is by authoritie of Parliament repealed and disannulled.

The Kings jurisdiction to alter and correct abuses Ecclesiasticall.

6 Item, That his Majestie and his successours have authoritie in the said Churches of England and also of Ireland, to alter, reforme, correct, and amend all errors and abuses, and all rites and ceremonies Ecclesiasticall, as shall seeme from time to time to his Highness and his successors most convenient for the edification of his people, so that the same alteration be not contrary or repugnant to the Scripture and Law of God.

Subscription of Winchester to the articles aforesaid.

Subscribed by Steven Winchester, with the testimoniall hands of the Councell to the same.

To these articles afore specified although Winchester with his owne hand did subscribe, granting and consenting to the supremacie of the King as well then being as of his successours to come; yet because he stuck so much in the first point touching his submission, and would in no case subscribe to the same, but onely made his answer in the margent (as is above noted) it was therefore thought good to the King, that the Maister of the horse, and Maister Secretary Peter should repaire unto him againe with the same request of submission, exhorting him to looke better upon it; and in case the words seemed too sore, then to referre it unto himselfe in what sort and with what words he should devise to submit him, that upon the acknowledgement of his fault, the Kings Highnesse might extend his mercy and liberalitie towards him as it was determined. Which was the eleventh day of June, the yeare abovesaid. *Winchester denieth to subscribe to the first beginning of these articles.*

When the Maister of the horse and Secretarie Peter had beene with him in the Tower according to their Commission, returning from him againe they declared unto the King and his Councell how precisely the said Bishop stood in justification of himselfe, that he had never offended the Kings Majestie; wherefore he utterly refused to make any submission at all. For the more suretie of which denial, it was agreed that a new booke of articles should be devised, wherewith the said Maister of the horse and Maister Secretary Peter should repaire unto him againe, and for the more autentike proceeding with him, they should have with them a Divine and a temporall Lawyer, which were the Bishop of London, and Maister Godsicke.

The copy of the last Articles sent to the Bishop of Winchester.

Winchester againe required to submit himselfe.

VVHereas I Steven Bishop of Winchester have beene suspected as one that did not approve or allow the Kings Majesties proceedings in alteration of certaine rites in religion, and was conuented before the Kings Highnesse Councell, and admonished thereof, and having certain things appointed for me to do & preach for my declaration, have not done therein as I ought to do, whereby I have deserved his Majesties displeasure; I am right sory therefore. And to the intent it may appeare to the world how little I doe repine at his Highnesse doings, which be in religion most godly, and to the common wealth most profitable, I doe affirme as followeth.

Good reason and ground in suppressing houses of religion.

1 First, that the late King of most famous memorie K. Henry the eighth, our late Soveraign Lord, iustly and of good reason and ground hath taken away, and caused to be suppressed and defaced, all monasteries and religious houses, and all conventicles and covents of Monks, Friers, Nuns, Chanons, Bonhoms, and other persons called religious, and that the same being so dissolved, the persons therein bound and professed to obedience to a person, place, habite, and other superstitious rites and ceremonies, upon that dissolution and order appointed by the Kings Majesties authoritie as supreme head of the Church, are clearely released and acquitted of those vowes and professions, and at their full libertie, as though those unwittie and superstitious vowes had never beene made.

Marriage permitted by Gods law stands good without the Popes dispensation.

2 Item, that any person may lawfully marry, without any dispensation from the bishop of Rome or any other man, with any person whom it is not prohibited to contract matrimonie with, by the law Leviticall.

Vowes and going on pilgrimage.

3 Item, that the vowing and going on pilgrimage to Images, or the bones, or reliques of any Saints, hath beene superstitiously used, and cause of much wickednesse and Idolatrie, and therefore iustly abolished by the said late K. of famous memorie, and the images and reliques so abused have bin for

{ Anno. 1550. } for great and godly considerations defaced and destroyed.

Gadding about with Saint Nicolas, &c.

4 Item, That the counterfeiting of Saint Nicolas, Saint Clement, Saint Katharine, and Saint Edmund, by children, heretofore brought into the Church, was a meere mockerie and foolishnesse, and therefore fully abolished and taken away.

Scripture to be in the vulgar tongue.

5 Item, it is convenient and godly, that the Scripture of the Old Testament and New, that is, the whole Bible, be had in English and published to be read of every man, and that whosoever doth repell and dehort men from reading thereof doth evill and damnably.

6 Item, That the said late King, of full ground and reason did receive into his hands the authoritie and disposition of Chauntries and such livings as were given for the maintenance of private Masses, and did well change divers of them to other uses.

Chantry masses well put down.

7 Also the Kings Majestie that now is, by the advice and consent of the parliament, did upon full ground and reason suppresse, abolish, and take away the said Chauntries and such other livings as were used and occupied for maintenance of private Masses, and Masses satisfactory for the soules of them that are dead, or finding of obites, lights or other like things: The Masse that was wont to be said of priests was full of abuses, and had very few things of Christs institution, besides the Epistle, Gospel, the Lords prayer, and the words of the Lords Supper; the rest for the more part were invented and devised by Bishops of Rome, and by other men of the same sort, and therefore fully taken away by the statutes and lawes of this Realme; and the Communion which is placed in stead thereof, is verie godly, and agreeable to the Scriptures.

The masse full of abuses, and well changed to the Communion.

Sacrament in both kindes.

8 Item, That it is most convenient and fit, and according to the first institution, that all Christian men should receive the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ in both the kindes, that is, in bread and wine.

Masse the Popes ordinance.

9 And the Masse, wherein onely the Priest receiveth, and the other do but look on, is but the invention of man, and the ordinance of the Bishop of Romes Church, not agreeable to Scripture.

The Sacrament not to be adored.

10 Item, That upon good and godly considerations it is ordered in the said book and order, that the sacrament should not be lifted up, and shewed to the people to be adored, but to be with godly devotion received, as it was first instituted.

11 Item, That it is well, politikely and godly done, that the Kings Majestie by act of parliament hath commanded all images which have stood in Churches and chappels, to be clerely abolished and defaced, lest hereafter at any time they should give occasion of idolatrie, or be abused, as many of them heretofore have been, with pilgrimages and such idolatrous worshipping.

All Images abolished.

Masse bookes, Grailes, &c. defaced.

12 And also for that like godly and good considerations, by the same authoritie of Parliament, all Masse Bookes, Cowchers, Grailes, and other bookes of the service in Latine, heretofore used, should be abolished and defaced, as well for certaine superstitions in them contained, as also to avoid dissension; and that the said service in the Church should be thorow the whole realme in one uniforme conformity, and no occasion through those old books to the contrary.

Vowed chastity of Priests hath no commandement of God.

13 That Bishops, Priests, and Deacons have no commandement of the Law of God, either to vow chastitie, or to abstain continually from marriage.

14 Item, That all Canons, Constitutions, Lawes positive, and Ordinances of man, which doe prohibit or forbid marriage to any Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, be fully, and upon godly grounds and considerations taken away and abolished by authoritie of Parliament.

Homilies to be read in the Church.

15 The Homilies lately commanded and set forth by the Kings Majestie, to be read in the congregation of England, are godly and wholsome, and do teach such doctrine as ought to be embraced of all men.

{ KING EDW. 6. }

16 The book set forth by the Kings Majestie, by authoritie of parliament, containing the forme and manner of making and consecrating of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, is godly, and in no point contrarie to the wholesome doctrine of the Gospel, and therefore ought to be received and approved of all the faithfull members of the Church of England, and namely the Ministers of Gods Word, and by them commended to the people.

The Kings book of Orders.

17 That the Orders of Subdeacon, Benet, and Colet, and such others as were commonly called Minores Ordines, be not necessary by the Word of God to be reckoned in the Church, and be fully left out in the said book of Orders.

Orders of Subdeacon, Benet and Colet, needlesse in the Church.

18 That the holy Scriptures containe sufficiently all doctrine required of necessitie for eternall salvation through faith in Jesus Christ, and that nothing is to be taught as required of necessitie to eternall salvation, but that which may be concluded and proved by the holy Scriptures.

Doctrine of our salvation sufficiently contained in the Scripture.

19 That upon good and godly considerations it was and is commanded by the kings Majesties injunctions, that the Paraphrases of Erasmus in English should be set up in some convenient place in every parish Church of this realm, whereas the parishioners may most commodiously resort to reade the same.

Paraphrases of Erasmus.

20 And because these articles aforesaid do contain onely such matters as be already published and openly set forth by the Kings Majesties authority, by the advice of his Highnesse Councell, for many great and godly considerations, and amongst others for the common tranquillitie and unitie of the realme; his Majesties pleasure, by the advice aforesaid, is, That you the Bishop of Winchester shal not only affirme these articles with subscription of your hand, but also declare and professe your selfe well contented, willing and ready to publish and preach the same at such times and places, and before such audience as to his Majestie from time to time shall seeme convenient and requisite, upon paine of incurring such penalties and punishments as for not doing the same may by his Majesties lawes be inflicted upon you.

Winchester required to subscribe to these Articles.

These Articles were sent the fifteenth of Iuly.

The Bishop of Winchester receiving and perusing these articles, made this answer againe; That first touching the article of submission, he would in no wise consent, affirming as he had done before, that he had never offended the Kings Majestie in any such sort as should give him cause thus to submit himselfe; praying earnestly to be brought unto his triall; wherein he refused the Kings mercy, and desired nothing but "justice. And for the rest of the articles, he answered, That after he were past his triall in this first point, and were at liberty, then it should appeare what he would doe in them; if not being (as he said) reasonable, that he should subscribe them in prison.

"So ye might fortune to have turned your Altar to an halter.

Of this answer when the King and his Councel had intelligence by the foresaid Master of the horse, Secretary Peter, the Bishop of London, and master Gwdrick, who had been with him, it was agreed that he should be sent for before the whole Councel, and peremptorily examined once againe, whether he would stand at this point or no; which if he did, then to denounce unto him the sequestration of his benefice, and consequently the intimation, in case he were not reformed within three moneths,

as

as in the day of his appearance shall appeare. The tenor and words of which sequestration, with the intimation, followeth.

The words of the Sequestration with the Intimation to the Bishop of Winchester.

The tenour of the sequestration read to Winchester.

FOrasmuch as the kings Majestie our most gracious Soveraigne Lord understandeth, and it is also manifestly known and notorious unto us, that the clemency and long sufferance of his Majestie worketh not in you that good effect and humblenesse and conformitie, that is requisite in a good subject; and for that your disobediences, contempts, and other misbehaviours, for the which you were by his Majesties authority justly committed to ward, have since your said committing daily more and more increased in you, in such sort as a great slander and offence is thereof risen in many parts of the Realme, whereby also much slander, dissention, trouble, and unquietnesse is very like more to ensue, if your foresaid offences, being as they be openly knowne, should passe unpunished: we let you wit, that having speciall and expresse Commission and commandement from his Majestie, as well for your contumacies and contempts so long continued and yet daily more increasing, as also for the exchange of the slander and offence of the people, which by your said ill demeanours are risen, and for that also the Church of Winchester may be in the meane time provided of a good Minister, that may and will see all things done and quietly executed according to the lawes and common orders of this realme, and for sundry other great and urgent causes, we do by these presence sequester all the fruits, revenues, Lands, and possessions of your Bishoprick of Winchester, and discerne, deeme and judge the same to be committed to the severall receite, collection and custody of such persons or persons as his Majestie shall appoint for that purpose. And because your former disobediences and contempts so long continued, so many times doubled, renued and aggravated, doe manifestly declare you to be a person without all hope of recovery and plainly incorrigible; we eftsoones admonish and require you to obey his Majesties said Commandement, and that upon sdoe declare your selfe, by subscription of your hand, both willing & well contented to accept, allow, preach and teach to others the said Articles, and all such other matters as be or shall be set forth by his Majesties authoritie of supreme head of this Church of England, on this side & within the terme of three moneths, whereof we appoint one moneth for the first monition, one moneth for the second monition and warning, and one moneth for the third and peremptory monition.

The causes why this sequestration was laid against Winchester.

Winchester sequestred from his bishoppick.

Intimation given to Winchester.

Within which time as you may yet declare your conformitie, and shall have paper, pen & inke, when you shall call for them for that purpose, so if you wilfully forbeare and refuse to declare your selfe obedient and conformable as is aforesaid, we intimate unto you that his majestie, who like a good Governor desireth to keep both his commonwealth quiet, and to purge the same of evill men (especially ministers) intendeth to proceed against you as an incorrigible person and unmeet Minister of this church, unto the deprivation of your said Bishoprick.

Nevertheless, upon divers good considerations, and specially in hope he might within his time be yet reconciled, it was agreed that the said Bishops house and servants should be maintained in their present estate, untill the time that this Injunction should expire, and the matter for the meane time to be kept secret.

The names of the Commissioners delegats in the cause of Steven Gardiner.

After this Sequestration, the said Bishop was convented unto Lambeth before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other the kings commissioners by vertue of the Kings speciall Letters sent unto the said Commissioners, to wit, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas Bishop of London, Thomas Bishop of Ely, Henry Bishop of Lincolne, Secretary Peter, Sir James Hales Knight, Doctor Leyson, Doctor Oliver, Lawyers, and John Gosnold Esquire, &c. before them, and by them to be examined, by whom were objected against him nineteene speciall Articles in order and forme here following.

Articles and positions ministred joyntly, and severally objected to the Bishop of Winchester.

INprimis, that the Kings Majestie justly and rightfully is, and by the Laws of God ought to be the supreme head in earth of the Church of England & Ireland, and so is by the Clergie of this Realme in their Convocation, and by the act of Parliament, justly and according to the laws of God recognised.

Articles ministred against Winchester by the commissioners.

2 Item, that his Majestie, as supreame head of the said Churches, hath full power and authoritie to make and set such laws, injunctions, and ordinances, for and concerning Religion and orders in the said Churches, for the increase of vertue, and repressing of all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses.

3 Item, that all and every his graces subjects are bound by the laws of God to obey all his highnesse said laws, injunctions and procedings concerning religion and orders in the said Churches.

Winchester sworne to the kings supremacie.

4 Item, that you Stephen bishop of Winchester have sworn obedience unto his Majestie, as supreme head of this church of England and also of Ireland.

5 Item, that all and every his graces subjects that disobey any of his said majesties laws, injunctions, ordinances, & procedings already set forth and published, or hereafter to be set forth & published, ought worthily to be punished according to his graces Ecclesiasticall laws used within this his Realme.

Winchester after his oath found disobedient to the King and his proceedings.

6 Item, that you the said bishop, as well in the kings Majesties late visitation within your Diocesse, as at sundry other times, have been complained upon, and sundry informations made against you for your doings, sayings, and preachings against sundry Injunctions, orders and other procedings of his majestie set forth for the reformation of errors, superstitions and other abuses in religion.

7 Item, that after and upon the occasion of those and other many complaints and informations you have bin sundry times admonished, commanded and injoyned to conforme your selfe, as to your duty appertaineth.

The manifolde transgressions of Winchester worthy of punishment.

8 Item, that after the premisses, & for that those former admonitions and commandments notwithstanding, you did yet still shew your selfe not conformable, and for that also by your example the people were much animated, and thereby occasion of much unquietnesse ministred, you were called before the kings Majesties counsell in the moneth of June, the 2. year of his majesties reigne, and by them on his highnesse behalfe commanded to preach a sermon before his majestie, and therein to declare the justnes and godlinesse of his majesties father and his procedings, upon certaine matters partly mentioned in certain articles to you delibered in writing, and partly otherwise declared unto you. The effect whereof was, touching the usurped authority of the B. of Rome, & that his pretensed authority was justly & godly taken away in this realme, & other the kings majesties dominions; touchung the first suppression & taking away of monasteries, religious houses, pilgrimages, reliques, shrines and images, the superstitious going about of S. Nicholas, Wilh. of S. Edmund, S. Katherine, S. Clement and such like, for taking away of Chantries, obites, and colledges, touching hallowing of Candles, water, ashes, palme, holy bread, beads, creeping to the Crosse, &c. touching the setting forth of the

Kings majesties authority in his young years to be as great as if his highnesse were of many more yeares, touching auricular confession, touching the procession & Common prayer in English, and that things done in general councels against the word of God may be iustly revoked in particular councels.

Winchesters contemptuous disobedience to the King.

9 Item, that you receiving the same, and promising to declare them in a Sermon by you made before his Majestie for that purpose, on the feast of Saint Peter in the said second yeare of his Highnesse Reigne, did then and there contemptuously and disobediently omit to declare and set forth many of the said matters, to the great contempt of his Majestie, and dangerous example of others.

10 Item, That you being also commanded, and on his majesties behalfe, for the avoiding of tumult, and for other great considerations, inhibited to treat of any matter in controversie concerning the Masse or the Communion (then commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar) did contrary to the said commandement and inhibition, declare divers your iudgements and opinions in the same, in manifest contempt of his Majesties said inhibition, to the great offence of the hearers, and disturbance of the common quiet, and unitie of the Realme.

Time given to Winchester to answer by writing.

For the depositions of these and other witnesses against Winchester, reade in the first edition of Acts and Monuments, pag. 816.

Winchester stubbornely refused to conforme himselfe to the book of the Kings proceedings.

11 Item, that after the premisses, viz. in the moneths of May or June, or one of them, in the third yeare of his highnes reign, his Majestie sent eftsones unto you, to know your conformitie towards his said reformation, and especially touching the book of common prayer then lately set forth by his Majestie, whereunto you at the same time refused to shew your selfe conformable.

12 Item, that after that, viz. the 9. day of July, in the fourth yeare of his Majesties reigne, his highnesse sent unto you his graces Letters with a certaine submission & Articles, whereunto his grace willed & commanded you to subscribe; to the which submission you contemptuously refused to subscribe.

Winchester standeth in justification of himselfe.

13 Item, that you having eftsones certaine of the Kings most honourable Councell sent unto you the twelfth of July, in the said fourth year, with the same submission, and being in his majesties behalfe required and commanded to consider againe better the said submission, and to subscribe the same, stood in justification of your selfe, and would in no wise subscribe thereunto.

14 Item, that after all this, the 14. day of July, in the said fourth year, the said kings majesty sent yet againe unto you certaine of his Majesties most honorable counsell with another submission and divers other articles, willing and commanding you to subscribe your name thereunto, which to doe you utterly refused.

Fantasticall considerations of Winchester.

15 Item, that after all this, videlicet the nineteenth of July in the said fourth yeare, you being personally called before the whole councell, and having the said submission and Articles openly and distinctly read unto you, and required to subscribe the same, refused, for unjust and fantasticall considerations by you alledged, to subscribe the same.

16 Item, that for your sundry and manifold contempts, and disobediences in this behalfe used, the fruits of your Benefice were then by speciall Commission of his Majestie justly and lawfully sequestred.

17 Item, that after this you had intimation and peremptory monition, with commination, that you should, within three moneths next following the said intimation, reconcile and submit your selfe upon paine of deprivation.

18 Item, that the said three moneths are now fully expired and runne.

Winchester sworne to answer truely.

19 Item, that you have not hitherto, according to the said intimation and monition, submitted, reconciled, or reformed your selfe, but contemptuously yet still remain in your disobedience. Whereupon they required the Bishop of Winchester, then and there personally present, to be sworn faithfully and truly to make answer.

After these Articles were exhibited unto him, & he having leave to say for himselfe, wherein he used all the cauteles, shifts and remedies of the Law to his most advantage, by way of protesting, reculing and excepting against the Commission, and requiring also the copies as well of the Articles, as of his protestation, of the Actuaries (which were W. Say and Tho. Argall) time & respite was assigned unto him to answer to the said Articles in writing. But he so cavilled and dallied from day to day to answer directly, although he was sufficiently laboured and perswaded to the same by sundry callings and Acts, and also abundantly convicted by depositions and witnesses, especially by matter induced by the L. Paget, and Andrew Beynton, and M. Chaleno, pag. 816. (all which I refer to my first booke) that at the last he appealed from them (reputing them not to be competent and indifferent judges to heare and determine his cause) unto the kings royall person; notwithstanding by protestation alwaies reserving to himselfe the benefit of his appellation: and so proceeded he to the answering of the foresaid Articles, but in such crafty & obstinate manner as before he had been accustomed, and as at large, to them that be desirous to understand the procesle thereof, in the first book of the Acts and Monuments of the Church aforesaid may appeare.

But briefly to conclude, such exceptions he used against the witnesses produced against him, and he himselfe produced such a number of witnesses in his defence, and used so many delaies and cavillations, that in the end the Commissioners, seeing his stubbornesse, proceeded to the sentence definitive against him, as hereunder followeth.

Sentence definitive against Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester.

The finall sentence for deprivation of the Bishop of Winchester.

IN the name of God, Amen. By authoritie of a Commission by the high and mighty Prince our most gracious Soveraign Lord Edward the sixth, by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England, & also of Ireland, in earth the supreme head, the tenour whereof hereafter ensueth; Edw. the sixth, &c. We Thomas by the sufferance of God Archbishop of Canterburie, Primate of all England, and Metropolitane, with the right reverend Fathers in God, Nicholas Bishop of London, Thomas Bishop of Ely, and Henry Bish. of Lincolne, Sir William Peter knight, one of our said Soveraign Lords two principall Secretaries, Sir James Yales knight, one of our said Soveraigne Lords Justices of his common Pleas, Griffith Leison and John Oliver Doctors in the Civill Law, Richard Goodricke and John Gosnold Esquires, delegates, and Judges assigned and appointed, rightfully and lawfully proceeding according to the forme and tenour of the said Commission, for the hearing, examination, debating, and finall determination of the causes and matters in the said Commission mentioned and contained, and upon the contents of the same, and certaine Articles objected of office against you Stephen Bishop of Winchester, as more plainely and fully is mentioned and declared in the said Commission and Articles, all which we repute and take here to bee expressed; and after sundrie judiciall assemblies, examinations and debatings of the said cause and matters, with all incidents, emergents, and circumstances to the same or any of them belonging, and the same also being by us oft heard, seene, and well understood, and with good and mature examination and deliberation debated, considered, and fully weighed and pondered, observing all such order and other things as by the lawes, equitie, and the said commission ought, or needed

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needed herein to be observed, in the presence of you Stephen Bilhop of Winchester, do proceed to the giving of our finall judgement and sentence definitive in this manner following.

Forasmuch as by the acts inacted, exhibites, and allegations proposed, deduced, and alledged, and by sufficient proofes with your owne confession in the causes aforesaid had and made, we do evidently finde and perceive that you Stephen Bilhop of Winchester have not onely transgressed the commandements mentioned in the same, but also have of long time, notwithstanding many admonitions and commandements given unto you to the contrarie, remained a person much grudging, speaking, and repugning against the godly reformations of abuses in religion, set forth by the Kings highnesse authoritie within this his realme; and forasmuch as we doe also finde you a notable, open, and contemptuous disobeyer of sundry godly and just commandements given unto you by our said Soveraigne Lord and by his authoritie, in divers great and waighty causes touching and concerning his princely office, and the state and common quietnesse of this Realme; and forasmuch as you have and yet doe contemptuously refuse to recognise your notorious negligences, and misbehaviours, contempts and disobediences, remaining still, after a great number of severall admonitions, alwaies more and more indurate, incorrigible, and without all hope of amendment, contrary both to your oath sworne, obedience, promise, and also your bounden dutie of allegeance; and for that great slander and offence of the people arise in many parts of the realme, through your wilfull doings, sayings, and preachings, contrary to the common order of the Realme, and for sundry other great causes by the acts, exhibites, your own confession, and proofes of this processe more fully appearing; considering withall that nothing effectually hath beene on your behalfe alledged, proposed, and proved, ne by any other meanes appeareth, which doth or may empaire or take away the proofes made against you, upon the said matters and other the premisses:

Winchester found to be a transgressor.

Therefore we Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitane, Judge delegate aforesaid, having God before our eies, with expresse consent and assent of Nicolas Bishop of London, Thomas Bishop of Ely, Henry Bishop of Lincolne, sir William Peter Knight, Sir James Hales Knight, Griffeth Leison and John Oliver, Doctors of the Civill law, Richard Goodricke and John Gosnold, Esquires, Judges, and Collegues with us in the matters aforesaid, and with the Counsel of divers learned men in the Lawes, with whom we have conferred in and upon the premisses, doe judge and determine you Steven Bishop of Winchester, to be deprived and removed from the Bishoprick of Winchester, and from all the rites, authoritie, emoluments, commodities, and other appurtenances to the said Bishoprick in any wise belonging, whatsoever they be, and by these presents we doe deprive and remove you from your said Bishoprick and all rites and other commodities aforesaid; and further pronounce and declare the said Bishoprick of Winchester, to all effects and purposes, to be void by this our sentence definitive, which we give, pronounce, and declare in these writings.

Steven Gardiner Bish. of Winchester deprived of his Bishoprick.

This sentence definitive being given, the said Bishop of Winchester, under his former protestations, dissented from the giving and reading thereof, and from the same, as unjust, and of no efficacy or effect in law; and in that the same containeth excessive punishment, and for other causes expressed in his appellation aforesaid, he did then and there apud acta, immediately after the pronouncing of the sentence, by word of mouth appeale to the Kings royall Majestie first, secondly, and thirdly, instantly, more instantly, most instantly, and asked apostles, or letters dismissorials to be given and granted unto him: And also, under protestation not to recede from the former appellation, asked a copy of the said sentence; the Judges declaring that they would first know the Kings pleasure and his counsell therein. Upon the reading and giving of which sentence, the promoters willed William Say and Thomas Argall to make a publike Instrument, and the witnesses then and there present to beare testimonie thereunto, &c.

Steven Gardiner apealeth from the sentence to the K.

And thus have you the whole discourse and Processe of Steven Gardiner late Bishop of Winchester, unto whom the papisticall Clergy doth so much leane, as to a mighty Atlas, and upholder of their ruinous religion. And though I have not herewithall so fully expressed all his letters, answers, preachings, examinations, defensions, exhibites, and attestations, with the depositions of all such Witnesses as he could and did produce for the most advantage of his owne cause, with such notes also and collections gathered upon the same, as here I might, and as before I have done, I must intreat the Reader to consider first the greatnesse of this volume, which would not well beare the tedious tractation thereof; and secondly to content himselfe in resorting to our first historie, where not onely he may peruse the whole discourse of this Bishops doings set forth at large, but also may briefly read in a few summarie notes collected the whole course of his doctrine and judgement, touching what points of religion he did consent and agree, or not agree unto, pag. 862.

The end of Winchesters story.

The notes and collections hereof reade in the first edition, fol. 862.

And thus an end of Winchester for a while, till we come to talke of his death hereafter. Whom as we number amongst good Lawyers, so is he to be reckoned amongst ignorant and grosse Divines, proud Prelates, and bloudy Persecutors, as both by his cruell life and pharisaicall doctrine may appeare, especially in the article of the sacrament, and of our justification, and Images, and also in crying out of the Paraphrase, not considering in whose person the things be spoken, but what the Paraphrast uttereth in the person of Christ, or of the Evangelist, and not in his owne, that he wresteth unto the authour, and maketh thereof heresie and abomination.

Winch. a good Lawyer, yet but a naughty Divine, and a worse Bishop.

The like impudency and quarrelling also he used against Bucer, Luther, Peter Martyr, Cranmer, and almost against all other true Interpreters of the Gospel: so blinde was his judgement, or else so wilfull was his minde in the truth of Christs Doctrine, that it is hard to say, whether in him unskilfulnesse or wilfulnesse had greater predomination. But against this Doctor Gardiner we will now set and match on the contrary side, Doctor Redman, forsomuch as he departing this transitorie life the same present yeare 1551. cometh now by course of historie here to be mentioned; who for his singular life and profound knowledge, being inferiour in no respect to the said Gardiner, shall stand as great a friend in promoting the Gospels cause, as the other seemeth an enemie by all manner of waies to impaire and deface the same. For the more assured declaration whereof we will hereto adjoyn (the Lord willing) the learned communication between the said Doctor Redman lying on his death bed, and Walter Wilkes, Walter Alexander Nowell, Doctor Young, and other Witnesses more. Whereof the said Walter Wilkes thus recordeth, speaking in his owne person and his owne words, as followeth.

Winch. as unskilfull as wilfull.

D. Redman set to match Steven Gardiner.

A note of the communication that I Richard Wilkes had with Master Doctor Redman, being sicke at Westminster, but of good memory, the second day of November, 1551. in the presence of M. Young, and another whom I did not know, and two of Master Doctor Redmans servants the one called Ellis, and the other unknowne.

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The communication and confession of Doctor Redman in his death bed.

I The foresaid Richard Wilkes coming to Doctor Redman lying sick at Westminster, and first saluting him after my ordinarie dutie, wished him health both in soule and body; not doubting moreover but he did practice the godly counsell in himselfe, which he was wont to give to other being in his case; and thanks be to God (said I) who had given him stuffe of knowledge to comfort himselfe withall. To whom he answering againe, said in this wise; God of all comfort give me grace to have comfort in him, and to have my minde wholly fixed in him. Walter Young and I said, Amen. Then I communed with him of his sicknesse, and of the weaknesse of his body, and said, that though he were brought never so low, yet he, if it were his pleasure, that raised up Lazarus, could restore him to health againe. No, no, saith he, that is past, and I desire it not, but the will of God be fulfilled.

After this or a little other like communication, I asked if I might be so bold not troubling him, to know his minde for my learning in some matters and points of religion. He said, yea, and that he was as glad to commune with me in such matters, as with any man. And then I said to his servants, I trusted I should not trouble him. No, said Ellis his servant, my Lord of London, Walter Nowell and other have communed with him, and he was glad of it: Then said Walter Redman, no, you shall not trouble me. I pray God ever give me grace to speak the truth, and his truth, and that which shall redound to his Glory, and send us unitie in his Church; and we said, Amen.

Communication touching the sacrament of the Lords body and blood.

I said he should do much good in declaring his faith, and I would be glad to know his minde as touching the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.

He said, as man is made of two parts, of the body and the soule, so Christ would fede the whole man; but what (saith he) be the words of the text? Let us take the words of the Scripture; and he rehearsed the text himselfe thus, Accepit Iesus panem, Christ tooke bread. Wherein his will was to institute a Sacrament. Accipite, comedite. Take, eate. Here he told the use of it. What did he give to them? Hoc est corpus meum, he calleth it his body.

Question. Whether Christ be present in the sacrament. *Vnum.*

Then I asked him of the presence of Christ. He said, Christ was present with his Sacrament, and in those that received it as they ought. And there was Mira unitio, a wonderfull union (for that word was named betwixt Christ and us) as Saint Paul saith, Vos estis os ex ossibus ejus, & caro ex carne ejus, Ye be bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh. The which union was ineffable.

Question. Whether Christ be present corporally, naturally, and really in the sacrament. Corporally, that is truely: so Christ is there; otherwise not.

Then I asked him what he thought of the opinion, that Christ was there corporally, naturally, and really. He answered; if you meane by corporally, naturally, and really, that he is there present Vere, I grant.

Then I asked how he thought of that which was wont commonly to be spoken, that Christ was there flesh, blood and bone, as I have heard the Stewards in the Leets give charge when the sir articles stood in effect, and charge the inquest to inquire, that if there were any that would deny that Christ was present in the sacrament of the altar in flesh, blood, and bone, they should apprehend them.

He said that it was too grosse, and could not well be excused from the opinion of the Capernaites.

Question. Whether Christ be there flesh blood & bone.

Then I asked him; in as much as Christ was there vere, how do we receive him? in our mindes and spirituall parts, or with our mouthes, and into our bodies, or both?

D. Whether Christ be received in minde and spirit, or with mouth and body, or with both?

He said, we receive him in our mindes and soules by faith.

Then in as much as he was much in this point, that there was Mira unitio, a marvellous union betwixt us and Christ, in that we were Caro ex carne ejus, & os ex ossibus ejus; Bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh; I desired to know his opinion whether we received the very body of Christ with our mouthes, and into our bodies or no?

D. Whether Christs very body be received into our very bodies or no.

Here he paused and held his peace a little space, and shortly after he spake, saying; I will not say so, I cannot tell, it is a hard question; but surely, saith he, we receive Christ in our soule by faith. When you do speak of it otherwaies, it soundeth grossely and savoureth of the Capernaites.

D. Whether that he to be worshipped, which the priest sheweth to the people betwixt his hands.

Then I asked him what he thought of that which the priest was wont to lift up and shew the people betwixt his hands?

He said it is the sacrament. Then said I, they were wont to worship that which was lifted up. Yea, saith he, but we must worship Christ in heaven; Christ is neither lifted up nor downe. I am glad, said I, Master Doctor, to heare you say so much. I would not speake of the holy sacrament otherwise then reverently, but I feare lest that Sacrament, and the little white piece of bread so lifted up, hath robbed Christ of a great part of his honour.

D. Whether the carying about of the sacrament is to be allowed.

Then said he, looking up and praying, God grant us grace, that we may have the true understanding of his Word, whereby we may come to the true use of his sacraments; and said, he would never allow the carrying about of the sacrament, and other fond abuses about the same.

Transubstantiation.

Then after a little while pausing, said I, Master Doctor, if I should not trouble you, I would pray you to know your minde in Transubstantiation. Iesus, Master Wilkes, quoth he, will you aske me that? Sir (said I) not if I should trouble you. No, no, I will tell you, said he. Because I found the opinion of Transubstantiation received in the Church, when I heard it spoken against, I searched the ancient Doctors diligently, and went about to establish it by them, because it was received. And when I had read many of them, I found little for it, and could not be satisfied. Then I went to the schoole Doctors, and namely to Gabriel, and weighed his reasons. The which when I had done, and perceived they were no pythier, Languescabat opinio mea de Transubstantiatione, my opinion of Transubstantiation waxed feeble: and then, saith he, I returned againe to Tertullian and Irenæus, and when I had observed their sayings, mine opinion that there should be Transubstantiation prorsus erat abolita, was quite dashed.

Transubstantiation not to be found in the Doctors.

Then said I, You know that the schoole Doctors did hold, That panis non remanebat post consecrationem, that bread remained not after the consecration, as they called it.

The schoole Doctors received in the word consecration. What is consecration?

The schoole Doctors (saith he) did not know what Consecratio meaneth; and here he paused awhile. I pray you (said I) that what say you Consecratio means? Saith he, It is Tota actio, in ministring the Sacrament as Christ did institute it. All the whole thing done in the ministery, as Christ ordained it, that is Consecratio, and what (said he) neede we to doubt that bread remaineth? Scripture calleth it bread, and certain good authors, that be of the latter time, be of that opinion.

After

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Talk about D. Redman.

After that I had communed with M. Redman, and taken my leave of him, Master Yong came forth into the nert Chamber with me, to whom I said that I was glad to see master Doctor Redman so well minded. Then said master Young to me, I am sure he will not denie it; I ensure you, saith he, Master Doctor hath so moved me, that whereas I was of that opinion before in certaine things, that I would have burned and lost my life for them, now (saith Master Yong) I doubt of them. But I see, saith he, a man shall know more and more by processe of time, and reading and hearing of other, and Master D. Redmans saying shall cause me to looke more diligently for them.

D. Yong stayed by D. Redman from his Popish opinion.

The opinion of D. Redman touching justification by faith.

Also Ellis Master D. Redmans servant shewed me, that hee did know that his Master had declared to king Henry 8. his Majestie, that Faith onely justifieth: but that doctrine, as he thought, was not to be taught the people, lest they should be negligent to do good workes.

Consensus Ecclesiæ is but a weak staffe to leane to.

The said Master Yong hath reported (the which also I heard) that Master Doctor Redman should say, that consensus Ecclesiæ, the consent of the church was but a weake staffe to leane to, but did exhort him to read the Scriptures, for there was that which should comfort him when he should be in such case as he was then.

Another communication betweene Doctor Redman lying in his death bed, and master Nowel then Schoolmaster in Westminster, and certain other, with notes of his censure and judgement touching certain points of Christs Religion.

The confession of D. Redman before M. Nowel.

IN primis, the said Doctor Redman sent for M. Nowell of his owne minde, and said hee was willing to commune with him of such matters as he had moved the sayd D. Redman of a day or two before: and he being desired of the said Master Nowell to declare his minde concerning certaine points of our Religion, first said ake me what ye will, and I will answer you, before God, truly as I think, without any affection to the world or any worldly person.

Witnesses, Alexander Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Iohn Wright.

2 Item, the said D. Redman said, That the See of Rome in these latter dayes is Sentina malorum, that is, a sink of all evil.

Witnesses, Iohn Yong, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Iohn Wright, Edward Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, Ellis Lomas.

3 Item, That Purgatorie, as the Schoolmen taught it, and used it, was ungodly, and that there was no such kinde of Purgatory as they fantasied.

Witnesses, Iohn Yong, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, Iohn Wright.

Offering up of the Sacrament called the sacrifice of the masse.

4 Item, That the offering up of the sacrament in Masses and Trentals, for the sins of the dead, is ungodly.

Witnesses, Iohn Yong, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas.

5 Item, That the wicked are not partakers of the body of Christ, but receive the outward Sacrament onely.

Witnesses, Iohn Yong, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorn, Iohn Wright.

Carrying about of the sacrament disproved.

6 Item, That the sacrament ought not to be carried about in procession; for it is taught what is the use of it in these words, Accipite, manducate, & bibite, & hoc facite in mei memoriam, Take, eat, and drink, and do this in remembrance of me.

Witnesses, Iohn Yong, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Iohn Wright, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas.

Adoration of the sacrament disproved.

7 Item, That nothing which is seen in the sacrament, or perceived with any outward sense, is to be worshipped.

Witnesses, Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowel, Ellis Lomas, Rich. Burton.

A grosse opinion to think that Christ is corporally eaten in the sacrament.

8 Item, That we receive not Christs body Corporaliter, id est, crasse, corporally, that is to say, grossely, like other meats, and like as the Capernaits did understand it.

Witnesses, Iohn Yong, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Edw. Cratford, Ellis Lomas, Iohn Wright.

Christ spiritually and truly eaten in the sacrament.

9 Item, that we receive Christs body sic spiritualiter, ut tamen verè, so spiritually, that nevertheless truly.

Witnesses, Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowel, Rich. Burton, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas, Iohn Wright.

Transubstantiation hath no proofe in the old doctors.

10 Item, as touching Transubstantiation, that there is not in any of the old Doctors any good ground or sure proofe hereof, or any mention of it, as far as ever he could perceive, neither that he seeth what can be answered to the objections made against it.

Witnesses, Iohn Yong, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas.

Christ can neither be lifted up nor down.

11 Item, being asked of master Wilkes, what that was which was lifted up betweene the Priests hands, he answered, Ye thought that Christ could neither be lifted up nor down.

Witnesses, Iohn Yong, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas.

Priests marriage lawfull by Gods word.

12 Item, That Priests may by the law of God marrie wives.

Witnesses, Alex. Nowel, Ellis Lomas.

Faith onely justifieth, a true doctrine.

The true faith defined.

13 That this proposition, Sola fides justificat, so that fides signifie Veram, vivam, & acquiescentem in Christo fidem, id est, amplexum Christi, that is to say, that onely faith doth justifie, so that Faith do signifie a true, a lively, and a Faith resting in Christ, and embracing Christ, is a true, godly, sweet, and comfortable doctrine, so that it be so taught that the people take none occasion of carnall libertie thereof.

Witnesses, Iohn Yong, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Iohn Wright, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorn, Ellis Lomas.

Works do not merit to salvation.

14 Item, That our workes cannot deserve the kingdome of God, and life everlasting.

Witnesses, Iohn Yong, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorn, Iohn Wright.

15 Item, That the said D. Redman, at such times as we the aforesaid persons, who have subscribed, heard his communication concerning the foresaid points of religion, was of quiet minde and of perfect remembrance, as far as we were able to judge.

Witnesses, Iohn Yong, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorn, Iohn Wright.

¶ Also M. Yong of himself doth declare further touching the former Articles in this wise.

To the fifth Article.

D. Yongs testimony of D. Redmans doctrine.

Judas received the same that Peter did, as Simon Magus received the same baptisme that Peter did.

IN primis, That Doctor Redman said more, whereas saint Augustine said, Quod Iudas idem accepit quod Petrus, that Judas received the same that Peter did, he said that he understood that of the Sacrament; and that after the same phrase a man might say, Quod Simon Magus idem Baptisma recepit quod Apostoli. That Simon Magus received the same Baptisme that the Apostles did, when he did receive onely the outward Sacrament to his condemnation; for he said that he thought Christ would not vouchsafe to give his holy flesh to an ungodly man. And this he said was alwaies his mind, though

though he knew well that other men did otherwise thinke.

¶ To the sixth Article.

Carrying about of the sacrament.

Item, he said, he never liked the carriage about of the Sacrament, and preached against it about 16. yeers since in Cambridge.

¶ To the tenth Article.

Transubstantiation.

Item, when he was demanded of Transubstantiation, he said, that he had travelled about it, and, thinking that the doubts which he perceived did rise thereon should be made plain by the Schoolmen, did read their bookes, and after that he had read them, the opinion of Transubstantiation was every day Magis & magis languida, that is, weaker and weaker, and that there was no such Transubstantiation as they made: adding thereto, that the whole schole did not know what was meant by Consecration, which he said was the whole action of the holy Communion.

¶ To the thirteenth Article.

Justification by faith onely.

Item, he said, That he did repent him that he had so much strived against Justification by Faith onely.

¶ To the fourteenth Article.

Workes merit not eternall life.

Item, That Workes had their Crowne and reward, but that they did not deserve eternall life, and the kingdome of God, no not the workes of Grace; Nam donum Dei vita æterna; For everlasting life is the gift of God.

Although these testimonies above alledged may suffice for a declaration touching the honest life, sound Doctrine, and sincere judgement of Doctor Redman: yet (velut ex abundanti) I thought not to cut off in this place the testimoniall Letter or Epistle of Doctor Young written to master Cheke, specially concerning the premisses. Which Epistle of Doctor Young, as I received it written by his owne hand in the Latine Tongue, the Copie which he himselfe neither hath nor can deny to be his own & is extant to be read in the former book of acts and monuments, so I have here exhibited the same faithfully translated into the English Tongue, the tenour whereof followeth.

The Letter of Master Young to Master Cheke concerning Doctor Redman, translated out of Latine into English.

M. Youngs letter to M. Cheke touching D. Redman.

ALthough, right worshipfull, I am stricken into no little dampe and dolour of minde for the unripe (but that it otherwise pleased Almighty God) and lamentable death of that most blessed and learned man Doctor Redman, insomuch that, all astonied with weeping and lamenting, I cannot tell what to doe or think, yet nevertheless, perceiving it to be your worships will and pleasure that so I should do, I gladly call my wits together, and purpose, by Gods grace, here in these my Letters sincerely, and truly to open and declare, what I heard that worthie learned man speak and confesse at the houre of his death as touching the controversies of religion, wherewith the spouse of Christ is in these our dayes most miserably troubled and tormented.

Commendation of D. Redman.

This Doctor Redman, being continually by the space of twentie yeers or somewhat more exercised in the reading of the holy Scripture, with such industrie, labour, modestie, magnanimitie, and prayers to Almightie God tried and weighed the controversies of Religion, that in all his doings as he would not seeme to approve that which was either false or superstitious; so he would never improve that which he thought to stand with the true worship of God. And albeit in certain points and articles of his faith he seemed to divers, which were altogether ignorant of that his singular gravitie, either for softnes, fear, or lack of stomach to change his minde and beleefe, yet they, to whom his former life and conversation by familiar acquaintance with him was throughly knowne (with them also which were present at his departure) may easily perceive and understand, how in grave and weightie matters, not rashly and unadvisedly, but with constant judgement and unfained conscience he descended into that manner of beleefe, which at that time of his going out of this world he openly professed.

I give your wisdome to understand, that when death drew nèr, he calling away all hope of recoverie, attended and talked of no other thing (as we which were present heard) but of heaven and heavenly matters, of the latter day, of our Saviour Jesus Christ, with whom most fervently he desired to be; whose incredible love towards us miserable sinners most worthily and not without tears he oftentimes used to extoll and speak of: and us which were there present he earnestly moved and exhorted to prepare our selves to Christ, to love one another, and to beware of this most wretched and corrupt world. And besides that hee promised (calling God to witnesse thereunto, to whom he trusted shortly to come) if any would demand any question, that he would answer him what hee thought in his judgement to bee the truth. At what time there were present Master Alexander Nowell, a man earnestly bent to the true worshipping of God, and one that had alway singularly well loved the sayd M. Redman, to whom he spake on this wise.

Exhortation of D. Redman to them that were about him.

M. Alexander Nowel, since Dean of Pauls.

Your excellent learning and purity of life I have ever both highly favored, and had in admiration; and for no other cause (God be my judge) I do aske these things of you which I shall propound, but that I might learne and know of you what is your opinion and beleefe touching those troublous controversies which are in these our dayes, and I shall receive and approve your words as Oracles sent from heaven.

To whom when Doctor Redman had given leave to demand what he would, and had promised that he would faithfully and sincerely answer (all affection set aside) what he thought to be the truth, M. Nowel said, I would (quoth he) right gladly, but that I fear by my talk and communication I shall be unto you, so feeble and now almost spent, a trouble and griefe. Then said Doctor Redman, replying, what shall I spare my carkasse (quoth he) which hath so short a time here to remaine? Go to, go to, (said he) propound what you will. Then master Nowell put forth certain questions, which in order I will here declare: Whereunto the said Doctor Redman severally answered, as hereafter followeth.

The See of Rome a sink of all sin.

The first question that he asked of him was, what he thought of the Bishop of Rome. Unto whom Doctor Redman answered, that the See of Rome in these our latter dayes had much swarved from the true religion and worshipping of God, and is with horrible vices stained and polluted, which I therefore (quoth he) pronounce to be the sink of all evill, and shortly will come to utter ruine by the scourge of God, except it do fall the sooner for repentance, wherewith he briefly complained of the filthy abuse of our English Church.

Purgatory.

Being then asked what his opinion was concerning Purgatorie, and what the Schoolmen judged thereof, he answered that the subtill reasons of the

Schoolmen

{King Edw. 6.}

Schoolmen, concerning purgatorie, seemed to him to be no lesse vaine and fridolous, then disagreeing from the truth; adding thereunto, That when we be rapt to the clouds to meet Christ coming to judgement with a great number of Angels in all glory and majestie, then every one shall be purged with fire, as it is written, The fire shall go before him, and shall flame round about his enemies; and the fire shall burne in his sight, and round about him shall be a great tempest; saying, That divers of the old Writers approved this his sentence concerning purgatorie.

Psal. 97. & 50.

When he was asked whether wicked and ungodly people in the holy Communion did eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood; he answered, that such kinde of men did not eat Christs most blessed flesh, but onely took the sacrament to their own damnation; saying, That Christ would not give his most pure and holy flesh to be eaten of such naughtie and impure persons, but would withdraw himself from them. And that (quoth he) that is objected by S. Augustine, That Judas received the self same thing which Peter received, that I think to be understood of the externall sacrament. And the like kinde of phrase of speaking (said he) we may use concerning the baptisme of Magus; That Simon Magus received that which the Apostles did receive. Indeed as concerning the sacrament of the externall baptisme, Simon Magus received that which the Apostles did; but that internall grace wherewith the Apostles were endued, and that holy spirit wherewith by baptisme they were inspired, he lacked. And so (quoth he) the wicked and forsaken people, which rashly presume to come to the holy table of the Lord, do receive the sacrament and the self same which good and godly men receive, but the body of Christ they do not receive, for Christ doth not vouchsafe to deliver it them. And thus, he said, was his opinion and belief, although he knew others to be of a contrarie judgement.

The wicked eat not the flesh of Christ.

Being then after this demanded, whether he thought Christs presence to be in the sacrament, or no: he answered, That Christ did give and offer to faithfull and Christian men his very reall body and blood verily and really, under sacraments of bread and wine; insomuch that they which devoutly come to be partakers of that holy food, are by the benefit thereof united and made one with Christ in his flesh and body. And therefore he said that Christ did distribute his body spiritually, that he gave it truly, yet not so nevertheless, that by these and the like words we should conceive any grosse and carnall intelligence, such as the Capernaites once dreamed of, but that (quoth he) we might labour and endeavour to expresse by some kinde of words the ineffable majestie of this mysterie. For the manner whereby Christ is there present, and ministreth to the faithfull his flesh, is altogether inexplicable: but we must believe (quoth he) and think, that by Gods mighty power and the holy operation of his spirit, this so notable a mysterie was made; and that heaven and earth was joyned together in that moment, as the blessed man S. Gregory saith: The lowest parts are joyned with the highest; by which is understood that holy food whereby they which be regenerate by the holy Ghost in baptisme, are nourished to immortalitie. And further he said, That Christs body was received in the said sacrament by faith; which being received, both body and soule were quickened to everlasting life.

How Christ is present in the sacrament.

The Capernaits grosse error of Christs bodily presence in the sacrament

Being then required to say his minde about Transubstantiation, he gave answer, That he had much travelled in that point, and that he first much favoured and inclined to that part which maintained Transubstantiation: in searching the veritie whereof most studiously he had been no little while occupied, and found to arise thereabout infinite, and almost inexplicable absurdities. In confuting whereof, when he had but smally contented himself, he said he took in hand the schoolmens works, and perused Gabriel and other Writers of that sort, for that by their help and aid he hoped that all inconveniences which did spring and arise by maintenance of Transubstantiation might be clean convinced and wiped away. Of which his hope he was utterly frustrate (said he) for that he did finde in those books many fond and phantasticall things, which were both too foolish to be recorded in writing, and also to be alledged about such a mysterie; and truly (said he) ever after the reading of them, my former zeale and opinion touching the maintenance of Transubstantiation did every day more and more decrease, and therefore in conclusion he perswaded himself to think that there was no such Transubstantiation as the schoolmen imagined and feigned to be; saying, that indeed the ancient Writers were plainly against the maintenance thereof; amongst whom he recited by name, Iustine, Irene, and Tertullian, notorious adversaries to the same. Furthermore he added hereunto, That the whole schoole understood not what this word Consecratio was; which he defined to be the full entire action of the whole Communion.

Transubstantiation.

Consecration what it meaneth.

Being demanded also, whether we ought to worship Christ present in his holy supper; he told us, that we are bound so to do, and that it was most agreeing to pietie and godly religion. Likewise being asked, whether he would have the visible sacrament to be worshipped, which we see with our eyes, and is lifted up betweene the Priests hands; he answered, That nothing which was visible, and to be seene with the eye, is to be adored or worshipped, nor would Christ be elevated into any higher, nor pulled down into any lower place, and that he can neither be lifted up higher, nor pulled downe lower.

Nothing to be worshipped that may be seen.

Again, being asked his opinion about the custome and manner in carrying about the sacrament in solemne pomps, processions, and otherwise; he said that he alwayes misliked and reproved that order; insomuch that about sixteen yeers agone, openly in the pulpit at Cambridge he spake against that abuse, and disallowed that ceremonie; shewing that Christ had expressed by plain and evident words a very fruitfull and right use of this sacrament, when he said, Take ye, (by which phrase, quoth he, he doth expresse that he will give a gift:) Eat ye, (by which words he doth declare the proper use and order of that his precious gift:) This is my body, (whereby he doth evidently and plainly shew, what by that gift they should receive, and how royall and precious a gift he would give them:) and therefore he judged such pompous and superstitious ostentations utterly to be condemned and taken as plain mockeries and counterfeit visors.

The sacrament not to be carried about.

His judgement also being asked about the commemoration of the dead, and the remembrance of them in orisons, whether he thought it profitable or no; he answered, That it seemed to him to be no lesse profitable then religious and godly; and that might be well proved out of the bookes of Maccabees. The which books although S. Hierome adjudging as not authentik, thought good to be read in the Temples onely for the edifying of the Church, and not for the assertion of opinions; yet with me the opinions of the other writers, to whom those books are allowed as Canons, prevail, which he in that point thinketh good to be read.

In this point the judgement of D. Redman is not to be followed.

Being furthermore required to shew his minde about Trentall Masses, and Masses of Scala coeli; he shewed them that they were altogether unprofitable, superstitious, and irreligious, flowing out of the filthy and impure fountain of superstition, not yelding the fruit which they promised to bring forth.

Trental masses disproved.

The sacrifice of the supper of the Lord (the Eucharist I meane) that sacrifice, he said, could not be offered

Sacrifice of the masse disproved.

offered for the sinnes of the quicke and the dead.

Finally, of his owne voluntarie will, and no man (as farre as I can call to remembrance) demanding of him, he shewed his opinion concerning iustification by Christ. I lament (said hee) and repent, beseeching God forgiveneſſe of the same, that too seriously and earnestly I have withstood this proposition, That onely faith doth justifie; but I alwaies feared that it should be taken to the libertie of the flesh, and so should defile the innocencie of life which is in Christ. But that proposition, That onely faith doth justifie; is true (quoth he) sweete, and full of spirituall comfort, if it be truly taken and rightly understood. And when hee was demanded what he thought to be the true and very sense thereof; I understand (quoth he) that to be the lively faith which resteth in our onely Saviour Jesus Christ, and embraceth him; so that in our onely Saviour Jesus Christ all the hope and trust of our salvation be surely fixed. And as concerning good workes, saith he, they have their crown and merit, and are not destitute of their rewards; yet nevertheleſſe they do not merit the kingdom of heaven. For no workes (said he) could purchase and obtain that blessed, happy, and everlasting immortalitie; no nor yet those things which we do under grace, by the motion of the holy Ghost. For that blessed and immortall glory is given and bestowed upon us mortall men of the heavenly Father for his Son our Saviour Christs sake, as S. Paul testifieth, The gift of God is eternall life.

Faith onely iustifieth.

Works do not merit salvation.

Rom. 6.

And these be the resolutions which I heard him give to the questions of Walker Nowell proposed. From which his sentence and judgement so heard by me, and of him uttered (as I remember) he never declined or varied. I beseech our Lord Jesus Christ to cease these troublous stormes wherewith the Church is tossed, and vouchsafe for his holy Names sake tenderly to behold and look upon his poore wretched flock so miserably scattered and dispersed; beseeching him also of his goodnesse to preserve your Worship.

The judgement of doctor Pong about the controversies of religion.

At London the third of November.

Here followeth the historie, no lesse lamentable then notable of William Gardiner an Englishman, suffering most constantly in Portugall for the testimony of Gods Truth.

{Anno 1552.} The story of William Gardiner, most cruelly martyred at Lisbborne in Portugall.

COming now to the next yeer following, 1552, we will somewhat step aside, and borrow a little leave, coasting the seas into Portugall, amongst the Popish merchants there; whither a certain countreyman of ours doth cal me, named William Gardiner, a man verily in my judgement not onely to be compared with the most principall and chief Martyrs of these our dayes, but also such a one as the ancient Churches in the time of the first persecutions cannot shew a more famous, whether we do behold the force of his faith, his firm and stedfast constantnesse, the invincible strength of his spirit, or the cruell and horrible torments; the report onely and hearing whereof were enough to put any man in horror or fear. Yet notwithstanding so far off it was that the same did discourage him, that it may be doubted, whether the pain of his body, or the courage of his minde were the greater; when as indeed both appeared to be very great.

Wi. Gardiner, comparable with the martyrs in the primitive church.

Wherefore if any praise or dignity amongst men, as reason is, be due unto the martyrs of Christ for their valiant acts, this one man amongst many seemeth worthy to be numbred and also to be celebrate in the Church with Ignatius, Laurentius, Ciriatius, Crescentius, and Gordianus. And if the Church of Christ do receive so great and manifold benefits by these Martyrs, with whose blood it is watered, by whose ashes it is inlarged, by whose constancie it is confirmed, by whose testimonie it is witnessed, and finally through whose agonies and victories the truth of the Gospel doth gloriously triumph; let not us then think it any great matter to requite them again with our duty, by committing them to memory, as a perpetuall token of our good will towards them. Albeit they themselves receive no glory at our hands, and much lesse challenge the same, but referre it wholly unto the Lord Christ, from whom it came, whatsoever great or notable thing there was in them. Notwithstanding, forsomuch as Christ himself is glorified in his saints, we cannot shew our selves thankfull unto him, except we also shew our selves dutifull unto those by whom his glory doth increase.

What duty is to be given to the blessed martyrs past.

{King Ed. 6.}

The memory of Christs martyrs not to be forgotten.

Hereupon I think it came to passe, that the ancient Christians in the time of the first persecutions thought good to celebrate yearly commemorations of the martyrdome of those holy men, not so much to honour them, as to glorifie God in his souldiers, unto whom all glory and praise doth worthily belong; and moreover, that we being instructed by their example might be the more prompt and ready in the policies of those wars, to stand more stoutly in battell against our adversaries, and learn the more easily to contemne and despise this world.

How it came to passe that the primitive church had yeerly commemorations of Martyrs.

Superstition in honouring martyrs.

For in considering the end and death of these men, who will greatly long or lust after this life, which is so many waies miserable, thorow so many afflictions doloreus, thorow so many casualties ruinous, wherein consisteth so little constancie, and lesse safety, being never free from some hard calamity one or other? What good man would have this world in reputation, wherein he seeth so many good men so cruelly oppressed, and wherein no man can live in quietnesse except he be wicked? Wherefore I do not a little marvell, that in this great slaughter of good men, with so many spectacles and examples of cruell torment, Christians do yet live as it were drowned in the foolish desires of this world, seeing daily before their eyes so many holy and innocent men yeld up their spirits under the hands of such tormentors, to lie in filthy prisons, in bonds, darknesse, and fears, and in the end to be consumed with fire. We see so many Prophets of God, even Christ himself the Sonne of God, to be so cruelly and many wayes afflicted in this world, tormoiled, scourged, and crucified; and yet we laugh, drinke, and give our selves unto all lewdenesse of life, and all lasciviousnesse. For honour and great possessions we contend; we build; we study and labour by all meaus to make our selves rich. Unto whom it doth not suffice, that we with safetie and freedome from their afflictions, racks, wheels, scourges, irons red hot, gridirons, fleshy hooks, mallets, and other kinde of torments, may serve our Christ in peace and quiet; but being herewith not content, will give over our selves to all kinde of wickednesse, to be led away at the will and pleasure of Satan.

What moste cometh by memory of martyrs to us.

The world giveth quietnesse to the wicked especially.

Good men most afflicted in this world.

But what do we think in so doing? Either we must reckon those men to be most miserable in this life, or else our selves to be most unhappie. But if their blessednesse be most certain and sure, then let us direct the course of our life to the same felicitie. These men have forsaken this life, which they might have enjoyed. But if we cannot willingly put off this life, yet let us not be slow to correct and amend the same: and though we cannot die with them in like martyrdome, yet let us mortifie the worldly and prophane affections of the flesh, which strive against the spirit, and at the least let us not runne thus headlong into the licentious desires of the world, as we do. As the life of Christian men is now, I pray thee, what do these bonds,

The sufferings of Martyrs be lessons to us, to pluck us from this world.

{King Edw. 6.}

bonds, prisons, these wounds and scarres, these great fires, and other horrible torments of martyrs, then upbraid unto us our slothfull sluggishnesse, and worthily make us ashamed thereof? Which martyrs if in their lives they lived so innocently, and in their death continued so constant, what then is to be deemed of us which suffer nothing for Christ, and will not take upon us the small conflict against vices and our own affections? How would we suffer the cruell looks of tyrants, the fearfull kindes of torments, or the violent assaults of the tormenters in any quarrell of godlinesse, if in peace and quietnesse we are, and that with every small breath or winde of temptation, blowne away from God, so faint hearted without any resistance, that we are carried headlong into all kinde of wickednesse and mischiefe: one singeth songs of love, another watcheth all the night at dice, some spend their life and time day by day in hawking and hunting, some tipple so at tavernes that they come home reeling. Others, whatsoever desire of revenge doth put into their heads, that by and by they seek to put in practise. Some gape after riches, some swell with ambition, some think they are born for no other purpose but for pleasure and pastime. All the world is full of injury and perjury, nay rather it is so rare a thing patiently to suffer injuries done unto us, that except we have the slight to do injurie to others, we thinke our selves scarse men. There is no love almost nor charitie among men; neither is there any man that regardeth the good name or fame of his neighbour.

The great difference between Christs martyrs that have been, and the life of christians which now is.

But amongst all the rest unsatiable covetousnesse and avarice so reigneth, that no man almost is contented with any tolerable estate of life, either that will prescribe himselfe any measure in having that he possesseth; or in prying for that which he lacketh: never quiet, but alwayes toyling; never satisfied, but alwayes unsatiable. Whereby it so cometh to passe, that the mindes of men which professe themselves to be good Christians being occupied in such worldly carkes and cares, can scarsely finde any vacant leisure to think upon heavenly things; and yet notwithstanding, with these mindes, we will needs seeme Christians. But now setting apart these complaints spent in vaine, we will prosecute our purposed story touching good William Gardiner.

The first bringing up & trade of W. Gardiner.

And first as concerning his kindred, he was of an honest stock, borne at Bristow, a Towne of Merchandise on the sea coast of England, honestly brought up, and by nature given unto gravity, of a meane stature of bodie, of a comely and pleasant countenance, but in no part so excellent as in the inward qualities of the minde, which he alwayes from his childhood preserved without spot of reprehension. Also his handsome and indifferent learning did not a little commend and beautifie his other ornaments. When he grew unto those yeers at which young men are accustomed to settle their mindes to some kinde of life, it happened that he gave himself to the trade of merchandise, under the conduct and guiding of a certain Merchant of Bristow called maister Paget, by whom he was at the last (being of the age of twenty six yeers or thereabout) sent into Spaine, and by chance the ship arriving at Lisborne (which is the chief Citie of Portugall) he tarried there about his merchandise, where at the last he having gotten understanding of the language, and being accustomed to their manners, became a profitable servant both unto his maister and others, in such things as pertained unto the trade of that vocation. Whereunto he did so apply himself, that nevertheless he in that Popish countrey, reserving still the religion of his owne countrey of England, ever kept himselfe sound and undefiled from the Portugals superstition. There

W. Gardiner followed the trade of merchandise.

were also besides him divers other good men in the same City. Neither did he lack good books, or the conference of good and honest men, unto whom he would oftentimes bewail his imbecility and weaknesse, that he was neither sufficiently touched with the hatred of his sins, neither yet inflamed with the love of godlinesse.

The godly disposed minde of W. Gardiner.

Whilest he was there abiding, it happened that there should be a solemne marriage celebrate the first of September in the yeer abovesaid, betwixt two Princes, that is to say, the son of the King of Portugal, and the Spanish Kings daughter. The marriage day being come, there was great resort of the Nobility and Estates. There lacked no bishops with mitres, nor cardinals with hats, to set out this royall wedding. To be short, they went forward to the wedding with great pomp, where a great recourse of people resorted, some of good will, some for service sake, and some (as the manner is) to gaze and look. Great preparation of all parties was there throwout the whole city, as in such cases is accustomed, and all places were filled with mirth and gladnesse. In this great assembly of the whole kingdome, W. Gardiner, who albeit he did not greatly esteeme such kinde of spectacles, yet being allured through the fame and report thereof, was there also, coming thither early in the morning, to the intent he might have the more opportunitie and better place to behold and see.

A solemne marriage between the K. of Portugals son, and the K. of Spaines daughter in Portugal.

The houre being come, they flocked into the Church with great solemnitie and pomp, the King first, and then every estate in order; the greater persons, the more ceremonies were about them. After all things were set in order, they went forward to the celebrating of their Masse; for that alone serveth for all purposes. The Cardinal did execute, with much singing and organ playing. The people stood with great devotion and silence, praying, looking, knæling, and knocking, their mindes being fully bent and set, as it is the manner, upon the eternall Sacrament. How grievously these things did prick and move this young mans minde it cannot be expressed, partly to behold the miserable absurdity of those things, and partly to see the folly of the common people, but especially to see the king himself and his Councell, with so many sage and wise men as they seemed, to be seduced with like idolatry as the common people were; insomuch that it lacked very little, but that he would even that present day have done some notable thing in the Kings sight and presence, but that the great preasse and throng that was about him letted that he could not come unto the Altar. What need many words, when the ceremonies were ended, he cometh home very sad and heavie in his minde, insomuch that all his fellows marvelled greatly at him. Who albeit upon divers conjectures they conceived the cause of his sadnesse, notwithstanding they did not fully understand that those matters did so much trouble his godly minde; neither yet did he declare it unto any man, but seeking solitarinesse and secret places, falling downe prostrate before God, with manifold tears he bewailed the neglecting of his duty, deliberating with himself how he might revoke that people from their impietie and superstition.

A popish celebration of a marriage.

The godly zeal of W. Gardiner in seeing the idolatry of the people and the great dishonour of God.

In this deliberation and advice his minde being fully setled, and thinking that the matter ought not to be any longer deferred, he renounced the world, making up all his accounts so exactly (as well of that which was due unto him, as that which he owed unto others) as no man could justly aske so much as one farthing. Which thing done, he continued night and day in prayer, calling upon God, and continuall meditation of the Scriptures, that scarcely he would take any meat by day, or sleep by night, or at the most above one houre or two of rest in the night, as Pendigrace his fellow companion

W. Gardiner cleereth his books of accounts.

W. Gardiner continuing in watching and prayer.

panion both at bed and boord, being yet alive can testifie.

W. Gardiners advised preparation to the accomplishment of his purpose.

The Sunday came againe to be celebrate either with like pompe and solemnitie, or not much lesse, whereas the said William was present early in the morning, very cleanly apparrelled even of purpose, that he might stand nèer the Altar without repulse. Within a while after cometh the King with all his Nobles. Then Gardiner setteth himself as nèer the Altar as he might, having a Testament in his hand, the which he diligently read upon, and prayed, untill the time was come that he had appointed to worke his feat. The Masse began, which was then solemnized by a Cardinal. Yet he sate still. Ye which said Masse, proceeded, he consecrated, sacrificed, lifted up on high, shewed his God unto the people, all the people gave great reverence, and as yet he stirred nothing. At the last they came unto that place of the Masse, whereas they use to take the Ceremoniall Holie, and tosse it to and fro round about the Chalice, making certain circles and semicircles. Then the said William Gardiner, being not able to suffer any longer, ran spèedily unto the Cardinall: and (which is uncredible to be spoken) even in the presence of the king and all his nobles and citizens, with the one hand he snatched away the cake from the priest, and trode it under his feet, and with the other hand overthrew the chalice. This matter at the first made them all abashed, but by and by there arose a great tumult, and the people began to cry out. The nobles and the common people ran together, amongst whom one drawing out his dagger gave him a great wound in his shoulder, and as he was about to strike him again to have slain him, the king twise commanded to have him saved. So by that meanes they abstained from murther.

The Cardinall at his masse.

W. Gardiner plucketh the Cardinals scroll out of his hands at masse as he was leaping about the chalice.

W. Gardiner wounded with a dagger.

After the tumult was ceased, he was brought to the King: by whom he was demanded what countreyman he was, and how he durst be so bold to worke such a contumely against his majestie, and the sacraments of the Church? Ye answered, Most noble King, I am not ashamed of my Countrey, which am an Englishman both by birth and religion, and am come hither onely for traffique of merchandise. And when I saw in this famous assembly so great Idolatry committed, my conscience neither ought neither could any longer suffer, but that I must nèeds do that which you have seen me presently do. Which thing (most noble Prince) was not done nor thought of me for any contumely or reproach of your presence, but onely for this purpose (as before God I do clèarly confesse) to seèk the salvation of this people.

W. Gardiner brought before the King.

The oration of W. Gardiner before the king.

When they heard that he was an Englishman, and called to remembrance how the Religion was restored by King Edward, they were by and by brought in suspition, that he had bèen suborned by Englishmen thus to do, to mock and deride their religion. Wherefore they were the more earnest upon him to know who was the author and procurer that he should commit that act. Unto whom he answered, desiring them that they would conceive no such suspicion of him, forsomuch as he was not moved thereunto by any man, but onely by his own conscience. For otherwise there was no man under the heaven, for whose sake he would put himself into so manifest danger; but that he ought this service firstunto God, and secondarily unto their salvation: wherefore if he had done any thing which were displeasant unto them, they ought to impute it unto no man, but unto themselves, who so unreverently used the holy Supper of the Lord unto so great Idolatry, not without great ignominy unto the church, violation of the sacraments, and the perill of their own souls, except they repented.

The suspition of the Portugals upon the fact of W. Gardiner.

The answer of W. Gardiner to the false suspition of the Portugals.

Whilest that he spake these with many other things more unto this effect very gravely & stoutly, the blood ran abundantly out of the wound, so that he was ready to faint. Whereupon Surgeons were sent for, whereby he might be cured if it were possible, and be reserved for further examination, and more grievous torment. For they were fully perswaded that this deed had divers abettors and setters on: which was the cause that all the other Englishmen also in the same city came into suspition, and were commanded to safe custody. Amongst whom Pendigrace, because he was his bedfellow, was grievously tormented and examined more then the residue, and scarcely was delivered after two yèers imprisonment. The other were much sooner set at liberty at the intercession of a certain Duke. Notwithstanding, their suspicion could not yet be thus satisfied, but they came into his chamber to seèk if there were any letters, to understand and finde out the author of this enterprise. And when as they could finde nothing there, they came again unto him being grievously wounded, with torments to extort of him the author of this fact, and to accuse him as guilty of most grievous heresie. Of both which points, with such dexteritie as he could, he cleared himself. Wherein, albeit he spake in the Spanish tongue well, yet he used the Latin tongue much more exactly.

Pendigrace bedfellow to W. Gardiner imprisoned upon suspition.

W. Gardiners chamber searched.

But they, not being therewith satisfied, added another strange kinde of torment, which (as I suppose) palleth the Bull of Phalaris. Because there should no kinde of extreme cruelty be left unassaied, they caused a linnen cloth to be sowed round like a Ball, the which they with violence put downe his throat unto the bottome of his stomack, tied with a small string which they held in their hands, and when it was downe, they pulled it up again with violence, so plucking it to and fro through the meat pipe, in such sort as that with much lesse griefe they might have ridde him out of his life at once.

The Bull of Phalaris a certain tyrant was a kinde of torment made of braße like a bull with fire under it to torment such as were put into it, to make them to roare like a bull.

Thus at the last, when all torments and tormentors were wearied, and that it did nothing at all prevaile to go this way to worke, they asked him whether he did not repent his wicked and seditious deed? As touching the deed, he answered, that it was so farre off that he did repent, that if it were to do again, he thought he should do the same. But as touching the manner of the deed, he was not a little sorie that it was done in the Kings presence, to the disquietnesse of his minde. Howbeit, that was not to be imputed unto him, which neither enterprised nor thought upon any such matter, but was rather to be ascribed unto the King, in that he having power would not prohibite so great Idolatrie used among his people. This he spake with great fervencie.

W. Gardiner not repenting his fact.

After that they had used all kinde of torments, and saw that there could nothing more be gathered of him, and also that through his wounds and pains he could not long live, they brought him three dayes after to execution. And first of all, bringing him into the Vestry, they cut off his right hand, which he taking up with his left hand, kissed. Then he was brought into the market place, whereas his other hand also was cut off; which he kneeling down upon the ground, also kissed. These things thus done, after the manner and fashion of Spain, his arms being bound behinde him, and his feet under the horse belly, he was carried to the place of execution.

The right hand of W. Gardiner cut off in the vestry.

The left hand of W. Gardiner cut off in the market place.

There was in that place a certain Engine, from the which a great rope coming down by a pulley was fastened about the middle of this Christian Martyr, which first pulled him up. Then was there a great pile of wood set on fire underneath him, into the which he was by little and little let down, not with the whole body, but so that his feet onely felt the fire. Then was he hoised up, and so let down again into the fire, and thus oftentimes pulled up and down. In which great torment for all that he

The wretched crueltie of the Portugals in burning a Christian martyr.

continued

{KING EDW. 6.}

The order and manner of the cruell handling of *William Gardiner* an Engliſh Merchant, tormented and burned in *Portugall*, in the Cauſe of God, and of his Truth.

continued with a conſtant ſpirit, and the more terribly he burned, the more vehemently he prayed.

W. Gardiner at his burning willed againe to repent.

At the laſt, when his feet were conſumed, the tormentors asked him whether he did not yet repent him of his déed, and exhorted him to call upon our Lady and the Saints. Whereunto he anſwered, That as he had done nothing whereof he did repent him, ſo he had the leſſe néed of the helpe of our Lady or any other Saint; and what externall tormentes ſoever they uſed, the Truth (he ſaid) remaineth alwaies one and like unto it ſelfe; the which as he had before confeſſed in his life, ſo would he not now deny it at his death: deſiring them to leave off ſuch vanities and folly. For when as Chriſt did ceaſe any more to be our Advocate, then he would pray to our Lady to be his Advocate; and ſaid, O eternall God, Father of all mercies, I beſeech thee looke downe upon thy ſervant, &c. And when as they ſought by all meanes poſſible to ſtop or hinder his praying, and praiſing God in this ſort, he cried out with a loud voice, rehearſing the three and fortieth Pſalme, Iudica me Deus, & diſcerne cauſam meam de gente non ſancta. Judge me, O God, and defend my cauſe againſt the unmercifull people.

W. Gardiner would not pray to our Lady, ſo long as he had Chriſt to be his Advocate.

The prayer of W. Gardiner out of the 43. Pſalme.

He was not come unto the latter end of the Pſalme, when as they pulling him up and down in the fire for the more torment, the rope being burnt aſunder, he fell downe into the middeſt thereof; whereas giving his body for a ſacrifice, he changed his temporall paines for perpetuall reſt and quietneſſe.

Thus it ſéemed good in the ſight of God, by this meſſenger to provoke the Portugals to the ſincere knowledge of him; and therefore they ought the

more to have acknowledged the great love and kindneſſe of God offered unto them, and alſo the more to be mindefull of their owne duty and thankfulneſſe towards him. And if it be ſo great an offence to violate the ordinances of mans law, and to contemne the Ambaſſadors of Kings and Princes, let the Portugals and all others look well unto it, what it is ſo cruelly to handle the heavenly meſſenger of the high God. Neither was this their cruelty altogether unrevenged by the mightie hand of God, when as not onely the very ſame night, amongſt divers of the Kings ſhips which were in the nert haven ready to ſaile, one was burned, being ſet on fire by a ſparkle of Gardiners fire driven thither with the winde, but alſo the Kings ſonne which then was married died within halfe a yeare, and in the nert yeere after the King himſelfe alſo died, and ſo both within one yeare after the tormenting of this bleſſed Martyr.

A leſſon for the Portugals.

The iuſt hand of God upon perſecutors.

It is reported that that ſparkle lighted among gunpowder.

Concord maketh brethren ſtrong.

Thus the body of the ſaid Gardiner being conſumed, yet the rage and fury of the common people ſo ceaſed not, but they were as cruell againſt him being dead, as they were when he was alive, and with their tongues tormented this martyr, when they could do no more with their hands; yea for very madneſſe they would ſcarce tarry untill he were burned, but every man as they could catch any piece of him halfe burned, threw it into the ſea.

The blinde and miſerable cruelty of the Portugals againſt a poore Engliſhman.

This ſacrifice thus ended, the clergy to pacifie Gods wrath which they feared for the violating of their altar, appointed a certaine faſt of certaine daies, for penance to purge that fact, which fact rather ſhould have taught them to purge themſelves, and to put away their filthy Idolatry, and much rather they ſhould have faſted and repented for that their extreme crueltie they had ſhewed unto the lively member of Chriſt.

A pope holy faſt for pacifying the wrath of their God of the altar.

Albeit this death of William Gardiner ſeemeth to have profited very many of them little or nothing; yet for all that there are ſome (as I have heard divers report) out of whoſe mindes the remembrance of this conſtant martyr can never be pulled, and is ſo freſh yet amongſt them, as if it were now lately done; and finally, albeit it be a good while ſince he was put to death, yet the memorie of his death, as fruitfull ſeed, hath taken ſuch root in ſome, that even unto this preſent day he is a lively and diligent preacher unto them againſt ſuperſtition and Idolatrie uſed in their Churches. Ex teſtimonio N. Fildi, Pendegrace, & aliorum, qui rei geſtæ interfuerunt.

The tragicall hiſtory of the worthy Lord Edward Duke of Somerſet, Lord Protector, with the whole cauſe of his troubles and handling.

{Anno. 1552.}

The ſtory of the Lord Protector Duke of Somerſet.

AFter ſo many troublous matters in this hiſtorie afore paſſed, coming now to the lamentable and tragicall narration of the Lord Edward Duke of Somerſet, the Kings Uncle, and Protector of his perſon and of his realme, I could not well enter into the ſtory of him without ſome premonition, firſt to all noble perſonages, of what honor or calling ſoever within this realme, by way of hiſtory briefely to admoniſh them, no man to plant any truſt or aſſurance upon the brickle pillars of worldly proſperitie how high ſoever it ſeemeth, conſidering that there is no ſtate ſo high, but it hath his ruine; no wiſdome ſo circumſpect, but it may be circumvented; no vertue ſo perfect, but it may be envied; neither any mans trade ſo ſimple, but it may be beguiled. And therefore ſeeing the condition of mortall things is ſo, that no man can alwaies ſtand in this ſo ruinous a world; the ſureſt way is for every man to chuſe his ſtanding ſo, that his fall may be the eaſier. But becauſe my purpoſe is (as I have ſaid in the ſtories before) to abridge and make ſhort, I will here ſtay, referring thee to the ſecret conſideration of that which remaineth further by me in this matter to be uttered; and ſo falling into the ſtory of the Lord Protector Duke of Somerſet, we will (the Lord willing) declare in order the originall and whole occaſion of his trouble and decay, even from the beginning.

Worldly proſperitie not to be truſted unto.

King Edwards, after that both his father & mother were dead, had three Uncles left him by his mothers ſide, Edward, Thomas, and Henry Semer, of the which two firſt, one was made Protector of the Realme, and the other high Admirall of the ſame. Theſe two brethren, ſo long as they were knit and joyned together in amitie and concord, preſerved both themſelves, the King their nephew, and the whole commonwealth, from the violence and feare of all danger. But the ſubtill old ſerpent, alwaies envying mans felicity, through ſlanderous tongues ſought to ſow matter, firſt of diſcord between them, then of ſuſpition, and laſt of all extreme hatred; inſomuch that the Protector ſuffered his brother being accuſed (whether truly or falſely the Lord knoweth) to be condemned, and to loſe his head. Whereby it came to paſſe (whether by the correction of Gods judgement upon him, or whether that he after the death of his brother, & the King being yet but young and tender of age, was the leſſe able to ſhift for himſelfe) that not long after he was overmatched and overthrowne of his enemies, and ſo caſt into the Tower, and at laſt loſt his head alſo, to the great lamentation of many good men, as in the ſequell of this hiſtory followeth to be declared. For the better introduction of which hiſtorie, firſt to begin with the foreſaid brother of the Lord protector, namely ſir Th. Semer high Admirall of England & the kings uncle, here is to be underſtood that he had married Du. Katharine late wife to King Henry the Eighth of whom ye heard before.

Sir Thomas Semer Lord admirall.

Now it happened (ponn what occaſion I know not) that there fell a diſpleaſure betwixt the ſaid Queene and the Dutcheſſe of Somerſet, and thereupon alſo, in the behalfe of their wives, diſpleaſure and grudge began betweene the brethren. Which albeit through perſwaſion of friends it was for a time appeaſed betweene them; yet in ſhort ſpace after (perchance not without the privie ſetting forward of ſome which were back friends to the Goſpel) it brake out againe, both to the trouble of the realme and ſpecially to the confuſion of them both, as after it proved. Firſt to the Lord Admirals charge it was laid, that he purpoſed to deſtroy the young king, and tranſlate the Crown unto himſelf, and for the ſame being attainted and condemned, he did ſuffer at Tower hil the twentieth of March, 1549. As many there were which reported that the Dutches of Somerſet had wrought his death; ſo many moe there were, who, miſdoubting the long ſtanding of the Lord Protector in his ſtate & dignitie, thought and affirmed no leſſe, but that the fall of the one brother would be the ruine of the other; the experiment whereof as it hath often been proved, ſo in theſe alſo eftſoones it inſued.

Diſpleaſure betweene the Queene and the Dutches of Somerſet.

Diſcord betweene the L. Protector and the L. admirall his brother.

The L. admirall beheaded at Tower hill.

En quo diſcordia fratres parducit miſeros.

It was not long after the beheading of the Lord Admirall, but inſurrections began to kindle the ſame yeer in divers quarters of the Realme, as is above ſtoried. By the occaſion whereof the Lord Ruſſell, Lord privie Seale was ſent to the Weſt parts, and the Lord Dudley Earle of Warwike was ſent with an armie into Northfolke; where both he himſelfe and a great number of Gentlemen that were with him, meeting with the rebels, were in great danger: notwithſtanding, in the end the overthrow was given to the rebels, which was about the beginning of September, 1549. After this victorie atchieved, in the nert moneth following, which was October, how the matter fell out betwæn the Lord Protector and certaine other Lords, I know not, but at the returne of the

John Dudley Earle of Warwick, afterward Duke of Northumberland.

Earle

{King Edw. 6.} Discord between the earle of Warwick & the L. protector.

Earle of Warwick aforesaid, great working and consultation there was among the Lords, assembling themselves in the house of M. Poyke, and at Bainards castle, and in the Lord Mayors house at London, against the Lord Protectour remaining then with the King at Hampton court. Of the which busines and trouble thus the Lord Protector writeth in his Letters to the Lord Russel in the West Countrey as followeth.

A Letter of the Lord Protector, to the L. Russel, Lord Privie Seale, concerning troubles working against him.

A letter of the L. Protector to the Lord privie Seale.

After our right heartie commendations to your good Lordship, here hath of late risen such a conspiracie against the Kings Majestie and us, as never hath beene seene, the which they cannot maintaine but with such vaine Letters and false tales surmised, as was never meant nor intended of us. They pretend and say, that we have sold Bulloigne to the French, and that we do withhold wages from the souldiers, and other such tales and letters they doe spread abroad (of the which if any one thing were true, we would not wish to live) the matter now being brought to a marvellous extremitie, such as we would never have thought it could have come unto, specially of those men towards the Kings Majestie and us, of whom we have deserved no such thing, but rather much favour and love. But the case being as it is, this is to require and pray you to hasten you hither to the defence of the Kings Majestie, with such force and power as you may, to shew the part of a true Gentleman, and of a very friend: the which thing we trust God shall reward and the Kings Majestie in time to come, and we shall never be unmindefull full of it too. We are sure you shall have other letters from them: but as you tender your dutie to the Kings Majestie, we require you to make no stay, but immediately repaire with such force as ye have to his highnesse Castle of Windsor, and cause the rest of such force as ye may make to follow you. And so we bid you right heartily farewell. From Hampton Court the sixth of October.

Your Lordships assured loving friend, Edward Somerset.

An answer to the Lord Protectors Letter.

TO this Letter of the Lord Protector sent the sixth of October, the Lord Russell returning answer again upon the eighth of the said moneth, first lamenteth the heavie dissension falne betweene the Nobilitie and him, which he taketh for such a Plague, as a greater could not be sent of Almightie God upon this Realme, being the next way, saith he, to make of us Conquerors, slaves, and like to induce upon the whole Realme an universal calamitie and thraldome, unlesse the merciful goodnesse of the Lord do helpe, and some wise order be taken in staying these great extremities. And as touching the Dukes request in his letters, forsomuch as he heard before of this broyle of the Lords, and fearing lest some conspiracy had beene meant against the Kings person, he hasted forward with such companie as he could make for the suretie of the King, as to him appertained. Now perceiving by the Lords letters sent unto him the same 9. day of Octob. these tumults to rise upon private causes betweene him and them, he therefore thought it expedient that a convenient power should be levied, to be in a readinesse to withstand the worst (what perils soever might ensue for the preservation both of the King, and state of the realme from the invasion of forraine enemies, and also for the staying of bloudshed, if any such thing should be intended betweene the parts in the heat of this faction. And this he thinking best for discharge of his allegeance humbly beseecheth his grace to have the same also in speciall regard and consideration, first that the Kings Majestie be put in no feare, and that if there be any such thing wherein he hath given just cause to them thus to proceed, he will so conform himselfe as no such private quarrels doe redound to the publique disturbance of the Realme; certifying moreover the Duke, that if it were true which he understandeth by the letters of the Lords, that he should send about Proclamations and Letters for raising up of the Commons, he liked not the same. Notwithstanding he trusted wel that his wisdome would take such a way, as no effusion of bloud should follow.

{Anno 1552.}

And thus much being contained in his former letters of the eighth of October, in his next letters againe, written the eleventh day of October, the said lord Russel rejoycing to heare of the most reasonable offers of the Lord Protector made unto the lords, writeth unto him, and promiseth to doe what in the uttermost power of him (and likewise of sir William Parbert joyned together with him) doth lie, to work some honorable reconciliation betwæn him and them; so as his said offers being accepted and satisfied, some good conclusion might ensue, according to their good hope and expectation: signifying moreover, that as touching the levying of men, they had resolved to have the same in readinesse for the benefit of the Realme, to occurre all inconveniences whatsoever (either by forreine invasion or otherwise) might happen, and so having their power at hand, to draw neere, whereby they might have the better opportunitie to be sollicitors, and a meanes for this reformation on both parties, &c. And thus much for answer of the Lord Russell to the Lord Protectors letters.

The contents of the second answer of the L. Russell to the L. Protector.

The good L. Russel a sollicitor for peace between the L. Protector and the Lords.

But now to the matter again of the lords, who together with the earle of Warwick (upon what occasion God knoweth) being assembled at London, as ye heard against the L. Protector; when the K. with his councell at Hampton court heard thereof, first secretary Peter with the kings message was sent unto them, whom the Lords notwithstanding detained still with them, making as yet no answer to the message. Whereupon the Lord Protector writeth to them in this manner as followeth.

The Lords of the councell assembled against the L. protector.

A Letter of the Lord Protector, to the Councell at London.

The L. Protectors letter to the Lords of the Councell at London.

MY Lords, we commend us most heartily unto you, and whereas the Kings Majestie was informed that you were assembled in such sort as you do now also remaine, and was advised by us and such other of his Councell as were then here about his person, to send M. Secretarie Peter unto you, with such message as whereby might have ensued the suretie of his Majesties person, with preservation of his Realme and subjects, and the quiet both of us and your selves, as M. Secretarie can well declare to you: his Majestie and we of his Councell here doe not a little marvell that you stay still with you the said M. Secretarie, and have not as it were vouchsafed to send answer to his Majestie, neither by him nor any other. And for our selves we doe much more marvell and are right sorie, as both we and you have good cause to be, to see the manner of your doings bent with violence, to bring the Kings Majestie and us to these extremities. Which as we doe intend, if you will take no other way but violence, to defend as our nature and allegeance doth bind us, to extremitie of death, and to put all to Gods hand, who giveth victorie as it pleaseth him: so that if any reasonable conditions and offers would take place (as hitherto none have been signified unto us from you, nor doe wee understand what you doe require or seeke,

The effect of the L. Russels letter answering to the L. Protector.

or what you doe meane) and that you doe seek no hurt to the Kings Majesties person; as touching all other privat matters, to avoid the effusion of Christian bloud, and to preserve the Kings Majesties person, his realme and subjects, you shall finde us agreeable to any reasonable conditions that you will require. For we doe esteeme the Kings wealth and tranquillitie of the realme, more then all other worldly things; yea more then our owne life. Thus praying you to to send your determinate answer herein by Master Secretarie Peter, or if you will not let him goe, by this bearer; we beseech God to give both you and us grace to determine this matter, as may be to Gods honour, the preservation of the King, and the quiet of us all, which may be, if the fault be not in you. And so we bid you most heartily farewell.

No word hitherto sent from the Lords to the Lord Protector, what they required of him to doe.

Reasonable conditions offered by the Lord Protector.

From the Kings Majesties Castle of Windsor, the seventh of October, 1549.

Your Lordships loving friend E. Somerset.

After these Letters received, and the reasonable conditions of the Lord Protector, and yet not much regarded of the Lords, they, persisting still in their pretended purpose, tooke this advise, first to keepe themselves in the Citie of London, as strong as they might; and therefore calling upon the Maior and the Aldermen they willed them in any case to provide a good and substantiall watch by night, and a good ward by day, for the safegard of their Citie, and the Ports and Gates thereof; which was consented unto, and the Companies of London in their turnes warned to watch and ward accordingly.

A solemne watch commanded in London.

Then the said Lords and Counsellors demanded of the Lord Maior and his brethren five hundred men to aid them to fetch the Lord Protector out of Windsor from the King: but thereunto the Maior answered, that he could grant none aid without the assent of the common councell of the City; Whereupon the nert day a common councell was warned. But in the meane time the said Lords of the Councell assembled themselves at the Lord Maiors house of London, who then was Sir Henry Amcottes Fishmonger, and William Locke Mercer, and Sir John Aileph Sheriffes of the said Citie, and there the said Councell did agree and publish a Proclamation forthwith against the Lord Protector, the effect of which Proclamation was as followeth.

The City of London pressed with 500. men to fetch the L. Protector.

The answer of the Lord Maior to the Lords.

The Lords assembled in the Lord Maiors house.

1 First, that the Lord Protector, by his malicious and evill government, was the occasion of all the sedition that of late happened within the realme.

The effect of the Proclamation set out against the Lord Protector.

2 The losse of the Kings peeces in France.

3 That he was ambitious and sought his owne glory, as appeareth by building of most sumptuous and costly houses in the time of the Kings wars.

4 That he esteemed nothing the grave counsell of the Counsellors.

5 That he sowed division between the Nobles, the Gentlemen and Commons.

6 That the Nobles assembled themselves together at London for none other purpose, but to have caused the Protector to have lived within limits, and to have put such order for the surety of the kings Majestie as appertained, whatsoever the Protectors doings were; which they said were unnatural, ungrate and traiterous.

7 That the Protector slandered the Councell to the King, and did what in him lay, to cause variance betweene the King and the Nobles.

8 That he was a great traitor, and therefore the Lords desired the Citie and commons to aid them, to take him from the King.

{KING EDW. 6.}

And in witnesse and testimony of the contents of the said Proclamation, the Lords subscribed their names, which were these.

{Anno. 1552.}

The Lord Rich, Lord Chancellor.
The Lord Saint Iohn, Lord great Master, and president of the Councell.
The Lord Marquesse of Northampton.
The Earle of Warwick, Lord great Chamberlaine.
The Earle of Arundel, Lord Chamberlaine.
The Earle of Shrewesburie.
The Earle of Southampton, Wriothesley.
Sir Thomas Cheyney Knight, Treasurer of the Kings house, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.
Sir Iohn Gage Knight, Constable of the Tower.
Sir William Peter Knight, Secretarie.
Sir Edward North Knight.
Sir Edward Montague, chiefe Iustice of the Common Plees.
Sir Ralfe Sadler.
Sir Iohn Baker.
Sir Edward Wootton.
Doctor Wootton, Deane of Canterburie.
Sir Rich. Southwell.

After the aforesaid Proclamation was proclaimed, the Lords or the most part of them, continuing and lying in London, came the nert day to the Guildhall, during the time that the Lord Maior and his brethren sate in their court or inward chamber, and entered and communed a long while with the Maior: and at the last the Maior and his brethren came forth unto the Common Councell, where was read the Kings Letter sent to the Maior and Citizens, commanding them to aide him with a thousand well appointed men out of their Citie, and to send the same with all speed to his Castle at Windsor.

The Lords coming into Guildhall.

This Letter by name was directed to sir Henry Amcottes Knight Lord Maior, to Sir Rowland Hill Knight, Maior elect, and to the Aldermen and commom Councell of the City of London. The day and date of the Letter was the firth of October, in the third yeere of his reigne, being signed with the hand of the King, and the Lord Protector; the contents of which Letter, for the satisfaction of the Reader, are here to be seene in manner and forme as followeth.

EDWARD.

By the King.

The copy of the Kings Letter sent to the Lord Maior, Aldermen and Citizens of London, in the behalfe of the L. Protector.

TRustie and welbeloved we greet you well. We charge and command you most earnestly to give order with all speed for the defence and preservation of that our Citie of London for us, and to levy out of hand, and to put in order as many as conveniently you may, well weaponed and arraied, keeping good watch at the gates, & to send us hither, for the defence of our person, one thousand of that our Citie, of trustie and faithfull men, to attend upon us and our most entirely beloved Vncle Edward Duke of Somerset, Governour of our Person, and Protector of our Realmes, dominions and subjects, well harnessed, and with good and convenient weapon; so that they doe make their repaire hither unto us this night, if it be possible, or at the least to morrow before noone, and in the meane time to doe what appertaineth unto your dutie for

ours

{KING EDW. 6.} ours and our said Vncles defence against all such as attempt any conspiracie or enterprise of violence against us and our said Vncle, as you know best for our preservation and defence at this present. Given under our signet at our Manor of Hampton Court, the sixth of October, the third yeere of our reigne.

You shall further give credit to our trusty and welbeloved Owen Cleydon, the bearer hereof, in all such things as he shall further declare unto you on the behalfe of us and our said Vncle the Lord Protector.

Edward Somerset.

This Letter of the King and of the Lord Protectour was not so secretly devised, nor so spedily sent, but the Lords keping at London had knowledge immediatly thereof (by the meanes, as some suppose, of the Lord Paget, who was then with the King and the Protectour, but the truth the Lord knoweth) being there ready furnished with their owne bands of Servingmen, and other souldiers and men of Armes.

Who forthwith upon the same addressed their letters in semblable wise to the said Lord Maior and Aldermen in the Kings name, not onely for a supportation of armed men to serve their purposes, and for a sufficient watch to fortifie their city, but also that they should not obey any such Letters, proclamations, or Injunctions sent to them from the Duke. Which Letter of the Lords at the same instant came likewise to the Lord Maior and his brethren, the sixth day of the said moneth of October. The tenour and copie of which letter here ensueth.

To our very good Lord, the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and Citizens of London.

The Letter of the Lords sent to the Lord Maior and Counsell of London against the L. Protector

AFter our hearty commendations unto your good Lordship; knowing your hearty favour and earnest zeales to the preservation of the Kings Majestie, and of this Realme, and other his Majesties Realmes and dominions, we have thought good to advertise you, that notwithstanding all the good advice and counsell that we could give to the Duke of Somerset, to stay himselfe within reasonable limits, and to use his government now in the tender age of his Majestie, in such sort as might tend to his Highnesse suretie, to the conservation of his estate, and to his honour; the said Duke nevertheless, still continuing in his pride, covetousnesse, and ambition, ceaseth not daily, by all the waies and meanes he can devise, to inrich himself without measure, and to impoverish his Majestie.

He buildeth in foure or five places most sumptuously, and leaveth the poore souldiers unpayed of their wages, unvictualled, and in all things so unfurnished, as the losses lately sustained, to the greatest dishonour that ever came to the King and this Realme, do declare.

Crimes laid to the L. Protector by the Lords.

He soweth daily division betweene the Nobles and Gentlemen, and Commons. He rewardeth and entertaineth a number of those that were Captaines of the Commons in these late insurrections; and finally in such wise subverteth all lawes, justice and good order (as it is evident) that putting his trust in the Commons, and perceiving that the Nobles and Gentlemen should be an impediment to him in his devillish purposes, he laboureth first to have them destroyed, and thinketh after easily enough to atchieve his desire, which, it appeareth plainely, is, to occupie the Kings Majesties place. For his doings, whosoever list to behold them, doe manifestly declare, that he mindeth never to render account to his Majestie of his proceedings.

Iuste iudicate filii hominum.

These things, with many moe too long to recite, considered, we pondered with our selves, that either we must travell for some reformation, or we must in effect as it were consent with him to the destruction of our Soveraigne Lord and Countrey. Whereupon laying apart all respects, and resting onely upon our duties, we joyned in counsell, and thought quietly to have treated the matter with him. Who perceiving that we joyned for the King, and would have such order as might be for the suretie of his Majesties person, and the Commonwealth, straight put himselfe in force, and resteth at plaine point (as it appeareth) either to goe through with his detestable purpose in such sort as he hath done, or to trie it by the sword.

Now forsomuch as we see presently, that unlesse there be a reformation, the person of the Kings Majestie is in most certaine danger, and this Realme our naturall Countrey like to be destroyed with all our posterities; like as we have againe fully resolved with Gods helpe, either to deliver the Kings Majestie and the Realme from this extreme ruine and destruction, or to spend our lives for the declaration of our faithfull hearts and duties; so knowing your hearty good wils and truth to his Majestie, and therefore nothing doubting of your readinesse to joyne with us in our godly purpose, we thought good to let you know the very troth of our enterprise, and in the Kings Majesties behalfe to require you not onely to put good and substantiall order for watch and ward, but also to have an earnest continuall regard to the preservation, within your Citie, of all harnesse, weapons, and munitions, so as none be suffered to be conveyed to the said Duke, nor any others attending about him; and besides, that you from henceforth obey no letters, proclamations, nor other commandements to be sent from the said Duke. And thus we bid your Lordship most heartily farewell.

From London, the sixth of October.

Your Lordships assured loving friends,

William Saint Iohn.
W. Northampton.
Iohn Warwike.
Arundell.
Th. Southampton.
William Peter.
Edward North.
Iohn Gage.
Richard Southwell.

The Citie of London urged with two contrary Letters at one instant.

After the receiving of these two Letters above mentioned, the one from the King, the other from the lords, which came both at one instant, with contrary commandement to the Lord Maior and Citizens of London, the case seemed hard to them, and very doubtfull (as it was indeed) what way to take, and what were best for the Citizens of London, the case seemed hard to them, and very doubtful (as it was indeed) what way to take, and what were best for the citizens to doe. On the one side the name and authoritie of the King was much, on the other side the power and garrisons of the Lords, lying then in London, was not little, which seemed then to be such as would have no repulse.

The Recorder speaketh for the Lords.

The case thus standing perplexedly, first by the mouth of the Recorder it was requested, that the Citizens would grant their aide rather unto the Lords, for that the Protector had abused both the kings majestie and the whole realm, and that without he were taken from the king, and made to understand his folly, this realme was in great hazard, and therefore required that the citizens would willingly assent to aide the Lords with 500. men.

Hereunto of a great part in the common Counsell was no other answer made but silence. But the Recorder (who at that time was M. Brook) still rested upon them for answer. At the last stepped up a wise and good Citizen named George Stadlow, and said.

The graue oration of a discreet citizen (speaking for the King, whose name was George Stadlow a parliament man. Diuision between the lords and King Henry the third.

In this case it is good for us to thinke of things past, to avoid the danger of things to come. I remember, saith he, in a story written in Fabians Chronicle, of the warre betweene the King and his Barons, which was in the time of King Henry the third, and the same time the Barons (as our Lords do now demanded aide of the Maior and City of London, and that in a rightfull cause for the Commonwealth, which was for the execution of divers good lawes against the King, which would not suffer those lawes to be put in execution; and the Citie did aid them, and it came to an open battell, and the Lords prevailed against the king, and took the king and his sonne prisoners, and upon certaine conditions the Lords restored the King and his sonne againe to their liberties, and among all other conditions this was one, that the King should not onely grant his pardon to the Lords, but also to the Citizens of London; the which was granted, yea and the same was ratified by Act of Parliament. But what followed of it? Was it forgotten? no surely, nor forgiven neither, during the Kings life. The liberties of the Citie were taken away, strangers appointed to be our heads and governors, the citizens given away body and goods, and from one persecution to another were most miserably afflicted. Such a thing is it to enter into the wrath of a Prince, as Solomon saith, The wrath and indignation of a Prince is death. Wherefore, forasmuch as this aid is required of the Kings Majestie, whose voyce we ought to hearken unto (for he is our high Shepheard) rather then unto the Lords, and yet I would not wish the Lords to be clerely shaken off; my counsel is, that they with us, and we with them may joyn in suit, and make our most humble petition to the Kings Majestie, that it would please his Highnesse to heare such complaint against the government of the Lord Protector, as may be fully alledged and proved, and I doubt not but this matter will be so pacified, that neither shall the King nor yet the Lords have cause to seeke for further aid, neither we to offend any of them both.

The wrath of a King not rashly to be provoked.

{ Anno 1552. }

After this tale the Commons stayed, and the Lord Maior and his brethren for that time brake up, till they had further communed with the Lords. To make short, I let passe what order by the City was taken. But the conclusion was, that the Lords (upon what occasion I know not) sate the next day in counsell in the Starre Chamber, and from thence sent Sir Philip Hobbie with the letter of credence to the Kings Majestie, beseeching and requesting his Majestie to give credite to that which the said Sir Philip should declare unto his Majestie in their names; and the King gave him libertie to speak, and most gently heard all that he had to say. Who so handled the matter, declaring his message in the name of the Lords, that in the end the Lord Protector was commanded from the Kings presence, & shortly was committed to ward in a Tower within the Castle of Windsore, called Beauchampe Tower, and soone after were staied Sir Thomas Smith, Walter Whalley, Walter Filher, and many other Gentlemen that attended upon the Lord Protector. The same day the Lords of the Counsell resorted to the King, and the next day they brought from thence the Lord Protector, and the other that were there stayed, and conveyed them through the Citie of London unto the Tower, and there left them.

Here is to be noted that the city levied five hundreth men, but they were not sent.

The L. Protector committed to prison in Windsor castle.

Shortly after the lords resorted unto the Tower, and there charged to Lord Protector with sundry Articles which follow.

The L. Protector committed to the tower

Articles objected against the Lord Protector.

{ KING EDW. 6. }

Articles objected against the L. Protector.

INprimis, you tooke upon you the Office of Protector and Governor, upon condition expressely and specially, that you would doe nothing in the Kings affaires, publikely or privately, but by the assent of the late Kings Executors.

2 Also you, contrary to the said condition, of your owne authoritie did stay and let suffice, and subverted the Lawes, as well by your Letters, as by your commandements.

3 Also, you caused divers persons being arrested and imprisoned for treason, murder, manslaughter, and felony, to be discharged and set at large, against the Kings lawes, and statutes of this Realme.

4 Also, you have made and ordained Lieutenants for the Kings armies and other weighty affaires, under your owne writing and seale.

5 Also, you have communed with the Embassadors of other Realmes, discoursing alone with them the weighty causes of this realme.

6 Also you have sometime rebuked, checked, and taunted, as well privately as openly, divers of the Kings most honourable Counsellors, for shewing and declaring their advises and opinions against your purposes in the Kings weighty affaires, saying sometimes to them, that you need not to open matters unto them, and would therefore be otherwise advised, and that you would, if they were not agreeable to your opinion, put them out, and take other at your pleasure.

7 Also you had and held against the law, in your own house, a Court of requests, and thereby did inforce divers the Kings subjects to answer for their freeholds and goods, and determined the same to the subversion of the same lawes.

8 Also, you being no Officer, without the advice of the Councell, or the more part of them, did dispose of the Offices of the Kings gift for money, and granted leases and Wards of the kings, and gave presentations to the Kings Benefices, and Bishoprics, having no authoritie so to doe. And further, you did meddle with the selling of the Kings lands.

9 Also, you commanded multiplication and Alcumistrie to be practised, to abuse the Kings coine.

10 Also, you caused a Proclamation to be made concerning inclosures, whereby the Common people have made divers insurrections, and levied open Warre, and distrained and spoiled divers of the Kings Subjects, which Proclamation went forth against the will of the whole Councell.

11 Also, you have caused a Commission, with certaine Articles thereunto annered, to be made out concerning inclosures of Commons, high wayes, decaying of Cottages, and divers other things, giving the Commissioners authoritie to heare and determine the same causes, to the subversion of the lawes and Statutes of this Realme; whereby much sedition, insurrection, and Rebellion have risen and growne amongst the Kings Subjects.

12 Also, you have suffered the Rebels and Traitours to assemble and to lie in Campe and Armour against the King, his Nobles and Gentlemen, without any speedy subduing or repressing of them.

13 Also, you did comfort and incourage divers of the said Rebels, by giving of them divers sums of your owne money, and by promising to divers of them, Fees, rewards and services.

14 Also, you in favour of the said Rebels did, against the lawes, cause a proclamation to be made, that none of the said rebels or traitors should be sued or vexed by any person for any their offences in the said rebellion, to the clere subversion of the law.

15 Also

{KING EDW. 6.} {Anno 1552.}

15 Alſo you have ſaid in the time of the rebellion, that you liked well the doings and proceedings of the ſaid rebels and traitors; and ſaid, That the covetouſneſſe of the Gentlemen gave occaſion to the common people to riſe, ſaying alſo, That better it were for the Commons to die, then perith for lack of living.

16 Alſo you ſaid, That the Lords of the parliament were loth to incline themſelves to reformation of incloſures and other things, therefore the people had good cauſe to reform the things themſelves.

17 Alſo you, after the report and declaration of the defaults and lacks reported to you by ſuch as did ſurvey Bulleigne and the Pieces there, would never amend the ſame defaults.

18 Alſo you would not ſuffer the Kings Pieces beyond the ſeas, called New-haven and Blackneſſ, to be furniſhed with men & victuals, although you were advertiſed of the defaults therein by the Captains of the ſame Pieces and others, and were thereto advertiſed by the Kings Councell; whereby the French King, being the Kings open Enemie, was encouraged and comforted to invade and win the ſaid Pieces, to the Kings great loſſe, and diſhonour of his Realme.

19 Alſo you declared and publiſhed untruly, as well to the Kings Majeſty, as to other the young Lords attendant upon his Graces perſon, that the Lords of the Counſell at London minded to deſtroy the King, and you required the King never to forget it, but to revenge it: and likewiſe you required the young Lords to put the King in remembrance thereof, to the intent to make ſedition and diſcord betwæn the King and his Lords.

20 Alſo where the Kings Majeſties Privie Councell, of their love and zeal that they did beare unto the king and his realm, did conſult at London, to have communed with you, to the intent to move you, charitably to amend your doings and miſgovernment, you, hearing of their ſaid aſſembly, cauſed to be declared by letters in divers places, the ſaid Lords to be high Traitors to the King, to the great diſturbance of the Realme.

The mercifull working of the Lord for the L. Protector.

AND thus much hitherto concerning the firſt trouble of the Lord Protector, Duke of Somerſet, with the crimes and articles objected againſt him, with his priſonment alſo in the Tower, and the terrible Proclamation given out againſt him. All which purpoſes of man, though they ſæmed fully to intend no leſſe then the ſpilling of his blood; yet the Lord above, the onely diſpoſer of all mens purpoſes, ſo ordered the matter by the means of the King labouring for his Uncle, that in ſhort while after he was let out of the Tower, and that proclamation which before had made him a traitor, within thræ dates after was called in again, (à Domino factum eſt illud) with commandement given, none of them to be ſold. And ſo the Duke of Somerſet, gracioully eſcaping this adverſitie, was again reſtored, though not to his former office, yet unto liberty, wherein he continued the ſpace of two yæars and two dayes.

The L. protector delivered out of the Tower.

The 2. trouble of the D. of Somerſet.

After the which time of reſpite being expired, the ſaid Duke of Somerſet was apprehended and committed againe to the Tower, and with him alſo ſir Michael Stanhop, ſir Ralfe Vane, ſir Wyles Partridge, and other, &c. At length the time being come of his arraignment, the foreſaid good Duke being brought from the Tower, was conveied thorow London with the ar of the Tower before him, and with great preparance of bills, halberds, pikes, and polares in moſt forcible wiſe; a watch alſo ſet and appointed before every mans dore through the high ſtreet of London, and ſo was he brought into Weſtminſter hall, where the Lords of the Counſell ſitting as his Judges in the middle of the hall, upon a new ſcaffold, he was there before them arraigned and charged both with treaſon and felonie.

The D. of Somerſet again brought to the Tower.

In the which judgement, I paſſe over the unſæmly ſpæch, the vile taunts and deſpitefull rebukes, without all modeſty or honeſty, uſed by certain of the Sergeants and Juſtices, and ſome other ſitting there. All which notwithſtanding he patiently and quietly did ſuffer, neither storming inwardly in ſtomacke, nor reviling them with words again; but like a lambe, following the true Lambe and example of all mæknes, was contented to take all things at their hands, and with no leſſe patience to beare now their ungentle and cruell railings, then he did before their glavering words and flatterings in time of his high eſtate and proſperitie. And as the patience of this good Duke was marvellous in forbearing his enemies, ſo alſo was his diſcretion and temperance no leſſe ſæn in anſwering for himſelfe to the articles to him objected; whereunto he wiſely and ſubſtantially replied, putting himſelf in the end to be tried by his Pæers. Who then at length, after conſultation had, did frame and temper their verdict thus; That as concerning the caſe of treaſon, wherewith he was charged, they diſcharged him, but they accounted him guilty of Felony. When the people (which were there preſent to a great number) heard the Lords ſay, Not guiltie, (meaning by the caſe of treaſon) ſuppoſing no leſſe but that he had bin clærly acquitted by theſe words, and eſpecially ſæing the ar of the Tower to be carried away, for great joy and gladneſſe they made an outcry, well declaring their loving affection and hearty favour unto the Duke, whoſe life they greatly deſired. But this opinion of the people was deceived, and the innocent Duke condemned to die for Felony. Which Act of felony had bæn made a little before againſt the rebels and unlawfull aſſemblies, ſuch as ſhould ſæke or procure the death of any Counſellor, ſo that every ſuch attempt and procurement, according to the Act, ſhould be adiudged Felony. By the vertue of which Act the Duke being accuſed, with certain other his Complices, to intend and purpoſe the death of the Duke of Northumberland, and of certain beſide, was therefore call and condemned of felony, and ſo was returned toward the Tower again.

The vile taunts of certain Juſtices and others ſitting in judgement againſt the good Duke of Somerſet.

The great patience of the D. of Somerſet in taking rebukes.

The diſcreet behaviour of the D. in anſwering for himſelf.

The hearty affection of the people toward the Duke of Somerſet.

The Duke of Somerſet condemned of Felony. Stat. ann. 5. reg. Edw. 6.

The Duke of Somerſet accuſed for ſeeking the death of the D. of Northumberland.

At whoſe paſſage through the city great exclamations and outcries were made again of the people, ſome rejoycing that he was acquitted, ſome bewailing that he was condemned.

Thus the good duke paſſing through a great part of the city, landing at the Crane of the Vinetræ, was conveied to the Tower, where he endured till the 22. of January. Upon the which day, at the coming down of the letter of execution from the King and the Councel, the foreſaid Duke and uncle to the King being found no traitor, onely being call by the act of felony, was delivered unto the Sheriffes, and ſo brought to the place of execution.

Touching which execution a few words here would be beſtowed, in deſcribing the wonderful order and manner thereof, as it hath faithfully bæn ſuggeſted to us upon the credit of a certain Noble perſonage, who not onely was there preſent at the dæd doing, but alſo in a manner next unto him upon the ſcaffold, beholding the order of all things with his eyes, and with his pen alſo reporting the ſame in order and manner as here followeth.

In the yær of our Lord, 1552, the two and twentieth of January, in the firſth yær of the reigne of King Edward the firſth, he being yet under age and governance of Tutors, the noble Duke of Somerſet, Uncle to King Edward, was brought out of the Tower of London, and according to the manner delivered to the Sheriffes of the city, and compaſſed round about with a great number of armed men both of the Guard and others, he was brought unto the ſcaffold on Tower hill; where he nothing chan-

ging

Anno 1552. ging either voice or countenance, but in a manner with the same gesture which he commonly used at home, kneeling down upon both his knees, and lifting up his hands, commended himself unto God.

The cheerfull countenance of the Duke of Somerset at his death.

After that he had ended a few short prayers, standing up again, and turning himself toward the East side of the scaffold, nothing at all abashed (as it seemed to me standing about the midst of the scaffold, and diligently marking all things) either with the sight of the Axe, or yet of the hangman, or of present death; but with the like alacritie and cheerfulnesse of minde and countenance as before times he was accustomed to hear the causes and supplication of other, and especially the poore (towards whom, as it were with a certain fatherly love to his children, he alwayes shewed himself most attentive) he uttered these words to the people.

The words of the Duke of Somerset to the people at his death.

DEarly beloved friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, albeit that I never offended against the King neither by word nor deed, and have been alwates as faithfull and true unto this Realm as any man hath been. But forsomuch as I am by a Law condemned to die, I do acknowledge my selfe as well as others to be subject thereunto. Wherefore to testifie my obedience which I owe unto the Lawes, I am come hither to suffer death, whereunto I willingly offer my self, with most heartie thanks unto God, that hath given me this time of repentance, who might thorow sudden death have taken away my life, that neither I should have acknowledged him nor my self.

Moreover, dearly beloved friends, there is yet somewhat that I must put you in minde of, as touching Christian religion, which so long as I was in authoritie I alwayes diligently set forth and furthered to my power. Neither do I repent me of my doings, but rejoyce therein, sith that now the state of Christian Religion cometh most neer unto the forme and order of the Primitive Church. Which thing I esteeme as a great benefit given of God both unto you and me; most heartily exhorting you all, that this which is most purely set forth unto you, you will with like thankfulnesse accept and embrace, and set out the same in your living. Which thing if you do not, without doubt greater mischief and calamitie will follow.

The care of the Duke of Somerset in setting forth true Religion.

A sudden noise and fear of the people at the death of the Duke of Somerset.

When he had spoken these words, suddenly there was a terrible noise heard; whereupon there came a great fear upon all men. This noise was as it had been the noise of some great storme or tempest, which unto some seemed to be heard from above; like as if a great deal of gunpowder being inclosed in an armorie, and having caught fire, had violently broken out. But unto some againe it seemed as though it had been a great multitude of horsemen running together, or coming upon them. Such a noise then was in the eares of all men, albeit they saw nothing. Whereby it happened that all the people being amazed without any evident cause, without any violence or stroke stricken, or any man seene, they ranne away, some into the ditches and puddles, and some into the houses thereabouts; othersome, being afraid of the horror and noise, fell down groveling unto the ground, with their polaxes and halberds; and most of them cried out, Jesus save us, Jesus save us. Those which tarried still in their places, for fear knew not where they were; and I my selfe which was there present among the rest, being also afraid in this hurly burly, stood still altogether amazed, looking when any man would knocke me on the head. It happened here, as the Evangelists write it did unto Christ, when as the officers of the high Priests and Pharisees, coming with weapons to take him, being affonied ranne backwards and fell to the ground.

In the mean time, whilest these things were thus in doing, the people by chance spied one sir Anthonie Browne riding unto the scaffold; which was the occasion of a new noise. For when they saw him coming, they conjectured that which was not true, but notwithstanding which they all wished for, That the King by that messenger had sent his uncle pardon; and therefore with great rejoycing and casting up their caps, they cried out, Pardon, pardon is come; God save the King. Thus this good Duke, although he was destitute of all mans help, yet he saw before his departure, in how great love and favour he was with all men. And truly I do not think that in so great slaughter of Dukes as hath been in England within these few yeers, there were so many weeping eyes at one time; and not without cause. For all men did see in the decay of this Duke the publike ruine of all England, except such as indeed did perceive nothing.

KING EDW. 6.

The like story you shall read of Caius Marius in Valerius Maximus the 2. book and 5. Chapter.

The great favour of the people to the D. of Somerset.

But now to return from whence we have strayed; the Duke in the meane time standing still in the same place, modestly and with a grave countenance made a sign to the people with his hand, that they would keep themselves quiet. Which thing being done, and silence obtained, he spake unto them in this manner.

Dearly beloved friends, there is no such matter here in hand as you vainly hope or beleeve. It seemeth thus good unto Almighty God, whose ordinance it is meet and necessarie that we all be obedient unto. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am most willing to suffer; and let us now joyne in prayer unto the Lord for the preservation of the Kings Majestie, unto whom hitherto I have alwayes shewed my self a most faithful and true subject. I have alwates been most diligent about his Majestie in his affairs both at home and abroad, and no lesse diligent in seeking the common commodity of the whole realm. At which words all the people cried out and said, it was most true.

The words of the D. again to the people.

Then the Duke proceeding, said, Unto whose Majestie I wish continuall health, with all felicity and all prosperous successe. Whereunto the people again cried out, Amen.

Testimony of the people with the Duke of Somerset.

Moreover, I do wish unto all his Counsellors the grace and favour of God, whereby they may rule in all things uprightly with justice. Unto whom I exhort you all in the Lord to shew your selves obedient, as it is your bounden duty, under the pain of condemnation, and also most profitable for the preservation and safeguard of the Kings Majestie.

Moreover, forsomuch as heretofore I have had oftentimes affairs with divers men, and hard it is to please every man, therefore if there be any that hath been offended and injuried by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgivenesse, but especially almighty God, whom thorough out all my life I have most grievously offended; and all other whatsoever they be that have offended me, I do with my whole heart forgive them. Now I once againe require you dearly beloved in the Lord, that you will keep your selves quiet and still, lest thorough your tumult you might trouble me. For albeit the spirit be willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering, and thorough your quietnesse I shall be much more quieter. Moreover, I desire you all to beare me witnesse that I die here in the faith of Jesus Christ; desiring you to helpe me with your prayers, that I may perisevere constant in the same unto my lives end.

The confession of the Duke of Somerset.

The Duke of Somerset dieth in the faith of Jesus Christ.

After this, he turning himself againe about like a meek lambe, kneeled down upon his knees. Then Doctor Cor, which was there present to counsell and advertise him, delivered a certain scroll into his hand, wherein was contained a brief confession unto God. Which being read, he stood up again upon his feet, without any trouble of minde (as it appeared) and first bad the Sheriffes farewell, then the

D. Cor, his ghostly father.

{King Edw. 6.} {Anno 1552.}

the Lieutenant of the Tower, and other, taking them all by the hands which were upon the scaffold with him. Then he gave the hangman certain money. Which done, he put off his gown, and kneeling down again in the straw, untied his shirt strings. After that, the hangman coming unto him turned down his collar round about his neck, and all other things which did let or hinder him. Then lifting up his eies to heaven, where his onely hope remained, and covering his face with his own handkercher, he laid himself down along, shewing no manner of token of trouble or fear, neither did his countenance change, but that before his eyes were covered there began to appeare a red colour in the midst of his cheeks.

The godly end of the Duke of Somerset.

Thus this most meek and gentle Duke lying along, and looking for the stroke, because his doublet covered his neck, he was commanded to rise up and put it off; and then laying himself down again upon the block, and calling thrice upon the name of Jesus saying, Lord Iesus save me, as he was the third time repeating the same, even as the name of Jesus was in uttering, in a moment he was bereft both of head and life, and slept in the Lord Jesus, being taken away from all the dangers and evils of this life, and resting now in the peace of God; in the preferment of whose truth and Gospel he alwayes shewed himselfe an excellent instrument and member, and therefore hath received the reward of his labours. Thus, gentle Reader, thou hast here the true History of this worthy and noble Duke, and if any man report it otherwise, let it be counted as a lie.

The vertues of the Duke of Somerset.

As touching the manners, disposition, life and conversation of the said Duke and the Kings Uncle, what shall we need to speak, when as he cannot be sufficiently commended, according to the dignity of his vertues? There was alwayes in him great humanitie, and such meeknesse and gentlenesse, as is rare to be found in so high estate. He was prone and ready to give eare unto the complaints and supplications of the poore, and no lesse attentive unto the affairs of the common-wealth. Which if he had lived together with King Edward, he was like to do much good in reforming many misorders within this Realme. He was utterly ignorant of all craft and deceit, and as farre void of all pride and ambition, as he was from doing of injury, being indeed utterly void of both. He was of a gentle disposition, not coveting to be revenged; more apt and readie to be deceived, then to deceive. His ancient love and zeale of the Gospel and of Religion he brought with him to the state of this his dignity. The proofe whereof sufficiently was seene in his constant standing to Gods truth, and zealous defence thereof, against the Bishops of Chichester, Norwich, Lincolne, London, and others moe, in the consultation had at Windsor, the first yeer of the Kings reigne.

The zealous standing of the D. of Somerset in defence of the truth against the Bishops at Windsor.

A comparison between Duke Humfrey uncle to King Henry the sixth and the Duke of Somerset uncle to King Edward the sixth.

Briefly, considering the nature and vertues of this Duke, I may (as seemeth) not unaptly compare and resemble him unto Duke Humfrey, the good Duke of Glocester. Who likewise being uncle unto King Henry the sixth and Protector of the Realme (as this was also to King Edward the sixth) yet he wanted not his enemies and privie enviers, especially Henry Beaufort Cardinall, Bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancellour of England; who, at that time disdaining and envying the rule and authority of this Duke, procured much trouble against him, and great division in the whole Realme, insomuch that all the shops within the Citie of London were shut in for feare of the favourers of these two great personages; for each part had assembled no small number of people.

For pacifying whereof the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Number, called the prince of Portugall, rode eight times in one day betweene the two adversaries. Such were then the troubles of this tumultuous division within the Realme, betweene these two, as is before expressed; not much unlike to the troublesome discord betwixt parties in this Protectors dayes. And as in their afflictions and troubles these two Dukes seemed not much unlike, so in matters of Religion, and in discerning truth from falshood, their zeals seemed not much discrepant. Although the light of the Gospel did not so fully then shine out, as in the time of this later Duke, (the Lord be praised therefore) yet the wisedome and towardnesse of the other Duke also touching the same was not utterly unworthy of his commendation. For the more manifest declaration whereof, amongst many other his godly doings, we may take for example the prudent and famous act of that noble Duke, in discerning and trying out the false lying miracle and Popish hypocrisie of the blinde begger at Saint Albons, mentioned in his storie before. For the which cause, and for his diligent studie in reforming that and such other blinde abuses of fained Religion, he was the more hated of the Spiritualty, and such as Winchester then was.

Touching the troubles of the Duke of Glocester read before.

A false miracle detected by D. Humfrey of Glocester.

Finally as this Lord Protector Duke of Somerset the Kings Uncle, by certain of the Councell was then accused, arraigned and condemned for the trespasse (as it was given forth) of felony (although I never heard he murdered or robbed any) so the other Uncle of King Henry the sixth was made away. Of whose decease thus writeth M. Tindall in his practise of Prelates; at the last they found the means to contrive a drift to bring their matters to passe, and made a Parliament far from the Citizens of London, where was slain the said good duke and the onely wealth of the Realme, and the mighty shield which so long had kept it from the sorrow, which shortly after his death fell upon them by heaps. But the Chronicles (saith he) cannot tell wherefore he died, nor by what means. Nevertheless, this they testifie, that he was a vertuous man, godly and good to the common wealth.

The testimony of M. Wil. Tindall of good D. Humfrey.

But to leave Duke Humfrey, and to return to the manners and vertues of the Duke of Somerset, which before we were about to describe; as he was a gentle and courteous Duke at home, so was he no lesse fortunate a Captain in warfare abroad. Under whose government and guiding not onely divers rebellious commotions were happily suppressed here at home; but also abroad, in the expedition of Scotland, such a victory was given him of God, that with the losse scarce of six hundred of his own men, there were of the enemies as good or little lesse then ten thousand slain and put to flight, and even the very same day and time in the which all the idolatrous Images were here burnt at London. And yet all these wars notwithstanding, whereunto he was against his will compelled, he was a man of nature singularly given to peace, as may be seen by the sweet and peaceable exhortation by him set forth in print before, and sent to the realm of Scotland.

The happy successe of the D. of Somerset in his victory.

But as there is nothing in this world so perfect in all respects, which is not blotted or darkned with some spot of vice adjoyned withall; so amongst the manifold commendations of this Duke, one thing there was too, which both distained his honour and estimation much, and also more empaired and hindered his own life and safety; which was, that he in condescending to the death of his brother, followed too rashly the perswasion of certain whosoever they were; for that matter lacked not perchance some singular fetch and policy of some, more craftily then godly disposed persons, as many good men have supposed.

Gods chastisement upon the Duke of Somerset.

But whatsoever of that matter is to be deemed, credible it is that the said Duke, in suffering or procuring

procuring the death of his brother, not onely endamaged himselfe, and weakened his own power, but also provoked the chastisement of Gods scourge and rod, which did so light upon him.

The beheading of the Earle of Surrey.

Furthermore, as touching the death and decay of the Lord Henry Earle of Surrey, who suffered also at the Tower next before the Lord Admirall, the Lord Protectors brother, because the talking of him was so nèr to the death of King Henry, as I know not upon whom or what cause the same did proceed; I passe it over and leave it to the Lord. Notwithstanding, as for the Duke of Somerset, whatsoever his other vices and vertues were, this is certaine, that his end (the Lord so working with him) was constant in Christs truth, as his life was before a great maintenance of the same.

Sir Ralph Vane, sir Miles Partridge, sir Mic. Stanhop, and sir Thom. Arundel suffered at Tower hill.

Moreover, on the 26. day of February, in the same yèr was sir Ralph Vane, sir Miles Partridge both hanged at the Tower hill; and sir Michael Stanhop, and sir Thomas Arundel beheaded upon the scaffold, all which foure were condemned by the said Act of unlawfull assembly, and as accessaries unto the Duke of Somerset.

Not long after the death of the Duke of Somerset, in the next yèr following, deceased the King himselfe about the moneth of June, whereof more shall be said (the Lord granting) in his due order and course hereafter. In the meane season, before we come to close up the latter end and storie of this good king, the place here present seemeth not unfit to intermit by the way a few other things before happening within the time of his reign, namely, concerning matters incident of the Church, and of Religion. Which state of Religion began well to grow, and to come happily forward during this Kings dayes, had not the unhappie troubles of the outward state, among the Lords not agreeing within themselves, disquieted the good towardnesse of things begun. But the malice of the devill how subtilly worketh it, if men could see it? So long as the Lords agreed in concord among themselves, Winchester and Boner with all that faction was cut short, and began to condescend to good conformity. But afterward perceiving the States and Nobles of the Realme to be among themselves divided, and the Lord Protector the Kings Uncle displaced, and his brother the Admirall before beheaded, and the young King now left in that case, they began upon some hope to take more heart to them, till at last it came to passe as they themselves desired. And thus though nothing else will lead us, yet experience may teach us what discord worketh in publique weales; and contrarily, what a necessarie thing concord is to the advancement especially of Gods matters appertaining to his Church. Examples whereof in this Kings dayes be not far to seek. For as touching the successe of the Gospel of peace, while publique peace and the Gospel did joyne together, marvellous it was how error and Poperie were in themselves confounded, and ashamed almost to shew their faces. Insomuch that then both Doctor Smith, Chadsey, Standish, Pong, Dglethorpe, with many moe recanted their former ignorance, whose recantations I have to shew. Boner then with his owne hand subscribed unto the Kings Supremacie, and promoted his Injunctions.

Religion hindred by discord.

Discord what decay it worketh in a common-wealth.

D. Smith, Chadsey, Standish, Pong, Dglethorp reclaimed from their errors.

The Gospel how it flourished so long as peace continued.

The same also did Stephen Gardiner, subscribing with his owne hand to the first book of the Kings proceedings, and no doubt had done no lesse to the second book also set forth by the King, had not the unfortunate discord falne amongst the Nobles in time so unfortunate, as then it did. Briefly, during all that time of peace and concord, what papist was found in all the Realm, which for the Popes devotion would or did once put his neck in the halter to die a Martyr for his sake?

I shewed before how in these peaceable dayes of King Edward, Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paulus Phagius, with other learned men mo, were entertained, placed, and provided for in the two Universities of this Realm, Oxford and Cambridge, who there with their diligent industrie did much good. The learned and fruitfull disputations of whom I have likewise present in my hands here to insert, but that the bignesse of this Volume driveth me to make short, especially seeing their disputations be so long and prolix as they be, and also in Latine, and require of themselves a whole volume to comprehend them.

Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phagius placed in the Universities.

First, Peter Martyr, being called by the King to the publique reading of the Divinity Lecture in Oxford, amongst his other learned exercises did set up in the publique Schools three conclusions of Divinitie to be disputed and tried by Argument. At which disputations were present the Kings Visitors, to wit, Henry Bishop of Lincolne, Doctor Cox Chancellor of that Universitie, D. Yains Dean of Exceter, Master Richard Morison Esquier, Christopher Nevinson Doctor of Civill law. The conclusions propounded were these.

The Kings Visitors at the disputation in Oxford.

The conclusions to be disputed in Oxford.

1 In the Sacrament of thanksgiving there is no Transubstantiation of bread and wine into the bodie and blood of Christ.

2 The body and blood of Christ is not carnally or corporally in the Bread and Wine, nor, as other use to say, under the kindes of bread and wine.

3 The body and blood of Christ be united to bread and wine sacramentally.

They which were the chief disputers against him on the contrary side, were doctor Tresham, doctor Chadsey, and Morgan. The reasons and principall Arguments of Peter Martyr hereunder follow.

Disputers of the contrary part against Peter Martyr.

The Arguments of Peter Martyr upon the first conclusion.

The Scriptures most plainly do name and acknowledge bread and wine. In the Evangelists we read that the Lord Jesus took bread, blessed it, brake it, and gave it to his disciples. Saint Paul likewise doth oft times make mention of bread.

The 1. argumento of Peter Martyr against Transubstantiation.

Ergo, We also with the Scriptures ought not to exclude Bread from the nature of the sacrament.

Cyprianus.

As in the person of Christ, his humanitie was seene outwardly, and his divinitie was secret within: so in the visible Sacrament the divinitie inserteth it selfe in such sort as cannot be uttered, that our devotion about the Sacraments might be the more religious.

Cypri. in serm. De cœna Dom.

Ergo, as in the person of Christ, so in the Sacrament, both the natures ought still to remain.

Gelasius.

The Sacraments which we receive of the body and blood of Christ are a divine matter; by reason whereof, we are made partakers by the same of his divine nature, and yet it ceaseth not still to be the substance of bread and wine. And certes the representation and similitude of the body and blood of Christ be celebrated in the action of the mysteries, &c.

Gelasius contra Eutichen.

Augustinus.

As the person of Christ consisteth of God and man, when as he is true God, and true man. For everie thing containeth in it selfe the nature and veritie of those things whereof it is made. Now the Sacrament

Aug. de consec. dist. 2. ex sententiis Prosperi.

{KING EDW. 6.} sacrament of the Church is made of two things, that is, of the sacrament that signifieth, and of the matter of the sacrament that is signified, &c.

Theodoretus.

Theod. Dial. 1. contr. Eutich. These visible mysteries which are seene he hath honoured with the name of his body and blood, not changing the nature, but adding grace unto nature, &c. **And the same** Theodoretus **again saith;**

Theod. Dial. 2. contra Eutich. Those mysticall sacraments after sanctification do not passe out of their own proper nature, but remain still in their former substance, figure, and shape, &c.

Ergo, **like as the body of Christ remained in him, and was not changed into his Divinitie; so in the sacrament, the bread is not changed into the bodie, but both the substances remain whole.**

Origen.

Orig. in Mat. c. 15 If whatsoever entreth into the mouth goeth downe into the belly, and so passeth through a man; even that meat also which is sanctified by the word of God, and by prayer, as touching that part which it hath materiall within it, passeth into the belly, and so voideth through a man. But through prayer, which is adjoyned to it, according to the measure of faith, it is profitable and effectuall, &c. **And he addeth moreover,** For it is not the outward matter of the bread, but the word that is spoken upon it, that profiteth him which eateth it worthily, &c.

Irenæus.

Irenæus lib. 4. contr. hæres. Iesus taking bread of the same condition which is after us, (**that is, taking bread of the same nature and kinde which we use commonly to eat**) did confesse it to be his bodie. And taking likewise the cup, which is of the same creature which is after us (**that is, which we commonly use to drink**) confessed it to be his blood, &c.

Iren. lib. cod. Item, lib. 4. Like as bread which is of the earth, receiving the word and calling of God, is now not common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two things, the one earthly, the other heavenly; so our bodies receiving the sacred Eucharist, be now not corruptible, having hope of resurrection, &c.

Argument.

Ba- **The bread in the sacrament is so changed into the body, as our bodies are changed when they are made uncorruptible by hope.**

ro- **But our bodies are not made incorruptible by changing their substance;**

co. **Ergo, no more is the bread changed into the substance of the body.**

Gregorie.

Greg. in Reg. Notwithstanding whether we take leavened or unleavened bread, we are all one bodie of our Lord and Saviour, &c.

Argument.

Da- **Where bread leavened or unleavened is taken, there is substance of bread, and not accidents onely.**

ri- **In the Sacrament bread is received either leavened or unleavened;**

i. **Ergo, in the sacrament is substance of bread, and not accidents onely.**

Argument.

Ba- **The body of Christ is named of that which is proportioned round; and is unsensible in operation.**

ro- **Accidents onely of bread have no figure of roundnesse.**

co. **Ergo, the body of Christ is not named of accidents, but of very bread substantiall.**

Argument.

The words of the Evangelist speaking of that which Christ took, blessed, brake, and gave, do import it to be bread, and nothing else but bread.

Ergo, **The substance of bread is not to be excluded out of the sacrament.**

Chrysostome.

Chryf. 1. Cor. 11. Homil. 27. Christ in giving bread and wine, said, Do this in remembrance of me.

Cyrillus.

Cyril. in Ioan. lib. 4. cap. 14. He gave to them pieces or fragments of bread, **Also the same Cyril saith,** In bread we receive his precious body, and his blood in wine.

Ergo, **by these Doctors it remaineth bread after the consecration.**

Ambrose.

Before the blessing of the heavenly words it is called another kinde of thing. After consecration the body of Christ is signified.

Arguments of Peter Martyr disputing with Master Chadsey upon the first question.

Da- **The Analogie and resemblance betweene the sacrament and the thing signified must ever be kept in all sacraments.**

ti- **In the sacrament of the Lords body this Analogie or resemblance cannot be kept, if bread be transubstantiated:**

fi. Ergo, **the substance of bread must néeds remaine in the sacrament of the Lords body.**

The Major of this argument is certain by saint Augustine, Lib. de Catechisandis rudibus, & Epist. ad Dardanum. **Where he saith,** Sacraments must needs beare a similitude of those things whereof they are Sacraments, or else they can be no Sacraments.

Aug. Epist. ad Dardanum.

The Minor is thus proved.

Argument.

Ba- **The resemblance betweén the sacrament and the body of Christ is this, that as the properties of bread and wine do nourish outwardly, so the properties of the body of Christ do nourish spiritually.**

Analogie or proportion between the outward nourishing of bread in our bodies, and the inward nourishing of Christs bodily death in our soules.

ro- **Without the substance of bread and wine there is no resemblance of nourishing.**

co. Ergo, **without the substance of bread and wine the Analogie cannot hold.**

Argument.

Ba- **Again, another resemblance and similitude or analogie of this sacrament is this, That as one loaf of bread and one cup of wine containeth many corns and many grapes; so the mysticall Congregation containeth many members, and yet maketh but one body.**

ro- **Without the substance of bread and wine no such resemblance or similitude of conjunction can be represented;**

co. Ergo,

co. Ergo, without the substance of bread and wine, the Analogie of this spirituall consunction cannot hold.

Another Argument.

Ba- Every Sacrament consisteth in two things, that is, in the thing signifying, and the thing signified.

ro- Without the substance of Bread and Wine there is nothing that signifieth in the Sacrament.

co. Ergo, The substance of bread and wine in the Sacrament can in no wise be transubstantiate from their natures. The Minor is thus to be proved.

Fes- There is no signification in any Sacrament without the element.

ti- The substance of bread and wine is the element of this Sacrament.

no. Ergo, without the substance of bread and wine there is no similitude nor signification in this Sacrament.

And forsomuch as the adversaries ground their Transubstantiation so much upon these words of Christ, This is my body, which they expound onely after the literall sense, without trope or figure; now that this their exposition is false, and that the said words are to be taken figuratively and spiritually, by three causes it is to be proved.

Three causes proving that these words of Christ, *Hoc est corpus meum*, are not to be taken literally but spiritually.

1 First by the words of the scripture. 2. By the nature of a sacrament. 3. By the testimonies of the Fathers.

Places of scripture making against Transubstantiation.

1 First, by these words of the Scripture, where he saith, Do this in remembrance of me, forsomuch as remembrance properly serveth not for things corporally present, but for things rather being absent.

2 Secondly, where he saith, Vntill I come, which words were vaine, if he were already come by consecration.

3 Thirdly, where S. Paul saith, The breaking of bread, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? Which words of breaking in no case can be verified upon the body of Christ, which for the glory thereof is unpassible.

4 Furthermore whereas the Lord biddeth them to take and eat, it is evident that the same cannot be understood simply of the body of Christ without a trope, forsomuch as he cannot be eaten and chewed with teeth, as we use properly in eating other meats to do.

5 The words moreover of Luke and Paul, spoken of the cup, do argue likewise that the other words spoken of the bread must nedes be taken mystically. As where it is said, This cup is the new Testament, which words must nedes be expounded thus; this cup doth signifie the new Testament.

6 Item, these words of saint John, Chapter 6. My words be spirit and life. The flesh profiteth nothing, &c.

7 Item, where in the same place of S. John, Christ, to refell the carnall understanding of the Capernaits of eating his body, maketh mention of his Ascension, &c.

The second cause, the nature of a sacrament.

The second cause why the words of Christ, This is my body, cannot be literally expounded without a trope, is the nature of a sacrament; whose nature and property is to bear a signe or signification of a thing to be remembred, which thing after the substantiall and reall presence is absent. As touching which nature of a sacrament sufficiently hath been said before.

The 3. cause, the testimony of the Fathers.

The third cause, why the words of consecration are figuratively to be taken, is the testimony of the ancient Doctors.

Tertullianus.

This is my bodie; that is to say, this is a figure of my body. *Tertull. contra Marc. lib. 4.*

Augustinus. Psal. 3.

Christ gave a figure of his body. *Aug. Psal. 3.*

Augustinus contra Adamantum Manichæum.

He did not doubt to say; This is my body, when he gave a signe of his bodie. *Aug. cont. Adamantum, ca. 12.*

Hieronymus.

Christ represented unto us his bodie. *Hieronymus.*

Augustinus.

Augustine in his book De Doctrina Christiana declareth expresly, that this speech of eating the bodie of Christ is a figurative speech. *Aug. de doctrina Christiana, lib.*

Ambrosius.

As thou hast received the similitude of his death; so thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood. *Ambros. de sacr. li. 4. ca. 4.*

Argument.

Fe- The death of Christ is not present really in the Sacrament, but by similitude.

ri- The precious blood of Christ is present in the Sacrament as his death is present.

o. Ergo, the precious blood of Christ is not present really in the Sacrament.

The Minor of this argument is proved before by the words of Ambrose.

The second question, Whether the body and blood of Christ be in the bread and wine, or under the forms of bread and wine carnally and corporally.

The second conclusion.

Argument.

Di- The true naturall body of Christ is placed in heaven.

sa- The true naturall body of man can be but in one place at once, where he is.

mis. Ergo, the true naturall body of Christ can be in no place at once, but in heaven where he is.

The Major is plain by the Scriptures, Iesus was taken up to heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God. Matth. 26. *Matth. 26.*

The poore ye have alwayes with you, but me you shall not alwayes have, Ioh. 12. *Iohn 12.*

I leave the world and go to my Father. Iohn 16. *Iohn 16.*

Many shall say in that day; Lo here is Christ, and there is Christ, beleeve them not, Matth. 24. *Matth. 24.*

Whom the heavens must receive for a time, untill the restitution of all, Acts 3. *Acts 3.*

Seek those things that are above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God, &c. Col. 3. *Col. 3.*

The Minor likewise is evident by saint Austen, who, speaking of the glorified body of Christ, affirmeth the same to be in one certain place, Propter veri corporis modum, that is, for the manner of a true bodie. *Aug. ad Dardanum.*

Argument.

Da- Every true naturall body requireth one certaine place.

Augustine.

ri- Christs body is a true naturall body.

o. Ergo, Christs body requireth one certaine place.

Argument.

Augustine giveth not to the soule of Christ to be in

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in no places at once but one. August. ad Dardanum.

Ergo, much lesse is it to be given to the body of Christ, to be in moe places at once, but one.

Comparatio à Majori.

Argument.

Comparison betweene Angels and the body of Christ.

The nature of the Angels is not to be in divers places, but they are limited to occupie one certaine place at once. Basilius de Spirit. sanct. cap. 22.

Ergo, The body of Christ being the true naturall body of of a man, cannot fill divers places at one time.

Argument.

Ba- Whatsoever is in many and divers places at once is God.
ro- The body of Christ is not God, but a Creature.
co. Ergo, The body of Christ cannot be in moe places together.

Argument.

Fes- We must not so defend the divinity of Christ, that we destroy his humanitie. August.
ti- If we assigne to the body of Christ plurality of places, we destroy his humanity.
no. Ergo, we must not assigne to the body of Christ pluralitie of places.

Argument.

Fes- Whatsoever thing is circumscribed, that is to say, contained in the limits of any peculiar place, cannot be dispersed in moe places at once.
ti- The body of Christ is a thing circumscribed.
no. Ergo, The body of Christ is not dispersed in moe places at one time.

Argument.

Da- Every quantitie, that is, every body having magnitude, length, and other dimensions, is circumscribed in one peculiar place.
ti- The body of Christ hath his dimensions, and is a quantitie.
i. Ergo, The body of Christ is circumscribed.

Cyrillus.

Cyril. de Cren. lib. 2. pag. 245.

The Major is proved by Cyrillus. Whatsoever is understood to be a body, the same is verily in a place, and in magnitude and in quantitie. And if it be in quantitie, it cannot avoid circumscription, that is, to have his place.

Argument.

Ba- If Christ had given his body substantially and carnally in the supper, then was that body either passible or impassible.
ro- But neither can you say that body to be passible or impassible, which he gave at supper.
co. Ergo, he did not give his body substantially and carnally at supper.

Augustine.

Aug. in psal. 98.

The minor is proved thus. For if ye say it was passible, Augustine is against it, which saith, Ye shall not eate this body which you see, nor drinke the same bloud which they shall shed that shall crucifie me, &c. And if ye say it was impassible, that may not be admitted by the words of the Evangelist, which saith, Eate, this is my body which shall be given for you; So that, that body was passible, and not impassible, wherein Christ was given.

Vigilius.

Vig. contr. Eutichen lib. 4.

One creature cannot receive in it self two contrary or divers things together. But these two things be divers and farre unlike, that is to say, to be contained in a place, and to be every where. For the word is every where, but the flesh is not every where.

Argument.

Fe- Bodies organicall without quantitie be no bodies.
ri- The Popes doctrine maketh the body of Christ in the Sacrament to be without quantitie.
o. Ergo, The Popes doctrine maketh the body of Christ in the Sacrament to be no body.

Argument.

Da- All things which may be divided have quantitie.
ri- The body in the Popes sacrament is divided in three parts.
i. Ergo, The body in the Popes sacrament hath quantitie, which is against their owne Doctrine.

Argument.

Fe- No naturall body can receive in it selfe, and at one time, contrary or divers qualities. Vigilius.
ri- To be in one place locall, and in another place not locall; to be in one place with quantitie, and in another place without quantitie; in one place circumscript, in another place incircumscript, is for a naturall body to receive contrary qualities.
o. Ergo, The body of Christ cannot be in one place locall, and in another not locall; in one place with quantity, and in another without quantitie, as our adversaries do affirme.

Argument.

Fe- The wicked receive not the body of Christ.
ri- The wicked doe receive the body of Christ, if Transubstantiation be granted.
son. Ergo, Transubstantiation is not to be granted in the sacrament.

Argument for probation of the Major.

Ca- To eate Christ, is for a man to have Christ dwelling and abiding in him. Augustine.
mes- The wicked have not Christ dwelling in them.
tres. Ergo, the wicked eat not the body of the Lord.

Cyprian.

Cyprianus, de Cœna Dom. The eating of Christ is our abiding in him. Cypr. de cœna Dom.

Argument.

Bo- The holy Ghost could not come, if the body of Christ were really present.
car- That the holy ghost is come it is most certain.
do. Ergo, it cannot be that Christ himselfe should be here really present.

For proofe of the Major, John the sixteenth, Vnlesse I goe from you the holy Ghost shall not come: It is expedient for you that I goe hence. John 16.

Argument of Peter Martyr.

Ba- If the wicked and infidels doe receiue the bo-
dy of Chriſt, they receiue him either with
ſenſe, or reaſon, or with faith.

ro- But they receiue him neither with ſenſe, rea-
ſon, nor with faith.

co. Ergo, wicked men and infidels receiue in no
wiſe the body of Chriſt.

Declaration of the Major.

For declaration of the Major, if ye ſay, they re-
ceiue him with ſenſe, that is againſt their owne
lore, for the body of Chriſt in the bleſſed ſacrament
(ſay they) is not ſenſible, nor to be perceiued by any
ſenſe; neither with reaſon can they receiue him, by
their owne learning, for ſo much as this ſacrament
exceedeth all reaſon; nec fides habet meritum, ubi ra-
tio præbet experimentum. And if ye ſay, that they re-
ceiue him with faith, how can that be, ſeeing infi-
dels haue no faith?

What it is to eate the body of Chriſt by the Papiſts.

What it is to eate the body of Chriſt the teaching
of the papiſts herein is ſtrange, & differeth from the
old Doctors. For where they teach that wicked per-
ſons and infidels, albeit they receiue not the effect of
the ſacrament, yet the matter of the ſacrament
which is the very body of Chriſt, they receiue with
their mouth, and with their ſenſe the accidents of
bread, and thus imagine a certaine body of Chriſt,
ſuch as euill men and infidels may eate, and yet be-
ing eaten, it giueth them no nouriſhment nor life,
nor maketh them partakers of his ſpirit & grace;
both Scripture and the ancient expoſitors of the
Scripture do teach much otherwiſe. For the Scri-
pture knoweth no ſuch kinde of eating Chriſts bo-
dy, but onely that which is fruitfull, wholeſome,
and effectuall. He that eateth my fleſh and drinketh
my bloud, abideth in me and I in him, &c. Iohn 6.
And therefore it may appeare, that the Scripture
meaneth by eating Chriſts fleſh, to beleeue in
Chriſts Paſſion, which none can doe but onely the
faithfull. And to the ſame ſenſe ſound all the old
Doctors.

What it is to eate the body of Chriſt by Scripture and Doctors.

Cyprianus.

Cypr. de cœna Domini.

That we ſhould know that eating is our dwelling in
him, and our drinking is, as it were, a certaine incor-
poration in him.

The wicked and infidels doe not eate the body of Chriſt.

Item, the ſame Cyprian, The eating therefore of
his fleſh is a certaine deſire to abide in him; and ſaith
moreouer, that none eateth of this Lambe, but ſuch as
be true Iſraelites, that is, true Chriſtian men, without
colour or diſſimulation.

And againe he ſaith, That as meate is to the fleſh,
the ſame is faith to the ſoule, the ſame is the word to
the ſpirit, &c.

Moreouer, And therefore (ſaith he) doing this we
whet not our teeth to bite, but with pure faith we
breake the holy bread and diſtribute it, &c.

Auguſtinus.

Aug. de Ciuit. lib. 21. cap. 15. Iohn 6.

It may not be ſaid, that any ſuch doe eate the body
of Chriſt, becauſe they are accounted amongſt the
members of Chriſt. Neither can they be both mem-
bers of Chriſt, and members of an harlot, &c. Further-
more, when Chriſt ſaith, He that eateth my fleſh, and
drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me, and I in him; he
ſheweth what it is, not Sacramentally, but indeed to
eate his body and drink his bloud, which is, when a
man ſo dwelleth in Chriſt, that Chriſt dwelleth in him.
For ſo Chriſt ſpake thoſe words, as if he ſhould ſay; he
that dwelleth not in me, and in whom I dwell not, let
him not ſay nor thinke, that he eateth my body, or
drinketh my bloud.

Alſo in other places the ſaid Auſten affirmeth,
that, to drinke is to liue; And ſaith moreouer, Why
prepareſt thou thy belly and thy teeth? beleeue and
thou haſt eaten, &c.

All which kindes of eating cannot be ſaid of the
wicked and infidels, but onely of the godly and
faithfull.

And thus briefely we haue runne ouer all the ar-
guments, and authorities of Peter Martyr in that
diſputation at Oxford, with Doctor Tresham,
Chedſay, and Morgan, before the kings viſitors, a-
bode named, anno 1549.

Furthermore who ſo liſteth more fully to be ſa-
tisfied and reſolued in al the points and occurrents,
touching the matter of this Sacrament, let him
reade the bookes firſt of the Archbiſhop Cranmer
againſt Wincheſter; Secondly, the tractation of
Peter Martyr made in Oxford, tranſlated and ex-
tant in Engliſh; and thirdly, the booke of Biſhop
Ridley made in priſon, called A briefe declaration of
the Lords Supper.

The like diſputation alſo about the ſame time
was appointed and commenced at Cambridge, con-
cerning the ſame matter of the Sacrament, the
Kings viſitors being directed downe for the ſame
purpoſe by the King. The name of which viſitors
were theſe, Nicholas Ridley Biſhop of Rocheſter,
Thomas Biſhop of Ely, Maiſter Iohn Cheke the
Kings Schoolemaiſter, Doctor May Ciuilian, and
Dr. Wendy the Kings Phyſicion. The concluſi-
ons in that diſputation propounded were theſe.

The firſt diſputation holden at Cambridge the twentieth day of June *anno* 1549. before the Kings Majeſties Commiſſioners, by Doctor Madew reſpondent, whoſe firſt concluſion was this.

Tranſubſtantiation cannot be proued by the plain and manifeſt words of Scripture, nor can thereof be neceſſarily collected, nor yet confirmed by the conſents of the ancient Fathers for theſe thouſand yeers paſt. D. Glin, M. Langdale, M. Segewicke, M. Yong, opponents.

Doctor Madew.

FIrſt of all (quoth he) I am very ſory and doe not a little lament the ſhortneſſe of time, to declare and diſcuſſe ſuch weighty matters of religion in, as theſe be. But that notwithſtanding, if I had had more plenty of time indeed; yet you ſhall underſtand how that I haue euer both in heart and minde, if otherwiſe I could haue auoyded it, abhorred all ſcholaſticall diſputations, & ſubtill ſophiſtications. In conſideration whereof, I beſeech thoſe that are to diſpute, not to alledge or bring forth any diſmembred, or curtalled ſentences, or wreſted, as hapneth many times, but the whole and full ſentences either of the ſcriptures, or of the ancient Doctors; yea, and to abouch ſuch Authors ſayings, as are not ſuſpected, or fained, but ſuch as be their own very ſayings indeed; which if they doe, there is no doubt, but the cleere light of this our diſputation ſhall the ſooner appeare, and be manifeſt to this auditorie. And for a further declaration of my part, you ſhall underſtand, that this my preface in my ſaid former moſt Catholike and godly concluſion ſhall conſiſt in three principall points. 1. Firſt, What thing it was that Chriſt gaue to his Diſciples. 2. Secondly, What ſeaſon or time this Tranſubſtantiation did begin. 3. Thirdly, How many deuilliſh abominations haue enſued vpon that horrible and peſtilent inuention. As concerning the firſt, that is, what thing Chriſt gaue to his Diſciples, that may very well appeare euen by our own natural ſenſes, as namely, by the ſight, by the touching, by the talking, which cannot be deceiued of their natural iudgement. For the eye ſeeth nothing but bread and wine, the talking ſauoureth nothing elſe, and the hands touch nothing elſe. He gaue alſo to their vnderſtanding not onely his holy and ſacred

{King Edw. 6.}

cred doctrine, but also a speciall gift and pledge of his love. He gave the onely materiall bread and wine sanctified, as the rude and plaine elements or principles to allure them withall: but he gave them the gift of his grace and heavenly doctrine, as the very things signified by the sensible elemẽts: which thing plainly appeareth by the words of Christ our Saviour, Non bibam, &c. I will not drinke hereafter of the fruit of this Vine, untill I drinke it new with you in the kingdome of God. Now this fruit or juyce of the Vine is nothing else but wine, as Chrysostome saith. And moreover, to prove the same true, if it be reserved after the consecration for a time, it becometh sowre and tart, therefore it is but wine. And as touching the bread Saint Paul saith thus; Is not the bread which we breake the Communion, or participation of Christs body? He brake bread, therefore it was but bread which he gave them: for the body of Christ is not broken, as the Scripture saith of the same, Os non comminuetis ex eo, you shall not breake a bone of him. Also he saith, This is my body, not that the bread was his body, and the wine his bloud, but he spake those words to and of his owne mortall body, there sitting amongst them at supper; or he spake yet doubtfully as thus; this signifieth my body, it is one thing which is seene, but it is another thing which is understood: for that which is seen hath a bodily forme, but that which is understood therby hath a spiritual fruit. S. Augustine saith, Let the word have accesse to the element, so is it made a sacrament; marke he saith, Let the word have accesse, and not succesSe. Now the thing that hath accesse to another thing doth not quench the thing that it cometh to, no more doth it here, ergo, it is bread and wine still as before, howbeit sacred and holy. What saw you yesterday (saith S. Augustine) upon the Altar? Truly bread and wine, which your own eies can witnesse, said he. What plainer testimony can be had of so ancient a Father as he was, and of so rare knowledge in the scriptures of God? Seeing then that our eyes do behold nothing but bread and wine, it must needs follow that it is so indeed, or else our senses be deceived in their owne proper object, which cannot be by any reason or naturall philosophy. And yet notwithstanding some Papists dreame & phantasie such a corporall, reall, and grosse presence of Christs body in the Sacrament, as they affirme it to be there even as verily as it was upon the crosse. Indeed the bread is changed after a certaine manner into Christs body: for Christ gave not his own natural body to his Disciples at his last supper, but only a signe or figure thereof. Christs body is there with the bread; our senses cannot be deceived about the substance of bread, but they do judge there to be but one body, that is of bread, ergo, so it is. Also the very definition of a Sacrament doth plainly repugne unto Transubstantiation. Bread nourisheth the substance of Christs body, but the accidents do not so; ergo, the substance doth remaine of the bread that nourisheth: it is also called bread in the Acts, and in divers other places of the Scriptures, wherefore it is so, but indeed after a sort more holy then before. What gave he in the supper? Bread, which is the body, that is to say, an holy signe of his body, as Augustine doth witnesse, saying; He doubted not to say, This is my body, when it was but a signe of his body. The unleavened bread was but a bare and naked signe of Christs body, and so is this bread the same body even as Baptisme is. Now indeed there be two manner of signes, one that signifieth onely, the other that doth exhibit the thing it self. The first is applied to the old Law chiefly, the other to the Law of grace: The old ancient and learned Fathers did never use to speake of the substantiall change, because that all the mutation is but accidentall, not substantiall; nor do we deeme the bodily substance sacramentally, but yet we say that this Proposition (this is my body) is but a figurative speech, and no proper speech, as some doe deeme. But it is as much to say as, This signifieth my body; or else thus, This is a sacrament of my body: for the bodily bread and Christs body are not contained in place locally, but mystically.

This portenteous and monstrous transubstantiation began first to enter, when the popish Prelats and Priests began first to understand this said proposition (This is my body) of the carnall and reall presence of Christs body, as Hugo de sancto victore, Gratian, Peter Lombard, and Innocent the third, the very pestilent poison of all Christian religion, unto whom we have of long season, yea alas too long, given credit. Under the which Innocent the said devillish terme or vocable of Transubstantiation began, the yere one thousand three hundred fifteene. And Boniface after him Bishop of Rome made the said mad blinde Transubstantiation to be the third article of the Faith, full wisely no doubt, whereas another Bishop of Rome after him affirmed plainly against Nestor the Heretike, that bread remaineth there still, whose name was Gelasius the third. Now as touching the most shamefull and detestable inconveniences which must needs follow this devillish terme or vocable of transubstantiation, you shall understand the first is, That then such Papists will have Christs body still prostituted & received even of the wicked and naughty people, which is clean contrary to that place of our Saviour Christ, where he saith, Whosoever eateth my flesh and drinketh my bloud dwelleth in me, and I in him. Now it is plaine, that evill persons dwell not in Christ, nor Christ in them, wherefore they receive not his body therein at all. For Saint Augustine, Tractat. 8. super Ioh. saith, it is but bread which is seen after the consecration, ergo, the substance of bread is there still. 2. The second inconvenience that groweth hereof, is the fond and superstitious reservation of the sacrament in pixes, boxes, and such like, with vaine tabernacles over the altar, where oftentimes it did putrifie for all their foolish honour; which began in Honorius his dates, the third of that name, Bishop of Rome: Which corruption declareth it to be but only bread, say all the Papists what they list. 3. The third inconvenience that must needs follow Transubstantiation, is adoration, which is too plain Idolatrie, as the Papists doe know themselves, if they list: but they are so stiffe necked that they will not know it, and so both have, and yet also will kéep the world in blindnesse still, if they might be suffered. But to be short with you; even as we are changed into Christ by receiving the Sacrament, so is the bread changed into the body of Christ. But our substance is not changed into Christs substance, ergo, the substance of the bread is not changed into Christs body. And to be short and plain with you, most honorable audience, the whole universall world hath been, and yet is sore deceived and deluded about the estimation of this Sacrament. Therefore this is most true, when we do receive the said Sacrament worthily, then are we joyned by faith spiritually to Christ our Saviour. And thus much have I said in this first matter.

The second matter to be disputed of is this:

That in the Lords Supper is none other oblation or sacrifice, then one onely remembrance of Christs death, and of thankesgiving.

IN this conclusion I will be much shorter, and more compendious then in the first. In conside-

ration whereof, you shall understand that the same is a very godly, and true catholike proposition. For to offer Christ, and to exhibite the same, is all one thing: for in that that he is offered, he is set forth to eate, there is nodifference at all betweene the maker of the sacrifice, or offerer, and the thing that was offered, which both were one Christ. The Lord did command saying, Doe this in remembrance of me; he made mention of the remembrance onely, wherefore it can be none other sacrifice but onely that. The Apostle doth declare the manner of the thing doing, saying thus, He tooke bread in his hands, he blessed it, he brake it, and gave it to his Disciples. What gave he to them? Forsooth bread, which was the Sacrament, and not his body. No earthly creature nor heavenly did ever offer up Christ at any time, but he himselfe once for all upon the Crosse, Ergo, he cannot nor ought not to be many times, and often, though that Pighius with all the blind rabble of papists say the contrary. For truely in this point especially they know not what they say, being so led by the old Pharisaicall blindnesse. But to the purpose: you shal understand, good auditors, that the pure and clean oblation and sacrifice, spoken of by the Prophet Malachie, is nothing else but devout and faithfull prayer and thanksgiving, as Tertullian saith in his third book contra Marcionem expounding the Psalme, where it is said thus, The sacrifice of laud and praise shall honour me. So doth S. Hierome, Ireneus, and S. Austen say also upon Malachie. Where also they deny that Christ is essentially in the Sacrament. Yea and S. Austen Epist. 95. ad Paulinum witnesseth, that the mortifying of our earthly members is our true Sacrifice that be Christians. And all the ancient Fathers do call prayers by the name of sacrifices. And for this purpose, whosoever list to read that most excellent and famous Clarke Zwinglius cap. 18. de articulis, shall finde the same confirmed of him by most grounded reasons, whatsoever the papists do barke against it. Thus I have declared my minde in both matters now disputable. And if any further declaration be required through the vehemencie of Arguments, I will performe the same in my answering thereunto.

There disputed against this defendant Doctor Glin, M. Langdale, M. Segewick, and M. Yong Students in Divinitie.

Glin.

Notwithstanding, right worshipfull M. Doctor, that you have so exquisitely declared your mind and opinion in every one of these matters now in contention, before this honorable & learned audience, and also though fust occasion be ministred to me to infringe your positions in both conclusions, yet I will not invade the same as now indirectly, with contrarious and vaine words to occupie the small time which is appointed us for the triall of the same, but we will go forthwith to the thing it selfe, which containeth in it matter enough. It is but folly to use many words, where few will serve our purpose, as saith the Maker of the Sentences. All words may signifie at pleasure, & commonly there be moe things then vocables. Like as sometimes there was variance amongst learned men of the unity of two substances in one personage of Christ God and man: So is there now in our dayes variance of Transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and bloud of Christ. Wherefore I doe require you first to shew me here openly what the said Transubstantiation is, that we goe not from the thing it selfe, which is our first and chiefest ground.

Madew.

As for that, I need not to shew you; for every man knoweth it.

Glin.

Peradventure it is not so, good Maker Doctor. And I am perfectly assured that every man doth not know it indeed; for it is not so light a matter as you make it to be.

Madew.

Forsooth you know it your selfe, and so doe all men else.

Glin.

Well, yet I pray you shew me what thing Christ did demonstrate and shew forth by that Article of the Neuter Gender, where he said, This is my body? What did he point at in that Article This? for if he meant by that, the bread, then Christ in the sacrament is not onely of two natures, but of three natures, as of the nature of bread, of the nature of man, and of the Divine nature, which to say were blasphemie. The argument is good, and doth hold by that text, He spake the word, and it was done; he commanded, and they were created. Moreover, if he should meane by that Article of the Neuter Gender (this) the materiall bread, then he would have said, This bread is my body, so making the Article of the Neuter Gender: or else he would have said thus, Here with this bread is my body, to have avoided ever after all heresies, errors and schismes. But he said not so, but spake the Article of the neuter gender saying, This is my body, that is to say, the thing or substance contained under the forme and kinde of bread, which you see not with your bodily eyes, is my body, according to my promise made to you before, that I would give you my very flesh to eate, John 6. In like manner when he gave the cup of his bloud, he said not this in the Neuter Gender, as he would have done if he had meant the materiall creature of wine to have remained, but he said then in the Masculine Gender, This is my bloud, that is to say, the thing contained under the forme of wine, which you see not with your bodily eies, is my bloud. For truly the holy ghost came down to lead us into all truth and verity, and not to deceive us in so notable a point of our faith. But out of doubt he should have deceived in this matter, if so be he had given us onely materiall bread and wine instead of his body and bloud, and not have fulfilled his promise made John 6. where he promiseth thus, The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. Here be two things spoken of, with two relatives, wherof the first with his relative must needs be referred to his gift in the last Supper, and the second giving of the same flesh of his, with his relative, must be applied of necessitie unto his giving of his body upon the Crosse. For do we finde in the whole Scripture, where Christ did fulfill his said promise made in the sixth of John, but at those said two times. Wherefore if we be deceived in this matter of Transubstantiation, we may well say, O Lord thou hast deceived us. But God forbid that we should once think such wickednesse of him. He must also be unjust of his promise if it be not performed at any season, as it is not indeed, if it were not at both the said times. Then if it were performed (as the Catholike Church of Christ doth hold, determine, & believe) then must it needs be granted, that he gave at his last supper his own body and flesh indeed and verily, which he gave upon the Crosse for the life of the world, though not in so fleshly a manner and bloudie, yet the very same flesh and bloud really after an unbloudie sort, and spiritually. He said not, This bread is my body, nor yet, here with the bread is my body, but, This is my body which shall be given for you. Neither said he, This wine is my bloud, nor with this wine is my bloud, which circumstance of plain speech he would have used, if the pure creatures should have remained, but he said, This is my bloud which is shed for you and for many, for the remission of sinnes, that is to say, the substance hidden under these visible formes of bread and wine, are my very proper flesh and bloud.

I pray

{King Edw. 6.}

I pray you where doe you finde in the whole bodie of the Scripture expressed, or fully understood, that Christ gave but onely a bare and naked signe, figure, or Sacrament? Or where finde you that he gave his body with bread, it remaining bread still? And if you thinke to finde it, I pray you shew me here, whether that body that he gave with materiall bread were his true body or not? If not, then it was phantastically; if it were his true body, (as you do grant) then must there nedes be two very true bodies in one place together.

Now that it was his very true body and bloud, it is certaine by the plaine words of the text saying thus, Which is betraied or given, and which is shed for you and for many. But I will let all this passe over, and I doe require of you this one question, Whether that the Sacraments of the old law and of the new law be all one.

Madew.

The Sacraments of the old law & new law, how they differ.

If you doe consider the things themselves, they be all one, but if you respect the onely signes, figures, and Sacraments outwardly, then they be divers.

Glin.

I do perceive your answer very wel, then further to our purpose, was Christ then after the same manner in the bread that came from heaven, in the Paschall Lambe, and in Isaac, as he is in this Sacrament? Which if you doe grant me, then these propositions were true, for Christ to say, this Manna is my body, this lambe is my body, this Isaac is my body. Moreover, if the Sacraments of the old law, and of the law of Grace be all one in very dede and effect, (as you seeme to grant) then what difference is betwen the Shew Bread in Moses law, and the bread that we do breake, that S. Paul speaketh of? They then had that bread, which signifieth Christ, and so doth ours (as you say;) that was bread, so is ours; and so by your reason there is no difference betwen them: yea their Manna, because it came from heaven, was better then this earthly bread, that cometh from beneath, which is contrary to the truth; for Saint John saith, That the Law was given by Moses, but the veritie was given by Iesus Christ. Wherefore that which Christ gave was not onely a signe, but also the verity, that is to say, the living bread that came down from heaven, the true Lambe that taketh away the sins of the world, and Isaac himself which is Christ, or els you must grant me that we Christians doe receive lesse then the Iews did. For they received the bread called Manna from heaven, and we onely a poore morsell of bread from the earth. Theirs was called Angels food, and ours is, as you hold, little better then common bread. Me seemeth that you doe distruct the doctrine of the faith of Christendome for these 500. yeares, even as though Christ had forsaken his Catholike Church after 1000. yeares, but that is not so; for he promised his holy spirit to assist his spouse the Church, and to leade her continually into all truth from time to time, as need should require. As I remember, you said that adoration did follow upon Transubstantiation; but the Fathers for one thousand yeers past doe grant Adoration of the Sacrament, therefore Transubstantiation also. The Minor I prove by the most cleere testimonies of S. Austen, S. Ambrose, S. Denise, S. Basill, and Saint Chrysostome.

Adoration of the Sacrament maintained by Glin.

Madew.

I denie Maister Doctor, that I said any such thing; and therewith I say that the Fathers doe understand by Adoration a certaine reverent manner, that we should receive the Lords supper with, which may be called a certaine veneration, but no adoration.

Glin.

No may? Saint Austen (De Civitate Dei) witnesseth that the Ethnikes and Paynims do esteme the Christians to worship and adore the gods of wheat and barly called Ceres, and the god of wine called Bacchus. And againe S. Austen saith thus, Lo, no man eateth of that bread except he first adore and worship it.

Madew.

By your patience Saint Austen in that place speaketh of the honouring of Christs body now sitting in heaven.

Glin.

Yea maister Doctor, thinke you so? and why not also of his blessed body in the Sacrament? Seeing that he saith it is there, This is my body which is given for you, saith he. More plainly he needeth not to speake for the reall presence of his blessed body, being both able and willing to verifie his word. For if a cunning Lapidarie should say to you or me, this is a true right Diamond, a perfect Carbuncle, Saphyre, Emrode, or any such precious stone, we would beleeve him, though we were ignorant of their natures. Wherefore we ought much more to beleeve our Saviour Christ, God and man, in that he saith, This is my body. And why then ought we not to honour it in the Sacrament? Or how many bodies hath Christ, seeing you doe grant his body in heaven to be honoured, but not his body here in the Sacrament?

Matth. 26. Mark 14.

Reall presence defended by the Papists.

Madew.

Forsooth he hath but one very body, and no moe, but the same is sacramentally in the Sacrament, and substantially in heaven; here by faith, and there in deed.

Glin.

Well yet once again to you thus. The very true body of Christ is to be honoured, but the same very true body is in the Sacrament, Ergo, the body of Christ in the sacrament is to be honoured.

Argument.

Rochester.

Welbeloved frends and brethren in our Saviour Christ, you must understand that this disputation, with other that shal be after this, are appointed to search for the plaine truth of the holy Scriptures in these matters of Religion, which of a long season have bin hidden from us by the false glosses of that great Antichrist and his ministers of Rome, and now in our daies must be revealed to us Englishmen, through the great mercy of God principally, & secondarily through the most gentle clemencie of our naturall soveraigne Lord the Kings Majestie, whom the living Lord long preserve to reign over us in health, wealth, and godlinesse, to the maintenance of Gods holy word, and to the extirpation of all blinde glosses of men that goe about to subvert the truth. Because therefore that I am one that doth love the truth, and have professed the same amongst you, therefore I say, because of conferring my mind with yours, I will here gladly declare what I think in this point now in controversie. Not because this worshipfull doctor hath any need of my helpe in dissolving of arguments proposed against him, for as me seemeth he hath answered hitherto very well and clarkely according to the truth of Gods word. But now to the purpose. I doe grant unto you M. opponent that the old ancient Fathers do record and witnesse a certaine honour and adoration to be due unto Christs body, but then they speake not of it in the sacrament, but of it in heaven at the right hand of the Father, as holy Chrysost. saith, Honor thou it, & then eat it: but that honor may not be given to the outward signe, but to the body of Christ it selfe in heaven. For that body is there onely in a signe vertually, by grace, in the exhibition of it in spirit, effect, and faith, to the worthy receiver of it. For we receive vertually onely Christs body in the Sacrament.

Bishop Ridley replyeth.

Christ to be honored in heaven not in the Sacrament.

Glin.

How then (if it please your good Lordship) doth Baptisme differ from this Sacrament? For in that we receive Christ also by grace and vertually.

Rochester.

Christ worketh otherwise in baptisme, then in the sacramentall bread.

Christ is present after another sort in Baptisme then in this sacrament; for in that he purgeth and washeth the infant from all kinde of sinne, but here he doth feed spiritually the receiver in faith with all the merits of his blessed death and passion. And yet he is in heaven still really and substantially. As for example, The Kings Majestie our Lord and Master, is but in one place, wheresoever that his royall person is abiding for the time, and yet his mighty power and authoritie is every where in his realms and Dominions: So Christs reall person is onely in heaven substantially placed, but his might is in all things created effectually. For Christs flesh may be understood for the power or inward might of his flesh.

Glin.

Object. If it please your Fatherhood, Saint Ambrose and Saint Augustine do say, that before the consecration it is but very bread, and after the consecration it is called the very body of Christ.

Madew.

Answer. Indeed it is the very body of Christ Sacramentally after the consecration, whereas before it is nothing but common bread, and yet after that it is the Lords bread, and thus must Saint Ambrose and Saint Augustine be understood.

¶ Here the Proctors commanded the Opponent to divert to the second conclusion, but he requested them, that they would permit him as long in this matter, as they would in the second, and so he still prosecuted the first matter as followeth.

Glin.

Well cavilled and like a Papist. THe bread after consecration doth feed the soule, Ergo, the substance of common bread doth not remain. The Argument is good, for S. Ambr. De Sacramentis saith thus, After the consecration there is not the thing that nature did forme, but that which the blessing doth consecrate. And if the benediction of the Prophet Elias did turne the nature of water, how much more then doth the benediction of Christ here both God and man?

Madew.

That book of S. Ambrose is suspected to be none of his workes.

Rochester.

So all the Fathers say.

Glin.

I do marvell at that, for S. Austen in his booke of Retractations maketh plaine that that was his owne very work.

Rochester.

He speaketh indeed of such a book so intituled, to Saint Ambrose, but yet we doe lack the same book indeed.

Glin.

Cyprian. Wel, let it then passe to other mens judgements. What then say you to holy S. Cyprian 1200. yers past? Who saith that the bread, which our Lord gave to his Disciples, was not changed in forme, or qualitie; but in very nature, and by the Almighty word was made flesh.

Madew.

I do answer thus, That this word flesh may be taken two waies, either for the substance it selfe, or else for a naturall propertie of a fleshly thing. So that Cyprian there did mean of a naturall propertie, and not of fleshly substance. And contrariwise in the rod of Aaron, where both the substance and also the propertie was changed.

Glin.

Ambrose. Holy S. Ambrose saith, the body there made by the mightie power of Gods word is the body of the Virgin Mary.

Rochester.

That is to say, that by the word of God the thing hath a being, that it had not before, and we do consecrate the body, that we may receive the grace and power of the body of Christ in heaven by this Sacramentall body.

Glin.

By your patience (my Lord) if it be a body of the Virgin (as Saint Ambrose saith) which we doe consecrate as ministers by Gods holy Word, then must it needs be more then a sacramentall, or spirituall body; yea a very body of Christ indeed, yea the same that is still in heaven without all moving from place to place, unspeakably, and farre passing our naturall reason, which is in this mysterie so captivate, that it cannot conceive how it is there, without a lively faith to Gods Word. But let this passe. You doe grant that this bread doth quicken or give life, which if it doe, then it is not a naturall bread, but a supersubstantiall bread.

Rochester.

So doth the effectuall and lively word of God, which for that it nourisheth the Soule, it doth give life; for the Divine essence infuseth it selfe unspeakably into the faithfull receiver of the Sacrament.

Glin.

Damascene. How then say you to holy Damascene a Greeke Author, who, as one Tritenius saith, flourished one thousand yeares past; he saith thus, The body that is of the holy Virgin Mary is joyned to the Divinitie after the consecration in verity, and indeed: not so as the body once assumpted into heaven, and sitting on the Fathers right hand, doth remove from thence and cometh downe at the consecration time, but that the same bread and wine are substantially transumpted into the very body and bloud of our Lord Jesus Christ. If (saith he) thou dost not know the manner how it is brought to passe, let it be enough to thee to beleeve that it is done by the operation of the holy Ghost, and we do know no more but that the living word of God is working and Almightie, but the very manner how, is inscrutable to us: and no great marvell, saith he, for we cannot well expresse how the materiall bread, wine, or water are transumpted naturally into the same body and bloud of the receiver, and be become another body then they were before. So saith this great ancient Clarke, also this Shewbread with wine and water are changed, by the coming of the holy Ghost, into Christs body and bloud, and they be not two bodies there, but very one (of Christ) and the same.

Rochester.

Damascene expounded. First I denie (maister Doctor) that Damascene was one thousand yeeres past; secondarily, I say that he is not to be holden as an ancient Father, for that he maintaineth in his workes evill and damnable doctrine, as the worshipping of Images and such like. Thirdly, I say that indeed God by his holy spirit is the worker of that which is done in the sacrament. Also I grant that there is a mutation of the common bread and wine spiritually into the Lords Bread and Wine, by the sanctifying of them in the Lords word. But I deny that there is

any

{King Edw. 6.}

any mutation of the substances; for there is no other change there indeed, then there is in us, which when we do receive the sacrament worthily, then are we changed into Christs body, bones and blood, not in nature, but spiritually, and by grace, much like as Isaiah saw the burning coal, even so we see not there the very simple bread as it was before the Consecration; for an union cannot be but of two very things. Wherefore if we be joyned to Christ receiving the sacrament, then there is no annihilation of bread, which is, when it is reduced to nothing, as it is in your feigned Transubstantiation.

A spiritual mutation of the bread and wine, but no mutation of the substance.

Glin.

So I perceive you would have me to grant that the sacrament is but a figure, which Theophylactus doth deny.

Rochester.

Theophylact expounded.

You say truth, he denieth it indeed to be a figure, but he meaneth that it is not onely a figure.

Glin.

Whereas saint Paul saith, That we being many are one bread, he speaketh not, nor meaneth one materiall bread, as you do here, ergo, he speaketh of heavenly bread. And holy Chrysostome upon Matthew saith, That the Paschall Lambe was a figure, but the mystery is the veritie. For the disciples would not have been offended to have drunk a figure of Christs blood, being well accustomed to figures. For Christ did not institute a figure for a figure, but the cleer verity in stead of the figure, as saint John saith. Grace and veritie was given by Christ. Doest thou see bread? (saith Chrysostome) doth it avoid or passe as other meats do which we receive? God forbid. Ergo, &c.

The Paschall lambe a figure.

Madew.

The materiall parts of the sacrament ishue out as other meats do.

That ancient Clerk Origen upon the 15. of S. Matthew saith thus, As touching that which is materiall in the sacrament, it descendeth and issueth out as other nutriments do, but as concerning that which is celestiall, it doth not so.

Glin.

Chrysostome, Homily 83. upon Matthew saith, That we cannot be deceived of Christs words, but our naturall senses may be deceived in this point very soon and easily; his said words cannot be false, but our senses be many times beguiled of their judgements. Because therefore that Christ said, This is my body, let us not at any hand doubt (saith he) but let us beleeve it, and well perceive it with the eyes of our understanding. And within a little after in that place he saith thus, It was not enough that he was become man, and afterwards was scourged for us, but also he did reduce and bring us to be as one body with him, not through faith onely, but in very deed also he maketh us his body. And after that, he saith that these works are not of mans power. But the same things that he wrought in his last supper, he now worketh also by his precept to his right Ministers, and we do occupie the place of the same Ministers, but he it is that doth sanctifie and transumpt the creatures, he performeth still the same.

Rochester.

M. Doctor, you must understand, that in that place S. Chrysostome sheweth us that Christ delivered to us no sensible thing at his last supper.

Glin.

Honorable sir, by your patience I grant that he gave to his disciples no sensible thing in substance, but a thing insensible, his owne precious body and blood, under the onely kindes of creatures. And truly, as it seemeth, Theophylactus best knew the meaning of Chrysostome, because all authors accept him as a faithfull Interpreter of him. And he hath these same plain words transelemented and transformed. Also Theophylactus Alexandrinus super Marcum, Cyrillus, and saint Augustine saith, That before the Consecration it is bread, but afterwards it is Christs very body. In like manner saint Augustine upon the 33. Psalme saith, that in his last supper Christ did bear himself in his own hands. Now every man may bear the figure of his bodie in his owne hands, but saint Austine saith it there for a miracle. Irenæus in his fifth booke is of the same minde. And saint Austine saith, I do remember my words, &c. The law and figures were by Moses, but the verity and body came by Christ.

Rochester.

Well, say what you list, it is but a figurative speech, like to this, If you will receive, and understand he is Elias, for a property, but indeed he was not Elias, but John the Baptist. And so in this place Christ calleth it his body, when it was very bread. But better then the common bread, because it was sanctified by the word of Christ.

¶ Here master Langdale replied to Doctor Madew.

Langdale.

Two things noted in M. Madews position.

RIght worshipfull master Doctor by your patience I have noted two things that you affirmed in your position, even now before this honourable audience, the which, as me seemeth, are not consonant to the truth of Gods word. The first is as touching Christs saying, I will not from hencefoorth drink any more of the fruit of the Vine, until I drink it new with you, &c. Which place of the Scripture you did, as I think, understand, and interpret as though nothing else remained after the consecration, but very wine still. Whereof I do not a little marvell, seeing that most famous Clark Erasmus, whose authoritie and sentence you refuse at this present onely, yet nevertheless is very worthy, in this matter, of farre better estimation amongst learned men. Wherefore I trust I shall not offend to alledge him before this learned and honourable auditory. He plainly affirmeth that for all his great labour in searching the scriptures, he could never finde either in the Evangelists or yet in the Apostolicall doctrine, that it might be, or was called wine, after the consecration. And therefore I cannot but marvell, if the thing be so open and plaine, as in your declaration you seeme to make it, that such a profound Clark as he was could not finde it out. For that said place he intreated of in his Paraphrases, in his annotations, and in others of his lucubrations, and yet he plainly denyeth that same verie thing to be found of him, which you here openly affirmed, that it is wine, or may be so called after the consecration duely performed by a right Minister. I beseech you not to be offended, though I credit not your saying in this so weightie a matter of Christian Religion, as I do his.

The saying of Erasmus of the Lords supper.

Madew.

No forsooth, I will not be offended one jot with you. But to content your minde in this point; It is most constant and sure, that Erasmus was of that minde and opinion, that it was enough for a Christian to beleeve Christs body and blood to be in the Sacrament in what manner or condition soever it were.

Langdale.

Erasmus his opinion of the sacrament.

By your licence, good master Doctor, these be Erasmus words. The Church of Christ hath determined very lately Transubstantiation in the Sacrament. It was of a long season enough to beleeve Christs body to be either under the bread consecrated, or else to be present after any other manner. But yet, saith he, after that the said Church had pondered and weighed the thing more pithily with greater judgement, then she made a more certaine determination of the same. In the which place, 1. Cor. 7. Erasmus saith, That the preceeding

{Anno 1549.}

Enough to beleeve Christ to be present in the sacrament any manner of way.

ding of the holy Ghost equally from the Father, and the Sonne, was also determined of the same Church. But let this passe. And as touching the second point which I noted in your so eloquent declaration, which was, that you did wrest and wring the saying of Tertullian from the veritie of his minde; for you said that he doth interpret the Prophet Malachie, speaking of our daily sacrifice in the New Law, to meane nothing else by that sacrifice in that place, but prayer and thanksgiving. But the said ancient Clerke Tertullian hath not those words that you do alledge of him, that is to say (Nothing else.) And yet though that Oecolampadius doth so interpret that place, yet (as me seemeth) the iudgement of the whole Christian Church is to be preferred in such a matter of Religion. But I will passe over this point, and return to the matter it self. And first I do require of your maistership, whether that this sentence, This is my body, be spoken of Christ figuratively or not.

Tertullian his interpretation upon Malachy.

Madew.

After the minde of the common glosse of Cyprian and Origen, it is so taken in very deed.

Langdale.

That cannot be by your patience, for it is taken there substantially, ergo not figuratively.

Madew.

I deny your argument.

Langdale.

I prove my argument good, thus: This word substance doth plainly repugne and is contrarie to this word figure, ergo substantially and figuratively do also repugne. Moreover I aske of you, whether that this be a true proposition or not, Bread is Christs body.

Madew.

Yea forsooth it is a true proposition.

A true proposition, bread is Christs body.

Langdale.

Then thus to you: Christs body was given for us, but you say that Bread is Christs Body, ergo Bread was given for us.

Rochester.

Not so sir, for your former proposition is of double understanding.

Langdale.

Well, yet you M. Doctor do grant that Christ is substantially in the sacrament.

Madew.

No, I deny that I said so ever.

Langdale.

Yea? do you so? Well, I passe not thereupon greatly, for I will prove it by another means. Christ did suffer his most glorious passion for us really and substantially, ergo he is also in the sacrament substantially. The argument is good, because that it is the same here that was there crucified for us, howbeit here invisibly, indeed spiritually and sacramentally, but there visibly, and after a mortall and most bloody manner.

Christ not substantially in the sacrament. Christs body in the sacrament sacramentally, and on the crosse after a mortall and bloody sort. Christ crucified substantially, but yet is in the sacrament figuratively.

Rochester.

Master Langdale, your argument doth well conclude, in case that his body were here in the Sacrament after such a sort as it was when he was betrayed. But that is not so, for he was betrayed and crucified in his naturall body substantially and really in very deed; but in the sacrament he is not so, but spiritually and figuratively onely.

Langdale.

By your good Lordships favour that is not so, for he is there not figuratively, but verily and indeed by the power of his mighty word, yea even his verie own naturall Body under the sacrament duly performed by the lawfull minister.

Madew.

O say not so, for you speak blasphemie.

Langdale.

No, no, Master Doctor, God forbid that either I or any man else should be noted of blasphemie, saying nothing but the very plain truth, as in my conscience and learning I do no lesse.

Rochester.

O M. Langdale, I wis it becometh you not here to have such words.

Langdale.

If it like your good Lordship, I gave not the first occasion of them, but onely did refute that which I was unjustly burthened withall, as reason doth require, and it grieved me to hear it. He saith, if it please your Lordship, that there is a mutation or change of the bread after it is consecrated; which if it be so, as I grant no lesse, then I would require of him, whether it be changed in the substance, or in the accidents, or else in both, or in nothing? No man can justly say that there is a change into nothing. And all ancient Fathers do agree, that the same accidents are there still after, that were before; nor doth any Doctor say, That there is any mutation both of the substance and accidents also, ergo, the substance of bread is changed into some other thing that is there really present under the forms of bread and wine, which by Christs words must needs be his own blessed body.

A question whether the bread be changed in accidents or substance.

Rochester.

Sir you are deceived greatly, for there is no change either of the substances or of the accidents; but in very deed there do come unto the bread other accidents, insomuch that whereas the bread & wine were not sanctified before, nor holy, yet afterwards they be sanctified, and so do receive then another sort or kinde of vertue which they had not before.

No change of the substance, nor yet of the accidents in the sacrament.

¶ Here is to be noted, That Peter Martyr in his answer at Oxford did grant a change in the substances of bread and wine, which in Cambridge by the Bishop D. Ridley was denied.

Langdale.

By your patience, reverend Father, by such means a man may easily avoid all the mysteries of our Christian faith. As where it is said thus of God the Father, This is my beloved Son, &c. A man may also wring that to be understood thus, This is the image of my welbeloved son, or, This is the vertue of my welbeloved son; yea much more justly then your good Lordship doth the other; because S. Paul to the Hebrews doth call the Son the image of the Father, and in another place he calleth him the power or vertue of God, and Gods Wisedome. Now though he be so called in Scripture, God forbid that we should call him onely Gods Image, or Gods vertue, and not God himself.

How Scripture may be abused to any purpose as commonly the Papists use it.

Rochester.

O gentle master Langdale, you ought not to reason after such a sort as you do now, because that a trope or figurative speech is nocive somewhere, but not every where, nor in this matter.

A figurative speech somewhere hurtfull, somewhere not.

Langdale.

Yet by your licence, honourable Father, it doth appeare to me no trope at all in these words of Christ, This is my body which is given for you, and that for this reason; Christ did exhibite or give again the very same things at his last supper, by the which things he was joyned to us; but he was joyned or knit unto us by his owne naturall flesh and blood, ergo he did exhibite to us at his last supper no lesse again. My former proposition I prove by the testimonie of saint Chrysostome, whose words in Christs person are these; I would be your Brother, I took upon me common flesh and blood for your sakes, and even by the same things that I am joyned to you, the very same I have exhibited to you again, &c.

A fond reason wherefore this is my body should seeme no figurative speech.

¶ Here the Proctors commanded Langdale to give place to another.

Rochester.

We are not joyned by naturall flesh, but do receive his flesh spiritually from above.

¶ Here

{King Edw. 6.}

¶ Here M. Segewicke replyed.

{Anno 1549.}

Whether the article of the neuter gender (this) be referred to the bread or to the body.

RIght worshipfull master Doctor, I do also aske of you first of all, whether the Greek Article (this) of the neuter gender, be referred to the word (bread) or to the word (body:) if it be referred to the word (bread) then Christ would not have said (this) in the neuter gender, but rather (this) in the masculine gender.

Rochester.

Forsooth that article is referred to neither of both, but may signifie unto us any other kinde of thing.

Segewicke.

No forsooth, but it doth note unto us some excellent great thing determinately, and not so confusedly as you say. For such a great heap of Articles, in the Greek, doth notifie unto us a great and weightie thing to be in the sacrament determinately, if we may credit the ancient Fathers. Moreover this word (bread) is not alwayes in the scriptures taken after one sort: Wherefore I desire you to shew me how it is taken in this place of saint Paul; We that are many, are one bread, &c.

Bread taken diverslie in the Scripture.

Madew.

Forsooth of the very wheaten bread.

Segewicke.

Then, after your minde, we are all very wheaten bread.

Rochester.

How we are bread, and how not.

Forsooth we are bread, not for the nature of bread, but for the fellowship and unitie that is noted by the coagulation of many grains into one bread or loafe.

Segewicke.

Well let that passe, then thus. It is the bodie, Ergo, no figure; because there is a perpetuall contrarietie betweene the Law of Moses and the law of grace. Therein were figures and shadows, and herein is the veritie indeed.

Rochester.

How the bread is Christs body.

I do grant it to be Christs true body and flesh, by a propertie of the nature assumpted to the Godhead, yea and we do really eat and drink his flesh and blood after a certain reall propertie.

Segewicke.

It is not the figurative paschall lambe, it is not the figurative Manna, nor yet the figurative shewbread, &c. Ergo, it is no figure.

Madew.

I denie your argument.

Segewicke.

I maintaine my argument thus. All the shadows are wholly past, Ergo, so also be the figures; for every figure is a shadow: if then it be but a figure, all the figures are not past as yet; but that is false, Ergo, so is the other.

Rochester.

The bread but a figure, and how.

It is nothing but a figure or token of the true bodie of Christ; as it is said of John the Baptist, he is Elias, not that he was so in deed or person, but in property and vertue he represented Elias.

Segewicke.

So: But most learned Father, when Christ said, I am the way, the truth, and the life, may it be understood as you do the other place thus, I am the vertue of the way, veritie, and the life? But now to the matter it selfe. It is verily meat, Ergo, it is not figuratively.

Madew.

This verbe or word (is) in this place is taken for that that signifieth.

Here he was commanded to reply in the second matter.

Segewicke.

NOw as touching our second conclusion this I say. Whereseever Christ is, there is a Sacrifice propitiatorie; but in the Lords Supper is Christ; Ergo, in the Lords Supper is a Sacrifice propitiatorie.

Madew.

Christ not offered but received in spirit.

Christ is not offered in the Lords supper, but is received spiritually.

Segewicke.

The priesthood and the sacrifice be correspondent together; but Christs priesthood after the order of Melchisedech is perpetuall, Ergo also so is his sacrifice.

Rochester.

Christs sacrifice offered once for all is onely sufficient without any other. Christs sacrifice an end of all sacrifices.

Christ is a Priest for ever, that is to say, his priesthood, and sacrifice, offered once for all, is available for ever, so that no other shall succeed him.

Segewicke.

Where there is no oblation, there is no sacrifice, Ergo, if Christ be not perpetually offered, there is no perpetuall sacrifice. Item, the same bloody sacrifice of Christ upon the crosse was the very fine and end of all the bloodie sacrifices figured in the Law after the order of Aarons priesthood. Wherefore you must neds grant that he offered himselfe also at his last supper after the order of Michisedech under the formes of bread and wine; or else you must shew the scripture where he did so, which I cannot perceive to be done, but at his last supper onely, after an unbloody manner. Item, he is offered for the remission of sinnes daily; ergo, he is a sacrifice propitiatorie still in the new law, as saint Augustine saith, expounding these words of the Psalme, Thou hast not willed to have sacrifice and oblation, but, &c.

Rochester.

Saint Cyprian speaketh much like that sort, where he saith thus, it is the Lords passion, which we do offer, &c.

Segewicke.

In the old law there were many sacrifices propitiatorie; ergo, there be also in the new law; or else you must grant that God is not so beneficiall now to us, as then he was to them, seeing that we be as fraile, and as nedy as ever were they, which must be especially the most pure daily Sacrifice of Christs bodie and blood, that holy Malachie speaketh of.

Madew.

What sacrifice it is that Malachy speaketh of.

As touching the place of Malachie the Prophet, I answer, That it is nothing to your purpose for the offering of Christ daily in the sacrament. For that sacrifice there spoken of is nothing else but the sincere and most pure preaching of Gods holy word, of prayer and of thanksgiving to God the Father through Jesus Christ.

Here M. Segewicke was commanded to cease to master Yong.

Yong.

VVOrshipfull master Doctor, although you have learnedly, and clarkly defended these your conclusions this day; yet seeing that I am now placed to impugne them in place of a better, I do begin thus with you. It hath pleased Christ to make

make us partakers of his holy spirit, and that in very deed, by receiving of the Christian faith, hope and charitie; Ergo, much more of his own blessed body and blood, spiritually and in very deed, in the Lords supper. Item, the Angels food was altogether holy from above, and heavenly, called Manna; Ergo, also this celestiall and heavenly food can be justly esteemed to be of no lesse excellency then that, but without comparison better; and so no verie wheat, after due consecration of it. Item the words of holy scripture are evermore effectuall and working; Ergo they must performe the thing indeed that they do promise. For he that might create, might also change at his pleasure the natures and substances of creatures, as appeareth that Christ did by changing water into wine at a marriage in Galile. But Christ in the Scripture did promise, John 6. that the bread that he would give is his flesh in deed, which promise was never fulfilled till in his last supper, when he took bread, gave thanks, blessed it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my body. Which bread then was his flesh indeed, as doth well appeare in the said place, and nert promise depending upon the same, thus, which flesh I will give for the life of the world. This last promise was fulfilled by him upon the Crosse; Ergo, the first was likewise at his last supper. So that it was but one, and the same flesh, first and last promised and performed.

The words of Scripture ever effectuall.

Rochester.

Indeed the words of holy scripture do worke their effects potentially and throughly by the mighty operation of the spirit of God.

Yong.

If it please your Lordship, man is fed and nourished with Christs blood; Ergo, then it is his blood indeed, though it do not so appeare to our outward senses, which be deceived; for Christ saith, This is my blood; And also, My blood is drinke indeed. And because that we should not abhorre his blessed blood in his naturall kinde, or his flesh if they should be so ministred unto us; of his most excellent mercy, and goodnesse, condescending to our weake infirmities, he hath appointed them to be given us, under the sensible kinds of his convenient creatures, that is to say, of bread and wine. Also our body is fed with Christs body, which is meat indeed, but it cannot be nourished with that that is not there present; ergo, Christs body that feedeth us must needs be present in very deed in the sacrament. Item the nature of bread is changed; but the nature of the bread, and the substance of it, is one and the same thing; ergo, the substance also is changed. My first proposition is S. Cyprians de cœna Domini, saying, that the bread in figure is not changed, but in nature.

Man is nourished by the force of Christ his blood by faith, but not by drinking it really in the cup.

Rochester.

Cyprian there doth take this word nature for a property of nature onely, and not for the naturall substance.

Cyprian expounded.

Yong.

That is a strange acception, that I have not read in any Author before this time; but yet, by your leave, the communion of Christs body cannot be there where his body is not; but the communion of Christs body is in the Sacrament; ergo, Christs body is there present in very deed.

Rochester.

Grace is there communicated to us by the benefit of Christs body sitting in heaven.

Yong.

Not so onely, for we are members of his flesh, and bones of his bones.

Rochester.

We be not consubstantiall with Christ, God forbid that, but we are joyned to his mysticall bodie through his holy spirit, and the Communion of his flesh is communicated to us spiritually through the benefit of his flesh in heaven.

We be not consubstantial with Christ, but joyned to him by his holy spirit.

Yong.

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Well, I am contented, and do most humbly beseech your good Lordship, to pardon me of my great rudenesse and imbecillitie, which I have here shewed.

Here ended the first disputation, holden at Cambridge the 20. day of Iune, 1549.

¶ The second disputation holden at Cambridge the foure and twentieth day of Iune, 1549.

D. Glin in his first conclusion.

THe mysteries of faith (as Augustine witnesseth) may very profitably be beleeved, but they cannot well be searched forth, as saith the scripture, I beleeved, therefore I spake; and he that confesseth me before men, him will I confesse before my Father which is in heaven. We beleeve every man in his art, therefore much more Christ our Saviour in his Word. Marvell not most honorable Lords and worshipfull Doctors that I speak thus now, for once you your selves spake the same. But peradventure some will say, Beleeve not every spirit. I answer, Charity beleeveth all things, but not in all things. If those things which I shall utter be convinced as false, I shall desire you to take them as not spoken at all. But these are the words of truth, *Hoc est corpus meum*, This is my bodie; Christ spake them, therefore I dare not say, This bread is my bodie, for so Christ said not; Christ said thus, This is my body, and therefore I, but dust and ashes, yea a worme before him, dare not say, This is a figure of his body: heaven and earth, saith he, shall passe, but my word shall not passe. Whatsoever our old father Adam called every creature, that is his name to this day: the new Adam Christ Jesus said, This is my body, and is it not so? He never said, This is a figure of my body, nor, Eat you this figure, or signe of my body. And therefore when the Paschal Lambe was set before him, he said not, this is my body. Wherefore if at the day of judgement Christ should say to me, Why hast thou beleeved that this is my body? I would answer him, because thou hast so called it. I beleeved it not to be a figure, because thou saidst not that it was a figure. Other reasons to avouch I know not. Of the word it self I contend not, but the thing it self I defend, for we must speak regularly. Thus Christ, thus the Apostles, thus all the ancient Fathers have spoken, our Fathers had but onely figures and shadows; but the Church of God hath the truth it selfe with the signes. Tertullian saith, one figure containeth not another; but Melchizedech was a figure; ergo this is the body. The sacraments of the Jews were signes and tokens; but ours be both the signes, and the thing signified also. Luther himself confessed, That the body was present with the bread, and could not deny it. Oecolampadius took it for a figure onely. Chrysostome demanding wherefore Christ gave his body before his passion, rather then at any other time; answereth, That he might tie the truth to the figure, saying, Take, eat, this is my bodie, not a figure of my body. And the same Chrysostome saith againe, If it were but bare bread, or but a figure, wherefore should his disciples have been offended in eating a figure. Againe, in his eightie third Homily upon Matthew, They are not any humane works which he did work at his last supper, he it is that worketh, he maketh perfect, we are his ministers, but it is he that sanctifieth and changeth the elements of bread and wine into his body and blood. Again, Doest thou see bread and wine? Do they passe into the belly like other meats? God forbid, &c. Theophilus Alexandrinus upon

Mysteries may better be beleeved, then curiously searched.

As Christ called not the bread a figure, so he speaking figuratively at other times called them not plain figures, though they were so.

The sacraments of the Jews were signes of Christ to come, ours of Christ already come.

these

{KING EDW. 6.} theſe words of Mark the Euangeliſt, This is my body, ſaith, This which I giue, and which you receiue, is not onely bread, or a figure of Chriſts body, but the truth it ſelfe; for if it ſhould appeare as it is, in form of fleſh and blood, we ſhould loath it, and therefore the Lord, condeſcending to our weakneſſe, retaineth the forms of bread and wine, and yet conuerteth the ſame into the truth of his bodie and blood. Theophylactus ſaith; the bread and the wine is the very body and blood of Chriſt, and not a figure onely. If you ſtand in ſuſpenſe of the author, or approue him not, yet know you that he is counted and taken amongſt all the learned for a moſt faithfull interpreter of Chryſoſtome; The bread (ſaith he) is tranſelementate, and tranſmuted into another ſubſtance then it was before. Auguſtine ſaith there was great heed taken in the Primitiue Church, leſt any part of the ſacrament ſhould fall down to the ground, &c. Cyrillus ſaith, Leſt we ſhould abhor fleſh and blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, God humbleth himſelfe to our weakneſſe, pouring and infuſing the force of life into it, and making it the very truth of his owne bleſſed bodie and blood. Damaſcene calleth it a Diuine body, or a body deified. Origene, Irenæus, Euſebius, Hieronymus, with all the reſt of the ancient catholike Fathers, are of the ſame opinion with me, all which to produce it were too long.

The declaration of Doctor Glin upon his ſecond concluſion.

Chriſt hath offered himſelfe Ergo, no man ought to offer him.

THe ſacrifice and offering up of Chriſts bodie in the ſacrament of the Altar (right honourable and worſhipfull) I will defend euen to the effuſion of blood, as a thing conſonant to Scripture, whereof Paul ſpeaketh to the Hebrews. But perchance ſome will obiect, Chriſt offered up himſelf; Ergo, you ought not to offer him. I anſwer, yea, becauſe he offered himſelf, therefore I offer him, for except he had offered himſelfe, I could not haue offered him. But you will ſay, Chriſts death is ſufficient, and therefore you ought not to offer him again. I anſwer: ſo may we ſay, we need neither to faſt nor pray, for Chriſt hath done both ſufficiently for us. Again, you will obiect, if you offer him vp again, you crucifie him anew. I anſwer, not ſo, for many haue offered him that haue not crucified him, as Abraham, Iſaac, Moſes, the Leuites, Anna, Samuel. We offer Chriſt, but not to the death, but in commemoration of his death, there being not onely a commemoration thereof, but alſo the very preſence of Chriſts body and blood. Irenæus ſaith, Chriſt counſelled his diſciples to offer the firſt fruits of all their goods to God, not that he needed any of them, but for that they ſhould not ſhew themſelues fruitleſſe, or ungratefull, and therefore Chriſt tooke the creature of bread, gaue thanks, and ſaid, This is my body, and likewiſe the creature of the cup, and confeſſed, ſaying, This is my blood of the new Teſtament. Thus Chriſt hath taught a new kinde of oblation, which the Church receiuing from the Apoſtles, offereth to God throughout all the whole world, who onely giueth vnto vs all kinde of food, and the firſt fruits of his gracious gifts in the new Teſtament, whereof Malachie thus ſaith, I haue no pleaſure in you, ſaith the Lord of hoſts, I will not receiue any ſacrifices at your hands, becauſe my name is glorified amongſt the nations from the Eaſt to the Weſt, ſaith the Lord, and in euery place is incenſe and pure ſacrifice offered to my Name.

Chriſt is the onely true ſacrifice for ſin, and without him there is no mo.

But here it may be obiected, Chriſt is the onely ſacrifice for ſin, and without him there is no moe. I anſwer, notwithſtanding we haue this commandement, Do this in remembrance of me, and although I denie not that it is a commemoration, yet I deny that it it an onely commemoration; I deny his abſence, and I affirm his preſence.

Here endeth the Declaration of D. Glin.

Maſter Perne.

The Papiſts reſtrain the vſe of Scriptures.

VVHereas you ſay (moſt reuerend maſter doctor) in your propoſition, I beleeued, and therefore I ſpake, and we beleeue, and therefore do ſpeak, our conſciences ſuggeſting the ſame vnto vs, and again that myſteries are not to be ſearched, and the like; it ſeemeth you go about to reſtrain the ſearching of holy Scriptures, whereas Chriſt ſaith Scrutamini Scripturas, Search the Scriptures. Moreouer you haue cited the Fathers confuſedly, and without order; you left Tranſubſtantiation, and indeauour your ſelfe to proue the reall preſence in the ſacrament, whereas we deny nothing leſſe then his corporal preſence, or the abſence of his ſubſtance in the bread.

Glin.

You inueigh wonderfully you know not againſt what; for neither I, nor yet Auguſtine do denie the ſearching of the Scriptures, but I ſaid out of Auguſtine, myſteries are not to be ſearched; it is another thing to ſearch myſteries, then it is to ſearch the Scriptures: whereas you require of me a regular order of citing the Doctors, I had not (as all men know) the libertie of time ſo to do; but if you deſire me ſo earneſtly to perform that, if time may be granted me, I will eaſily fulfill your requeſt.

Perne.

I pray you let me aſke you what is a ſacrament.

Glin.

A Sacrament is a viſible ſigne of an inuiſible grace.

Perne.

Auguſtine againſt Maximinus the Arian Biſhop, maketh this definition of a Sacrament. A Sacrament is a thing ſignifying one thing and ſhewing another thing.

Glin.

I refuſe not his reaſon.

Perne.

What is the thing figured by the ſacrament?

Glin.

The thing figured is twofold, to wit, the thing contained and ſignified, and the thing ſignified and yet not contained. For there be three things contained, the true body of Chriſt, the myſticall body, and the fruit or benefit of the Sacrament.

Perne.

The forms and ſignes of bread nouriſh not; Ergo, ſomewhat elſe beſides the bare ſigne of bread doth remain, which nouriſheth, that is the ſubſtance of bread; for in euery ſacrament there is a ſimilitude betweene the ſigne and the thing ſignified; but betwixt the body of Chriſt, and the forme or kinde of bread, there is no ſimilitude; ergo, the nature of a ſacrament is taken away.

Glin.

I denie your Minor, M. Doctor.

Perne.

The forms nouriſh not; but the bodie nouriſheth; ergo, there is no ſimilitude betwixt them, and ſo is the nature of a Sacrament cleane deſtroyed.

Glin.

It is ſufficient to ſimilitudes that the bread which was doth nouriſh; and yet certain Doctors do affirme, that the Formes do nouriſh miraculouſly.

Rocheſter.

Whoſoeuer taketh away all the ſimilitude of ſubſtances, conſequently he taketh away the Sacrament; for a ſimilitude is threefold, namely, of nutrition, of unitie, and converſion. But by a contrarie ſimilitude, he is not changed into our ſubſtance, but we into his; for in nutrition this is the

ſimilitude,

similitude, that as our blood nourisheth our bodies, so the blood of Christ doth nourish us, but after a wonderfull manner, to wit, by turning us into himself.

Glin.

I have answered your reason (most reverend Father) in that I said that the formes do nourish miraculously, as certain learned do affirm.

Perne.

By what authoritie can you say that bread doth not remain?

Glin.

By authority of Christ, who saith, This is my body.

Perne.

By the same reason may we say that bread still remaineth; for saint Paul calleth it bread sundrie times in his Epistles.

Glin.

I denie not that it is bread, but that it is materiall bread; for Paul always addeth this Article (which) betokening (as all men hold) some chiefe thing.

Perne.

We are changed into a new creature.

Glin.

Not substantially, but actually.

Rochester.

Christs body came not from heaven.

This is that bread which came down from heaven; Ergo, it is not Christs body, for his body came not from heaven.

Glin.

We may say that Christ, God and man, came down from heaven, for the unity of his person, or else for the mutuall community of the same his two natures in one; for his humane nature I know came not from heaven.

Rochester.

The bread is his humane nature; but that humane nature of his came not from heaven; Ergo, neither the bread.

Glin.

It is true that the bread came not from heaven, as bread simply, but as celestial and heavenly bread. But I will answer to that, whereas you hold that the body of Christ came not from heaven: I by the body and flesh of Christ do understand whole Christ, neither separating his soul, nor yet his deitie, although his humanitie is not turned into his Divinitie by confusion of substance, but is one by unity of both. Or else thus I may reason; the God of glory is crucified, and the Son of Mary created the world, &c.

Rochester.

Christ is called a rock, a vine, but in a figure.

So it is. But he is called a Rock and a Vine, and so after your judgement he is both a material rock, and also a materiall vine.

Glin.

The circumstances there shew plainly that there is a trope or figure; for it followeth, I am the vine, you are the branches; but here is no trope. For after these words, This is my body, he addeth, which is given for you.

Rochester.

The judgement of the Papists very grosse.

Your judgement herein is very grosse, and far discrepant from the truth.

Glin.

If my judgement in this be grosse (most reverend father) then are all the ancient Fathers as grosse in judgement as I in this point, and the Catholique Church also.

Perne.

Shew us one place, or one Doctor, who saith that it remaineth not bread after the consecration.

Glin.

I wonder that you are not ashamed to aske that of me; for have you not had almost infinite places and Doctors alledged to you in my former declarations proving as much as you request at my hands.

Perne.

He took bread, he brake bread, ergo it is bread.

Christ took bread, and gave bread.

Glin.

I have answered often hereunto, and I grant it is bread, but not onely, or materiall.

Perne.

A sacrament consisteth of a double matter.

Irenæus affirmeth that a sacrament consisteth of a double matter, of an earthly matter, and of a heavenly; ergo, the bread remaineth.

Glin.

Irenæus in that place by the earthly matter meaneth the humanity of Christ, and by the heavenly matter the Deitie of Christ.

Rochester.

The humanity and the divinitie of Christ make not a Sacrament, which consisteth of a visible and an invisible nature; and I denie that Irenæus can be so understood: Therefore we desire the learned auditorie to search Irenæus at home, as opportunitie will serve for this matter.

Glin.

I wish them so to do also with all my heart.

Here maister Grindall beginneth to dispute.

Grindall.

Grindal replieth

Whereas you say (worshipfull M. Doctor) that we speake not now as sometimes we thought and judged in this matter, peradventure you also judge not so now all things as you have done heretofore. But what we have once been it forceth not, God respecteth no mans person. And whereas you say that you dare not contrary to Christ call it a signe or a figure, Augustine notwithstanding dareth to call it a figure, and Tertullian likewise, with many moe.

Aug. Tertull. with many moe call it a figure.

Glin.

True it is, but they called it not a signe or a figure onely; but prove you, if you can, that after the consecration remaineth any other substance then the reall body of Christ.

Grindal.

What the formes of bread & wine do nourish.

If the formes do nourish, as you contend, they nourish the naturall and humane body, for they be both as one, and are nourished alike.

Glin.

Your reason is mer physicall, and therefore to be rejected in matters of faith; but I grant they nourish, but miraculously.

Grindal.

If you grant that the formes do nourish, then you grant that bread remaineth.

Glin.

I said even now that it is true, but the nature of it is changed and that miraculously.

Grindal.

It remaineth bread and wine after the consecration.

If it be the reall and substantiall body of Christ, because Christ said, This is my body; Ergo, because the Lord said I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, and Paul calleth it bread after the consecration, it is therefore bread and wine.

Glin.

How it is called bread, and in what respect.

Truly sir, you must bring better arguments, or else you will prove nothing for your purpose. For to your reasons thus I answer; Chrysostome saith, Christ did drink of the blood, but whether this sentence, I will not drinke of the fruit of the vine, be spoken of the blood, it is not certain. And truly Erasmus denieth that it is to be found in all the whole scripture, that it is called bread after the consecration. Or else thus I may answer you. Even as it is called bread for the forme, and kinde, and accidents which remain; so for the forme and similitude which it hath, it may be called the fruit of the vine, after the consecration. And whereas Chrysostome

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Rome saith, That the fruit of the Vine is nothing else but wine; Ergo, Christ gave them Wine, and drank Wine himselfe also, not bloud.

Christ calleth it wine, not bloud

Glin.

Christ said twice, I will not drinke of the fruit of the vine; once at the eating of the paschall lambe (as Luke saith) and then was it wine indeed: And againe after the consecration of his body and bloud he said the like, and then it was not wine, which me think I can prove by the plain words of Luke, if we compare him with Matthew. For if it were wine, as they both affirme, then the words of Christ cannot well stand, because first (as Luke sheweth) he said at his legall supper, I will not drinke of the fruit of this Vine, &c. And againe in Matthew, after the consecration of his body and bloud, he dranke; it followeth therefore that that which he dranke was not wine by nature, for then must Christ needs be a lyer, which were blasphemie to say.

Rochester.

Two places answered.

Augustine doth thus reconcile those places, saying, it is spoken by a figure which we call Hysteron proteron.

Glin.

I know that Augustine saith so; but me thinke that which I have said seemeth to be the true meaning of the places.

Rochester.

August. seeketh no starting holes, nor yet any indirect shifts to obscure the truth.

Glin.

Say your fatherhood what you will of Aug. I thinke not so.

Grindall.

In these words, This is my body, is a trope.

This cup is the new Testament in my bloud, but here is a trope; Ergo, in these words of Christ, This is my body, is a trope also.

Glin.

I deny your argument; for whereas Luke saith, this cup, Matth. saith this is my bloud, and therefore as Augustine saith, places that be darke are to be expounded by other that be light.

Rochester.

All of your side denie that Christ ever used any trope in the instituting of Sacraments.

Glin.

For my part I hold no opinion but the truth, whereof you your selfe also do pretend the like.

Rochester.

A question wherein consisteth the strength of the sacrament.

What understand you by this word (hoc, this) and in what words standeth the force or strength of the sacrament? In this pronoune (hoc, this) or in this verbe (est, is, or else in this whole sentence, this is my body?

Glin.

It is not made the true body except all the words be spoken, as in Baptisme, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the holy ghost. For neither doth baptisme consist in this word ego I, or in baptize, or in this word, te thee, or in these words in nomine, in the name, &c. but in all the words spoken in order.

Grindall.

To eate the body of Christ a figurative speech.

If to eat the body of Christ be a figurative speech, as Augustine saith it is, ergo, then these words, this is my body, is a figurative speech also.

Glin.

It is a figurative speech, because we eate not the body of Christ after the same manner that we doe other meates, &c.

Grindall.

Cyprian explained.

Cyprian understandeth this of those that come unworthily, and make no difference of the Lords body, speaking of the disiudication of the sacraments and not of the body of Christ.

Glin.

Truely he speaketh of the true body of Christ.

Rochester.

They receive unworthily who neither iudge themselves, nor yet the sacraments, taking them as other common bread.

Grindall.

August. Upon the 33. Psalme saith, Christ bare himselfe in his owne hands after a sort, not indeed or truely, &c.

Glin.

You omit many other things which August. saith, and I confesse that he carried himselfe in his owne hands after a sort, but August. delivereth this unto us as a great miracle. And you know it was no great miracle to carry a figure of his body in his hands. And whereas you say that Christ carried himselfe after a sort in his owne hands. For Christ in the visible figure boze himselfe invisibly.

Grindall.

Tertullian calleth it a figure, Ergo, it is so.

Glin.

It is, as I have said, a figure, but not a figure onely. But heare what Tertullian saith, he tooke bread and made it his body, saying, This is my body, &c.

Grindall.

Heare what Chrysost. saith upon Matthew, homil. 11. super cap. 5. If Vessels sanctified to holy uses, &c. Chrys. super Mat. hom. 11. cap. 5.

Glin.

That Worke is received not as Chrysostomes, but some mans else as you know; or thus I answer, It is not the true body in proper and visible forme.

Here M. Gest disputed.

The bread is not changed before the consecration, Ergo, not after it neither.

Glin.

I deny your argument, M. Gest.

Gest.

Christ gave earthly bread, Ergo, there is no transubstantiation.

Glin.

I deny your antecedent.

Gest.

That which Christ took he blessed, that which he blessed he brake, what he brake he gave; Ergo, he receiving earthly bread gave the same bread.

Glin.

Your order in reasoning standeth not; for by the same reason may you gather, that God took a rib of man, and thereof built a rib and brought it unto Adam; Ergo, what he received he brought; but he received a rib, Ergo, he brought a rib.

Gest.

How is the body of Christ in heaven, and how in the sacrament, whether circumscriptively or diffinitively?

Glin.

The body of Christ is in heaven circumscriptively, but not in the sacrament. The Angels also are contained definitively. But I have learned that the body of Christ is in the sacrament, but not locally, nor circumscriptively, but after an unspeakable manner unknowne to man.

Rochester.

Ah, know you not?

Glin.

Neither in other mysteries of faith doe we know the meane how, although this may partly be proved by reason. For as my soule is wholly in my head, and wholly in my foot, and wholly in my finger, and so in other parts of my body; and as there is one voice or sound which all men hearing do understand: so the body of Christ being one and the same is wholly in the Altar and in many places els.

For if God could doe this in my soule, how much more in his owne body?

Rochester.

I beseech you shew us what difference is betwixt these two, to be in a place circumscriptibely and definitibely.

Glin.

Your Lordship knoweth very well: but yet if any would know the difference, let him reade Augustine ad Volusianum, & ad Dardanum, &c.

Gest.

The bread not changed. If the bread be changed, it is made the body of Christ; but that is not so; ergo, it is not changed.

Glin.

I deny your Minor.

Gest.

It is not generate or begot; ergo, it is not the body.

Glin.

That followeth not; as though to be made and to be generate or begot were all one thing; or as though there were no other mutation then a generation, and so you impugne a thing that you know not. But what call you the generation?

Gest.

The generation is the production of the accidents.

Glin.

A new definition of a new Philosopher.

Gest.

That which he tooke he blessed; that which he blessed he brake, and gave it unto them; Ergo, &c.

Glin.

Christ tooke bread, brake bread, and gave his body, that is, the substance of his body; saying, This is my body.

Gest.

The bread is not changed into the blood of Christ; ergo, not into his body neither.

Glin.

I deny your antecedent.

Gest.

The Maker of the Sentences saith it.

Glin.

You understand him not; for the bread is changed into the body of Christ by the power of Gods word.

Rochester.

Papists dreame of Transubstantiation. Ye dreame of a reall presence of Christs body in the sacrament, by the force of the words spoken; which the holy Scripture doth impugne.

Glin.

We say that not only by the power of the word, but also by the spirit and secret vertue in the words it is brought to passe; for there is no power in one word alone, as before in Baptisme, but in all the words duly prolated according to the custome of the ancient Catholique Church.

Gest.

If there were any Transubstantiation, the accidents should not remain still, for they have no matter whereto they may leane or cleave; but the accidents remaine not themselves alone; ergo, &c.

Glin.

If there were transubstantiation there should remaine no accidents. I confesse accidents cannot stand themselves alone by their own nature without a subject, but by the power of God they may, not after the opinion of Philosophers, but of the scriptures; although I could shew out of the Scriptures the accidents to have beene without the subject; as in Genes. the light was made without a subject, whereas the subject of the light was made the fourth day after, as Basill beareth me record.

Here Master Pilkington disputed.

Pilkington.

This one thing I desire of you, most worshipfull M. Doctor, that you will answer me with like brevitie as I shall propound. And thus I reason: the body of Christ that was broken on the Crosse is a full satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; but the sacrament is not the satisfaction of the whole world; Ergo, the sacrament is not the body of Christ.

Glin.

I deny your argument.

Pilkington.

It is a Syllogisme.

Glin.

It is not so; for there be foure termines. Touching this word Sacrament it is manifold; but thus I answer. If you take the sacrament for the matter of the sacrament, that is, the body of Christ, then is your minor proposition true, and the matter of the sacrament is the satisfaction for the sinnes of the whole world; but if you take the sacrament for the signe, which we call a sacrament, then is your minor proposition false.

Pilkington.

The body of Christ hath satisfied for the sins of the whole world; but the sacrament hath not satisfied; ergo, the sacrament is not the body of Christ.

Glin.

I deny your Minor, understanding the sacramen for the matter of the sacrament.

Pilkington.

The sacrament onely profiteth him that receiveth it; but many were saved before the institution of the sacrament was begun; ergo, the sacrament is not the body of Christ.

Glin.

If you meane of the bare signe, onely it profiteth nothing; but if you meane the thing signified, then what is spoken of the body of Christ is spoken also of the thing of the sacrament it selfe.

Pilkington.

Transubstantiation is not a sacrament; but that which I meane is a sacrament; ergo, that which I meane is not transubstantiated.

Glin.

I meane not that Transubstantiation is a sacrament, neither do I say that the sacrament is transubstantiate, but the bread.

Pilkington.

The body of Christ is reliant in heaven, and the body of Christ is in the sacrament; ergo, the sacrament is in heaven.

Glin.

A goodly reason forsooth; but I answer, he is after one sort in heaven, and after another sort in the sacrament; for in heaven he is locally, in the sacrament not so; in heaven visibly and circumspectively, but in the sacrament invisibly and sacramentally.

Rochester.

Saint Augustine saith, Take away the spaces from the bodies and they shall be no where, and that which is no where is not at all; so whilest you take away the spaces and dimensions from the body of Christ in the sacrament, you bring to passe that it is not there at all.

Glin.

In that place Augustine speaketh of naturall bodies, not of supernaturall; otherwise I could deny that Christ had a true body, when he entred in to his Disciples, the gates being shut.

Rochester.

Of the gates being shut a divers and doubtfull meaning may be gathered; for it may be he entred in before the gates were shut, and afterward opened them being shut, &c.

Glin.

Then it could be no miracle; but the Evangelists and all sound Interpreters say and affirme this to be a miracle of our Saviour Christ.

Rochester.

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Rocheſter.

Whether Chriſt entred in miraculouſly, the gates being ſhut, or elſe open, the Scripture ſetteth not downe.

Glin.

As Chriſt (the wombe of the Virgin being ſhut up) was borne into the world without violation of her pure virginitie, or apertion of her wombe (for ſo he might have been polluted) ſo entred he through the dores to his diſciples miraculouſly.

Pilkington.

In the body of Chriſt which was given for us there are no accidents of bread; but in the Sacrament there be accidents of bread; Ergo, in the Sacrament there is not the body of Chriſt.

Glin.

In the matter of the Sacrament, that is, in the body of Chriſt, are no accidents of bread, but accidents are the very ſacrament it ſelfe.

Pilkington.

I beſeech you, what doe we eate, the ſubſtance or the accidents?

Glin.

Both, as when we eate wholeſome and unwholeſome meates together, ſo we eate the ſubſtance of Chriſts body, and yet not without the accidents of bread.

Pilkington.

I prove that the accidents are eaten, for whatſoever entreth in by the mouth, goeth into the privie; but the accidents go in by the mouth, Ergo, into the privie.

Glin.

This ſentence whatſoever entereth in by the mouth, &c. is not meant of all kinde of meats, as not of that which Chriſt eat after his reſurrection.

Pilkington.

You ſhall not eate his body which you ſee.

Glin.

That is, not after that manner as you ſee it now, nor after the ſame viſible forme.

Where Chriſt is, there be his miniſters.

Pilkington.

Wherſoever Chriſt is, there be his miniſters alſo; (for ſo he promiſed) But Chriſt as you hold is in the ſacrament, Ergo, his miniſters are there alſo.

Glin.

To be with Chriſt is ſpoken divers wayes, as in heart, in minde and place, and ſometimes both; or to be with Chriſt is to miniſter unto him, and to doe his will, &c.

The third diſputation holden at Cambridge as before.

Maſter Perne.

Chriſt at his laſt ſupper took bread, brake bread, diſtributed bread; Ergo, not his body, but a ſacrament of his body; for the bones of Chriſt could no man breake, as witneſſeth the Prophet ſaying, Os non comminuetis ex eo, that is, You ſhall not breake a bone of him. This cup is the cup of the New Teſtament in my bloud. In this ſentence there is a trope by their own confeſſion; wherefore there is in the other alſo, This is my Body; for the holy Scripture is a perfect rule not onely of doing, but alſo of ſpeaking. Paul calleth it bread three times, Ergo, it is bread, &c. And whereas they urge ſo much this Pronoune (illum) it is not in the Greek Canon which hath Panem, bread, not Panem illum, that bread. There was no Tranſubſtantiation in the Manna; Ergo, nor in the ſacrament; for there is this particle, eſt, if that can prove Tranſubſtantiation, as they ſuppoſe. And if Manna were a figure, ſay they, then this is not. This myſterie or ſacrament we hold to be true bread, and true meat. Manna gave life unto them, as this doth unto us; yet was it but a figure. In every Sacrament there ought to be a certaine analogie, both of the interne and externe thing of the ſacrament, as Auguſtine ſaith, writing to Bonifacius; but betwixt the formes of bread and wine and the body of Chriſt there is no analogie at all, ergo, they make not a Sacrament. As of many graines, &c. This ſimilitude of Paul is ſpoken of the ſubſtance of bread, not of the forme thereof, otherwiſe Paul ſhould in vaine compare us to bread. As in Baptiſme there is materiall water; ſo in the Sacrament of the Euchariſt is materiall bread. Dyoniſius called the Sacrament of Chriſts body no otherwiſe then bread. Euſebius in Eccleſiaſtica Hiſtoria doth the ſame. Tertullian lib. 4. againſt Marcion, ſaith thus, He gave his body, that is, ſaith he, a figure or type of his body. Cyprian ſaith, in his laſt ſupper he gave bread and wine, and his body upon the croſſe. The ſame Cyprian Epiſt. 6. lib. 1. and Epiſt. 3. lib. 2. ſaith, Chriſt dranke wine at his laſt ſupper, becauſe he would root out the hereſie of certaine who onely uſed water in the miniſtration thereof. Chryſoſtome Hom. 13. upon Matthew ſaith, That onely bread remaineth, &c. Theodoretus ſaith in his firſt Dialogue, bread remaineth ſtill in his firſt nature as before. Auguſtine ſaith, The bread doth not loſe his firſt nature after the conſecration, but receiveth another qualitie, whereby it differeth from common bread. The ſame Auguſtine Lib. 3. againſt Maximinus ſaith, Sacraments are figures, being one thing indeed, and ſhewing forth another thing; he ſpeaketh of no Tranſubſtantiation here. Againe, writing to Bonifacius he ſaith, The Sacrament of the body of Chriſt is the body of Chriſt, and ſo is the ſacrament of wine alſo, &c. The ſacraments of the old and new law are all one in ſubſtance of matter, notwithſtanding they be divers in ſignes: which Sacraments, why ſhould they not be one, when as they ſignifie al one thing? The body of Chriſt, when it was on the earth, was not in heaven; ſo now it being in heaven is not on the earth. Whereby it may appeare, that Tranſubſtantiation is a moſt blaſphemous, ſacrilegious and damnable error, and a moſt vain, unſavorie, & debilliſh papiſticall invention, defended and maintained onely by the Papiſts, the profeſſed & ſworne enemies of all truth. Thoſe who impugne the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation are no new upſtarts, as the enemies of the truth the Papiſts beare the world in hand. But contrarily, thoſe who maintaine this debilliſh Doctrine are new ſprung up Cockatrices, as Manicheus, Eutiches, and others. Gelaſius ſaith, the Sacraments which we receive are divine things; yet ceaſe they not to be bread and wine in nature. Out of this puddle of Tranſubſtantiation hath ſprung up adoration of the Sacrament, and inducing men to beleeve that Chriſt hath many bodies.

There ought to be a certaine analogie in every ſacrament betweene the thing that ſignifieth and the thing that is ſignified.

Cyprian epiſt. 6. li. 1. epiſt. 3. li. 2.

Auguſt. 1. contra Maximinum.

Tranſubſtantiation a moſt blaſphemous error.

The Declaration of the ſaid Maſter Perne in the ſecond concluſion.

Matthew, Marke, Luke, and the Apoſtle Paul, call it a commemoration or remembrance of Chriſts body and bloud, and Paul to the Hebrewes ſaith, By one onely oblation once offered are we made perfect to eternall ſalvation, &c. By him therefore doe we offer up the ſacrifice of laud and praiſe to God, that is, the fruit of the lips, &c. It is called the Euchariſt, becauſe we offer to God praiſe and thankſgiving, with devout mindes; & it is called the cup of thankſgiving, becauſe we give thanks to God therby alſo. You ſhal preach forth the Lords death, &c. That is, you ſhall give thankes and be mindefull of his death, &c. Give your bodies a quick and living ſacrifice, &c. The ſacrifice of praiſe and thankeſgiving ſhall honour me, &c. Chryſ. ſaith The wiſe men offered three kindes of Sacrifices, gold,

Why it is called the Euchariſt.

gold, Frankincense and myrrhe; so we doe also, namely vertue, prayer, and almes deeds: These be the sacrifices wherewith Christ is pleased. And Augustine saith there are no other sacrifices then prayer, praise, and thankesgiving, &c. Chrysostome Homil. 46. upon John saith, To be converted or turned into Christ, is to be made partaker of his body and blood.

No other sacrifice, but onely praise and thankesgiving.

There disputed against him Master Parker, Master Pollard, Master Vavisor, and Master Yong.

Parker.

Christ, whose words are to be beleeved, said, This is my body; he said not, this bread is my body, or with this bread, or under this bread, or by this bread, but said plainly, This is my body. And this he proved by these reasons; First, for that it was prefigured before. Secondly, for that it was promised. Thirdly, for that it was given. The transubstantiation of the bread was prefigured by the Manna which came downe from heaven; all that bread was heavenly, and without any earthly matter or substance annexed. Secondly it was promised in those words of Christ, the bread that I will give is my flesh, &c. Thirdly, it was given by Christ, and exhibited in his last supper, saying, Take, eate, this is my body.

Three vain reasons to prove the bread to be transubstantiate

Here they were forced to breake off through want of time, yet Parker replied thus against Doctor Perne.

We give thee thanks most holy Father, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, & hast revealed them to babes; for pride is the root of all heresies whatsoever. And on the other side, to acknowledge our owne infirmitie and imperfection is the first step to the true understanding of the truth. Nestorius the heretike affirmed, that there were two persons in Christ, one that was man, another that was God; therefore he said that in the Eucharist was contained true flesh, but onely of his pure manhood. Against him did the Councel of Ephesus conclude, saying, That there was the reall flesh of the Son of God, &c. This he proved by the words of Christ, My flesh is meat indeed: and what flesh that is, he teacheth upon the sixth of John, That is, quoth he, the flesh united to the Deity, and quickned by the holy Ghost, &c. Now that that flesh is in the Sacrament, it is plain by Hilar. l. 8. de Trinitate; he proved the same also out of Chrysostome homil. 45. upon John, We are one body with him, members of his flesh, and bones of his bones, &c. Againe in the same Homily, We are joyned to his flesh, not onely by faith and love, but also in very deed and truely. And againe, it pleased me to become your brother, and by the same things wherein I was joyned to you, have I given my selfe againe unto you, &c.

Hilarius lib. 8. de trinitate. Chrysost. ho. 45.

Perne. I grant unto you that Christ is in the sacrament truely, wholly, and verily, after a certaine propertie and manner; I deny not his presence, but his reall and corporall presence I utterly deny; for doubtlesse his true and naturall body is in heaven, and not in the Sacrament: notwithstanding he dwelleth with us, and in us, after a certaine unitie. And also in the sixth chapter of John he speaketh not of the flesh of Christ crucified, &c.

Christ is in the sacrament really after a sort.

Parker. The flesh of Christ, as it is in the Sacrament, is quick, and giveth life; Ergo, his reall and substantiall flesh is in the Sacrament.

How Christs flesh giveth life.

Perne. The flesh of Christ, in that it is united unto the Deitie, doth vivifie, and giveth life, but not otherwise.

Rochester. Christ dwelleth in us by faith, and by faith we receive Christ both God and man, both in spirit and flesh; that is, this sacramentall eating is the meane and way whereby we attaine to the spirituall eating, and indeed for the strengthening of us to the eating of this spirituall food was this sacrament ordained. And these words, This is my body, are meant thus, by grace it is my true body, but not my fleshly body, as some of you suppose.

How these words, This is my body, are meant.

Parker. We are joyned to Christ, not onely by faith, but also in very deed, Ergo, &c.

Rochester. We are joyned to Christ, that is, we are made partakers of his flesh and of immortalitie. And so in like case is there a union between man and woman; yet is there no transubstantiation of either, or both, &c.

There is a unity betweene man and woman yet no transubstantiation.

Pollard. The Sacrament is not bare bread and nothing else, onely because it is called bread so often in the scriptures, and that I prove by three reasons. First, it is called bread because of the similitude. Secondly, because of the mutation. Thirdly, for the matter whereof it is made and compact, as the Angels are called men, the holy ghost a tongue, the rod of Aaron a Serpent, and such like. The words of Christ do teach the same thing, as appeareth in the healing of the woman of Canaans daughter, Jairus sonne, and many others, &c. Ergo, &c. Then he proved against Rochester, that somewhat else was in the sacrament besides power and grace, by this reason; The evill receive the body of Christ, as is plaine out of Augustine, homil. 21. de verbis domini; but the evill and wicked receive not the vertue, or grace; Ergo, there is not onely grace and vertue in the sacrament.

Why it is called bread so often.

Rochester. The evill doe not receive the Lord in the Sacrament, but the Sacrament of the Lord, as Judas, who in deed eat not the true body of the Lord.

The evill receive not the Lord in the sacrament.

Pollard. In the sacrament be three things, to wit, an outward signe, the matter of the Sacrament, and the fruite of the same: the evill receive the outward signe, and the subject of the Sacrament, but not the fruit of the sacrament; Ergo, there is somewhat else in the sacrament then onely grace. Also every sacrament ought to have a certaine similitude with the matter of the Sacrament; but the materiall bread hath no such similitude with the Body of Christ, which is the matter of the Sacrament; Ergo, materiall bread is not a Sacrament.

Perne. I deny your Minor; for materiall bread doth so nourish the body, as the flesh of Christ doth the soule.

Here he being requested gave place to others.

M. Vavisor.

Through the shortnesse of time I am so constrained, that neither I can speake without losse of my reputation, nor yet hold my peace without offence to God. For in speaking (as I doe) without great premeditation before this honorable, worshipfull, and learned audience, I shall but shew forth my childishnesse herein, and if I should hold my peace, I might be thought to betray the truth of Gods cause. And therefore whilest I can neither speake for the brevitie of time, nor yet hold my peace, Gods truth being in controversie, I have determined, (although with the impairing of my good name to render a reason of my faith, which if I cannot afford probably in words, yet will I not fault in saying nothing at al. For it seemeth better that I be esteemed altogether foolish & unlearned amongst so many grave learned fathers and Doctors, then to forsake the just defence of the truth, which every good christian man throughout the world hath ever holden inviolable. For whoso forsaketh the manifest known truth, had never any true faith therein. Which thing that I may overpasse in Berengarius, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, and many others, who

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who are certainly knowne to be at no leſſe variance amongſt themſelves, then uncertaine of their faith what to beleeve. Zuinglius writeth thus of himſelfe: Although this thing which I mean to entreat of doth like me very well, yet notwithſtanding I dare define nothing, but only ſhew my poore judgement abroad to others, that, if it pleaſe the Lord, others may be therby inſtructed by the ſpirit of God, which teacheth all good things. In vain do I ſpend many words; you ſee plainely he dare not define any thing certainly, but doubteth whether it pleaſe God or not. Decolampadius writing to a certaine Brother of his, ſaith thus; Peace be with thee. As farre as I can conjecture out of the learned Fathers, the words, John 6. and This is my body, be figurative locutions, &c. You ſee hereby how uncertain they be of their opinions; they leane not to the ſcriptures, to Doctors, nor yet to the Truth, but to ſuppoſals and conjectures: Who therefore hereafter will cleave unto them? But now I come to your oration, whoſe beginning pleaſeth me very well, and whoſe progreſſe therein offended me not; but in the end you concluded in ſuch ſort, that you left the whole matter to me, as it were confirming my parts by the ſame. And herein you framed a ſyllogiſme after this manner; What Chriſt took, that he bleſſed; what he bleſſed, that he brake; what he brake, that he gave; Ergo, what he received he gave, &c. Whereto I anſwer with a like ſyllogiſme out of Geneſis; God took a rib out of Adams ſide; what he tooke he built; what he built he brought; what he brought he gave to Adam to be his wife; but he took a rib; ergo, he gave a rib to Adam to wife, &c. Alſo in your ſaid Oration you ſhoot much at thoſe words of Paul where he calleth it bread ſo often, &c. But the Scripture in another place calleth it water, when indeed it was wine; a rod, when it was a plaine ſerpent.

Uncertainty amongſt the Doctors.

An unſavorie compariſon.

Rocheſt. You have pretended great zeale and words enow, but what pith or ſubſtance your reaſons will afford we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Auguſ. ſuper Pſal. 98.

Viſor. Chriſt gave the ſame fleſh to us which he received of the Virgin; but he took true and naturall fleſh of her; Ergo, he gave us true and naturall fleſh. My Maſor I prove by Auguſtine upon the 98. Pſalme.

Rocheſt. M. Viſor, you are in a wrong bor; for the place maketh altogether for maintenance of adoration, if it make for any thing.

Viſor. I know it very well, and therefore I alledge it as the ground of my reaſon. Theſe be Auguſtines words; Chriſt of the earth received earth, and of the fleſh of Mary he received fleſh; acknowledge his ſubſtance therefore.

Rocheſter. I acknowledge it.

Viſor. And in the very ſame fleſh he walked here upon the earth; acknowledge his ſubſtance.

Rocheſter. I acknowledge it.

Viſor. And the very ſame fleſh he gave us to eate; acknowledge his ſubſtance.

Rocheſter. I acknowledge not his reall ſubſtance to be there, but the property of his ſubſtance.

Viſor. Then Viſor recited the place, to the end he might prove that his reall ſubſtance ought to be acknowledged as well in the laſt place, as in the firſt and ſecond; affirming it out of S. Auguſtine, who ſaith thus; The Diſciples of Chriſt approching the Lords table, by faith drank the ſame bloud which the tormentors moſt cruelly ſpilt, &c. but the tormentors ſpilt no figure of bloud; Ergo, &c. This place will not permit the other ſo to be illuded.

Rocheſter. It is no illuſion, good M. Viſor, but ſurely you would move a Saint with your impertinent reaſons.

Viſor. I beſeech your fatherhood to pardon my rudeneſſe, for ſurely I cannot otherwiſe ſpeake without breach of conſcience.

Perne. That place of Auguſtine is to be underſtood of a ſpirituall kinde of eating.

Viſor. I demande whether the faithfull may receive ſpiritually, ſo as they need not to receive ſacramentally?

Perne. They may.

Vav. Then thus to you: to the ſpiritual eating there is no need to come to the Lords table, for ſo it is the meate of the ſoule, not of the teeth; but the faithfull come to the Lords Table; Ergo, that place is to be underſtood of a ſacramentall eating. And againe, Auguſtine ſaith that he carried himſelfe in his hands.

Rocheſt. Auguſtine ſheweth a little after what he meaneth thereby, where he ſaith, he carried himſelf in his own hands after a certaine ſort or manner.

Viſor. True it is, that after one manner he ſate at the table, and after another manner was in the Sacrament.

Maſter Yong here diſputeth againſt Perne as followeth.

Yong.

I Underſtand the meaning of this word proprietas, proprietie, well enough; for in Hilarie and Euſebius it ſignifieth not the vertue or power of any ſubſtance or being, but rather a naturall being or ſubſtance.

Rocheſter. I commend your great diligence in ſearching of Authors, but in Divinitie the matter ſtandeth not ſo; for the proprietie of eſſence in the Deitie is the very eſſence, and whatſoever is in God is God.

Yong. True it is (moſt reverend Father) that this word Proprietas, proprietie, in Hilarie in his eighth book de Trinitate, entreating there of the Divinitie of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt, is ſo meant and taken; but the ſame Hilary almoſt in the ſame place ſpeaketh of our communion and unitie with Chriſt, &c. Tertullian alſo writing of the reſurrection of the fleſh, affirmeth that the fleſh of our Saviour is that whereof our ſoule is allied to God, that is, it which cauſeth that our ſoules are joyned to him, but our fleſh is made cleane, that the ſoule may be purged; our fleſh is anointed, that the ſoule may be made holy; the fleſh is ſealed, that the ſoule may be comforted; the fleſh is ſhadowed with the impoſition of the hands, that our ſoule may be lightened with the glory of the ſpirit; Our fleſh is clothed with a body and bloud, that the ſoule may be fed and nouriſhed of God.

When our bodies be fed with the body and bloud of Chriſt.

Rocheſter. The fleſh indeed is fed with the body and the bloud of the Lord, when our bodies by mortification are made like to his body. And our body is nouriſhed, when the vertue and power of the body of Chriſt doth feed us. The ſame Tertullian is not affraid to call it fleſh and bloud, but he meaneth a figure of the ſame.

Yong. Then by your leave it ſhould follow by good conſequence, that where any mortification is, there muſt needs be a ſacramentall communion, which cannot be; Ergo, &c.

Here ended the third and laſt diſputation holden at Cambridge. 1549.

Anſwerers and Diſputers in thoſe Diſputations at Cambridge.

This Diſputation continued three dayes. In the firſt did anſwer Doctor Madew: againſt whom diſputed Doctor Glin, M. Langdale, M. Segewicke, M. Yong.

In the ſecond Diſputation did anſwer D. Glin: Againſt whom diſputed M. Grindall, M. Perne, M. Geſt, M. Pilkinton.

In the third Diſputation anſwered M. Perne: againſt whom diſputed one Walter Parker, (not Doctor Matthew Parker) M. Pollard, M. Viſor, M. Yong.

At length the Diſputations ended, the Biſhop of

{Anno 1549.} Rochester, D. Nicolas Ridley, after the manner of schooles, made this determination upon the foresaid conclusions, as here followeth. {KING EDW. 6.}

The determination of Doctor Nicolas Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, upon the Conclusions above prefixed.

The determination of D. Nic. Ridley upon the disputations.

THere hath beene an ancient custome amongst you, that after Disputations had in your common Schooles there should be some determination made of the matters so disputed and debated, especially touching Christian religion. Because therefore it hath seemed good unto these worshipful Assistants joyned with me in Commission from the Kings Majesty, that I should performe the same at this time; I will by your favourable patience declare, both what I doe thinke and beleeve my selfe, and what also other ought to thinke of the same. Which thing I would that afterward ye did with diligence weigh and ponder, every man at home severally by himselfe.

The principall grounds or rather headsprings of this matter are specially five.

Five principall grounds to take away transubstantiation.

The first is the authoritie, majestie, and veritie of holy Scripture.

The second is the most certaine testimonies of the ancient Catholike Fathers, who after my judgement do sufficiently declare this matter.

The third is the definition of a Sacrament.

The fourth is the abominable heresie of Eutiches, that may ensue of Transubstantiation.

The fifth is the most sure beleefe of the article of our Faith; He ascended into heaven.

The first ground.

Transubstantiation against the Scriptures.

This Transubstantiation is cleane against the words of the Scripture, and consent of the ancient Catholike Fathers. The Scripture saith, I wil not drink hereafter of this fruite of the vine, &c. Now the fruite of this vine is wine. And it is manifest that Christ spake these words after the supper was finished, as it appeareth both in Matthew, Marke, and also in Luke, if they be well understood. There be not many places of Scripture that do confirme this thing, neither is it greatly materiall: For it is enough if there be any one plaine testimony for the same. Neither ought it to be measured by the number of Scriptures, but by the authoritie, and by the veritie of the same. And the majestie of this veritie is as ample in one short sentence of the Scripture as in a thousand.

Scripture to be measured not by number but by authoritie.

Moreover, Christ took bread, he gave bread. In the Acts Luke calleth it bread. So Paul calleth it bread after the sanctification. Both of them speake of breaking, which belongeth to the substance of bread, and in no wise to Christs body, for the Scripture saith, Ye shall not breake a bone of him. Christ saith, Doe ye this in my remembrance. Saint Paul also saith, Do ye this in my remembrance. And again, As often as ye shall drink of this cup, doe it in remembrance of me. And our Saviour Christ in the sixth of Iohn, speaking against the Capernaites, saith, Labour for the meat that perisheth not. And when they asked, What shall we do that we may worke the works of God? He answered them thus, This is the work of God, that ye beleeve in him whom he hath sent. You see how he exhorteth them to faith, for faith is that worke of God. Again, This is the bread which came downe fromheaven. But Christs body came not downe from heaven. Moreover, He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me and I in him. My flesh (saith he) is meate indeed, and my bloud is drinke indeed. When they heard this, they were offended. And whilest they were offended, he said unto them, What if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before? Whereby he went about to draw them from the grosse and carnall eating. This body, saith he, shall ascend up into heaven, meaning altogether, as Saint Augustine saith; It is the spirit that quickneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I speake unto you, are spirit and life, and must be spiritually understood. These be the reasons which perswade me to incline to this sentence and judgement.

Exod. 12.

1 Cor. 11.

Iohn 6.

Iohn 6.

The second ground.

The second ground against Transubstantiation.

Now my second ground against this Transubstantiation are the ancient Fathers a thousand yeares past. And so farre off is it that they doe confirme this opinion of Transubstantiation, that plaine they seeme unto me, both to thinke and to speake the contrary.

Dionysius in many places calleth it bread. The places are so manifest and plaine, that it needeth not to recite them.

Dionysius Eccl. Hierar.

Ignatius to the Philadelphians, saith: I beseech you brethren cleave fast unto one faith, and to one kind of preaching, using together one manner of thanksgiving; for the flesh of the Lord Iesus is one, and his bloud is one which was shed for us; There is also one bread broken for us, and one Cup of the whole Church.

Ignatius ad Philadelph.

Irenæus writeth thus; Even as the bread that cometh of the earth receiving Gods vocation is now no more common bread, but Sacramentall bread, consisting of two natures, earthly and heavenly, even so our bodies receiving the Eucharist, are now no more corruptible, having hope of the resurrection.

Irenæus lib. 4. cap 34.

Tertullian is very plaine, for he calleth it a figure of his body, &c.

Tertullianus.

Chrysostome writeth to Cæsarius the Monk, albeit he be not received of divers, yet will I reade the place to fasten it more deepely in your mindes; for it seemeth to shew plainly the substance of bread to remaine. The words are these.

Chrysost. ad Cæsarium.

Before the bread is sanctified, we name it bread; but by the grace of God sanctifying the same, through the ministery of the Priest, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is counted worthy to beare the name of the Lords body, although the very substance of bread notwithstanding doe still remaine therein, and now is taken not to be two bodies, but one body of the Sonne, &c.

Cyprian saith, Bread is made of many graines. And is that naturall bread, and made of wheat? Yea it is so indeed.

Cyprian lib. 1. Epist. 6.

The book of Theodoret in Greeke was lately printed at Rome, which if it had not been his, it should not have beene set forth there, especially seeing it is directly against Transubstantiation; For he saith plainly, that bread still remaineth after the sanctification.

Theodoretus.

Gelasius also is very plaine in this manner, The Sacrament (saith he) which we receive of the body and bloud of Christ, is a divine matter: by reason whereof we are made partakers by the same of the divine nature, and yet it ceaseth not still to be the substance of bread and wine. And certes, the representation and similitude of the body and bloud of Christ be celebrated in the action of the mysteries, &c.

Gelasius in Epist de duabus naturis in Christo.

After this he recited certaine places out of Augustine and Cyrill which were not noted.

Isichius also confesseth that it is bread.

Isich. lib cap. 8.

Also the judgement of Bertram in this matter is very plaine and manifest. And thus much for the second ground.

Bertram.

The third ground.

The third grounde. Cyprian. Three things in a Sacrament.

The third ground is the nature of the Sacrament, which consisteth of three things, that is, Unitie, nutrition, and conversion.

As

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1. Unity.

As touching unitie, Cyprian thus writeth; Even as of many grains is made one bread, so are we one mysticall body of Christ. Wherefore bread must still needs remain, or else we destroy the nature of a sacrament.

2. Nutrition.

Also they that take away nutrition, which cometh by bread, do take away likewise the nature of a Sacrament. For as the body of Christ nourisheth the soul, even so doth bread likewise nourish the body of man.

Therefore they that take away the grains or the union of the grains in the bread, and deny the nutrition or substance thereof, in my judgement are Sacramentaries: for they take away the similitude betwen the bread and the body of Christ. For they which affirm Transubstantiation are indeed right sacramentaries and Capernaits.

3. Conversion.

As touching conversion (that like as the bread which we receive is turned into our substance, so are we turned into Christs body) Rabanus and Chrysostome are witnesses sufficient.

The fourth ground.

4. Ground. The reall presence in the sacrament standeth not with the truth of Christs humanitie.

They which say that Christ is carnally present in the eucharist, do take from him the verity of mans nature. Eutiches granted the Divine nature in Christ, but his humane nature he denied. So they that defend Transubstantiation ascribe that to the humane nature which onely belongeth to the divine nature.

The fifth ground.

The fifth ground is the certaine perswasion of this article of faith, He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand, &c.

August. super Ioan. tract. 30. tract. 50.

Augustine saith, The Lord is above, even to the end of the world: but yet the veritie of the Lord is here also. For his body wherein he rose again must needs be in one place, but his veritie is spread abroad every where.

Matth. 28.

Also in another place he saith, Let the godly also receive that Sacrament, but let them not be carefull (speaking there of the presence of his body.) For as touching his Majestie, his providence, his invisible and unspeakable grace, these words are fulfilled which he spake, I am with you unto the end of the world. But according to the flesh which he took upon him, according to that which was born of the Virgin, was apprehended of the Iews, was fastened to a tree, taken downe againe from the Crosse, lapped in linen clothes, was buried and rose againe, and appeared after his resurrection, so you shall not have me alwayes with you, and why? because that as concerning his flesh he was conversant with his Disciples fortie dayes, and they accompanying him, seeing him, but not following him, he went up into heaven, and is not here, for he sitteth at the right hand of his Father, and yet he is here, because he is not departed hence, as concerning the presence of his divine Majestie.

Aug. Epist. 57.

Mark and consider well what saint Augustine saith, He is ascended into heaven, and is not here, saith he. Beleeve not them therefore which say that he is here still in the earth.

Moreover, Doubt not (saith the same Augustine) but that Iesus Christ, as concerning the nature of his manhood, is there from whence he shall come. And remember well and beleeve the profession of a Christian man, that he rose from death, ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of his Father, and from that place and none other (not from the Altars) shall he come to judge the quicke and the dead, and he shall come as the Angel said, as he was seene to go into heaven; that is to say, in the same forme and substance, unto the which he gave immortalitie, but changed not nature. After this forme (meaning his humane nature) we may think that it is every where.

August. ibid.

And in the same Epistle he saith, Take away from the bodies limitation of places, and they shall be no where; and because they are no where, they shall not be at all.

Vigilius contra Eutich. li. 4.

Vigilius saith, If the word and the flesh be both of one nature, seeing that the word is every where, why then is not the flesh also every where? For when it was in earth, then verily it was not in heaven; and now when it is in heaven, it is not surely in earth. And it is so certaine, that it is not in earth, that as concerning the same we look for him from heaven, whom, as concerning the word, we beleeve to be with us in earth.

Also the same Vigilius saith, Which things seeing they be so, the course of the Scripture must be searched of us, and many testimonies must be gathered, to shew plainly what a wickednesse and sacriledge it is to refer those things to the property of the Divine nature, which do onely belong to the nature of the flesh: and contrariwise, to apply those things to the nature of the flesh, which do properly belong to the Divine nature. Which thing the transubstantiators do, whilest they affirm Christs body not to be contained in any one place, and ascribe that to his humanitie, which properly belongeth to his Divinitie, as they do which will have Christs body to be in no one certain place limited.

The third Conclusion.

Now in the latter conclusion concerning the sacrifice, because it dependeth upon the first, I will in few words declare what I think. For if we did once agree in that, the whole controversie in the other would soone be at an end. Two things there be which do perswade me that this conclusion is true; that is, certain places of the Scripture, and also certain testimonies of the Fathers. Saint Paul saith, Hebrews the ninth, Christ being become an high Priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfecter tabernacle not made with hands, that is, not of this building, neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, entred once into the holy place, and obtained for us eternall Redemption, &c. And now in the end of the world he hath appeared once to put away sinne by the Sacrifice of himselfe.

Hebr. 9. Sacrifice of Christs body.

And again, Christ was once offered to take away the sins of many.

Moreover he saith, With one Offering hath hee made perfect for ever those that are sanctified.

Heb. 10.

These scriptures do perswade me to beleeve that there is no other oblation of Christ (albeit I am not ignorant there are many sacrifices) but that which was once made upon the crosse.

Christ never offered but once

The testimonies of the ancient Fathers, which confirme the same, are out of Augustine ad Bonif. Epist. 23. Againe in his book of 43. Questions, in the 41. Question. Also in his 20. booke against Faustus the Manichie, Chap. 21. And in the same book against the said Faustus cap. 28. thus he writeth, Now the Christians keep a memoriall of the Sacrifice past, with a holy oblation and participation of the body and blood of Christ.

Aug. ad Bonif. epist. 23. Aug. Quæst. 41. Aug. contra Faust. ca. 21.

Fulgentius in his book De fide calleth the same oblation a commemoration. And these things are sufficient for this time for a scholasticall determination of these matters.

Disputations of Martin Bucer.

Other and beside these disputations abobe mentioned, other disputations were also holden at Cambridge shortly after by Martin Bucer upon these conclusions following.

Conclusions to be disputed.

1. The canonicall books of holy Scripture alone

{Anno 1549.} {KING EDW. 6.}

Conclusions disputed at Cambridge by M. Bucer.

lone do sufficiently teach the regenerated all things necessarily belonging unto salvation.

2 There is no church in earth which erreth not in manners as well as in faith.

3 We are so justified freely of God, that before our justification it is sin, and provoketh Gods wrath against us, whatsoever good work we seeme to do. Then being justified we do good works.

Disputers against M. Bucer at Cambridge.

In these three propositions against Bucer disputed M. Segewick, Pong, and Perne. Which disputations because they are long here to be recited, I minde (the Lord willing) to reserve them to some other convenient place. In the mean season, because great controversie hath been and is yet amongst the learned, and much effusion of Christian blood about the words and meaning of the Sacrament; to the intent that the veritie thereof more openly may be explained, and all doubtfull scruples discussed, it shall not be out of place to adjoyne to the former discourses of Peter Martyr, and of Doctor Ridley above mentioned, another certain learned Treatise in form of a Dialogue, as appertaining to the same argument, compiled (as it seemed) out of the tractations of Peter Martyr, and other authors, by a certain learned and reverend person of this realm; who, under the persons of Custome and Veritie, manifestly layeth before our eyes, and teacheth all men not to measure Religion by Custome, but to trie Custome by Truth and the word of God; for else Custome may some deceive, but the word of God abideth for ever.

A learned dialogue between Custome and Truth.

A fruitfull Dialogue declaring these words of Christ: This is my body.

CVSTOME. VERITIE.

A Dialogue between Custome and Veritie.

Custome. I marvell much what madnesse is crepen into those mens hearts, which now adayes are not ashamed so violently to tread downe the lively word of God, yea and impudently to denie God himself.

Veritie. God forbid there should be any such. Indeed I remember that the Romish Bishop was wont to have the Bible for his footstoole, and so to tread down Gods word evermore when he stood at his Masse. But thanks be to God he is now detected, and his abominations be opened & blowne throughout all the world. And I hear of no moe that oppresse Gods word.

Custome. No moe say you? Yes doubtlesse there are an hundred thousand mo, and your part it is to withstand them.

Veritie. As touching my part, you know it agreeth not with my nature to stand with falsehood. But what are they? Disclose them if you will have them reproved.

Custome. What, are you so great a stranger in these quarters? Hear you not how that men do daily speak against the sacrament of the Altar, denying it to be the reall body of Christ?

Veritie. In good sooth I have been a great while abroad, and returned but of late into this countrey. Wherefore you must pardon me if my answer be to seek in such questions. But go forth in your tale. You have been longer here, and are better acquainted then I. What say they more then this?

Custome. Then this? why, what can they possibly say more?

Veritie. Yes, there are many things worse then this: for this seemeth in some part to be tolerable.

Custome. What? me thinketh you dally with me. Seemeth it tolerable to deny the sacrament?

Verity. They denie it not, so much as I can gather by your words.

Custome. Nay then fare you well: I perceive you will take their part.

Veritie. I am not partiall, but indifferent to all parties: For I never go further then the truth.

Custome. I can scarcely beleve you. But what is more true then Christ, which is truth it self? or who ever was so hardy before this time to charge Christ with a lie for saying these words, This is my body? The words are evident and plain: There is in them not so much as one obscure or dark letter, there is no cause for any man to cavill. And yet that notwithstanding, whereas Christ himselfe affirmed it to be his body, men now adayes are not abashed to say, Christ lied, it is not his bodie. The Evangelists agree all in one, the old Writers stand of our side, the Universall and Catholique Church hath been in this minde these fifteen hundred yeers and more. And shall we thinke that Christ himselfe, his Evangelists, all the whole Catholique Church hath been so long deceived, and the truth now at length begotten and born in these dayes?

Matth. 26. Christs words. The Evangelists. The old writers. The Catholike Church.

Veritie. You have moved a matter of great force and weight, and whereto without many words I can make no full answer. Notwithstanding because you provoke me thereto, if you will give me license, I will take part with them of whom you have made false report, for none of them ever reproved Christ of any lie. But contrariwise, they say that many men of late dayes, not understanding Christs words, have builded and set up many fond lies upon his name. Wherefore, first I will declare the meaning of these words, This is my body, and next in what sense the Church and the old Fathers have evermore taken them. First therefore you shall understand, That Scripture is not so to be taken allwayes as the letter soundeth, but as the intent and purpose of the holy Ghost was, by whom the Scripture was uttered. For if you follow the bare words, you will soon shake down and overthrow the greatest part of the Christian faith. What is plainer then these words, Pater major me est, My Father is greater then I am? Of those plain words sprang up the heresie of the Arians, which denied Christ to be equal with his Father. What is more evident then this saying, I and my Father are both one? Thereof arose the heresie of them that denied three distinct persons. They all had one soule and one heart, was spoken by the Apostle: yet had each of them a soule and heart peculiar to himselfe. They are now not two, but one flesh, is spoken by the man and his wife; yet hath both the man and the wife his severall body. He is our verie flesh, said Ruben by Joseph his brother, which notwithstanding was not their reall flesh. I am bread, said Christ, yet was he flesh and no bread. Christ was the stone, saith Paul, and was indeed no materiall stone. Melchisedech had neither father nor mother, and yet indeed he had both. Behold the Lambe of God, saith John Baptist by Christ, notwithstanding Christ was a man, and not a lambe. Circumcision was called the Covenant, whereas it was but a token of the Covenant. The lambe named the passeover, and yet was it eaten in remembrance onely of the passeover. Jacob raised up an Altar, and called it, being made but of lime and stone, The mighty God of Israel. Moses, when he had conquered the Amalekites, set up an Altar, and called it by the names of God, Iehova and Tetragrammatum. We are all one loafe of bread, saith Paul, yet were they not thereby turned into a loafe of bread. Christ hanging upon the crosse appointed saint John to his mother, saying, Lo there is thy son, and yet was he not her son. So many as be baptized into Christ, saith Paul, have put on Christ, and so many as are baptized into Christ, are washed with the blood of Christ: Notwithstanding no man took the Font water to be the naturall blood of Christ. The cup is the new Testament, saith Paul, and yet is not the cup indeed the verie new Testament. You see therefore that it is not strange, nor a thing unwont in the Scriptures, to call one thing

The doctrine of the Papists commonly standeth upon false reporters.

The sense of Hoc est corpus meum expounded.

Matth. 26. Iohn 14. Iohn 10. Acts 4. Gen. 37. 1. Cor. 10. 1. Cor. 10. Gal. 3. Rom. 6.

Figurative speeches most common in Scripture.

{King Edw. 6.} {Anno 1550.}

thing by anothers name. So that you can no more of necessitie inforce the changing of the bread into Christs body in the Sacrament, because the words be plain, This is my body, then the wives flesh to be the naturall and reall body and flesh of the husband, because it is written, They are not two but one flesh; or the altar of stone to be very God, because Moses with evident and plain words pronounced it to be the mighty God of Israel. Notwithstanding, if you will needs cleave to the letter, you make for me, and hinder your own cause. For thus I will reason, and use your owne weapon against you. The Scripture calleth it bread. The Evangelists agree in the same. Paul nameth it so five times in one place; the holy Ghost may not be set to schoole to learne to speak. Wherefore I conclude by your owne argument, that we ought not onely to say, but also to beleeve that in the sacrament there remaineth bread.

The name of bread used in Scripture.

Custome. Me thinketh your answer is reasonable, yet can I not be satisfied. Declare you therefore more at large, what moveth you to think this of the sacrament. For I think you would not withstand a doctrine so long holden and taught, unlesse you were inforced by some strong and likely reasons.

The meaning of Christs words expounded.

Veritie. First in examining the words of Christ I get me to the meaning and purpose for which they were spoken. And in this behalfe I see that Christ meant to have his death and passion kept in remembrance. For men of themselves be and evermore were forgetfull of the benefits of God. And therefore it was behoovefull that they should be admonished and stirred up with some visible & outward tokens, as with the passeover lambe, the brasen serpent, and other like. For the brasen serpent was a token, that when the Jews were stinged and wounded with serpents, God restored them and made them whole. The passeover Lambe was a memory of the great benefit of God, which, when he destroyed the Egyptians, saved the Jews, whose doors were sprinkled with the blood of a Lambe. So likewise Christ left us a memoriall and remembrance of his death and passion in outward tokens, that when the childe should demand of his father, what the breaking of the bread and drinking of the cup meaneth, he might answer him, that like as the bread is broken, so Christ was broken and rent upon the Crosse, to redeem the soul of man. And like as wine fostereth and comforteth the body, so doth the blood of Christ cherish and relieve the soul. And this do I gather by the words of Christ, and by the institution and order of the sacrament. For Christ charged the Apostles to do this in the remembrance of him. Whereupon thus I do conclude.

Fes- Nothing is done in remembrance of it self.
ti- But the Sacrament is used in the remembrance of Christ.
no- Therefore the sacrament is not Christ.
Fe- Christ never devoured himself.
ri- Christ did eat the Sacrament with his Apostles.
son. Ergo, the sacrament is not Christ himself.

Besides this, I see that Christ ordained not his body, but a sacrament of his body. A Sacrament (as saint Augustine declareth) is an outward signe of an invisible Grace. His words are, Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiæ visibile signum. Out of which words I gather two arguments. The first is this; the token of the bodie of Christ is not the thing tokened, wherefore they are not one. The second is this.

Fe- One thing cannot be both visible and invisible.
ri- But the sacrament is visible, and the body of Christ invisible.
son. Therefore they are not one.

Which thing saint Augustine openeth very well by these words, Aliud est Sacramentum, aliud res sacramenti. Sacramentum est quod in corpus vadit: res autem Sacramenti est corpus Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Moreover, I remember that Christ ministred this sacrament not to great and deepe Philosophers, but to a sort of ignorant and unlearned Fishers, which notwithstanding understood Christs meaning right well, and delivered it even as they took it at Christs hand, to the vulgar and lay people, and fully declared unto them the meaning thereof. But the lay people nor scarsely the Apostles themselves could understand what is meant by Transubstantiation, impanation, dimensions, qualitates, quantitates, accidens sine subjecto, terminus à quo, & terminus ad quem, per modum quanti. This is no learning for the unlearned and rude people, wherefore it is likely that Christ meant some other thing then hath bin taught of late dayes. Furthermore, Christs body is food, not for the bodie but for the soul, and therefore it must be received with the instrument of the soul, which is faith. For as ye receive sustenance for your bodily mouth, so the food of your soule must be received by faith, which is the mouth of the soule. And for that saint Augustine sharply rebuketh them that thinke to eat Christ with their mouth, saying, Quid paras dentem & ventrem? crede & manducasti. (i.) Why makest thou readie thy tooth and thy belly? beleeve and thou hast eaten Christ. Likewise speaking of eating the selfe same body, he saith to the Capernaites which tooke him grossely as men do now adayes, The words that I speake are spirit and life. It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. And saint Augustine upon these words of Christ saith, "Non hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis, neque bibituri sanguinem, quem effusuri sunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis trado. Id spiritualiter acceptum vivificat: caro autem non prodest quicquam. August. Quinquagen. 2. Psal. 98.

Christs no food for the body, but for the soul.

Aug. in Joh. tract. 25.

Iohn 6.

"That is to say: You shall not eat the body which you see, and drink that blood which they shall shed that shal crucifie me. I have commended to you a sacrament, understand it spiritually and it shall give you life: the flesh profiteth nothing.

Custome. What meane you by this spirit, and by spirituall eating? I pray you utter your minde more plainly. For I know well that Christ hath a body, and therefore must be eaten (as I thinke) with the mouth of the body. For the spirit and the soule as it hath no bodie and flesh, so it hath no mouth.

Veritie. You must understand, that a man is shaped of two parts, of the body and of the soul. And each of them hath his life and his death, his mouth, his teeth, his food, and abstinence. For like as the body is nourished and fostered with bodily meats, or else cannot endure; so must the soul have his cherishing, otherwise it will decay and pine away. And therefore we do and may justly say that the Turks, Jews, and heathen be dead, because they lack the lively food of the soul. But how then, or by what mean will you finde the soul? Doubtlesse not by the instrument of the body but of the soul. For that which is received into the body, hath no passage from thence into the soul. For Christ saith, That whatsoever entreth into the belly, is conveyed into the draught. And whereas you say that the spirit hath no mouth, like as it hath no body or bones, you are deceived. For the spirit hath a mouth in his kinde, or else how could a man eat and drink justice? For undoubtedly his bodily mouth is no fit instrument for it. Yet Christ saith, that he is blessed that hungreth and thirsteth for justice. If he hunger and thirst for justice, belike he both eateth and drinketh it, for otherwise he neither abateth his hunger, nor quencheth his thirst. Now if a man may eat and drinke righteousnesse with his spirit, no doubt his spirit hath a mouth. Whereof I will reason thus.

Matth. 5. What it is to hunger and eat righteousnesse.

Argument.

Da- Of whatsoever sort the mouth is, such is his food.
ti- But the mouth of the spirit is spirituall, not bodily.

fi. Therefore it receiveth Christs body spiritually, not bodily.

John 6. How Christs body is taken by faith.

And in like manner Christ, speaking of the eating of his body, nameth himself the bread, not for the body, but of life for the soule, and saith, He that cometh to me shall not hunger, and he that beleeveth in me shall never thirst. Wherefore whosoever will be relieved by the bodie of Christ, must receive him as he will be received, with the instrument of faith appointed thereunto, not with his teeth or mouth. And whereas I say that Christs body must be received and taken with faith, I meane not that you shall pluck down Christ from heaven, and put him in your faith, as in a visible place, but that you must with your faith rise and spring up to him, and leaving this world dwell above in heaven, putting all your trust, comfort, and consolation in him, which suffered grievous bondage to set you at libertie and to make you free, creeping into his wounds, which were so cruelly pierced and dented for your sake. So shall you feed on the body of Christ, so shall you suck the blood that was poured out and shed for you. This is the Spirituall, the very true, the onely eating of Christs body. And therefore saint Gregorie calleth it, Cibum mentis, non ventris, (id est) The food of the minde, and not of the belly. And saint Cyprian saith likewise, Non acuimus dentem, nec ventrem paramus. i. We sharpen not our teeth, nor prepare our belly.

Gregory.

Cyprian.

Now to return to our former purpose, seeing it is plain that Christs bodie is meat for our spirit, and hath nothing to do with our body, I will gather thereof this reason. The Sacrament is bodily food and increaseth the body; Ergo, the Sacrament is not the very body of Christ. That it nourisheth the body it is evident; for Christ calleth it the fruit of the vine, whose dutie is to nourish. And for a proofe, if you consecrate a whole loafe, it will feed you so well as your table bread. And if a little mouse get an Host, he will crave no more meat to his dinner. But you will say these are worldly reasons. What then if the old Fathers record the same? Irænеus saith, Quando mixtus calix, & fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit Eucharistia corporis & sanguinis Domini, ex quibus augetur & consistit carnis nostræ substantia. Beda witnesseth the same by these words, Quia panis carnem confirmat, & vinum sanguinem operatur in carne, hic ad corpus Christi mysticè, illud ad sanguinem refertur. Wherefore as I said before, seeing that Christs body is spirituall meat, and the bread of the Sacrament bodily, I may conclude that the Sacrament is not Christs body. Beside this, where it was forbidden in the old law that any man should eat or drink blood, the Apostles notwithstanding tooke the cup at Christs hands, and dranke of it, and never staggered or shranke at the matter; whereby it may be gathered, that they tooke it for a mysterie, for a token, and a remembrance, farre otherwise then it hath of late been taken.

Irænеus lib. 5. contra Valentinum. Beda super Lucã. Christs body is spirituall meat.

Drinking mans blood against the Law.

Again when the Sacrament was dealt, none of them all crouched down, and took it for his God, forgetting him that sate there present before their eyes, but took it, and eat it, knowing that it was a Sacrament and a remembrance of Christs bodie. Yea, the old Councels commanded that no man should kneele down at the time of the communion, fearing that it should be an occasion of Idolatrie. And long after the Apostles time, as Tertullian witeth, women were suffered to take it home with them, and lolap it up in their chests. And the priests many times sent it to sick persons by a childe, which no doubt would have given more reverence thereto, if they had taken it for their God. But a great while after, about 300. yeers agone, Honorius the third, Bishop of Rome took him and hanged him up, and caused men to kneele and crouch down, and all to begod him.

Kneeling to the Sacrament forbidden in old Councels.

The Sacrament carried home in napkins.

Pope Honorius 3. first author of worshipping the Sacrament. Anno 1220.

Furthermore, if the bread be turned and altered into the bodie of Christ, doubtlesse it is the greatest miracle that ever God wrought. But the Apostles saw no miracle in it. Nazianzenus an old Writer, and Augustine intreating of all the miracles that are in the Scripture, number the Sacrament for none. As for the Apostles, it appeareth well that they had it for no marvell, for they never mused at it, neither demanded how it might be; whereas in other things they evermore were full of questions. As touching saint Augustine, he not onely overskipped it as no wonder, but by plain and expresse words testifieth that there is no marvell in it. For speaking of the Lords supper, and of the other Sacraments, he saith these words, "Hic Sacramenta honorem ut religiosa habere possunt, stuporem autem ut mira non possunt. Moreover a little before the institution of the Sacrament, Christ spake of his ascension, saying, I leave the world: I tarry but a little while with you. Let not your hearts be troubled, because I go from you, I tell you truth, it is for your profit that I go from you, for if I go not, the Spirit of comfort cannot come to you, Iohn 14. with many other like warnings of his departure. Saint Stephen saw him sitting at the right hand of his Father, and thought it a speciall revelation of God; but he never said that he saw him at the communion, or that he made him every day himselfe. And in the Acts of the Apostles saint Peter saith, That Christ must needs keep the heaven till all be ended. Esay, Solomon, and saint Stephen say, That God dwelleth not in Temples made with mans hand. S. Paul witheth that he were dissolved and dead, and were with Christ; not in the Altar doubtlesse where he might be daily, but in heaven. And to be briefe, it is in our Credo, and we do constantly beleeve, that Christ is ascended into heaven, and sitteth at his Fathers right hand; and no promise have we that he will come jumping down at every priests calling. Hereof I gather this reason.

Apostles and old Doctors make no miracle nor marvell at the sacrament.

"That is to say, sacraments here may have their honour as things religious, but they are not to be wondred at as miracles.

Acts 3.

Acts 17.

Christs body cannot both be gone, and be here.
But he is gone, and hath left the world.
Therefore it is folly to seek him in the world.

If Christ were both gone and tarried, then he should seem to have left himself behinde him.

Custome. Fie, you be far deceived, I can in no wise brook these words. You shut up Christ too straitly, and imprison him in one corner of heaven, not suffering him to go at large. No, doubtlesse, he hath deserved more gentlenesse at your hand, then to be tied up so short.

Verity. I do neither lock up, neither imprison Christ in heaven, but according to the Scriptures declare that he hath chosen a blessed place, and most worthy to receive his Majesty, in which place whoso is inclosed, thinketh not himselfe (as I suppose) to be a prisoner: but if you take it for so hainous a thing that Christ should sit resident in heaven in the glorie of his Father, what thinke you of them that imprison him in a little box, yea and keep him in captivitie so long, untill he be mouldie and overgrowne with vermine, and when he is past mens meat, be not contented to hang him till he stinke, but will have him to a new execution, and burn him too? This is wonderfull and extreme cruell imprisoning. But to return to the matter, we are certainly perswaded by the word of God, that Christ the very Son of God vouchsafed to take upon him the body and shape of man, and that he walked and was conversant amongst men in that same one, and not in many bodies, and that he suffered death, rose again, and ascended to heaven in the self same body, and that he sitteth at his Fathers right hand in his manhood, in the nature and substance of the said one body. This is our beliefe, this is the very word of God. Wherefore they are far deceived, which leaving heaven will grope for Christs bodie upon the earth.

The body of Christ imprisoned by the Papists in a box, & afterward burned when he is mouldy.

Custome.

{KING EDW. 6.}

Custome. Nay sir, but I see now you are farre out of the way. For Christ hath not so grosse and fleshly a body as you think, but a spirituall and ghostly body, and therefore without repugnance it may be in many places at once.

Christs body is spirituall in the sacrament, say the Papists.

Veritie. You say right well, & do grant that Christs body is spirituall. But I pray you answer me by the way; can any other body then that which is spirituall be at one time in sundry places?

Custome. No truly.

Veritie. Have we that selfe same Sacrament that Christ gave to his disciples, at his Maundy, or no?

Custome. Doubtlesse we have the same.

Veritie. When was Christs body spirituall? was it so even from his birth?

Custome. No: for doubtlesse before he arose from death his body was earthly, as other mens bodies are.

Veritie. Well, but when gave Christ the sacrament to his Disciples? before he rose from death, or after?

Custome. You know your selfe he gave it before his resurrection, the night before he suffered his Passion.

The Popes doctrine repugnant to it self.

Veritie. Why then me thinketh he gave the Sacrament at that time when his body was not spiritual.

Custome. Even so.

Veritie. And was everie portion of the Sacrament dealt to the Apostles, and received they into their mouthes the very reall and substantiall body of Christ?

Custome. Yea doubtlesse.

Veritie. Marke well what ye have said, for you have granted me great repugnance. First you say, That no body being not spirituall can be in sundry places at once. Then say you, That at the Maundy Christs body was not spirituall; and yet hold you, that he was there present visibly before the apostles eyes, and in each of their hands and mouthes all at one time; which grants of yours are not agreeable. But I will gather a better and a more formall reason of your words in this sort.

Fe- No body being reall, naturall, and organicall, and not spirituall, can be in many places at once.

ri- Christs body in the sacrament was in the Apostles hands and mouthes at one time, which were many places.

son. Ergo, Christs body in the sacrament was not a reall, naturall, and organicall body, but spirituall.

The Papists though they be convicted, yet they will not beleeve.

Custome. Indeed you have driven me into the straits before I was ware of you; and I know not how I may escape your hands honestly. But the best refuge that I have is this, that I will not beleeve you.

Veritie. I desire you not to give credence to me, beleeve the word of God, yea beleeve your own belief; for they both witnesse against you, that Christs body is taken up into heaven, and there shall remain untill he come to judge.

Custome. Tush, what speak you of the word of God? there be many darke sayings therein which every man cannot attain to.

Veritie. I grant you there be certain obscure places in the Scripture, yet not so obscure but that a man with the grace of God may perceive; for it was written not for Angels, but for men. But, as I understand,

Custome medleth but little with the scripture.

Custome medleth but little with the scripture. Now say you by saint Augustine, saint Hierome, saint Ambrose, what if they stand on our side?

Custome. No, no, I know them well enough.

Veritie. So well as you know them, for all old acquaintance, if they be called to witnesse, they will give evidence against you. For saint Austine commonly in everie of his bookes, but chiefly in an Epistle to his friend Dardanus, declareth that Christs bodie is placed in one roome. I marvell you be not nearer of his Counsell. His words are these, Noli dubitare ibi nunc esse hominem Christum Iesum, unde venturus est. Memoriterque recole & fideliter crede Christianam confessionem; quoniam resurrexit, ascendit in cœlum, sedet à dextris Dei patris, nec aliunde quam inde venturus est, ad vivos mortuosque judicandos. Et venturus est in eadem corporis substantia, cui immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit. Secundum hanc formam non est putandus ubique diffusus. Cavendum enim est ne ira divinitatem astruamus hominis ut humanitatem mittamus Dei. i. Do not doubt the man Jesus Christ to be there, from whence he shall come. And remember well, and faithfully beleeve the Christian confession, that he is risen, ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God the Father, and from thence shall come and from no other place, to judge the quicke and the dead. And shall come in the same substance of body, to the which he gave immortalitie, and took not the nature from it. After this forme he is to be thought not to be dispersed in all places; for we must beware so to defend his Divinitie that we destroy not his humanitie. And in another place of the same Epistle, Vna persona Deus & homo; & utrumque est unus Christus. Vbique per id quod Deus, in cœlo autem per id quod homo. Likewise upon the fourteenth Psalme, Donec seculum finiatur surrsum est Dominus: sed etiam hic nobiscum est veritas Domini. Corpus enim in quo resurrexit in uno loco esse oportet; veritas autem ejus ubique diffusa est. i. While the world shall last, the Lord is above, and also the veritie of the Lord is with us. For the body wherein he rose againe must be in one place; but the veritie of him is everie where dispersed. In like manner writeth Damasus an old Bishop of Rome in his Credo, Devictis mortis imperiis, cum ea carne in qua natus & passus est & resurrexit, ascendit in cœlum, manente eadem natura carnis in qua natus & passus est. Saint Ambrose writing upon the tenth Chapter of saint Luke recordeth the same, Ergo non supra terram, nec in terra, nec secundum terram quærere debemus Dominum, si volumus invenire. Non enim supra terram quæsivit qui stantem ad Dei dextram vidit. Maria quærebat in terra tangere Christum & non potuit; Stephanus retigit quia quærebat in cœlo. (i.) Wherefore, neither above the earth, nor upon the earth, nor according to the earth we ought to seek the Lord, if we will finde him; For he did not seek him above the earth, which did see him sitting at the right hand of God. And Mary sought upon the earth to touch Christ and could not, Steven touched him because he sought him in heaven. Saint Hierome in an Epistle to Marcella proveth that the body of Christ must needs be contained in some place, for he saith, Veri Dei est ubique esse; veri hominis alicubi esse. i. The propertie of God is to be everie where, the propertie of man is to be in one place. The same Hierome in another place calleth it a foolish thing to seeke for him in a narrow place, or in a corner, which is the light of all the world; Stultum est eum parvo in loco vel abscondito quærere, qui totius mundi est lumen. i. Foolishnesse it is, in a small place or in a hid corner to seeke him which is the light of the whole world. Origen saith likewise, Audiendi non sunt qui Christum demonstrant in ædibus. i. They are not to be heard, which shew Christ in houses. The same also recordeth Beda, writing upon these words of Christ; Now a little while shall you see me. He speaketh in Christs person. Therefore (saith he) shall you see me but a little while after my resurrection, because I will not still abide in the earth bodily, but in the manhood which I have taken will ascend up to heaven. What needeth more words? All the old fathers witnesse the same. You may by these soon judge the rest. Now to return to the matter, seeing that the word of God in many and sundry places, the credo,

Augustin. ad Dardanum.

Augustin. ibid.

Augustin. in Psal. 14.

Damasus.

Ambros. in 10. cap. Luc.

Hieron. ad Marc.

Hieron.

Origen.

Bed. in 17. cap. Ioan.

and

and the abridgement of the faith, seeing all the old Fathers do constantly agree in one, that the bodie of Christ is ascended into heaven, and there remaineth at the right hand of the Father, and cannot be in more then in one place, I do conclude that the Sacrament is not the body of Christ; first, because it is not in heaven, neither sitteth at the Fathers right hand; moreover, because it is in an hundred thousand bores, whereas Christs body filleth but one place. Furthermore, if the bread were turned into the body of Christ, then would it necessarily follow that sinners and unpenitent persons receive the body of Christ.

The Sacrament is not the reall body of Christ, and why.

Custome. Mary and so they do. For Paul saith plainly, that they receive the body or Christ to their own confusion.

Veritie. No not so. These are not Pauls words, but he saith, Whoso eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his owne condemnation, not judging the bodie of the Lord. Here he calleth it in plain words bread. And although the sacrament be very bread, yet doth the injurie redound to the body of Christ. As if a man break the Kings face, or tread the broad Seale under his foot, although he have broken and defaced nothing but silver and wax; yet is the injurie the Kings, and the doer shall be taken as a traitor. Saint Ambrose declareth the meaning of S. Paul by these words, Reus est corporis Domini, qui pœnas dabit mortis Christi, quoniam irritam fecit mortem Domini. The cause of the ordinance thereof was the remembrance of the death of Christ, which whoso forgetteth, receiveth the Sacrament to their condemnation. That same witnesseth saint Augustine; for the sacrament, saith he, is an outward token of love and charitie. For like as many grains of corn are become one piece of bread, even so they that receive it ought to be one. Then saith he, Mysterium pacis ac unitatis nobis Christus in mensa sua consecravit. Qui accepit mysterium unitatis & non servat unitatem, non mysterium accepit pro se, sed testimonium contra se. He that readeth the Gospel, wherein is declared the passion and death of Christ, and liveth contrary to the Gospel, shall doubtlesse be the more guiltie of the death of Christ, because he heareth and readeth the word of God, and regardeth it not. In a certain countrey the manner is, that when the Gospel is read, the King shall stand up with a naked sword in his hand, declaring thereby that he beareth his sword in defence of the Gospel. But if he himselfe oppresseth the Gospel, he beareth the sword against himselfe; for the Gospel shall turn to his judgement and condemnation. So will Christ so much more extremely punish a man, which knowing himself to be wicked and without repentance, and therefore none of the flock of Christ, yet notwithstanding will impudently creep into the companie of Christian men, and receive the Sacraments with them, as though he were one of the number. And this meant saint Paul by the unworthie receiving of a Sacrament of Christs bodie. Wherefore a man may unworthily take the sacrament, and be guiltie of the death of Christ, although he receive not Christs bodie into his mouth, and chew it with his teeth. But what if I prove that every malling priest is guiltie of the body and blood of Christ?

The wicked receive not the cup of Christ.

Ambrosius.

The place of S. Paul, of receiving unworthily expounded.

Custome. I dare say you cannot prove it.

Veritie. But if I do prove it, will you beleeve me?

Custome. I may well enough, for it is impossible to do it. For priests commonly are confessed before they go to Masse, and how can they then take the sacrament unworthily?

Confession.

Veritie. Indeed confession, if it be discreetly used, is a laudable custome, and to the unlearned man and feeble conscience so good as a sermon: but notwithstanding because it was never commanded of Christ, nor received of the Apostles, nor much spoken of by the old Doctors, it cannot make much for the due receiving of the sacrament. But how like ye these words of S. Ambrose? Is indigne sumit, qui aliter sumit quam Christus instituit, i. He taketh it unworthily, that taketh it otherwise then Christ ordained it.

Ambrosius.

Custome. This liketh me very well. But what gather you of it?

Veritie. This will I gather. The malling priest taketh the sacrament otherwise then Christ either commanded or taught. Ergo, he taketh it unworthily, and so consequently to his condemnation.

Custome. That is not so, for he doth altogether as Christ commanded him.

Veritie. That shall appeare. For Christ commanded it to be done in his remembrance; the priest doth it in remembrance of dead men. Christ took bread, and left it bread; the priest taketh bread and conjureth it away. Christ tooke bread and gave thanks; the priest taketh bread and breatheth upon it. Christ took bread, and brake it; the priest taketh bread and hangeth it up. Christ took bread and dealt it to his Apostles; the priest, because he is an Apostle himselfe, taketh bread and eateth it everie whit alone. Christ in a Sacrament gave his own bodie to be eaten in faith; the priest for lack of faith receiveth accidents, and dimensions. Christ gave a sacrament to strengthen mens faith; the priest giveth a sacrifice to redeeme mens soules. Christ gave it to be eaten; the priest giveth it to be worshipped. And to conclude, Christ gave bread; the priest saith he giveth a God. Here is difference enough betweene Christ and the priest. Yet moreover Christ at his supper spake his words out and in a plain tongue; the priest speaketh nothing but Latin or Greek, which tongues he oft times perceiveth not, and much he whispereth lest any more man should perhaps perceive him. So it cometh to passe, that the priest knoweth no more what he himself saith, then what he doth. Thus you may see that the Malling priest receiveth the Sacrament of Christs bodie farre otherwise then ever Christ minded, and so therefore unworthily and to his condemnation. Now if you think your self satisfied, I will return to my former question, and prove more at large that Christs body cannot be eaten of the wicked, which thing must necessarily ensue if the bread were turned into the bodie of Christ. Christ in the sixth of saint John, speaking of the eating of his body, saith, He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever. Whereof I gather thus; But sinfull men take the Sacrament of their condemnation, and live not for ever; Ergo, in the Sacrament they receive not the body of Christ. Again, Christ saith, He that eateth me shall live for my sake. Hereof I conclude thus, but impenitent persons cannot live for Christs sake. Moreover Christs bodie must be received, not with the mouth, as Gregorie recordeth, saying, That it is eaten with the teeth of the soule, not of the bodie, as I have above more largely declared. But wicked and impenitent persons lacke faith; wherefore they cannot eat the bodie of Christ. Again, Christs bodie cannot be divided from his spirit; but wicked men have not the spirit of God; Ergo, they have not Christs bodie. Hereunto agree all the old Writers, affirming constantly that the unfaithfull be no meet vessels to receive the body of Christ. Saint Augustine saith, Qui non manet in Christo, & in quo non manet Christus, proculdubio non manducat carnem Christi, nec bibit ejus sanguinem, quamvis tantæ rei mysterium ad judicium suum manducet, ac bibat. And in the person of Christ he saith likewise, Qui non manet in me, & in quo ego non maneo, ne se dicat aut existimet manducare corpus meum, aut sanguinem meum bibere. Ambrose avoweth the same by these words, Qui discordat à Christo non manducat carnem

The priest taketh the sacrament not as Christ ordained, ergo, the priest taketh it unworthily.

Difference betweene Christs ordinance and the priests receiving.

John 6.

Gregorius.

Augustinus.

Ambrosius.

KING EDW. 6.

nem ejus, nec bibit sanguinem, etsi tantæ rei Sacramentum accipiat. In like manner writeth Prosper, Qui discordat à Christo, nec carnem Christi edit, nec sanguinem bibit, etsi tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium suæ præsumptionis quotidiè accipiat. And therefore Saint Augustine saith, Mali sacramentum habent, rem autem sacramenti non habent. Thus by the Word of God, by reason, and by the old fathers it is plaine, that sinfull men eat not the body of Christ, receive they the sacrament never so oft. Which thing could not be, if in the sacrament there remained nothing but the body of Christ.

Prosper.

Augustine.

The sacrament called breaking of bread.

The sacrament in holy scripture is named Fractio panis, the breaking of bread; which, to say the truth, were but a cold breaking, if there remained no bread to breake, but certain phantasies of white and round. Yet whereas they with words, crossings, blessings, breathings, leapings, and much adoe, can scarcely make one god, they have such vertue in their fingers, that at one crosse they be able to make twenty gods; for if they breake the sacrament, every portion, yea, every mite must néeds be a god. After the Apostles time there arose up heretikes, which said that Christ walking here amongst men bodily upon the earth, had no very body, but a thing like a body, and so therwith dimmed mens sight. Against whom the old fathers used these arguments; Christ encreased in growing, fasted, hungred, eate, wept, sweat, was wearie, and in conclusion died, and had all other properties of a very body; wherefore he had a body. I will use the same kinde of reasoning; It feedeth, it talketh like bread, it looketh like bread, the little silly mouse taketh it for bread, and to be short, it hath all the properties and tokens of bread, ergo, it is bread. The old Fathers, when there remained any part of the Sacrament more then was spent at the Communion, they used to burne it, and of it there came ashes. But there is nothing in the sacrament that can turne to ashes but only bread (for I think they burned not Christs body to ashes;) ergo, in the sacrament there remaineth bread. Henry the Emperor the sixth of that name, was poisoned in the Host, and Victor the bishop of Rome in the Chalice. But poison cannot hang in Gods body and bloud; wherefore there remaineth bread and wine. What needeth many words in a matter so evident? If you demand either Gods word, or the Doctors and the ancient Writers, or your reason, or your eyes, or nose, or tongue, or fingers, or the Cat, or the Ape, or the Mouse, all these agree in one, and answer together, There is bread. Wherefore if you reject so many and so constant witnesses, and so well agreeing in their tale, specially being such as will ly for no mans pleasure, I will appeale from you, and take you as no indifferent Judge. If all these witnesses suffice you not, I will call the sacrament it selfe to record: it crieth unto you, and plainly doth advertise you, what you should think of it: I am, it saith, grated with the teeth; I am conveyed into the belly; I perish, I can endure no space; I canker; I sucker grene mould, blew mould, red mould; I breede wormes; I am kept in a box for feare of Rats; if you leave me out all night, I shall be devoured before morning, for if the mouse get me I am gone; I am bread, I am no God, beleeve them not. Thus crieth the sacrament daily, & beareth witnes it self.

Against Transubstantiation.

Reasons proving bread in the sacrament.

The sacrament giveth witnesse that it is bread.

Custome. The Devill on such like reasons; and therefore I will never trouble my braines to make you answer: but if it be true that you have said, why is the sacrament so well of Christ himselfe, as of his Apostles, and the old Fathers, called the Body of Christ?

Veritie. Because it is no strange thing in Scripture so to speake, as I have declared before. But will you stand to Saint Augustines arbitrement in the matter?

Custome. To no man sooner.

Veritie. Saint Augustine in an Epistle to his friend Bonifacius giveth a good cause why the Sacrament, although it be not the body of Christ, is notwithstanding called the body of Christ. His words be these, Si Sacramenta quandam similitudinem earum rerum quarum Sacramenta sunt non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque earum rerum nomina accipiunt. Ergo, secundum quendam modum Sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est; Sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est. If Sacraments had not a certaine similitude of those things whereof they be sacraments, then were they no sacraments. Of the which similitude many times they take their name. Wherefore after a certaine manner the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, and the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ, &c. And upon the three and twentieth Psalme he writeth likewise, Christus quodammodo se ferebat in manibus suis, cum diceret, Hoc est corpus meum; Christ after a certaine manner and fashion, as it were, did beare himselfe in his owne hand, when he said, This is my body. In manner (he saith) and after a fashion, not in verie deed. Again, when faithfull men receive the sacrament, they think not of the bread, nor mark the wine, but they look further, and behold the very body of Christ spread upon the Crosse, and his very blood powred down for their sakes. So in baptisme men regard not greatly the water, but account themselves washed with the blood of Christ. So saith saint Paul, Whatsoever we are that be baptized, we are washed in the blood of Christ. Wherefore to the faithfull receivers you may say, that the water of Baptisme is the blood of Christ, and the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ: for to them it is no lesse then if the natures were altered and changed. Which thing you may very well learne of Chrysostome, whose words are these; Mysteria omnia interioribus oculis consideranda sunt, hoc est, spiritualiter. Interiores autem oculi, postquam panem vident, creaturas transvolant, neque de illo pane à pistore cocto cogitant, sed de eo qui se dixit panem esse æternæ vitæ, All mysteries must be considered with inward eyes, that is to say, spiritually. But the inward eyes when they see the bread they passe over the creatures, neither do they think of that bread which is baked of the Baker, but of him which called himself the Bread of eternal life. For these two causes the bread and wine are called the body and blood of Christ. Now I think you are satisfied concerning the meaning of these words, This is my body.

The cause why the Scripture calleth the sacrament the body of Christ. Aug. ad Bonif. Epist. 23.

August. in Psal. 23.

Another cause why the Scripture calleth the sacrament the body of Christ.

Rom. 6.

Chrys. in Ioh. Hom. 46.

Custome. Yet one thing moveth me very much.

Veritie. What is that?

Custome. The Doctors and old Writers, men inspired with the holy Ghost, have evermore been against your doctrine; yea, and in these dayes the wisest men and best learned call you heretiques, and your learning heresie.

Custome standeth upon authority and common voice.

Veritie. As touching the old Writers, I remember well they speak reverently of the Sacraments, like as every man ought to do; but whereas they deliver their minde with their right hand, you Custome receive it with the left. For whereas they say that it is the body of Christ, and that it must be verily eaten, meaning that it doth effectually lay before the eyes Christs body, and that it is to the faithfull man no lesse then if it were Christ himselfe, and that Christ must be eaten in faith, not torne nor rent with the teeth: you say that howsoever it be taken, it is Christs body, and that there is none other eating but with the mouth.

The right meaning of the Doctors misconstrued of Custome-keepers.

And that the fathers meant no other thing then I have said, it shall appeare by their words. But as touching the learned and wise men of these dayes, I cannot blame them if they call my doctrine heresie; for they would condemne all ancient

The Doctors how they call the sacrament the body of Christ, and why.

The words of the Doctors against the Popes doctrine.

writers of heresie, if they were now alive. But I will answer you to them anon. In the meane while mark you how well their learning agreeth. They say, you must follow the letter, you must stick to the letter. But Origines saith, Si secundum literam sequaris id quod scriptum est (nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis, non erit vita in vobis) ea litera occidit, If ye follow after the letter that which is written (unlesse ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of man, there shall be no life in you) this letter killeth. Augustine in the third book De doctrina Christiana, Principio cavendum est ne figuratam dictionem secundum literam accipias. Ad hoc enim pertinet id quod ait Apostolus, litera occidit. Cum enim figuratè dictum sic accipitur tanquam propriè dictum sit, carnaliter sapitur; neque ulla animæ mors congruentiùs appellatur. i. First thou must beware that thou take not a figurative speech after the letter. For thereto pertaineth that the Apostle saith, the letter killeth. For when a thing is spiritually meant, and the same is taken literally as properly spoken, that is a carnall taking. Neither can any other be called the killing of the soule rather then that. And in the same book he teacheth a man to know the plain sense from a figure, saying thus, Si præceptiva loquutio est flagitium jubens, aut beneficentiam vetans, figura est: Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis, & biberitis ejus sanguinem, non erit vita in vobis. Flagitium videtur jubere; Ergo, Figura est præcipiens passioni Domini esse communicandum, & suaviter in memoria recondendum, quòd pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa sit. i. If the commanding speech be such as commandeth a thing wicked and horrible to be done, or a charitable thing to be undone, then this is a figurative speech; Unlesse ye shall eat the flesh of the Sonne of man, and shall drinke his blood, there shall be no life in you: Because in this speech he seemeth to command a wicked thing, it is therefore a figurative speech, commanding that we should communicate with the passion of our Lord, and sweetly to retaine it in our remembrance. In like manner Chrysostome plucketh you from the plain letter, and the bare words by this saying, Caro non prodest; hoc est, secundum spiritum verba mea intelligenda sunt. Quia qui secundum carnem audit, nihil lucratur. Quid est autem carnaliter intelligere? Simpliciter ut res dicuntur, neque aliud quippiam cogitare. Non enim ita judicanda sunt quæ videntur, sed mysteria omnia interioribus oculis videnda sunt, hoc est, spiritualiter. i. The flesh profiteth not; that is to say, my words must be taken and expounded after the spirit. For he that heareth after the flesh gaineth nothing. Now what is it to understand carnally? to take things simply as they be spoken, and not to consider any meaning further therein. For things must not be judged as they are seene, but all mysteries must be seene with inward eyes, that is to say, spiritually. What is so hainous in these dayes, as to call the Sacrament the token or the remembrance of Christs body? yet did the old Writers in manner never call it other. Tertullian in the fourth book against the Marcionists, Christus accepit panem, & corpus suum fecit, Hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei. Christ took bread and made it his body, saying, this is my body, that is to say, a figure of my bodie. Ambrose upon the eleventh to the Corinthians, Quia morte Domini liberati sumus, hujus rei memores in edendo & potando, carnem & sanguinem quæ pro nobis oblata sunt significamus; Because we are delivered by the Lords death, in the remembrance of the same by eating and drinking we signifie the body and blood which were offered up for us. Chrysostome in the eighty third Homily upon the Gospel of Matthew, Quando dicunt, unde patet Christum immolatum fuisse? hæc adferentes eorum ora consuimus. Si enim mortuus Christus non est, cujus Symbolum ac signum hoc sacrificium est? When they object unto us, and aske, How know you that Christ was offered up? then alledging these things we stop their mouthes. For if Christ died not, then whose signe or token is this sacrifice? Augustine to Adimantus, Non dubitavit Christus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui. Christ doubted not to say, This is my body, when he gave but a signe of his body. Augustine upon the third Psalme, Christus adhibuit Judam ad convivium, in quo corporis & sanguinis sui figuram Discipulis suis commendavit & tradidit; Christ received Judas to the supper, in the which he commended and delivered a figure of his body and bloud unto his Disciples. Rabanus, de institutione clericorum; Quia panis corpus confirmat, ideo ille corpus Christi congruenter nuncupatur. Vinum autem quia sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad sanguinem Christi refertur. Because the bread strengtheneth the body, therefore it is aptly called Christs body. And likewise the wine, because it increaseth bloud in the flesh, it doth resemble the bloud of Christ. Druthmarus Monachus in Matthæum, Vinum lætificat, & sanguinem auget, & ideo non inconvenienter per hoc sanguis Christi figuratur. Wine maketh glad the heart, and increaseth bloud; and therefore the bloud of Christ is not unaptly signified thereby. Irenæus witnesseth plainly, That in the sacrament remaineth bread and wine, by these words, Quemadmodum terrenus panis percipiens vocationem Dei, jam non communis panis est, sed Eucharistia ex duabus rebus constans, terrena, & cœlesti; As the earthly bread receiving the vocation of God, is now no common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two things, the one earthly and the other heavenly. Here he recordeth that there remaineth in the sacrament an earthly nature, which is either bread or nothing. Gelasius writing against Nestorius avoweth the same, saying, In Eucharistia non definit substantia panis, & natura vini. Etenim imago & similitudo corporis & sanguinis Domini in actione mysteriorum celebratur. i. In the Eucharist the substance of bread and nature of the wine ceaseth not to be: For the Image and similitude of the body and bloud of the Lord is celebrated in the action of the mysteries. Chrysostome in his twentieth homily upon the second Epistle to the Corinthians, preferreth a poore man before the sacrament, and calleth him the body of Christ rather then the other. Whereof I may gather this reason.

Bo- The poore man is not the naturall and reall body of Christ.

car- Every poore member of Christ is the body of Christ rather then the sacrament. Chrysostome.

do. Ergo, the sacrament is not the naturall and reall body of Christ.

His words are, Hoc altare veneraris quoniam in eo proponitur corpus Christi. Eum autem qui reipsa corpus est Christi, afficis contumelia, & negligis pereuntem; This altar thou doest reverence, because the body of Christ therein is set before thee; but him which is the body of Christ indeed thou doest spitefully intreat, and doest neglect him ready to perish. Chrysostome in the eleventh Homily upon Matthew. Quod si hæc vasa sanctificata ad privatos usus est transferre periculosum, in quibus non verum corpus Christi sed mysterium corporis Christi continetur, quanto magis vasa corporis nostri? If it be so perillous a matter to translate these sanctified vessels unto private uses, in the which not the true body of Christ, but a mystery of the body of Christ is contained, how much more then these vessels of our body? Athanasius upon these words; Qui dixerit verbum contra filium hominis, saith, Ea quæ Christus dicit non sunt carnalia, sed spiritualia. Quod enim comendentibus suffecisset corpus, ut

Orig. in Levit. Hom.

Aug. de doct. Christi. l. 3. c. 16. 1. Cor. 3.

Aug. de doct. Christi. l. 3. c. 16. A rule to know a figurative speech from the literall.

Chrys. in Ioh. hom. 46.

Tertul. contra Marc. li. 4.

Ambros. in 1. Cor. 11.

Chrys. in Mat. hom. 83.

Aug. ad Adimantum.

Aug. in Psal. 3.

Rab. de Instit. Clericorum.

Druthmarus in Mat.

Iren contra Valentin. li. 3.

Gelasius.

Chrys. hom 20. in Epist. 2. ad Corinth.

Chrys. in hom. 11 super Mat.

Athanas. in verba Evang. Qui dixerit verbum in filium hominis.

{KING EDW. 6.}

ut totius mundi fieret alimonia? Sed idcirco meminit Ascensionis filii hominis in cœlum, ut eos à corporali cogitatione avelleret. **The words that Christ here speaketh, be not carnall, but spirituall. For what body might have sufficed for all that should eate, to be a nourishment of the whole world? But therefore he maketh mention of the ascension of the Sonne of man into heaven, to the intent to pluck them away from that corporall cogitation.** Aug. ad Marcel. In illis carnalibus victimis figuratio fuit carnis Christi, quam pro peccatis nostris erat oblaturus, & sanguinis quem erat effusurus; in isto autem Sacrificio gratiarum actio atque commemoratio est carnis Christi quam pro nobis obtulit, & sanguinis, quem pro nobis effudit. In illo ergo sacrificio, quid nobis sit donandum figurate significatur; In hoc autem sacrificio quid nobis donatum sit, evidenter ostenditur. In illis sacrificiis prænunciabatur filius Dei occidendus, in hoc pro impiis annunciatur occisus. **In those carnall oblations the flesh of Christ was figured, which he should offer for our sinnes, and the bloud which he should bestow for us; but in this sacrifice is the giving of thanks and memoriall of the flesh of Christ, which he hath offered for us, and of the bloud which he hath shed for us. In that sacrifice therefore is signified figuratively what should be given for us; in this sacrifice what is given to us is evidently declared. In those sacrifices the Son of God was before preached to be slaine; in this sacrifice he is shewed to be slaine already for the wicked.**

August. ad Marcellinum.

{ANNO 1552.}

Origenes in Matth.

Origenes, **upon Matthew expounding these words,** Hoc est corpus meum, **saith,** Panis iste quem Christus corpus suum fatetur esse, verbum est nutritorium animarum, (id est) **The bread which Christ confesseth to be his body, is a nutritive word of our soules.** Augustinus: Nulli aliquatenus dubitandum, unumquemque fidelium corporis & sanguinis Domini tunc esse participem, quando in baptismate membrum efficitur Christi. Sacramenti quippe illius participatione ac beneficio non privabitur, quando in se hoc invenit quod Sacramentum significat. **No man ought in any wise to doubt but that every faithfull man is then partaker of the body and bloud of the Lord, when in baptisme he is made a member of Christ. For he shall not be depriued of the participation and benefit of that sacrament, when he findeth in himselfe that thing which the Sacrament doth signifie.** Ambrosius, Tanta est vis verbi, ut panis & vinum maneant quæ sunt, & mutentur in aliud. **Such is the force and strength of the word, that the bread and wine remaine the same as they were, and yet are changed into another thing. For it is not any longer common bread, but it is turned into a sacrament; yet notwithstanding there remaineth bread and wine.** Tertullian **writing against an heretike named** Marcion, **which taught that the creatures of God, as flesh, bread, and wine, and such like, were naught and uncleanly,** Non abjecit Deus creaturam suam, sed ea repræsentavit corpus suum, **God hath not cast away his creature, but by it he hath represented his body.** Origines **upon Leviticus,** speaking of the drinking of Christs bloud, saith, Non sanguinem carnis expetimus, sed sanguinem verbi, **We doe not desire the bloud of the flesh, but the bloud of the word.** Ambrose **called the Sacrament,** Typum corporis Christi, **and** Basilius Antitypum, **which is as much to say, as a token, a figure, a remembrance, and example of Christs body.** Origen **upon the fourteenth Chapter of Matthew,** In isto pane, quod est materiale ejicitur in secessum: id autem quod fit per verbum Dei pro fidei ratione prodest. **In this bread that thing which is materiall passeth through mans body; but that which is made by the word of God, by the means of faith doth profit. And lest perhaps you thinke that he spake those words of our common table bread, he concludeth the matter himselfe with these words,** Hæc diximus de pane symbolico. **These things we have spoken of the mysticall bread.** Augustinus contra adversarium Legis & Prophetarum, **declareth, that it must needs be a figure and a remembrance of the body of Christ,** Ista secundum fanæ fidei regulam figuratè intelliguntur. Nam alioqui horribilius videtur esse humanam carnem vorare quam perimere, & humanum sanguinem potare quam fundere; **These things are understood figuratively, according to the rule of sound and true faith. For otherwise it seemeth to be more horrible to eat mans flesh, then to kill a man, and more horrible to drinke mans bloud, then to shed it. And therefore he saith upon the 98. Psalme,** Non hoc corpus quod videturus estis manducaturi, nec bibituri sanguinem quem fundent qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis trado. i. **Ye shall not eate this body which you see, and drinke that bloud which they shall shed that shall crucifie me; I commend unto you a sacrament.** Tert. Aliud a pane corpus Iesus habet: nec pro nobis panis traditus, sed ipsum Christi verum corpus traditum est in crucem, quod panis figura in cœna exhibitum est. i. **Jesus hath another body then bread, for bread was not given for us, but the very true body of Christ was given upon the crosse, which body was exhibited in the Supper under the figure of bread. This recordeth** Theodoretus **an ancient writer, and avoweth that there is no turning or altering of the bread in the sacrament. His words are these,** Symbola visibilia corporis & sanguinis sui appellatione honoravit, non mutans naturam, sed naturæ addens gratiam. i. **He hath honored and dignified the visible signes with the name of his body and of his bloud, not changing the nature, but adding grace to nature. And in another place, where he maketh a true Christian man to reason with an heretike, he giveth to the heretike this part, to hold with the turning of bread and wine into the naturall body and bloud of Christ. The heretikes words are these,** Sacramenta Dominici corporis & sanguinis alia sunt ante sacram invocationem; post invocationem verò mutantur, & alia fiunt; **The sacraments of the Lords body and bloud before invocation, are one thing, but after, they are changed & made another. This maketh** Theod. **to be the heretikes part. Then he bringeth forth the true Christian man, which reproveth the heretike for so saying,** Incidisti in laqueos quos ipse struxeras: Neque enim sancta illa symbola post consecrationem discedunt à natura sua: Manent enim in priori & substantia & figura, etenim & oculis videri & digitis palpari ut antè possunt; **Thou art falne into the snares which thou thy selfe hast laid. For those selfe same holy signes after the consecration do not go from their nature, for they abide still both in their former substance and figure, and may be both with eyes seen, and felt with hands as before. To the same agreeth well** Chrysost. **saying,** Postquam sanctificatur panis, non amplius appellatur panis, tametsi maneat natura panis. i. **After the bread is sanctified, it is called bread no more, although the nature of the bread still remaine. Whereby you may understand, how and in what sort the old Fathers, how the Primitive and beginning Church, how the Apostles, and how Christ himselfe tooke these words,** This is my body.

Ambrosius.

Tertullianus contra Marcion.

Origines in Levit.

Typus, Antitypum.

Origen super Matth. Cap. 14.

Augustinus contra adversarium legis & Prophetarum.

August. in Psal. 98.

Tertullianus.

Theodoretus.

Chrysostomus.

Now to withstand and stoutly to go against not onely ancient writers, or the congregation of christian people, which at that time was not overgrowne, no neither spotted with covetousnesse and worldly honor, but the Apostles also, and God himselfe, no doubt it is great fondnesse. But what speak I of the old Fathers? It is not long since the sacrament grew out of his right understanding. For this word Transubstantiario, **whereby they signifie the turning of the bread into the body of Christ, was never either spoken or heard, or thought of among the ancient Fathers, or in the old church. But about 500 yeers past, pope Nich. the 2. in a Councell holden at Lateranum in Rome, confirmed that opinion of**

Transubstantiation a new invention.

the changing of bread, and would have made an article of faith, and placed it in the Credo. After which time ensued Corpus Christi day, Masses of Corpus Christi, reservation of the sacrament, with honour, with Canopies, with censing, with kneeling, with worshipping and adoration, and with so much as any man could devise. For they thought they could not do too much to him after that the Bishop of Rome had allowed him for a God.

But not fully 200. yeers before that time, when this doctrine first began to bud, (and yet notwithstanding had not so prevailed, but that a great number of learned and good men could know the sacrament to be a sacrament, and not Christ himselfe) Charles the great, King of France, and Emperor of Germany, demanded of a great learned man, whose name was Bertramus, what he thought of that strange kinde of calling downe Christ from heaven, and turning a little gobbet of bread into his naturall body. To whom Bertram made answer in this wise, Dicimus quòd multa differentia separantur corporis in quo passus est Christus & sanguis quem in cruce pendens fudit, & hoc corpus quod in mysterio passionis Christi quotidie à fidelibus celebratur. Etenim hoccorpus pignus & species est, illud autem ipsa veritas. Apparet ergo quòd tam multa differentia separentur, quantum est inter pignus & eam rem pro quâ pignus traditur, & quantum inter imaginem, & rem eam cujus imago est, & quantum inter speciem & veritatem; This we say, that there is a great difference and separation betwixt the body in the which Christ suffered, and the bloud which he shed upon the Crosse, and this body which every day is celebrated in the mystery of the passion of Christ. For this body is a pledge and similitude, but the other is the very truth it selfe. Ergo, it appeareth that these are separated asunder by no lesse difference then is between a pledge and the thing whereof the pledge is given; or then is betwixt an Image of a thing and the thing it selfe whereof the Image is, or then is between the forme of a thing, and the veritie it selfe. This wrote Bertramus, Druthmarus, and many other, and yet were never in all their time once reproved of heresie. This wrote Johannes Scotus also, in whose life time men had not eies to espie his heresies; but about two hundred yeers after his death he was judged and condemned for an heretike, and his bookes burned, in a Councell holden at Mercella in Lombardie, in the yeere of our Lord God 1015. Since which time, even until this day, although Idolatrie had great increase, yet there never wanted some good men which boldly would professe and set forth the truth, although they were well assured that their worldly reward should be spight, malice, imprisoning, sword, fire, and all kindes of torments. Thus so shortly, and in so few words as I could, I have declared unto you what Christ meant by these words, This is my body; what the Apostles taught therein, and in what sort they delivered them to their successors; in what sense and meaning the holy Fathers and old Writers, and the universal and Catholike Church hath evermore taken them.

Carolus Magnus.

Bertram.

Bertram. Ioan. Scot. Druch.

Bertram condemned for an heretike 200. yeeres after his death.

The end and death of King Edw. 6.

{ Anno. 1552. }

THus having discoursed things done and past under the reign of King Edward, such as seemed not unfruitfull to be knowne, we will now draw to the end and death of this blessed King, our young Iosias. Who about a yeere and a halfe after the death of the Duke of Somerset his Uncle, in the yeere of our Lord 1553. entring into the seventeenth yeere of his age, and the seventh yeere of his reigne, in the moneth of June was taken from us, for our sinnes no doubt; whom if it had so pleased the good will of the Lord to have spared with longer life, not unlike it was by all conjectures probably to be esteemed by those his toward and blessed beginnings, but proceeding so as he began, he would have reformed such a common wealth here in the realme of England, as by good cause it might have been said of him that was said in the old time of the noble Emperor Augustus, in reforming & advancing the Empire of Rome; Quam quum ille lateritiam (ut aiebat) accepit, marmoream reliquit; Which Empire he received (he said) of brick, but he left it of fine marble. But the condition of this realme, and the customable behaviour of English people (whose propertie is commonly to abuse the light of the Gospel when it is offered) deserved no such benefit of so blessed a reformation, but rather a contrary plague of deformation, such as happened after his reign, as you shall heare, the Lord granting, in the next Nuenes dayes that followed.

Ex Sueton.

Thus then this godly and vertuous Impe, in the time and moneth above mentioned, was cut from us, whose worthy life and vertues have been partly afore declared. Nevertheless, to have some monument of him remaining to testifie of the good nature and gentle disposition of that Prince, we will adde here, for a remembrance, this little Epistle of his owne hand writing to the Archbishop of Canterburie his godfather, as followeth.

An Epistle of young Prince Edward to the Archbishop of Canterburie his Godfather.

IMpertio te plurima salute, colendissime Præsul, & charissime Susceptor. Quia abes longè à me, vellem libenter audire te esse incolumem. Precor autem ut vivas diu, & promoveas verbum Dei. Vale. Antil. decimo octavo Iunii.

Tuus in Christo filius,
Edwardus Princeps.

Prince Edw. when he wrote this Epistle seemed to be very young, not above 7. yeers of age, lying then at Ampthill.

Another Epistle of the young Prince Edward to the Archbishop his Godfather.

ETsi puer sum, colendissime Susceptor, non tamen immemor sum vel officii erga te mei, vel humanitatis tuæ quam indies mihi exhibere studes. Non excederunt mihi humanissimæ tuæ literæ pridie divi Petri ad me datæ. Quibus antehac respondere nolui, non quòd illas neglexerim, aut non meminerim, sed ut illarum diuturna meditatione fruerer, fideliquè memoria reponerem, atque demum benè ruminatis pro mea virili responderem. Proinde affectum erga me tuum verè paternum, quem in illis expressisti, amplector & veneror, optoquè ut multos vivas annos, tuoque pio ac salubri consilio pergas esse mihi venerandus pater. Nam pietatem ante omnia mihi amplectendam & exosculandam esse duco, quoniam divus Paulus dicit, Pietas ad omnia utilis est. Optimè valeat tua paternitas in plurimos annos. Hartefordiæ 13. Ianuarii.

Another Epistle of Prince Edward to his Godfather.

1 Tim. 4.

Tui studiosissimus,
Edwardus Princeps.

The answer of the Archbishop to Prince Edwards Epistle.

NOn magis poterat ipsa me servare salus (fili in Christo charissime) quam salus tua. Mea vita non dicenda est vita absque tua & salute & valetudine. Quapropter cum te incolumem ac salvum intelligo, vitam etiam mihi integram esse & incolumem sentio. Neque certè absentia mea tam est injucunda tibi quam sunt literæ tuæ perjucundæ mihi. Quæ asguunt tibi juxta adesse & ingen. dignum tanto principe & præceptorem dignum tanto ingenio. Ex quibus tuis literis te sic literas video colere, ut interim doctrinæ cœlestis tua nequaquam minima sit cura; quæ cuicunque sit curæ, non potest illum quævis cura frangere. Perge igitur qua via incepisti, Princeps illustrissime, & Spartam

Alludit ad verba Terentii in Comœdia.

The answer of Tho. Cranmer Archb. of Canterburie to the Epistle of Prince Ed.

The decease of K. Edw. 6.

{ Anno 1553. }

{King Edw. 6.} tam quam nactus es hanc orna, ut quam ego per literas video in te virtutis lucem, eadem olim illuminet universam tuam Angliam. Non scribam prolixius, tum quidem ut me intelligas brevitate nō nihil affici, tum etiam quod credam te ætate quidem adhuc parvulum parvo gaudere, & similem simili; tum etiam præterea ne impolita mea oratio in causa sit, quo generosa illa tua indoles barbariæ vitium contrahat.

The report of the Princes Schoolmaster, in commendation of his towardnesse, to the Archbishop.

This letter seemeth to be written by D. Cox.

RIght honourable and my singular good Lord, after my most heartie commendations: the opportunitie of this messenger forceth me to write at this time, having little matter but onely to signifie unto your grace, that my Lords grace your godson is merry and in health, and of such towardnesse in learning, godlinesse, gentlenesse, and all honest qualities, that both you and I, and all this Realm ought to think him and take him for a singular gift sent of God, an impe worthy of such a Father, for whom we are bound, sine intermissione, to render to God most hearty thanks, with most humble request of his long and prosperous continuance. He hath learned almost foure bookes of Cato to construe, to parse, and to say without book. And of his own courage now in the later book he wil nedes have at one time 14. Verses, which he conneth pleasantly and perfectly, besides things of the Bible, Satellitium Vivis, Aesops Fables, and Latine making, whereof he hath sent your grace a little taste. Dominus Iesus te diutissime servet.

Thus much hitherto having declared, touching the worthy vertues and singular towardnesse of this godly impe, King Edward the sixth, although I have not, neither can insert all things due to his commendation, but am inforced to let passe many memorable matters, well worthy to be prosecuted, if they might have come to our hands: yet this one briefe note I thought not to overslip (something to recreate the wearie Reader in such a dolefull story) being notified to me by one M. Edward Vnderhill, who waiting the same time with the rest of his fellow pensioners and men at armes, as sir Henry Gates, M. Robert Vall, M. Henry Harlton, and M. Stafforton, heard these words betweene the king and his Counsell.

The relation and testimony of which person and persons above named come to this effect, That King Edward the sixth, the fourth yeer of his reign, being then but thirteene yeers old and upward, at Grenwich upon S. Georges day, when he was come from the Sermon into the presence chamber, there being his Uncle the Duke of Somerset, the Duke of Northumberland, with other Lords and Knights of that Order, called the order of the Garter, he said to them, My Lords, I pray you, what saint is S. George, that we here so honour him? At which question the other Lords being all astonied, the Lord Treasurer that then was, perceiving this, gave answer, and said, If it please your Majesty, I did never read in any history of S. George, but onely in Legenda aurea, where it is thus set down, That Saint George out with his sword, and ranne the Dragon through with his speare. The King, when he could not a great while speak for laughing, at length said; I pray you my Lord, and what did he with his sword the while? That I cannot tell your Majestie, said he. And so an end of that question of good Saint George. Now to return again from whence we have digressed, which is to signifie some part of the order and manner of his godly departing; As the time approached when it pleased Almighty God to call this young King from us, which was the sixth day of July, the yeer above said, about three houres before his death, this godly childe, his eyes being closed, speaking to himselfe, and thinking none to have heard him, made this prayer which followeth.

The Prayer of King Edward before his death.

The Kings prayer at his death.

Lord God deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen: howbeit not my will, but thy will be done: Lord I commit my spirit to thee. Oh Lord thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy chosen sake send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O my Lord God blesse thy people, and save thine inheritance. O Lord God save thy chosen people of England. Oh my Lord God, defend this Realme from papistry, and maintain thy true Religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy Name, for thy Sonne Iesus Christs sake.

The order and time of the Kings departure

Then turned he his face, and seeing who was by him, said unto them, Are ye so nigh? I thought ye had been further off. Then D. Owen said, We heard you speak to your self, but what you said we know not. He then (after his fashion smilingly) said, I was praying to God. The last words of his pangs were these, I am faint, Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit. And thus he yelded up the ghost, leaving a wofull kingdome behinde unto his sister. Albeit he in his will had excluded his sister Mary from the succession of the Crown, because of her corrupt Religion: yet the plague, which God had destinate unto this sinfull Realm, could not so be avoided, but that he, being the elder daughter to King Henry, succeeded in possession of the Crown. Of whose dreadfull and bloody regiment it remaineth now consequently to discourse.

{Anno 1553.}

This briefly may suffice to understand, that for all the writing, sending, and practising with the Lady Mary, by the King and his Counsell, and also by Bishop Ridley, yet would she not be reclaimed from her own singular opinion fixed upon custome, to give any indifferent hearing to the word and voice of veritie. The which set will of the said lady Mary, both this young King and also his Father King Henry before him right well perceiving and considering, they were both much displeased against her: Insomuch that not onely her brother did utterly sequester her in his will, but also her own father, considering her inclination, conceived such heart against her, that for a great space he did seclude her from the title of princesse, yea and seemed so eagerly incensed against her, that he was fully purposed to proceed further with her (as it is reported) had not the intercession of Thomas Cranmer the Archbishop reconciled the King again to favour and pardon his own daughter. For the better understanding whereof, by these her own letters copied out of her own hand writting, which I have to shew, something may be perceived, and more peradventure may be gessed. The words out of her own hand writing be these. And first her letter to King Henry her father here followeth.

The lady Mary wedded to Custome.

The lady Mary in displeasure both with her brother and father.

A Letter of the Lady Mary to King Henry her Father.

Lady Mary writeth to King Henry her father.

IN my most humble wise I beseech your grace of your daily blessing. Pleaseth it the same to be advertised, that this morning my Lord my chamberlain came and shewed me, that he had received a Letter from sir William Paulet Controller of your house. The effect whereof was, that I should with all diligence remove unto the castle of Hertford. Whereupon I desired him to see the same Letter, which he shewed me. Wherein was written that the Lady Mary the Kings daughter should remove to the place beforesaid, leaving out in the same the name of Princesse. Which when I heard, I could not a little marvell, trusting verily that your Grace was not privy to the same letter as concerning the leaving out of the name of Princesse, for as much as I doubt

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not in your goodnesse, but your Grace doth take me for your lawfull daughter, borne in true matrimonie. Wherefore if I should agree to the contrary, I should in my conscience run in the displeasure of God, which I hope assuredly your Grace would not that I so should. And in all other things your Grace shall have me alwayes as humble and obedient a daughter and handmaid as ever was childe to the father, which my duty bindeth me to, as knoweth our Lord, who have your Grace in his most holy tuition, with much honour, and long life to his pleasure.

Written at your Mannor of Beaulien, the second day of October.

By your most humble daughter,
Mary Princesse.

Protestation of the Lady Mary to certain Lords sent by the King her father, with certain requests unto her.

The protestation of Lady Mary.

MY Lords, as touching my removing to Hatfield I will obey his Grace, as my duty is, or to any other place his Grace will appoint me. But I protest before you and all other that be here present, that my conscience will in no wise suffer me to take any other then my selfe for the Kings lawfull daughter, born in true matrimonie, or Princesse, and that I will never willingly and wittingly say or do whereby any person might take occasion to thinke that I agree to the contrarie. Not of any ambition or proud minde, as God is my Judge, but that, if I should say or do otherwise, I should in my conscience slander the deed of our mother holy Church, and the pope, who is the judge in this matter, and none other, and also dishonour the King my Father, the Queene my mother, and falsely confesse my selfe a Bastard, which God defend that I should do, seeing the pope hath not so declared it by his sentence definitive; for to his judgement I submit me.

{ Anno. 1553. } Lady Mary standeth to the Popes judgement.

As you have heard some part already of the stout courage of the Lady Mary toward her Father, and also by her Letters no lesse was declared toward king Edward her brother and other of his Counsel, as well may appear by the letters above specified betweene the King her brother and his Counsell: So now let us inferre somewhat likewise of the stout talk and demeanour of the said Lady Mary toward doctor Ridley Bishop of London, who gently coming to her of meere good will, had this communication with her, and she with him, as here followeth.

Talk betwixt Lady Mary and B. Ridley.

About the eighth of September, 1552, Doctor Ridley then Bishop of London, lying at his house at Hadham in Hartfordshire, went to visit the lady Mary then lying at Hunsden two miles off; and was gently entertained of sir Thomas Wharton and other her officers, till it was almost eleven of the clock, about which time the said Lady Marie came forth into her chamber of Presence, and then the said Bishop there saluted her Grace, and said, That he was come to do his duty to her Grace. Then she thanked him for his pains, and for a quarter of an houre talked with him very pleasantly, and said, That she knew him in the Court when he was Chaplain to her father, and could well remember a sermon that he made before King Henry her father, at the marriage of my lady Clinton that now is, to sir Anthonie Browne, &c. and so dimissed him to dine with her officers.

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After dinner was done, the Bishop being called for by the said Lady Mary, resorted again to her Grace, betweene whom this communication was; first the bishop beginneth in manner as followeth.

B. Ridley offereth to preach before the Lady Mary.

Bishop. Madam, I came not onely to do my duty to see your Grace, but also to offer my selfe to preach before you on sunday next, if it will please you to hear me. At this her countenance changed, and, after silence for a space, she answered thus.

Lady Mary refuseth to hear B. Ridley to preach before her.

Mary. My Lord, as for this last matter I pray you make the answer to it your self.

Bishop. Madam, considering mine office and calling, I am bound in duty to make to your Grace this offer, to preach before you.

Mary. Well, I pray you make the answer (as I have said) to this matter your selfe; for you know the answer well enough. But if there be no remedie but I must make you answer, this shall be your answer; the doore of the Parish Church adjoyning shall be open for you if you come, and ye may preach if you list; but neither I nor any of mine shall hear you.

Bishop. Madam, I trust you will not refuse Gods word.

Mary. I cannot tell what ye call Gods word; that is not Gods Word now, that was Gods Word in my fathers dayes.

Bishop. Gods Word is all one in all times, but hath been better understood and practised in some ages then in other.

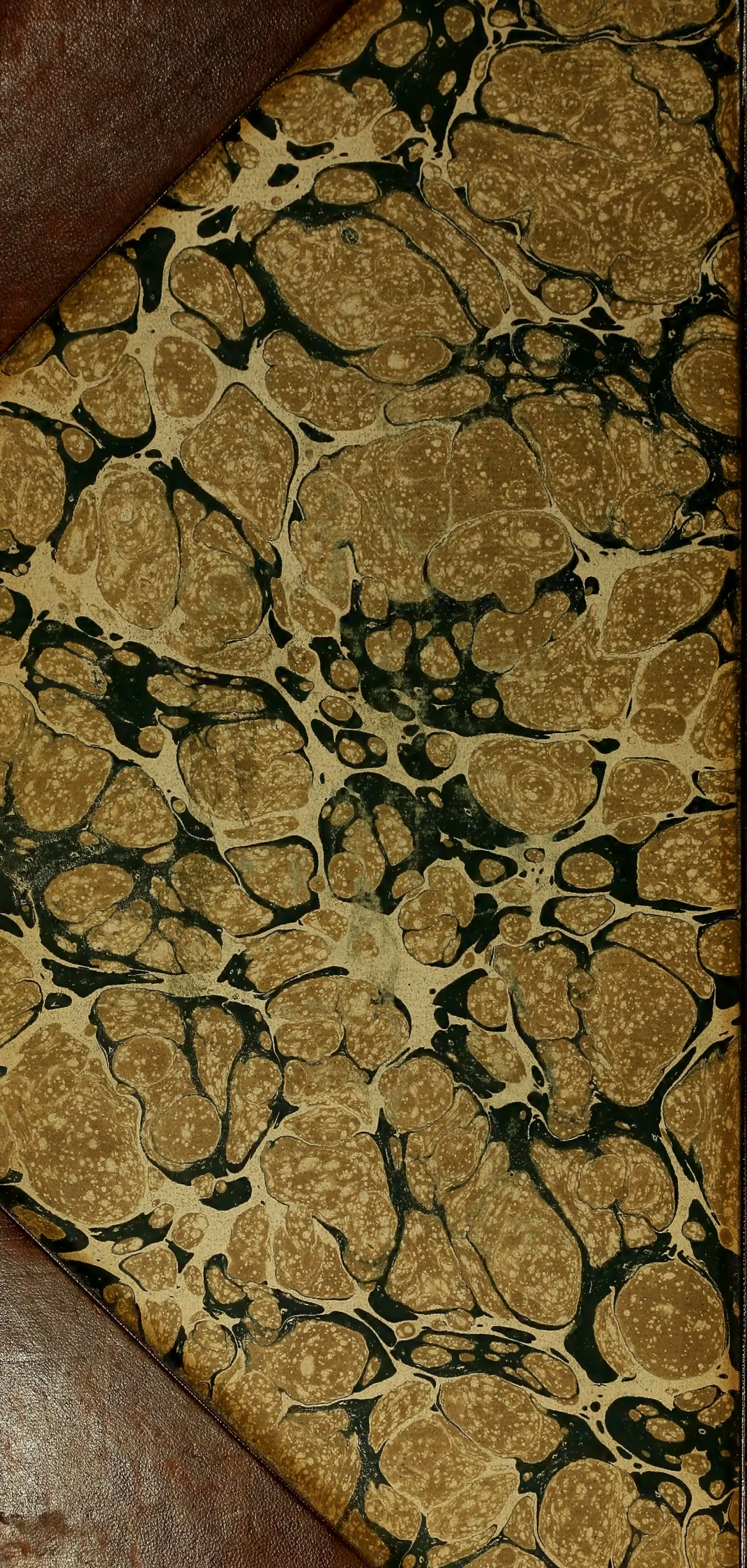
Mary. You durst not for your eares have avouched that for Gods word in my fathers dayes, that now you do. And as for your new books, I thank God I never read any of them; I never did, nor ever will do.

It is like she was perswaded by witches and blinde prophesies, that King Ed. should not live so long.

And after many bitter words against the forme of religion then established, and against the government of the Realm, and the laws made in the yong yeers of her brother, which she said she was not bound to obey till her brother came to perfect age, and then she affirmed she would obey them; she asked the bishop whether he were one of the Counsell: He answered, No. You might well enough, said she, as the Counsell goeth now adayes.

And so she concluded with these words; My Lord, for your gentlenesse to come and see me, I thank you; but for your offering to preach before me, I thank you never a whit.

B. Ridley perceiveth to have dronken there where Gods Word was refused.

Then the said Bishop was brought by sir Thom. Wharton to the place where they dined, and was desired to drink. And after he had dronk, he paused a little while, looking very sadly, and suddenly brake out into these words; Surely I have done amisse. Why so? quoth sir Thomas Wharton. For I have dronk (said he) in that place where Gods word offered hath been refused: whereas if I had remembred my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken off the dust of my shoes for a testimony against this house. These words were by the said Bishop spoken with such a vehemencie, that some of the hearers afterward confessed their haire to stand upright on their heads. This done, the said Bishop departed, and so returned to his house. Testified by a certain reverend personage yet alive, being then the Bishops Chaplain.

¶ And thus making an end of this ninth book, touching the story and reign of King Edward, and having also somewhat said before of the nature and disposition of the Lady Mary, whereby the way may be prepared the better to the troubles of the next book following; we intend, the Grace of God assisting us therein, now further to proceed in describing the acts and proceedings of the said Lady Mary, coming now to be Queene, and advanced, next after this godly King Edward, to the Crown of this Realm of England.